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**"Witchcraft and the Reproduction
Of Wealth In Southern Zambia."**

By

Leonie Kindness.

A Thesis Submitted to the Anthropology Department of
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ABSTRACT.

Well, there are some stories of what you must do to become wealthy. You will go to the witch, who will point out a tree to you. 'Behind that tree is a special cow, you must milk that cow, and then you can become wealthy.' When you go behind that tree, what do you find there but a lioness. If you are brave enough to take the milk from the lioness, and then cook it and eat it with porridge then you will be very rich.

This quote, an extract from my field notes, describes one of the many techniques to become wealthy through witchcraft which are explored in this thesis. This thesis examines witchcraft in a small town in Southern Zambia, in the last decade of the Twentieth Century. In particular it focuses on witchcraft for the creation of wealth. Although witchcraft for wealth seems to be an old tradition, it remains largely unexamined in academic work. In chapter one the town of Monze is introduced and some methodological issues are discussed. In chapter two there is a discussion of witches in the modern era, what witches do and who they are. The use of witchcraft for the creation of wealth is introduced at this point, in the three areas of crops, cows and businesses. The point is made that much wealth creation involves the linking of production and reproduction. In other words, for excess production to occur, the witches must tamper with the processes of reproduction. Thus much witchcraft for wealth involves stealing foetuses, making women barren and other similar attacks on fertility.

Chapters three, four and five, therefore, deal with an exploration of the processes of reproduction. Chapter three examines the reproduction of spirits and names, while chapters four and five discuss reproduction of the body. We examine body substances, and the reproduction and exchange of substance through sex, conception, pregnancy and birth.

In chapters six, seven, and eight these insights into the reproductive processes are used to explain witchcraft for wealth; in maize production, cattle production, and modern business enterprises. Chapter nine is the conclusion. In these chapters the contribution of my material to various theoretical debates on witchcraft, gender, the body and analysis of substance is discussed.



A famous Monze witchfinder (muchape) with items used for witchcraft.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

So, Leonie, you're doing a Ph.D.? Did you know all Zambians are already Ph.D.'s?
No...

Oh yes! We're all Pot Hole Dodgers!

This joke about the state of the roads in Zambia was told to me shortly after my arrival in Africa. I did not know at that time how apt the comparison between the slow process of driving down the heavily pot-holed roads of Zambia and my tortuous attempts to produce this thesis would prove to be. I would like to thank all the following who have helped me to avoid many different types of pot-holes.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCING MONZE.

SECTION ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THESIS.

1.1. Introduction

Over the following chapters we shall be examining witchcraft in a small town in Southern Zambia, in the last decade of the twentieth century. Many of the witches we shall be discussing are thus by definition urban sophisticates. In particular I will be focusing on those witches who are rich. Certain acts of witchcraft are said to entail the possibility of becoming wealthy, and many informants claimed that comparative wealth was impossible without witchcraft. There is a vast abundance of anthropological texts on the topic of witchcraft in Africa. Some of these hint at the fact that witchcraft for wealth seems to be an old tradition, and something of a pan-African phenomenon, but few academic works have focused on the question of witchcraft as a route to wealth in Africa. For many in Monze all rich people are by definition witches.

It has recently been said of modern African witches: "Their signifying potential, moreover, has proven to be unusually dynamic and versatile. They travel across broad horizons, take up residence in towns, become mistresses of money, markets and motorized transport, wear make-up and modish attire" (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993: xxv). Witches in Monze have also kept up with the times. One typical image of the witch in Monze is the image of a wealthy person. Their life is filled with all the urban icons that come with wealthy African city life in the late twentieth century: telephones, air-conditioning, cars... The image of a successful witch would probably be a man, either African or Indian, who lives in a state of comparative luxury in a spacious "European style" bungalow. They relax in an air-conditioned lounge on a comfortable chair in front of the TV, or watch movies on their VCR. Their car(s) waits in the drive way, next to the crisp green lawn which is watered daily by the "workers" (domestic servants). The money to pay for this lifestyle will likely come from some business enterprise such as a shop or bar, and it will probably be rumoured that this person keeps a herd of cattle at a secret location.



Plate #1: Map of Central and Southern Africa.

Witches are said to have adapted many traditional techniques of evil-doing to the 'modern' era. They are sometimes said to use "aeroplanes" fuelled by blood on the way to perform evil. Should the witch not be in the mood for travel, then "remote control"² of the victim is always a possibility. Witches in Monze have kept abreast of the times.

Witches are implicated in all forms of trouble, from car crashes to marital discord, to cancer and death from lightning bolts. Witches bring misfortune, and much of the large and excellent scholarship upon the subject of witchcraft in Africa has tackled the problem of witches as agents of misfortune, and the community response to these individuals which often takes the form of witchcraft accusations. The witch is typically seen as a jealous person who kills, maims and brings misfortune to those they perceive to be more fortunate than themselves. This is also a potent image of the witch in Monze, but a jealous person can also be a greedy person, and often the witch has ulterior motives in bringing loss to their victims; wealth for themselves. According to this analysis the witch is not always simply a jealous and frustrated person, but may also be a magical thief, who, if successful, will become rich³.

Witches may steal the life of another person and make the ghost work for them, a point which prompted one friend to say: "There is no person who can become rich without shedding the blood of another human being". The technique of blood shedding referred to here involves the deadly arsenal of weapons known only to witches. A person will die from some disease such as malaria, or in an accident, following a witch attack. There will be no evidence of the crime committed, which will be revealed only by divination. Thus to commit murder physical contact with the victim is not required. The important exception to this is Indian business men, who are rumoured to murder their victims by more conventional methods before using their bodies in evil rituals for the creation of

² Remote control is a collective term used to describe all those practices which may be used to affect a victim from a distance. This will be more fully described in the next chapter.

³ Thus the witch may be an exceptionally powerful person, and the link between political power and sorcery has been made in some African contexts, such as Cameroon (Rowlands & Warnier 1988), and in Togo (Ellis 1993).

wealth⁴. Essentially, any wealthy person is likely to be suspected of being a successful witch. Poorer people may be whispered to be incompetent practitioners of witchcraft. The wealth produced may be in the form of a bumper harvest of crops, or a full kraal of cattle, or a flourishing business enterprise.

A person can lose their life to the witch, and be made to work as a ghost, or they can lose part of their life, such as their fertility, their unborn child, or their intelligence. Various types of sexual activity, including incest and masturbation can also create wealth. Killing people is a central aspect of the production of wealth, and a person can lose all or part of themselves. There is thus a conceptual link between the processes of production of people and production of wealth, and between those areas and witchcraft. It is my suggestion that the production of wealth is metaphorically linked to several bodily processes, such as sexual attraction, sexual intercourse, gestation and human growth. Witches, then, are able to manipulate the connections between production and reproduction to their own advantage⁵.

This linking of production and reproduction has been noted in anthropological debates, and came to particular prominence during the "Virgin Birth" debate of the sixties and seventies (Leach 1967; Barnes 1973). More recently, Carol Delaney has examined the connection of conception and gestation beliefs with agricultural metaphors (Delaney 1984; 1986; 1991). Sandra Ott has described the metaphorical connections between making cheese and making children (Ott 1979), and Eugenia Herbert has convincingly described how the creation of iron in Africa relies heavily on a metaphorical connection between gestation, birth and iron production (Herbert 1993).

⁴ Indians are reputedly involved in "Ritual Killings" which involve removal of the hearts from their victims and, in the case of women, removing their genitals. This point will be explored in greater detail in a later chapter seven on urban witches.

⁵ At this point I am using the word 'reproduction' to refer to the reproduction of people, and 'production' to refer to the production of plants and animals. However, in this thesis I will emphasise the links between production and reproduction. The dichotomy as it now stands, therefore, is an analytical device which will be refined over the course of the following chapters.

In this thesis I emphasise the point that no one single metaphor is adequate to express the links between production and reproduction. The situation I describe involves several metaphors which co-exist and are complementary. Further, different body substances invoke different metaphors of production. I hope to show that semen, for example, becomes linked with ideas of growth, and a system of metaphors involving rain and the growth of plants, especially maize. Menstrual blood is linked up with cattle, animal fertility and processes of replication. It is my argument that witches are able to manipulate the connections between production and reproduction to have more of the fruits of production for themselves. I examine, therefore, in the coming chapters the processes of sexual reproduction in some depth, and I attempt to demonstrate how production and reproduction are conceptually and metaphorically linked, and thus how these links can be manipulated by witches.

In this analysis witches are seen to have mastery of the metaphysical and physical processes of production and reproduction. Anybody who is wealthy, therefore, may be a witch. To disprove this possibility, the wealthy person must constantly redistribute the resources at their disposal. Witchcraft is still an important explanatory factor in urban life in Monze, and as we explore the following chapters we shall be examining witchcraft as related to inequalities of wealth, as it relates to the politics of interracial tension, and as a form of explanation for sudden deaths, such as car crashes, and from Aids. Witchcraft "is not simply an imaginative "idiom". It is chillingly concrete, its micro-politics all-too-real" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1993: xxvi).

1.2. Outline of Thesis.

In chapter one I introduce the Town of Monze, the historical and ethnographic context. There are a lot of people in Monze. I realised that as soon as I got over how small the town seemed. It was some time, however, before I realised that the town is even more crowded than I thought; not all residents of Monze are visible. Not all people have bodies and not all bodies are visible.

There are invisible witches flying about at night. Invisible creatures that are half snake and half human crawl about during the day, and it is rumoured that people keep them as

pets to create wealth. They are made from human blood and medicine. Innocent-looking little puppies and kittens turn out to be witches in disguise, a ready excuse for stoning them to death. Actually, this is also true of a host of less appealing creatures, such as rats, snakes, cockroaches, hyenas, lions and guinea pigs. I was told that a dream of a particular person is actually like a visit from that person, which is bad news if the visitor happens to be dead! In addition there are ghosts wandering around, some of them with aimless malice, others sent on evil duty by witches, others trapped as ghost-slaves to create wealth for evil business-men. They could be waiting for you invisibly pulling you into shops as you try to tear yourself away from spending yet more money. As if this was not enough to complicate buying a few groceries (there were generally not more than a few groceries to choose from), rumours also were flying around about people being murdered while out shopping so they their bodies could be used in witchcraft practises. ..It quickly became apparent that there is a world of activity just beyond the visible, which can act upon my more familiar world...I began to treat a visit to the shops as less mundane than I thought.

Chapter two introduces witchcraft in Monze, and compares Monze witches to the classic studies of witchcraft. The techniques of witchcraft for wealth are then examined in the following key areas:

- i) Witchcraft to create wealth in maize.
- ii) Witchcraft to create wealth in cattle.
- iii) Witchcraft to create wealth in money and businesses.

To create wealth in these areas involves the substitution of production for reproduction. In other words, wealth can be created by the theft of foetuses, or fertility, the use of semen and menstrual blood, and the killing of children. To understand processes of wealth production, it is necessary to understand processes of reproduction.

In the following two chapters, therefore, we develop a model of the body and reproduction.

Chapter three looks at reproduction of spirits in Monze, and some competing discourses about how reproduction takes place. Ideas about the body, and the relationship between the body and it's spiritual aspects are being challenged by much missionary activity which

focuses on a delegitimation of the ancestor spirits, by educational programmes in schools, and by alternative body images which are projected on American and European television programmes, and in women's magazines. Ancestor spirits play a crucial role in the reproductive process, and as ideas about the ancestors are challenged, so ideas of reproduction are challenged and gain new emphasis. Hence in this chapter I focus on the role of the ancestor spirits in the reproduction of the person.

In chapter four I discuss the main body substances in Monze: water and blood. I introduce the idea that water is normatively equally shared between people, due to its origin as rain. Blood is a term which covers both red blood, menstrual blood and semen. I begin to develop a model of how water and blood are reproduced. I then look at processes of reproduction, from sex to birth. In the final section I make a model of substance exchange between men and women which involves semen and *nshima*⁶. This involves an examination of the links between eating and sex.

Chapter five further explores substance exchange. I argue that appropriate substance exchange between men and women results in growth, fattening and production while inappropriate exchange results in shrinking, miscarriage and thinning. This is the root cause behind Aids and infant malnutrition, which are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter six examines the processes of witchcraft for maize. Thus creating an excess harvest is found to involve several features, such as labour theft, illegitimate access to land, and illegitimate access to the harvest of others. However, I will focus on the aspect of the connection between killing children and creating an excess maize harvest. The connecting link here, I argue, is that both children and crops grow. I outline a model in which children and maize are at analogous stages of two ranked systems of growth. One involves maize, (and possibly all plants), and the other involves humans (and possibly all animals).

⁶ *Nshima* is the staple food in Monze. It is ground maize meal boiled and stirred to produce a consistency something like mashed potatoes.

In particular I focus on the properties of semen, and how semen is analogously linked with water and cooked maize. Water, it is argued, has the capacity to produce growth in plants, but not humans. Both semen and cooked maize are involved in the process of producing humans.

Chapter six examines the process of witchcraft for cattle. I look at the properties of the body blood as having the possibility to partially replicate a person, but not to join two people together. This is best exemplified in the common belief in the "idomba", a creature made from a person's blood which looks like them, but is only half human. I examine menstrual blood, and look at how this substance is connected with replication, and with cattle.

Chapter seven looks at processes of witchcraft to gain wealth in businesses and money. Part of my argument implies that any production has a corresponding analogy within bodily reproduction. In this chapter I make a model for the relation between production and reproduction as applied to businesses and money. I also draw together material about race and witchcraft.

The final chapter draws together some of the strands of my argument. I discuss the substances for growth, and those of replication, and how they link up with production. I argue that all substances which promote growth are male-coded, while substances of replication are female-coded. Thus women are charged with control of bodily growth, while the actual substances of growth are male. I discuss some of the recent literature on gender, substance and procreation and how this relates to my data.

SECTION TWO: THE MAKING OF MONZE.

Monze is the name of the small town where I "did my field work". It is also the name of a chief, the name of a spirit, and the name of a rainmaker. These points are not unconnected, as the sharing of a name implies deep identity, however, that is another story, and first I shall try to introduce Monze the town before introducing all the other Monzes.

Monze is a small town. The Tonga word for 'town' is *mumukua*. This means 'the place of the Europeans'. The word for city is also *mumukua*. Perhaps Monze is a city. Anyway, it has around 15,000 people⁷. I was one of the people of Monze for about two years, from February to September 1991, and August 1992 to January 1994.

In Monze no buildings are older than the oldest people. Monze came to exist as a stopping place on the "Line of Rail"⁸, which was built in the first few years of this century, following the arrival of Europeans. Now it is a stopping place on the road from Livingstone to Lusaka, which is the only tarred road through the Southern Province.

Monze can seem like a town where life is passing by on the road through the middle of town, but it is also the centre of much trade and business. It boasts two banks, a huge mission hospital, and major wholesale and transport businesses. Several famous bars and night spots attract lorry drivers who stop and add to the local economy. To the North the road leads to the Copperbelt, the Northern part of Zambia which has developed on the strength of copper mining⁹. To the South the road leads all the way through

⁷ In 1980 there were 13,141 people in Monze, according to the 1980 census (Central Statistics 1980). In the 1990 census the figures for Monze town were not given. However, the population growth rate for Zambia in the period 1980-1990 is given in this census as 3.4% (Central Statistics 1990).

⁸ 'Line of Rail' is the Zambian English term for the railway which runs from the North of Zambia to the South.

⁹ The price of copper has fallen dramatically, however, and the price fell in real terms by 60% in the decade between the mid 70's and mid 80's (Young 1988). This has been one major reason for Zambia's economic decline. It occurred to me when I had the opportunity to visit the Zambian Houses of Parliament that the roof of this building is a poignant reminder of the significance of copper in Zambia; the roof of



Plate #2: Map of Zambia.

Zimbabwe to South Africa, the direction from which the colonial intrusion of the 1890's originally came.

The majority of the inhabitants of Monze are Tonga, one of the largest "tribes" in Zambia. There are over 70 ethnic groups in Zambia, however, and in Monze I encountered Lozis, Ngonis, Bembas, Luvaes, Nyanja, as well as people from outside Zambia, from almost all the surrounding countries¹⁰. The different racial groups within Monze are classified by residents along the South African divisions of White, (or European), Black, (or African), Indian and Coloured¹¹. There is a significant Indian population, and most can trace ancestry in Southern Africa for several generations. These Indians are among the economic and political elite. They run some of the most successful businesses in Monze, and the elected M.P. for Monze is Indian. There are several important and influential "coloured" families who run prosperous businesses. Monze also has a nominated M.P. who is coloured. Many coloured families can trace their ancestry to a variety of Greeks, English, and Scottish settlers who arrived in the region, some at the turn of the century. There are also numerous "coloureds" who live in the "compounds". These are the illegitimate, and often unaccepted, children of whites, coloureds and Indians. Monze does not have a large population of White farmers, compared to the neighbouring towns of Choma and Mazabuka. There are, however, several families who live on huge farms nearby and can trace their ancestry to the original European settlers of the Monze area. The main visible white presence in Monze are missionaries. Missionaries have been active in the area since 1905, and the main two groups are Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists, although there are about seven other groups working in the area. The main mission achievement is "Monze hospital", which has a reputation for excellence. Other mission projects include schools of carpentry, tailoring and catering. A variety of semi-permanent nuns and priests and volunteers run

this most important building in Zambia is made of copper....

¹⁰ For more on ethnicity in Southern Africa see L. Vail, 1989. Vail links labour migration with the development of ethnicity. He suggests that since Southern Zambia did not suffer from prolonged labour migration this has also led to less development of ethnicity.

¹¹ For more on racial divisions see Kieth 1966; U.N. document 1968; Van der Berghe 1970; Vickery 1986.

this mission, as well as doctors and their families who come on a volunteer basis for periods of usually only one or two years. Various other Europeans individuals come on projects such as cattle immunisation, borehole drilling and other "development projects"¹². There are thus perhaps 50 or 60 whites in Monze, although the population tends to fluctuate.

Monze is geographically divided into two areas, by the line of rail. On one side lie the two leafy streets called "Station Road", and "Fairview Road", (which has a "fair view" over the golf course). These houses are spacious and luxurious. Some have lawns kept green by the daily watering of the "workers" (domestic servants¹³). Some even have roses growing in their gardens. These houses, it was explained to me, once housed the European colonial masters, who left in the time after independence. Next, the two streets were largely occupied by Indians, many of whom have now emigrated due to the long-term economic decline Zambia has experienced. Nowadays the houses are mostly occupied by wealthy Africans, although some Indians, coloureds and white "ex-pat" workers also live in these leafy suburbs of Monze. Also on the same side of the railway line are the police station and courts, and a school. English is the medium of instruction in this school, as in all the schools in Zambia. It is also the country's official language.

The other side of the tracks is bordered by the main business area, and the road. Beyond these businesses are the bustling and overcrowded "compounds". This is where the bulk of the African population resides. The houses are mostly small cottages with two rooms and pit latrines at the back. Water must be collected from communal taps, and is not available at all in some parts of town. Some areas have electricity, but many have only candle-light after dark. There are many half-built houses, people get so far and then run out of money. On the edge of Monze there are the "shanty compounds". These are areas where individuals are given a piece of land and allowed to build a hut. The huts are in the traditional style of round huts with a thatched roof. The atmosphere in all areas of

¹² For more on the current 'development' situation in Zambia see: Ghulati 1989; Turok 1979; Rosenblum and Williamson 1987; Timberlake 1985; Colson and Scudder 1982; Young 1988; Helen 1968.

¹³ For more on the role of domestic servants in Zambia see Hansen 1989.

the compounds is always busy and bustling. There are always people moving around, during the day collecting water, going to work, or visiting. Rhumba music is always present playing from houses or from one of the many bars which are found all over the compounds.

SECTION THREE: WORK ALREADY DONE IN MONZE.

Monze, then, is a small town with a varied population and strategic position on the North-South road. It was a product of, and has been fundamentally shaped by, the colonial encounter which began about a hundred years ago¹⁴. Monze is named after the important rain-making shrine which is close to the town. The rainmaker was called Monze, and the meeting of Monze with David Livingstone, the archetypal *mukua*, was recounted to me by the current Chief Monze.

The first Chief Monze did not die, he ascended. The second chief was the one that Livingstone found. He was not a chief before, he was a rainmaker, but he became a chief due to the Whites. There were no chiefs before. They were respected because they were rainmakers. Livingstone asked:

"Who do you respect?"

He was told: "Monze".

Livingstone then gave a choice to the rainmaker. He held out his two hands. In one was a maize cob, and in the other was a bullet. The rainmaker chose the maize cob. Livingstone knew then that Monze was a man committed to survival and peace. Livingstone chose the rainmaker Monze as chief¹⁵.

The importance of Europeans as agents of social economic and political change is a central aspect of this story. The depiction of Livingstone as the European who began all this change is perhaps not entirely mythical. Livingstone traversed the Tonga Plateau in the 1850's and was among the first Europeans to encounter the Tonga. When more Europeans began to arrive on the Tonga Plateau after the 1890's the lives of the Tonga changed rapidly, at a pace arguably faster than many countries in Africa.

A detailed knowledge of the Tonga past is difficult to obtain, as "in Zambia continuous written history begins only with the arrival of the first permanent detachments of the British South Africa police in the 1890's" (Fagan 1966: 2). Prior to this, there survive

¹⁴ For more on Zambian history see Hall 1965, 1976; Kieth 1966; Vickery 1986.

¹⁵ Extract from interview with current great chief Monze, the 'paramount chief' of the Tonga. There is a direct matrilineal connection from the first chief to the present day chief. This chief, however, cannot make rain. The importance of the rain-maker as a political figure is discussed in O'Brien 1983. The current importance of chief Monze is discussed in more detail in chapters three and five.

only occasional references in the writings of the Portuguese settlers of Mozambique to occurrences in the interior of the continent. European explorers such as Lacerda in 1798, and Livingstone, between 1851 and 1873, wrote accounts of the indigenous people of Zambia who they encountered on their travels. Livingstone wrote in the 1850's that "everywhere we came on the vestiges of large towns and extensive cultivation" (Vickery 1986: 13). Hence there is evidence that by the 19th century the Plateau was supporting populations of considerable density and prosperity.

On the eve of colonization, however, the situation had altered and the population was sparse. Colson (1958) argues that for at least some 60 years from about 1830-1893, the area formed a buffer-zone and common raiding-ground for two expanding states: the Kololo-Lozi and Ndebele. In later years Chikunda and Mambaru slave traders from Portuguese territory added to the turmoil in the area. The Tonga gave little organised resistance and lost many animals and people into slavery and from the famines that followed the destruction of their harvests. The Ndebele raids ended in 1893 when White settlers in Southern Rhodesia defeated the Ndebele nation.

In 1890 the British South Africa Company, (BSA) occupied the Eastern part of what became Southern Rhodesia, south of the Zambezi. Meanwhile it had obtained treaties and concessions from various African chiefs north of the Zambezi. These agreements served to place most of what became Northern Rhodesia firmly within the British sphere of influence.

There are several aspects of the colonial encounter which have been of particular significance for this thesis. These will be discussed at length in the relevant chapters.

1. Building of the line of rail.
2. Arrival of White Settlers and the institutionalisation of Apartheid.
3. Missionaries.
4. Migration of Tonga Males South.
5. Advent of Indirect Rule.

On the subject of academic work in Zambia, Van Donge comments: "In the colonial period Zambia, then Northern Rhodesia, was a field for brilliant social research. The

social scientists who worked at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute¹⁶ in Lusaka produced studies which can be found in Libraries throughout the world" (Van Donge 1985: 60). However, Van Donge points out that modern scholars "rarely refer to the literature of the colonial period or expand the ideas of the RLI scholars", and suggests that "if today's social scientists overcame their reluctance to go back to this older body of work they might find it remarkably relevant for understanding contemporary Zambian society" (Van Donge 1985: 61). In the writing of this thesis I will try to refer to the now classic older Zambian ethnographies as they become relevant.

Much excellent scholarly work was carried out in and around Monze during the colonial era. For the purposes of this thesis the work of Elizabeth Colson is most important. Colson has written extensively about the Tonga, over a period which already spans five decades. See, for example, Colson 1948, 1951, 1960, 1962, 1966, 1967, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1995. Colson has written about both the "Plateau Tonga", who live around Monze, and the "Valley Tonga", who live in the Gwembe valley. While earlier work focused on the "Plateau Tonga" in rural areas around Monze, (eg. Colson 1958), much later work has been concerned with the "Gwembe Tonga", or "Valley Tonga" (eg. Colson and Scudder 1988, 1995). Colson has also worked with Thayer Scudder on the effect of the building of the Kariba dam on the Valley residents, (eg. Colson and Scudder 1982), and on the lives of the valley Tonga in an era of rapid social change (Clark, Colson and Scudder 1988, 1995). Although Elizabeth Colson's work has not dealt substantially with the issues discussed in this thesis, I will be referring to her work whenever it touches on or informs my own work. Colson's writings, which are in continuing production, form a fascinating picture of changing rural life in Zambia, from the fifties, when she first worked in Northern Rhodesia, until the present day¹⁷.

¹⁶ The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute was renamed the Institute for African studies of the University of Zambia after Independence. It was to this body that I was affiliated during my field work.

¹⁷ Zambia was under British rule until the 24th of October, 1964, when Northern Rhodesia became Zambia. By one of the strange coincidences which sometimes occur during field work, I was invited to the state opening of parliament on my last day in Zambia. The official programme given to me then is full of the echoes of the colonial legacy to Zambia's state system. The programmes also contained a list of the significant dates in Zambia's history. That list is included in an appendix at the end of the thesis.

SECTION FOUR: WORKING WITH WITCHCRAFT: ISSUES AND METHODOLOGY.

4.1. An Anthropologist in town.

I have decided to include a section on what people made of me when I turned up in town, as no doubt this will have fundamentally shaped the nature of the information collected. I have tried, therefore, to consider the categories which were already available to people to understand me. Shortly after my arrival I was given the picture overleaf.

Is this what you are doing? I hope not. Anyway, I kept the cartoon on the wall next to where I worked the whole time I was in Monze. When I first arrived in Monze I lived with Lucy and Anil and their family. Eventually I rented a house in the "police compound", where the families of the police live. This seemed to be a good compromise between personal security and independence.

4.2. "The Doctor, called Kindness, who moves with Litrecy".

I heard on good authority some time after coming to Monze that this was how I was known. It could have been much worse. The fact that my name means something was a big advantage in Monze. Many people have names which mean something, such as Beauty, or Lightwell, or even Railway and Diesel. My name did much to make me memorable. I worked with an assistant, Litrecy, who I "moved with"¹⁸, which probably did much to make me seem like a respectable person. Litrecy helped me in many ways, and I can never praise her enough. Litrecy and I were constantly found in far corners of Monze, while doing what Litrecy described as "data collection". This was not her first job as a researcher. Even I was impressed to hear our wanderings described in this way. We worked together almost every day, and fortunately we became good friends. People became accustomed to seeing us together and would react with mock surprise should one be found without the other. Over time I became associated with Litrecy in people's minds. This had some implications for their perceptions of me. First, I lost a few years, as we were often taken to be age-mates. Litrecy was only 20 when we began working

¹⁸ The term 'move with' is a Zambian English for moving about with somebody.



"Anthropologists! Anthropologists!"

Plate #3: Picture of "Anthropologists" given to me in Monze.

together, and I was assumed to be about the same age. It was decided that we were "friends", and we would be fondly described that way when we were found together. Litrecy's explanation that I was actually her "Boss", was waved aside, nobody spends so much time with their *mukua* boss! We were both unmarried with no children, and so together fitted into the category of *misimbi*, or "girl". We were both seen as youngsters, untutored in the ways of the world. Thus at times I would be "Litrecy's friend", the lucky recipient of information which sometimes seemed to be offered as much for education of young girls as for any answers to questions from a *mukua*.

Litrecy's regular church-going activities served to make us respectable young girls, which provided a happy balance to my own lack of religious activity. On the other hand I could at times draw on my few extra years, and my status as a *mukua* (and therefore a doctor!). I was able, therefore, to provide a more worldly and authoritative appearance when the circumstances implied that education of youngsters was not going to get us very far with gathering information. Between us, Litrecy and I had a complex enough range of possible identities to enable us to move in almost any part of Monze society.

Apart from "moving with Litrecy", it seems that the most memorable things about me are that I am called Kindness, and I am a doctor... I realised when I heard this that my regular protestations that I was medically incapable were probably never going to be accepted¹⁹. At least it was (usually) obvious that I was not a nun, the only other category large enough to encompass my appearance and activities. I was not saved, however, from the accusation that as a doctor I had a basically endless supply of "forex" (foreign exchange).

There are a number of "ex-pats" already in Monze, and their activities are the subject of much lurid speculation. Given the small size of the *mukua* population I was impressed how many love affairs, marriages and babies were achieved. However, since most of the ex-pats are missionaries, they are generally judged by Monze residents to be a boring lot. My arrival in Monze, then, was of passing interest only, and I became old news within

¹⁹ I also made the mistake at one point of letting slip the thought that if my work in Monze was successful then I would earn the title "Doctor".



Plate #4: Litrecy Himaambo, my field assistant.

a few days. In Monze there is always a new and dramatic story, (although veracity sometimes seems to come second to style and content), and news travels at a phenomenal rate. Within about a week I was of little interest to any except the groups of small children, who on seeing me approach would immediately stop what they were doing and run after me chanting "muzungu-howareyou". (Muzungu is another word for "European"). Even they, however, would tire of that game very fast and go off to do something more interesting until the next time I passed by.

The only thing that seemed constantly to bother people was the fact that I had no visible place of work. The fact that I was not doing anything comprehensible was not of any moment, the fact that I did not have a proper place to be incomprehensible made my activities seem very suspect. Where, I was constantly asked, was my office? Eventually I felt compelled to bow down to the pressure of public opinion, and I rented an office in which to "work". Public opinion was satisfied, and I was respectable at last. So, safe with somewhere to live, and an "office" I was able to continue my "work" in Monze.

Since it was so important that I was seen to "work" I eventually developed a routine of arriving at my office at 8.00 am, the official time to begin work in urban Zambia. I would then spend the morning writing field notes or field reports, Litrecy would come later on, often having collected gossip on her walk to the office. In the afternoon we would go visiting people. Afternoons are good for visiting because people are often busy in the morning trying to get their work done before the heat of the day sets in. In the afternoons people often have time to sit under a shady tree and chat. In the evenings Litrecy would go home and I would sometimes spend an evening at home catching up on my writing, visiting people or conducting informal interviews in the pub.

However, the day just described is very much an "ideal type", and was subject to many disasters and interruptions, like having to spend days in Lusaka getting research permission, trying to sort out accommodation, etc. In addition, Litrecy and I would always try to get ourselves, invited or otherwise, to weddings, funerals, initiations and

"kitchen parties"²⁰, or any other social events which would be happening in town. Often information about these events would be passed round with almost no notice at all, and so plans were hard to make.

My methodology over the course of my fieldwork included observation and participation, in events such as funerals and weddings, structured and semi-structured interviews, formal and informal interviews, using at different times a tape recorder and notepad, and at others relying on memory. In all I conducted around 120 formal interviews. Interviews took place with Litrecy and I often working with one informant. However, sometimes up to five people would gather to discuss an interesting topic, creating an impromptu focus-group. Interviews and conversations were held in English, in Tonga and in a mixture of both languages. English is the official language in Zambia, and is the medium of instruction in the schools. Thus those who have been to school have at least some command of English. Litrecy patiently taught me Tonga for a few months, and I later attended a two month full time residential course to learn Tonga. This was held at St. Kizito Pastoral Centre, and was a course designed for missionaries to learn Tonga; I have read the bible in Tonga²¹.

Interviews took place at people's homes, at my home, in my office, in the informant's office or other place of work, in the market place, in a bar or restaurant, or wherever the informant seemed most comfortable and could be found. Numerous interviews on health and the body were conducted in the hospital, where I interviewed doctors, nurses, midwives, lab technicians, patients and their friends and relations. Several interviews were done at the child malnutrition clinic while exploring ideas about maternal promiscuity and malnutrition. I also asked informants to draw pictures for me,

²⁰ Kitchen parties are something between an initiation and a Bridal Shower. They are events held before a wedding, when women gather to share information about the arts of woman-hood, such as sex and cooking. Much singing, dancing and drinking generally occurs, and the parties go on into the night. Kitchen parties are discussed in more detail in chapter four.

²¹ Missionaries continue to be active on the Tonga Plateau, with some staying for several decades. Many come from Eire, and in Lusaka there is a retirement home for missionaries who are too used to Zambia to return 'home'. They live out their last years in their adopted country.

particularly when working on aspects of the body²².

Access to informants was gained in a variety of ways. When I first arrived in Monze I lived in the house of Lucy and Anil. Lucy is "African" and Anil is "Indian". Living in their house for a while immediately situated me with access to the Indian community, the "coloured" community, and the wealthy African community. Access to the "ex-pat" community was assumed due to my racial identity and foreign passport. I gained access to the elite of the town by joining the "Golf Club", and by frequenting the hospital and becoming acquainted with some of the staff.

Through the activities of missionaries at the hospital, carpentry and catering centre, I became acquainted with a variety of nuns, priests, brothers, fathers and sisters, who were both Irish and African. I also spent two months as a resident of "St. Kizito Pastoral Centre", when attending my full time course on Tonga Language. Much of church perspective about the interaction of traditional religion and Christianity was collected from these sources. At the hospital I interviewed doctors, nurses, family planning teachers, nutrition centre workers, lab technicians, midwives, as well as many patients and their carers. Although I interviewed some European Doctors, the remainder of the hospital staff mentioned were African. I also had many informal friendships and connections at the hospital which served as sources of information. I will mention these sources individually in the relevant chapters. I also interviewed formally and informally most of the traditional healers²³ practising in Monze, about twenty, and collected case studies from their clients. These interview ranged from single meetings with travelling healers to many visits to people who became friends by the time I left. I made a special formal visit to the great chief Monze and his rain-maker at his royal palace far into the bush.

²² After informants had finished drawing pictures for me I was often then asked for my understanding of how the body or body part worked. It was a constant factor of my field work that I was a subject of investigation by those I was investigating.

²³ The people I have referred to here as 'traditional healers' referred to themselves as 'ngangas', or 'African Doctors', or 'traditional healers'. I will switch between these terms as seems appropriate.

I conducted formal interviews in the "common house" on a huge variety of subjects. This is a barn-like building which is used to provide shelter for the relatives of people who have come from outside Monze to care for a sick relative in the hospital. This was a fortunate situation in which people from village areas could provide information on the rural perspective on much of the information I was collecting. Since they had basically come to Monze to care for sick relatives, the people living in the common house were also often sitting around for hours on end waiting for the visiting hours at the hospital; they often seemed glad of a bit of entertainment from me.

I also had the opportunity to spend time in villages when I went to visit the village friends and relations of my informants. I also persuaded Mary, an important African Doctor, to take me to the bush to collect medicines with her, in return for transport home with some bags of maize. I had the opportunity to make frequent day trips to rural areas due to my friendship with hospital outreach workers, with whom I was able to beg a lift. I thus had the chance to visit people's homes in a village context.

A surprisingly useful source of information was the "office gossip" which abounded in the building where I rented an office. This housed some fifty offices, and Litrecy and I let it be known that we were interested in any news in Monze, and after some time people would often pass by our office to let us know the latest "vicious gossip". It is a significant point about much of the material presented here that it is of a discursive nature and not directly observed. However, the discourses about witchcraft are significant as they direct much of people's behaviour and attitudes towards those believed or suspected to be witches²⁴.

One of the aspects of working in an urban context is the extent to which it becomes possible to use written material in data collection. I utilised newspapers, books, magazine

²⁴ On the subject of gossip Brison suggests: "People in small communities in Melanesia and elsewhere evidently take gossip and rumour seriously: they hold long meetings just to look into slanderous rumours and make sure to deny publicly allegations of sorcery, adultery, or other sorts of misbehaviour. In some places people are so afraid of malicious gossip that they try to keep out of the public eye all together, will not speak in public meetings, and may even avoid them" (Brison 1992: 239). She cites examples from as far apart as Melanesia and Wales (Frankenberg 1957).

articles, missionary information, as well as asking people to read things that I had written. Newspapers are a slightly unusual source of information which I have found it useful to draw on. They are interesting as they are instrumental within an urban and largely literate population in the creation of legitimacy and the manufacture of news²⁵.

I wrote constantly while conducting my field-work, and produced field notes, letters and field reports. I tried to write up my material into some sort of organised papers from the first couple of months after I arrived. While this material has been almost completely taken apart for the purposes of writing my thesis, it provided an interesting alternative source of feedback from those who could read. Providing people with material which I had written was also a way of getting feedback from some wealthy people who otherwise would claim not to know about "traditional ways", and would not accept being formally interviewed on these subjects. When collecting material on certain kinds of diseases associated with the reproductive system I borrowed a book with pictures and asked informants to name the symptoms showed in the pictures. Those of my informants who were literate I sometimes asked to read work that I had written and give me written feedback. These comments are included in the forthcoming text where relevant.

One of the striking aspects of my field work which I have tried to reproduce in this thesis is the existence of multiple models and discourses. As H. Moore points out: "cross-cultural variability is not the only issue, a more serious difficulty is raised by the existence of multiple models and/or discourses within cultures, societies, groups, or sets of people. Anthropologists have only recently begun to discuss and to document the existence of multiple models, and to look at the variation that exists within cultures as well as between them" (Moore 1994: 34).

²⁵ The significance of the national press and witchcraft has been explored by Bastian. She argues that in a Nigerian context the press has served to disseminate information about witchcraft practices. "If anything, discussions of witchcraft flourish in the popular media and provide new material for descriptions of the experience of deprivation and evil in the urban world. Igbo-speaking people in the South Eastern part of Nigeria who have never been to Lagos or other parts west, for example, now routinely talk about "maggum" charms - a type of magical preparation that seems to have come from Yoruba-speaking groups. Tabloids out of Lagos feature this charm prominently in their reporting of scandal..." (Bastian 1993: 155). We shall explore in the next chapter how witchcraft is also commonly reported on the front pages of the national daily papers in Zambia.

Wherever possible I have tried to show how models vary and compete with each other. I have already mentioned that the people of Monze are from a variety of backgrounds, European, Indian, Coloured, Tonga, as well as from other "Tribes" both within Zambia and from other African countries. However, the Tonga are numerically the most important group, and thus I primarily focus on Tonga models. I will, whenever it is at all relevant, point out the ethnic and racial position of my informants.

4.3. Particular problems of studying witches.

4.3.1. They are invisible.

Witches are invisible when they undertake their activities. Thus by definition it is impossible to see them. Further, they move at night, making observation more difficult. As will become clear during the course of the discussion much of my information on witchcraft did not come from participant observation²⁶. I suspect that had I gone to the field with the stated intention of participating in witchcraft practices I would have had limited success. Witchcraft is seen as a pervasive and deadly presence that is a constant threat to people's well-being. Witchcraft itself is thus not easily observed, but is rather felt, and heard about. It is by definition discursive practice. This question of whether data which is not observed valid is an old one in anthropology which is perhaps most famously linked to arguments about cannibalism. Arens in 1979 argued that stories of cannibalism in anthropology are part of the artificial construction of a savage "other" (Arens 1979). However, Brady points out that much of Arens' argument rests on the point that "cannibalism is in theory an observable phenomenon" (Brady 1982: 598). Brady suggests that "It is perplexing for Arens to place such emphasis on proving or denying cannibalism

²⁶ The difficulty of studying witchcraft activity was noted by Middleton and Winter, who commented: "By definition it is impossible for an anthropologist to observe the practices of witchcraft. Acts of sorcery, though theoretically observable, are rarely seen due to the secrecy which surrounds them. Furthermore, it is very probable that in many societies such acts, although believed to be common, may in fact rarely, perhaps never, be performed. Thus the study of wizardry is about the study of beliefs which people have about the capabilities of others and actions which they have taken to avoid attacks or counter them when they believe they have occurred" (Middleton & Winter 1963: 3).

A similar point was made by Gray: "One question that still troubles me is whether there actually are Wambugwe who try to practice witchcraft, or who are deluded or persuaded into thinking that they are witches. While I am inclined to doubt this, it is possible that some of the people do dabble in witchcraft rites and may even attempt to tame hyena cubs" (Gray 1963: 171).

through direct observation. Masturbation in monasteries and homosexuality in the army are also observable phenomena in principle, but that does not make them necessarily accessible to direct observation. The visibility of such things is likely to be obscured by a variety of attitudes, statements and covering behaviours. Inaccessibility of the data therefore should be taken into account in stressing the need for direct observation of such practices" (Brady 1982: 599). I have often been asked during the course of my field-work and the writing of my thesis whether I "believe"²⁷ in witchcraft or whether I "believe" that the practices described over the course of the following chapters actually occur. I do not intend to deal here with the question of the extent to which witchcraft practices are "true" or not, as that is beyond the scope of my project. However, the point remains that most Monze residents believe that witches are loose in their midst and causing death and destruction, engaging in ritual killings and so on. There are various discourses about witchcraft which form part of the daily interpretation of events and prompt direct actions. As we will see in the following chapter, people are still killed in mass stonings because they are believed to be witches. Niehaus reports in South Africa: "Between April and May 1986 forty three 'necklaced' bodies were uncovered in shallow graves, dongas and bushes in three Sekhukhuneland villages..the dead were allegedly victims of a campaign to eliminate 'collaborators' and witches" (Niehaus 1993: 498). On this level witchcraft is real enough.

4.3.2. Nobody wants to talk about them.

The material presented on witchcraft was collected towards the end of my field-work, once much friendship and trust had been developed with people who then felt able to share their fears and terrifying stories with me. The words of some of these stories are presented in this thesis, and it is perhaps much easier to reproduce people's words than to communicate the feeling of the depth of the terror and the fear of witchcraft²⁸. The

²⁷ There is an important discourse in Monze which emphasises the power of beliefs. This is one explanation for why certain customs work for one tribe but not for another. Thus if a person believes in witchcraft, then witchcraft can affect them.

²⁸ The sense of threat involved in conversations about witchcraft has been recorded by Beattie: "Sorcery accusations are common in Bunyoro, but the topic is one which people are very unwilling to discuss. There are very good reasons for this. Sorcery is bad, it is associated with fear, hatred, illness and death, and the less it is spoken of the better. Also, sorcerers are dangerous and powerful people; it is known that they can kill those who give away their secrets" (Beattie 1963: 28).

pervasive sense of threat and evil which surrounded discussions of witchcraft was unparalleled in discussions of any other subject. The power of the spoken word is not to be underestimated. As Ellis comments in a west African context: "it is evident that in oral societies the spoken word has quite a different value from that which it has in literate ones. Such cultures are far more subtle and inventive in the use of the spoken word than are long-literate cultures" (Ellis 1993: 474)²⁹. On the subject of witchcraft and words in a European context Favret-Saada points out: "In the field, however, all I came across was language. For many months, the only empirical facts I was able to record were words. Today I would say that an attack of witchcraft can be summed up as follows: a set of words spoken in a crisis situation by someone who will later be designated as a witch are afterwards interpreted as having taken effect on the body and the belongings of the person spoken to, who will on that ground say he is bewitched. The unwitcher takes on himself these words originally spoken to his client, and turns them back on to their initial sender, the witch" (Favret-Saada 1980: 9). Thus Favret-Saada describes how words themselves are part of witchcraft. In Monze to speak is also to do. In other words, witchcraft involves not only certain herbs, but also the use of certain words. Speaking of witchcraft contains the possibility of making witchcraft real. As Favret-Saada elegantly expresses: "the act, in witchcraft, is the word" (Favret-Saada 1980: 9).

The subject of wealth and witchcraft is extremely sensitive, and during conversations the topic is always shrouded in mystery and intrigue, with many dark hints of murder and foul play. The accusation of witchcraft is a serious matter, and nobody wants it to be known that they have named another as being a witch. Apart from the fact that it can lead to a court case, a witch has almost unlimited powers to kill, even after they have themselves died. Many refused to discuss the matter on fear of their lives, therefore, and conversations often involved repeated assurances to informants that their identity would never be revealed. In the whole of my field-work nobody ever actually refused to discuss a subject outright, except when I tried to discuss wealth and witchcraft. The following extract from my field-notes illustrates the problems. Litrecy and I approached an area of the Common House where people were sitting talking or cooking.

²⁹ For more on power and the importance of rumour see Ellis 1993.

The first woman who we talked to refused to discuss the topic with us, saying that she had been reared in a Christian way and so she would not be able to tell us much about witchcraft stories. Even when people discussed stories around her she refused to listen. Eventually we found a group of three women. They were joined by two men, who left one after the other when they realised the topics we were discussing. Eventually we were left with just two of the original women.

Much of the material presented here, therefore, is collected from stories about what "other people" were believed to do to become wealthy, and not, as such, on direct observation of practises ³⁰.

4.3.3. Confidentiality.

The issue of confidentiality surrounding this material is obviously enormously important. I am incredibly grateful to my friends who shared stories with me, often while experiencing considerable personal risk. While it may be possible to discuss witchcraft in the abstract without putting oneself in personal jeopardy, material relating to individuals may possibly be read as a witchcraft accusation, and may bring the power of the witch against the accuser. The case study that I will present in chapter seven, for example, is based on a collection of stories. Some were heard in the context of daily gossip and conversation, others were given to me by friends trying to help me understand witchcraft, on the understanding that I would never reveal the exact source of my information. While it is relatively easy to keep the identities of my informants secret, the identities of the individuals discussed is less easy to conceal. Any person familiar with the small town of Monze would have little difficulty in recognising individuals in this thesis. Much of the material I collected, however, is fairly public knowledge, and as such

³⁰ LeVine commented on this point: "The question of the reality of the Gusii witches cannot be ignored. Is it possible that the witch beliefs outlined above are no more than an elaborate cultural fantasy? In empirical terms it is primarily a question of whether there actually are women who conceive of themselves as witches, run naked at night, exhume and dissect corpses, hold conspiratorial meetings, conceal poisons, excruciae and parts of animals in the houses of supposed victims. Many educated Gusii who do not believe that witches have all the powers traditionally ascribed to them never the less claim that such women exist" (LeVine 1963: 229).

I hope it will not cause undue offence ³¹. I just hope that it will be enough to state that the stories I am presenting here are in no way meant to be taken as a statement of fact. I have no wish to imply that any of the actions described here actually took place, but present the material rather as an illustration of ideas about wealth prevalent in Monze today.

³¹ In a recent seminar given at the London School of Economics in Jan 1996 Chris Fuller addressed this issue and suggested that confidentiality had been achieved when all people are offended equally (Fuller pers. comm.)

CHAPTER TWO. **RICHERS, WITCHES AND TRAGIC MAGIC.**

SECTION ONE: WITCHES AND THE MODERN ERA.

Witchcraft...may be seen to have played a complex, even contradictory part in the making of modern African history. It's changing moral discourses and purifying practices have intervened, diversely, in conquest and colonialism, in state-building and stratification, in the advent of markets and the marginalisation of local economies. Thus witchcraft is less a reified analytical category than a situated moral discourse about which anthropologists and historians might profitably converse (Comaroff and Comaroff 1993: xviii).

The subject of Witchcraft and Sorcery is a matter of great importance and also one on which there is a great deal of misunderstanding. Beliefs about witches and sorcerers have a world-wide distribution; in Africa their occurrence is almost universal. Although in some societies they play a very minor role in the daily lives of the people, in most it is no exaggeration to say that one cannot gain any fundamental grasp of the attitudes which people have towards one another nor can one understand many aspects of their behaviour in a wide range of social situations without a fairly extensive knowledge of their ideas regarding good, evil and causation, and their associated beliefs in witches and sorcerers (Middleton & Winter 1963:1).

These two quotes are an apt beginning to our discussion of witchcraft, as although they were written thirty years apart, in 1993 and 1963 respectively, they are both broadly applicable to witchcraft in the urban context of Monze in the 1990's. Over this chapter I will emphasise several points. I begin by emphasising the point that witchcraft has not died out in the context of modernity and urbanisation, but rather adapted to the new contexts. Modern witches show important continuities with witchcraft as described in the classical anthropological ethnographies. I begin by looking at witches in the modern era, as they are represented both in European and African National Press. I then examine what witches are believed to do in Monze, followed by who is likely to be suspected of witchcraft, focusing on African doctors and witch-finders. In the final section I look at witchcraft as it relates to the production of wealth. In this chapter I emphasise the point that witchcraft in Monze is associated with men, rather than women, and with the wealthy and powerful, rather than the weak and unfortunate. Further, witchcraft in this context does not necessarily erupt into open accusations. Thus some traditional approaches to explaining witchcraft which focused on the strain-releasing functions of witchcraft

accusations, or on witchcraft accusations as scapegoating oppressed groups, while still relevant and useful, will not be sufficient to explain witchcraft in Monze. In this thesis I focus on the perspective of witches abusing ambivalent power; as evil scientists who use their power and knowledge for their own ends.

Section 1.1. Witchcraft in popular culture and the media.

I begin with a look at how witches have retained a presence in Europe both as objects of children's culture and as part of the current interest in "neo-paganism". This is an interesting point at which to begin the discussion as the history of witchcraft in Europe is known and commented on in Monze¹. Witchcraft has been an enduring subject of interest and analysis in academic texts, and there are scattered references to this topic in various disciplines from historical works such as "The Golden Bough" (Frazer 1922) to literary texts such as "The Crucible" (Miller 1953). However, witchcraft is also an important ongoing facet of popular European and American culture, particularly for children. "The Wizard of Oz", "Hansel and Gretel", most children at primary school in Britain could explain that a witch is an old woman who rides at night on a broom stick, has a black cat, an evil-looking pointy face, and a distinctive long black dress topped with a huge conical hat. This witch might eat children, as in the story of Hansel and Gretel, where clever children outwit a witch who has kept them prisoner so she can eat them. A witch will probably know about "spells". By secondary school these are understood to involve disgusting concoctions of human parts, and possible witches gatherings, such as the famous scene in Shakespeare's Macbeth². The syllabus of many literature classes includes "The Crucible" (Miller 1953), a twentieth-century analogy of 17th century witch-hunting in Salem, Massachusetts, and the demonizing of political opponents in U.S. anti-Communist trials.

Older children and adults are treated to a whole array of Count Dracula and Vampire movies, a genre with continuing popular appeal, as witnessed by the success of "Interview

¹ In particular the use of rabbits feet as luck charms was commented on. Rabbits and hares are reputed to be creatures of unusual cunning and intelligence in Zambia.

² A fascinating account of how the story of Hamlet became a story of witchcraft when recounted in the context of a West African hut in the rainy season is given by Laura Bohannon (1967).

with the Vampire" in 1994, while this thesis has been in the process of completion. Witches even have their own annual day, on the 31st of October, called "Halloween", a celebration in theory more for children but in practice often enjoyed by adults.

It is clear, then, that witches, wizards, were-wolves and vampires are a topic of ongoing interest within popular culture in Europe and America³. Further, there has been a resurgence of interest in witches and their practices in Europe, partially linked with the spread of "neo-paganism" and the increasing phenomenon of "New Age Travellers". There are now a huge selection of works dealing with the topic of European witchcraft, past and present⁴.

European witchcraft is a topic of popular and academic interest in Europe, and even occasionally makes the national press. African witchcraft has also received some international media coverage. In 1995 it was reported that in the time following the general election in South Africa witchcraft accusations have increased to the extent that over 100 people have been killed following accusations of witchcraft in the last year in the Northern Transvaal alone. Nelson Mandela has made a public pronouncement to the effect that witchcraft does not exist, and two villages have been established for those witches to live in who have been exiled from their own communities and are too terrified to return⁵ (Radio Four, World at one). In the same year an article in the "Guardian" newspaper had the headline "Zambian Witch Jailed". The text read simply: "A self-

³ The topic has also become a focus of general popular appeal. This point has become increasingly apparent to me since my return from Zambia. Popular magazines such as Marie Claire have carried articles about witchcraft (Marie Claire Aug. 1995: 31). Further, two of the most commonly asked questions since my return from Zambia are also informative. Firstly, "What is Zambia like?" and "Are you a witch?" (My answers have been known to be "Hot", and "No").

⁴ See, for example, Favret-Saada (1977), Luhrman, who has explored witchcraft in contemporary England (1989), Andreski argues for a medical explanation of witch-hunting in 16th and 17th century Europe in terms of the prevalence of syphilis (1982).

⁵ For a discussion of witchcraft in contemporary South Africa see Niehaus (1993). For more on witches and exile in Ghana see Drucker-Brown 1993. The phenomenon of an increase in witch killing following political changes is discussed by Abrahams in Tanzania. Following Independence, he suggests there was an increase in the killing of witches which was "a kind of political 'millenarianism' which expected Independence to remove the perceived ills of colonialism, including the discouraging of witchcraft accusations, at a stroke" (Abrahams 1994: 15).

proclaimed witch who confessed to killing seven of her children with the aid of a demon and eating their flesh in black magic rituals was jailed for six months for witchcraft yesterday, Zambian police said.--Reuter"⁶.

This article measured less than a column inch, and did not make front page news. However, I am again indebted to Litrecy, who, unknown to me, cut out the Zambian coverage of this case and sent it by Air Mail to me in London. In Zambia, on Thursday, the 23rd of March, 1995, the story made the top of the front page of the foremost national daily paper, the "Times of Zambia". The article appears next to other stories about miners' problems, and over a picture of the President Frederick Chiluba. The headline reads: "I killed, ate my own 7 children"⁷.

This story which Litrecy sent to me was presented in both the British and the Zambian National Press. It has reproduced my long journey of thousands of miles back from Zambia, and this image of movement, of connection between worlds whose separation is not easily defined, is one with which I suggest it is appropriate to begin my discussion of modern, urban witches in Southern Zambia in the latter part of the twentieth century.

Over the course of this thesis I will discuss a series of newspaper articles on the subject of witchcraft in Zambia⁸. These articles are some of the most recently published material on witchcraft in Zambia, and they describe events which are believed to have occurred during the period of the writing of this thesis. As such the collection of articles which I present in this thesis has, I suggest, a unique claim to be the latest news on witchcraft in Zambia.

Further, these articles beautifully reinforce the point that witchcraft has not died out in the modern era, but has adapted to the new urban environment. Newspapers now play a key

⁶ I was given this article by a friend who thought I would find it interesting. Unfortunately I do not have the exact date for it.

⁷ The newspaper articles discussed in this thesis are reproduced in appendix two.

⁸ For more on representations of witchcraft in national papers see Niehaus (1993), for South Africa, Mesaki (1994) for Tanzania and Bastian (1993) for Nigeria.

role in disseminating information on witchcraft at a national level. Thus article one refers to witchcraft in the North Western Province of Zambia, article two refers to the Northern part and article three refers to the Western Province. In later chapters we will come across articles from the Southern province. However, the point here is that information about witchcraft practices in other parts of Zambia is disseminated through the newspapers⁹.

This presentation of material in newspapers is actually actively creating discourses about witchcraft. Witchcraft is taken out of the oral medium, in which it may be associated with tradition and rural living, and brought into the printed medium, where it becomes associated with literacy, urbanisation, and thus develops a comparatively elite status. The purchase of a daily paper is a sign of status and wealth. Not only does it imply literacy, but also a relatively large disposable income. The rate of inflation in Zambia makes all comparisons difficult, but for most of the time I was living in Monze a newspaper would cost the equivalent of about 30p, comparable to U.K. prices. However, the weekly income of many people might be perhaps £10 per week¹⁰. Thus those who can buy daily papers are by definition already well off. Papers will be circulated along kin and friendship networks, thus while many individuals have access to written material, but it is only the wealthy that have access to the most recent papers. Papers are available the day they are printed in Lusaka, but by the time they appear on sale outside the post office in Monze they are often one or two days old, and by the time they pass round the various networks of readers they are often well out of date. Consequently, access to recent written news implies status. Some of the more exciting stories are also reported on television. It is my suggestion that the reporting of witchcraft in urban contexts within the national media is actually creating and legitimating aspects of the discourse of witchcraft, making it acceptable within an urban and elite context. We now turn to extracts from four articles.

⁹ A similar point has been made in the Nigerian context by Bastian (1993).

¹⁰ These figures are very rough! They are meant simply to give some idea of the relative luxury involved in buying a daily paper.

News Report One: "I killed, ate, my own 7 children".

This story comes from the North Western Province of Zambia, which is several hundred miles from Monze. The article begins: "An elderly woman stunned police in Solwezi when she surrendered herself yesterday and confessed she was a witch who had killed seven of her own children." The story continues that the killings "were done in compliance with her husband who is a wizard and approved of the practice." She decided to confess as she "realized her wrong-doings and wanted a witch-finder so that she could turn over a new leaf." Apparently the story has "generated much talk and interest in the town. People are trooping to the police station to catch a glimpse of her and see her witchcraft paraphernalia" (Times of Zambia 23/3/95: 1).

News Report Two: "Ndola Suspect witches caught".

Ndola is a town in the Northern part of Zambia. This story begins: "Fifteen suspected witches and wizards have been flushed out from Nkwazi township in Ndola and are detained at a clinic under paramilitary police guard. They have confessed to practising black magic and eating human flesh...MMD Bombeshani Branch chairman Mr. Batwell Zulu and his deputy Mr. Jackson Musonda said they had hired the three witch-finders with the help of the Copperbelt provincial cultural officer Mr. Juma Banda.

M. Musonda said they were forced to hire the witch-finders to cleanse the township because several people, especially children, had died mysteriously of late. 'When we took these bodies to the hospital we were told that they either died from meningitis or cholera, but we knew there was something fishy', Mr. Musonda said. One elderly woman in her late seventies said that she had so far killed ten people. The woman who disclosed her name said none of the ten people was her relative but her 'friends' had killed four of her children through witchcraft. One of the suspects said she flew on her errands like a bird and whoever she bewitched did not live for more than two days. There was no way a bewitched person could get cured by modern medicine, even when that was administered by the best doctors. On how they entered houses after doors were closed she said they did so like rats and other tiny animals. Looking composed the woman said that human flesh was 'tasty' and they ate it either raw or cooked. After someone was buried they went to graveyards and using medicines they retrieved the bodies" (Times of Zambia 26/10/93: 1).

News Report Three: "Witchcraft: A traditional skill".

This article discusses an exhibition of "many gruesome items on display at Nayuma Museum's exhibition on witchcraft, currently on show at L'Alliance Francaise, Lusaka." It is said that "Witchcraft is divided into three groups: offensive, which uses objects to inflict harm, defensive, which uses them to protect, and communicative, which reveals the source of harm.

There are three main witchcraft practitioners. The sorcerer, or 'Muloi', is believed to harm others by magical means, either through inherent or acquired powers. He is associated more with offensive practices and must, himself, be well protected.

The witch-doctor-witch-finder, also known as 'Naka', acts at the request of others of his own volition, against attacks by sorcerers and their magic so that he can be concerned with both the defensive and the communicative. The diviner, 'Malauli', is accredited with powers that contact the spirits, and, in particular, give protection against evil spirits. He is also consulted to give explanations of events, particularly misfortunate ones. On display at the exhibition is a large selection of interesting and often weird and wonderful items. There are 'Kaliloze' guns used to shoot at or in the general direction of the victim, or at a photograph of him....The human skull is used for enhancing crop yields, and there are many potions used for medicinal purposes. You will also be able to read the incredible story of Susiku Namwaka whom, it is claimed, 'rose' from the dead while under the influence of a witchcraft practice called 'Mutukule' or 'Zombie-Making'. Susiku, from the Kalabo district, was taken ill and eventually died at the age of 15 in 1980. It is said that her brother, Moboo, after hearing of sightings of his sister, found her in the Lukulu district in 1990 where she had apparently been sold for slave labour. The police exhumed her grave and found it to be empty!" (Times of Zambia 2/ /93: 1).

News Report Four: "ZAPP resorts to witchcraft".

This story begins: "The Zambia Pork Products, was caught in a rare maze when the chief security officer a Ms. G. Ngilishi took a suspect in the theft of plastic sausage sheath rolls to a witch-doctor, against his will. 'We were taken to a house where, on reaching the door, he had to take off our shoes...we only discovered it was a witch-doctor's house when we entered,' said the source. After a few minutes the witch-doctor applied some herbal mixture on Moonga and told him to return the following day. 'The people that stole the

sausage skins will be caught tomorrow,' he is reported to have said. Moonga is reported to have become very worried with the turn of events and reported the matter to police. Police sources confirmed that they had received the report although no action has been taken. Another Source told Crime news that Ms.Ngilishi was able to evade the police wrath after providing a number of sausage kilograms to police officers sent to pick her"(Weekly Post).

Section 1.2. Witchcraft and modernity.

These newspaper articles present a fascinating and vivid overview of many witchcraft practices in both rural and urban areas. One of the first points that I want to draw from these articles is the idea that witchcraft has not declined with modernity, 'development' or urbanisation, as some of the earlier approaches to witchcraft might have led us to predict. As Bastian comments while writing on the Nigerian situation "Contrary to earlier speculations about African witchcraft and the urban situation, ideas about witchcraft have not withered away under the cash economies of the continent's cities" (Bastian 1993: 155). Levack argues that European and American historians assumed that "the subject of their enquiry was a time-bound and culture-bound phenomenon, one that was restricted geographically to Europe and America and chronologically to the pre-modern period" (Levack 1992: ix). Levack suggests that the explanations of witchcraft "emphasised specific developments an European and early American history, such as the growth of demonological theory, the development of Western inquisitional judicial institutions, the reformation, and the transition from feudalism to capitalism" (Levack 1992: ix). Such approaches fail to account for the continuing importance of witchcraft in many urban and modern contexts, however.

Perhaps the two most important early works in witchcraft by anthropologists are those of Evans-Pritchard (1937) and Clyde Kluckhohn (1944). Discussing E.E. Evans-Pritchard's work, 'Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande', Douglas suggests that the book had little effect in the decade after publication , "But in the next 20 years it came to dominate the writings of anthropologists in a remarkable way" (Douglas 1970: xiii). Evans-Pritchard and Kluckhohn "described the witch beliefs of these peoples and studied the ways in which such beliefs were used to explain misfortune. They also showed how

witchcraft accusations could either relieve tension in those societies or reveal weakness in the entire social structure. In some cases accusations of witchcraft served to reinforce the social order by cultivating fear of the bewitched" (Levack 1992: ix).

Most, if not all of the studies of witchcraft in the grand era of studies in the subject in the fifties and sixties focused on witchcraft in the village context (see, for example Mitchell: 1956; Middleton and Winter: 1963)¹¹. Douglas points out that according to the theory that witchcraft, and in particular witchcraft accusations, could be explained as a mechanism to break off intolerably strained social relations, witchcraft should decrease in an urban situation, where relations are more flexible. "Thus the orthodoxy of the fifties makes it unlikely that witchcraft accusations would increase in urban societies, except within limited competitive sectors" (Douglas 1970: xxi).

In the context of Southern Africa, urban communities are a relatively new phenomenon, in many areas towns are younger than their oldest residents. Mitchell points out that "In the Rhodesias...(towns) are even more recent - the Copperbelt having come into being only in 1927" (Mitchell 1965: 193). However, in these newly-urban situations in Zambia as else-where in Africa, witchcraft is found to be still thriving.

Thus three out of the four articles discussed involve witchcraft in an urban context. Article four involves the security officer of a national firm who uses witchcraft to find the culprit in the case of some missing plastic sausage skins. In article two, we find that "MMD¹²

¹¹ Douglas particularly gives credit to Marwick's 'Sorcery in its social setting' (Marwick 1965), which is, she argues "only the third major work to be dedicated to this theme since Evans-Pritchard's publication of 'Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande' in 1937, and Kluckhohn's 'Navaho Witchcraft' in 1944. He has produced a comprehensive and balanced survey of sorcery beliefs and accusations among the Chewa" (Douglas 1967: 72). Lewis suggests that "The trend established by Kluckhohn (1944) and Marwick (1952) has been to examine in detail the social nexus in which jealousies, enmities and frustrations between rivals are transmitted into accusations of witchcraft and sorcery" (Lewis 1986: 25). Such approaches not only make it unlikely that witchcraft will increase in an urban context, but also cannot explain the phenomenon of spontaneous witchcraft confessions; "individuals sometimes spontaneously confess to being witches. In West Africa, particularly, it has long been noted that people sometimes voluntarily confess that they are witches and have bewitched others" (Lewis 1986: 31). An example of this type of spontaneous confession is given in News report one.

¹²

MMD, the "Movement for Multi-party Democracy" was the ruling party in Zambia at the time this article was published.

Bombeshani branch chairman Mr. Batwell Zulu and his deputy Mr. Jackson Musonda said they had hired the three witchfinders with the help of the Copperbelt provincial cultural officer Mr. Juma Banda". In other words, we have the story here of the representative of the ruling Zambian political party, MMD, hiring a witchfinder to flush out witches as part of his political responsibilities, in an urban context. The tone of the article is triumphant and congratulatory, for as a direct result of this action fifteen suspect witches and wizards were caught.

As shown by the material already presented, and as demonstrated by the many recent works on witchcraft (eg., Comaroff and Comaroff 1993; Abrahams 1994), witchcraft is still important and relevant. Several studies show that witchcraft accusations are actually increasing (eg., Colson 1988: 1). Rowlands suggests that in present day Cameroon "a general consensus existed that since the colonial powers had outlawed all the established checks on sorcery, sorcerers were believed to have multiplied and were thought to roam at large, unchecked, destroying the social fabric" (Rowlands 1988: 21)¹³. Many Monze residents are of the opinion that witchcraft is on the increase, and the perceived increase in the death rate combined with the visible wealth of businesses is often cited as evidence of this. This was one of the topics I discussed with Fr. Muzombo, the chaplain of Monze Hospital. When I arrived he was reading a copy of Mbiti's "African Religions and Philosophy" (1969). He explained the continuing belief in witchcraft to me like this:

¹³ This point has been echoed by Buxton in the case of the Mandari, next to the Nile. "There is a feeling among the Mandari, however, that witches are now becoming more prevalent: this may be a psychological response to the present inability to accuse in the courts those against whom evidence is felt to be overwhelming" (Buxton 1963: 120). Likewise La Fontaine argues in Bugisu, where the Gisu say that witchcraft has increased since the arrival of the Europeans "Nearly half a century of missionary work has begun the destruction of the traditional religion, but witchcraft beliefs have been resistant to the teachings of Christianity. The two facts are interconnected: the anger of the ancestors and the power of the spirits are no longer important as causes of misfortune, so that the diagnosis of a diviner or the suspicions of an individual who considers that his troubles are supernaturally caused more often concerns witchcraft" (La Fontaine 1963: 218). Three decades later, in 1995, Seth Ntai, the South African minister for safety and security links the recent upsurge in South African witch burnings to the political climate, noting the increase of witch burnings in 1990, when Nelson Mandela was released, and again at the time of the South African elections. "In 1990, the youth were saying that because Mandela was free, we had to do away with all evil things and kill the witches. And last year they were saying that the old government must be buried with its witches, and that Mandela had said that witches must be killed"(Marie Clare 1995: 33).

"I think witchcraft has increased in recent years. A few years ago it was only found in rural areas, now it is found in towns as well. There are more people dying now. They have been trying to use traditional medicine to stop Aids, but it has not worked. I would say that in the last fifteen years there has been an increase in witchcraft accusations because of the higher death rate. People do not believe in natural death. They always think it is due to human agency".

Witchcraft, then, is still around. In this section on witchcraft in the modern era we have examples of politicians and security guards hiring witch-finders in a modern urban context, and such acts becoming worthy of reportage in the Zambian national press. I have argued that newspapers and television have become new mediums of creation of discourse on witchcraft. The suggestion from a number of sources that the colonial powers had failed to stop witchcraft, particularly by outlawing witch-finding, has contemporary echoes. It is now pointed out that hospitals, perhaps the archetypal colonial institutions¹⁴, are not capable of dealing with problems caused by witchcraft; hospitals will misdiagnose deaths due to witchcraft. Fr. Muzombo points out that the perceived increase in the death rate due to problems such as Aids has led some to believe that witchcraft is increasing; death always prompts some suspicion of witchcraft. In the following section we explore in more depth the activities attributed to suspected witches.

¹⁴ For more on hospitals as colonial legacies in Africa see Gelfand (1961); Good (1991); Vaughan (1991). For more on Zambian hospitals see Chavanduka and Last (1986). Frankenberg and Leeson comment on "the neat stratification of Zambian urban society and its reflection and reinforcement in the hospital; a majority of Zambian black women patients and their children were treated by black Zambian Medical assistants and enrolled nurses, and coloured (often South African) State registered nurses, controlled by white English sisters and Matrons, Indian Doctors, and white consultant physicians and surgeons" (Frankenberg & Leeson 1980: 200).

SECTION TWO: WHAT WITCHES DO.

Witches are said to be involved in many heinous crimes, which are discussed below, but the one definitive act of witchcraft is murder. Apart from killing people, witches are believed to enjoy eating dead people, to dance on graves at night, to commit incest, and to rob graves (reports 1,2,3, above). The creation of ill health is only one among a whole array of evil deeds, which include responsibility for almost all the deaths in Monze, marriage failures, job losses, car accidents, deaths from lightning, and bad luck generally. When witches undertake their practises they are naked. They are also invisible, so they cannot be seen. Witches fly at night (report 3 above). Witches send animals at night to attack people (report 3 above). This is a typical depiction of witches in Africa¹⁵ (eg. Douglas 1970; Middleton and Winter 1963).

While witchcraft might be one of the leading explanations given for death, lesser misfortunes and illnesses have other types of causes and explanations. I questioned people about causes of diseases in some depth, and various causes of ill health were identified. A person might have birth susceptibilities to certain problems, such as watery

¹⁵ Winter gives the following list of witches' characteristics:

1. Witches sometimes stand on their heads or rest hanging upside down from the limbs of trees.
2. Witches are active at night.
3. When they are thirsty they eat salt.
4. They go about naked.
5. They can transform themselves into leopards, or they may have leopards, which will attack people at their command, as their familiars.
6. They eat people.
7. Their victims are invariably members of their own village. (Winter 1963: 292).

Middleton and Winter said in 1963: "Usually witches are thought to be able to do extraordinary things which are beyond the capabilities of ordinary human beings. They may be thought to be capable of travelling great distances instantaneously, or having the ability to turn themselves into leopards, or going out in spirit and killing a victim while their bodies remain home in bed" (Middleton & Winter 1963: 3). Beattie reports for sorcery in Bunyoro: "They also recognize a fearsome category of people called basezi, who disinter and eat corpses, dance naked in fields at night, and cause death to those who see them" (Beattie 1963: 29). LeVine describes problems attributed to witches in the following way: "Despite the important moral distinctions between them, ancestor spirits and witches affect people in similar ways. Many of the same kinds of trouble are attributed to them: chronic illness and death, mental disorder, the death of cattle. (Reproductive disorders are frequently believed to be caused by ancestor spirits.)" (Levine 1963: 225). Beidleman refers to the nocturnal habits of witches in Ukaguru. "Witches travel at night, often in the company of owls and ground hornbills, although the latter do not travel with them. Witches are said to prefer night because they cannot be seen at their work. They are not inconvenienced by the dark because they see perfectly even in deepest night" (Beidleman 1963 :64).

semen. The environment can cause other problems, thus dust can cause coughs. Infringement of traditional customs is also a leading cause of ill health. The case of Aids in particular will be discussed in a later chapter. Possession by spirits can also cause disease. Ancestral anger over being ignored can also mentioned be a cause of diseases. However, this seems to have declined in significance since Colson worked among the Tonga¹⁶. Witchcraft, however, remains an important cause of misfortune. As one person said within the course of casual conversation, "at least 50% of diseases could be caused by witchcraft". Death, however, is the one area where witchcraft will almost always be suspected. This is the subject of the next newspaper article.

Section 2.1. No such thing as a "natural death" ?

Fr. Muzombo commented in the previous section "People do not believe in natural death. They always think it is due to human agency". As we find in the following article and other source material, this is a common approach to death in Africa.

News Report Five: "Are some deaths caused by witchcraft?"

"Recently a young Kitwe resident, Joe Banda died from an attack of cerebral malaria. Some family members did not believe that their son, a healthy and energetic footballer with one of the division two teams could die from natural causes within a period of two days. This is what his grandfather, who was asked to speak on behalf of the family said during burial at Chingola Road cemetery: 'My child, if it is God who has taken you back, then rest in peace. But I swear by all truths that if there is someone responsible for your death, he too will follow you very soon. I have spoken.' In his less than a minute speech, the old man had not been addressing the mourners gathered at the burial but the dead body, with his right index finger pointing to the fresh grave. Several people nodded their heads in approval. Whispers started circulating to the effect that someone at Joe's workplace was behind this death. They said that this was because Joe had been recently been made assistant workshop foreman despite having stayed at the

¹⁶ This is in distinction from J.C. Mitchell, who argues that in an urban context witchcraft has decreased as a cause of misfortune. He explains this in terms of the point that in the context of a rural context witchcraft accusations can achieve effects. In an urban context, however, the institutions for effectively making a witchcraft accusation do not exist. Thus by default social explanations in terms of an angry ancestor become more relevant (Mitchell 1965).

company for less than two years whilst others had been there for ages. These days it is becoming common that whenever there is death from natural illnesses, whoever is behind the death must be sought by the family. This is more often if the death coincides with, say, a job promotion, an academic scholarship, winning of a competition, lottery or raffle or even having a successful wedding. Even in a straightforward case of a car accident or any other accident, there must be someone or something behind it, most families contend. Their relative cannot just die naturally....But according to the Witchcraft Act of Zambia, it is an offence to name a person a witch punishable by a prison sentence....'Witchcraft does exist but it is an evil vice which should not be allowed to be practised or encouraged,' a Lusaka lawyer said....A member of parliament brushes aside the notion of people not wanting to accept natural deaths when they befall, saying it is primitive speaking. 'In my case, I will even have it emphasised in my will that there should be nothing of the sort of witch-hunting after my death' the M.P. said. No doubt death is a mystery. It is painful to lose a beloved one. But should people allow emotions to take the better of them so as to try to find out "who is behind" every death when, according to the bible, 'it is appointed to all men to be born once and then to die and later face judgement?' (The Weekly Post March 15-11 1993: 13).

This fascinating article touches on many of the connections between witchcraft and death which will be explored in the following chapters. The concept of a "natural death" is important here. A natural death is one which is not caused by human agency, but by the will of God. Thus the grandfather of the young man who has died says: "My child, if it is god who has taken you back, then rest in peace. But I swear by all truths that if there is someone who is responsible for your death, he too will follow you very soon. I have spoken". Hence we also have Bible quotation at the end of the article which says "it is appointed to all men to be born once and then to die and later face judgement"¹⁷. It was often explained to me that "traditionally there was no such thing as a natural death". Hence at a 'traditional' funeral there will always be a part which involves divination to

¹⁷ The interaction of Christian ideas of death and 'traditional' ideas of death is explored in the next chapter.

find the person responsible for the death¹⁸.

This is a common approach to death in Africa. Douglas comments on the Azande material: "In their practical experience every death was blamed on witchcraft (Douglas 1970: xvi). For the Lele of Zaire, Douglas points out: "In practice all deaths and most illnesses are attributed to sorcery. Lele believe that natural death is possible: when a man has reached the end of his allotted span he will eventually die. But, only rarely does it happen that a very old person's death is attributed to the advanced senility which strikes the outside observer as the most likely cause¹⁹. Deaths of women in labour and deaths of infants are an exception, as these lives are held to be liable to special risks from adultery²⁰. In such cases the adulterer should pay blood compensation" (Douglas 1963: 128).

Section 2.2. The Witches' Paraphernalia.

Divination and witchcraft involve certain items such as horns, medicines and effigies. These items, when associated with witchcraft, are highly feared, and it is these items that are referred to in the quote from article one: "People are trooping to the police station to catch a glimpse of her and see her witchcraft paraphernalia". Witches, as implied in some of the preceding articles, use a host of "paraphernalia" which is seen as characteristic. Munkombwe, a prominent witch-finder or *muchape* showed me a selection of the material he had collected from various witch-finding missions. In the photograph at the front of this thesis Munkombwe is holding up a selection of these items. There now follows an extract from my field-notes on this subject. The pictures referred to appear overleaf.

¹⁸ Although I did not witness any divinations of this type they were widely said to still occur. Part of the divination involves the sending of death back to the witch who killed the deceased person. Thus being a witch can become an explanation for death. This point will feature several times in the case study which I use in chapter seven. It is interesting in this context that this vision of death extends to the Western Pacific, where Fortune reports "Death is caused by witchcraft, sorcery, poisoning or actual assault. There is no concept of accident" (Fortune 1932: 150).

¹⁹ At St. Kizito's I was told the story by an old missionary that he attended the funeral of an old man who had died, allegedly at the age of 140. Surely, he said, this must be a natural death? No, he was told, somebody just finally got behind this protective medicine.

²⁰ This is also the case in Zambia, as will become clear in later chapters.

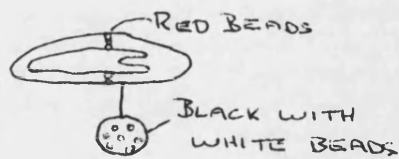
Dr. Munkombwe was not there when we arrived. He later admitted he had forgotten we were coming to see him. His house is square, made of concrete blocks with a corrugated iron roof. At the back are about eight round huts with thatched roofs. These are his "wards", he explained later. These are where people stay who have come from out of town for treatment. Munkombwe is perhaps in his sixties, thin and gaunt, but very animated when he speaks. He is from Malawi, and explains he has been a healer since before he was married, and now he has eleven children. He brings an assortment of bits and pieces tied together with string, which, he tells us, are the things he confiscated from witches in his capacity as a witch-finder. This, for example, is a piece of human neck-bone. He points to a round blackish object tied with string. This is the skin from a human heel. He gives me a cow horn filled with medicine. The medicine is covered over with what certainly looks like human skin. It is used to create sickness in people. Next is a witch's plane (picture #1). Next is a thing to strangle people when they are sleeping. A small black crescent-shaped object about an inch long is pointed to. A tooth of a 'munjile' will help night travel (picture #2). A lechwe horn is used to collect mealie-meal from other people's houses. It looks small, but it becomes large, and the mealie-meal goes inside (picture #3). The next object is an 'nkala'. It is used to take money from people (picture #4). Another horn (picture #5) is used to call customers into a pub. Another horn filled with herbs can be used to separate husband and wife²¹.

This collection of horns, herbs, roots, excrement and parts of animals and people is typical of an African witch's paraphernalia. Thus LeVine reports for the Gusii of Kenya "...witches usually kill their victims through the magical use of poisons, parts of corpses taken from graveyards, and the excreviae of victims²². The parts of human corpses, which may be skulls, hands, arms, are a source of a witch's powers, and are permanently kept by her rather than expanded in the course of a particular murder"²³ (Levine 1963: 226). On the use of these items he says: "Poisons and excreviae articles, however, must be planted in the victim's house, in the thatched roof or in a wall or on the floor near the threshold. From these places in a person's residence the witchcraft substances exert a malign influence on his health and fortune, and continue to do so until they are removed or until the witch who put them there is killed" (LeVine 1963: 226). The poisons

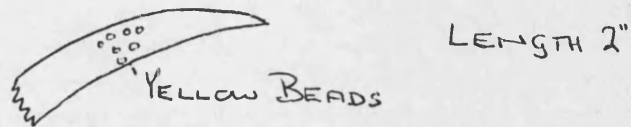
²¹ See, for example Auslander (1993: 167); Richards (1935: 203).

²² For more on excreviae see Blacking (1977).

²³ These parts of bodies are obtained either through grave-robbing or by the simple technique of killing a person then cutting off their body parts. Beliefs that witches undertake such acts are widespread in Southern Africa. The problem of murders for body parts was serious enough to prompt an official Government investigation in Basutoland in 1951 (Secretary of state for Commonwealth Relations 1951). Ritual murders are still believed to be widely practised in Zambia, particularly by Indians. This is more fully explored in chapter seven.



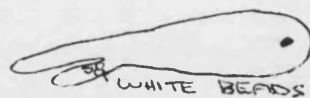
Picture # 1. A witch's Plane.



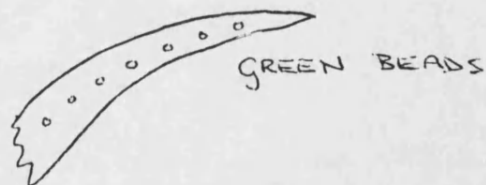
Picture # 2. Tooth for night travel.



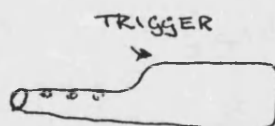
Picture # 3. Horn for stealing mealie-meal.



Picture # 4. Nkala to steal money.



Picture # 5. Horn to call customers into pub.



Picture # 6. A witch's gun.

Plate # 5: Some witch's paraphernalia.

allegedly used "which I have seen unearthed from houses, are usually black or red powders concealed in small red tubes"(Levine 1963: 227). However, poisons are generally regarded as insufficient by themselves to effect a witch-killing: "the witch must also obtain something which is part of, or has touched the victim's body. Hair, finger-nail parings, faeces, and shreds of clothing are the articles most frequently used" (LeVine 1963: 228). Beattie suggests horns are still associated with witches (Beattie 1963: 31).

The witch's paraphernalia as found in Monze thus is fairly typical of witchcraft items found throughout Southern Africa. However, items such as coins and razor blades now figure in the witch's paraphernalia. In addition, witches have "guns", "bombs", and "remote control"; the metaphors and language of witchcraft is technologically sophisticated. The 'bomb', it was explained to me by a sophisticated young urbanite, is called *chiposu*. This is a "posting" of death to a person. The witch makes a *chiposu* of various herbs, razor blades, and excruciae, which is then left at a place where the victim will step on it, such as a doorstep, or a crossroads. When the victim steps on the *chiposu* they might feel a pin-prick in the foot. By then it is too late and the *chiposu* travels up the body, causing pain and lumps as it goes. It can never get beyond the heart, however, otherwise it causes a heart attack. This process was likened to a bomb as it has the same effect on the person as stepping on a bomb, but it takes a little longer to have its effect.

Guns are also fairly common. A gun, the *kaliloze* gun is described in News report three, and I was told there are also examples of these guns in Livingstone museum, though I could not find them when I went there. These guns actually take the shape of guns. One type described to me had human bone as the barrel, and it was supposed to fire hairs of the victim an almost infinite distance to cause their death. Nobody could hear the gun being fired except the victim. The example I saw, which was showed to me by Dr. Mwanza, was made of bees wax. This gun apparently fired ancestor spirits over an almost infinite distance, and these could cause death, paralysis, or anaemia, described as stealing of the blood. An extract from my field-notes relating to this now follows.

The next item for me to see was his 'spirit gun', which he had stolen from a witch. Somebody came to see him with a problem which he diagnosed with a bottle filled with

medicine. (We had just seen him doing this type of diagnosis). The spirits told him that the sick person had been shot using a witch's gun, and told him who the culprit was. The sick person wanted the witch to be brought to confess. At the time of confession the witch was forced to hand over the gun. The gun was about eight inches long and had a hole in the end of the 'barrel'. Along the 'barrel' were some bright red beads. The main material of the gun was bees-wax, which was sort of blackish-brown. The 'ammunition' was spirits, which were created using some magic herbs. The spirits could be fired an almost infinite distance 'even as far as Livingstone'. The gun was ignited with a match to the trigger 'just like gunpowder'.

My attempt to draw the gun described is shown on the plate with the rest of the witch's paraphernalia. Mwanza was formerly a policeman, and spoke quite good English, so the interview was in a mixture of Tonga and English. The terms 'gun', 'ammunition', 'trigger', 'gunpowder' were all said in English. I hoped to photograph the gun on subsequent visits, but Mwanza seemed too ill to trouble him over this. He was the only African Doctor I knew who directly said he could not cure Aids. He died from this disease during my stay in Monze. I sometimes thought that his almost startling honesty over witchcraft methods was due to the fact that he knew he was dying. Mwanza gave me some crucial information, and we meet him again in the following chapters.

'Remote control' was the way that the fairly traditional method of using effigies of the victim was described. An alternative technique involves using a shiny fruit or an object made of metal. The image of the victim is seen like a video image, and then a pin pricked into the victim will cause the damage. Otherwise some medicine can be placed in water, and the victim's name is called. Their image then appears "like on a TV screen", the image is then pricked, and they will suffer accordingly.

One of the interesting points about these witchcraft techniques is that they do not involve any direct physical attack on the victims. We are discussing extreme violence that is none the less invisible. This point has been stressed by Overing. "For the Piaroa, a jungle people who dwell along tributaries of the Orinoco in Venezuela, all death is caused by murder through sorcery, with sorcerers of foreign tribes usually judged as guilty of this murder. punishment is drastic and is carried out through the means of what Piaroa young men once referred to in jest as 'the Piaroa Bomb': a powerful revenge magic that causes

the total destruction of the community of the murderer and the massacre of all its inhabitants" (Overing 1986: 86). She point out that the Piaroa "never kill through what we would classify as physical violence" (Overing 1986: 87). "The actual murderer is the factually empty but semantically full sign of the stranger cannibal, and this is the secret of Piaroa 'peace' in daily life" (Overing 1986: 101).

Section 2.3. Witches flying.

The theme of witches flying is a common one in the literature on African witchcraft, and was also commonly discussed in Monze. We explore the phenomenon of witches flying in more detail now. "She often flew to Lusaka to see her son, and all she did was anoint her feet with some charms and get on the 'plane' and fly away" (News Report 1). This theme of witches being able to travel anywhere unhampered by the normal limits of physical existence is one of the common themes of witchcraft in Africa, and brings to mind the witches broomsticks of European witchcraft. One of the few times when a witch was pointed out to me was when I was sitting with Dr. Munkombwe, a prominent *muchape* or witchfinder, one evening by his hut in the shanty compound. As we sat and chatted dusk began to fall. The sky slowly turned from blue to red and orange and gradually to the dark blue of a cloudless night sky filled with the constellations of the Southern Hemisphere. Gazing upwards with the awe of a foreigner, which in that context I never really lost, I saw a star disentangle itself from the others and fall a little before disappearing. "There! Did you see that? A witch!", said Munkombwe triumphantly. Shooting stars are said to be witches flying across the sky on their magical forms of transport...

Munkombwe also showed me a small circular ball, about an inch in diameter. This was encased in beads, and was allegedly another plane. Another of the witches planes which Munkombwe showed me consisted of a 20 ngwee (less than 1p) coin with a bit of black rubber tubing attached underneath. This also could fly anywhere in the world "even London"²⁴. Another *muchape*, Dr Edison Mwanza, who we met earlier, showed me his

²⁴ One of my Irish friends commented later that if Masamba could really take Europeans home for less than 1p he was going to make a fortune undercutting "Zambia (sc)Airways".

personal transport, which was a wildebeest tail. This was early in my field-work, and I did know at the time that revealing this secret to me was tantamount to a confession of witchcraft. I also did not know that he was suffering from Aids, a condition which was to kill him before I could begin to understand what he told me. "Come on!" he said, "Lets go! I'll take you back to London to see your family tonight!" Just for a moment I felt a twinge of homesickness...One of the most dramatic forms of witches' transport which I heard of, however, involved a 'plane crash' which happened just before I arrived in Monze. The town was still buzzing with the news when I arrived. There now follows an extract from my field notes on this subject.

Case # 1: Crash of witch's plane in Monze.

A witch was travelling across Monze town in his "airplane", which was made from human parts and fuelled with blood. Something went wrong, and the plane crashed in the centre of town, behind the market. It was thought that the plane was on its way home, and there was an uproar as everybody tried to work out whose house it was heading towards, as that would have identified the witch...

Monze witches are thus similar to witches in other parts of Zambia and Africa in that they travel at night magically to do evil deeds. One apparent difference with my material, however, is that the witches in more traditional settings employed animals, particularly hyenas, to aid their travel. "Witches cover great distances by means of hyena familiars which they hug by the belly as they race trough the sky" (Beidleman 1963: 64)²⁵.

Although Mwanza offered to take me to London on a wildebeest tail, it is interesting that Munkombwe's transport involved coins and beads. We also have the image of "planes" becoming important, and analogies of vehicles fuelled with blood for the transport of

²⁵ Likewise for the Mbugwe of Tanzania, Gray reports: "Every witch possesses one or more hyenas which are branded (invisibly to normal eyes) with his mark, and to which he refers as his "night cattle". Some people say that all hyenas are owned by witches, there are no free or wild hyenas. Hyenas seem to be thought of as hermaphrodites, with no distinction of sex. At night hyenas visit the houses of their owners, and there they bear their young. The young hyenas are believed to stay in the house day and night until they are able to take care of themselves. A parent hyena on its nightly visit first suckles its young, then goes out to forage for the night: just before dawn it visits the house a second time to suckle its young again, and at that time it is milked by its owner. This suckling and milking schedule is much the same as that of a cow with calf, only it takes place at night. Besides being milked, hyenas are also ridden like a horse, and that is considered as their greatest utility to the witches" (Gray 1963: 166).

witches in their urban context. This is perhaps not surprising given the image of witches developed earlier. By day many of them are believed to drive cars fuelled with petrol, by night they move in planes fuelled with blood²⁶.

The travel of witches is sometimes said to be literal, and sometimes metaphorical, and sometimes the witch can be said to appear to be asleep at home, while their spirits are moving around. Other informants suggested that witches travel in body as well, as in Beidleman's material: "They travel corporeally, not merely in spirit" (Beidleman 1963: 65). However, this ability of witches to travel is almost always cited as one of their defining characteristics. It almost seems as if the ability to separate spirit and body can be seen as crucial to being a witch.

This ability is further demonstrated in the habit of witches of keeping familiars. They can thus enter animals, and if the animal is harmed they are also harmed. They can also have control over animal familiars who work for them. Cats, snakes, cockroaches and other animals are implicated in this, and stoning of cats is a regular pastime of children, who claim they have found a witch²⁷. Cats are associated with witchcraft in many contexts²⁸.

In this section I have examined what witches are believed to do in Monze, and how this contrasts with some other anthropological material from Africa. A picture emerges of witches who are fairly typical in their habits. They fly about at night, kill people, cause accidents and generally live up to their bad reputations. Death in particular prompts suspicions of witchcraft, and the debate over whether all, some or no deaths are caused

²⁶ Red blood makes a person move, black petrol makes a vehicle move...a point clearly understood by many in the context of the regular fuels shortages which hit Monze.

²⁷ This practice was one which I found quite difficult to ignore. Often cats would be stoned and left half dead, wounded, with many bones broken and eyes poked out. My sad attempt to rescue one of these broken animals was greeted with amusement, and was not successful.

²⁸ For more on cats and witches in the European context see Darnton (1984). Beidleman reports for the Kaguru: "Cats are not thought to be the familiars of witches, but the sexual fluids of cats are thought to be used in preparations, especially of lethal witchcraft. Kaguru believe that a person will die if he sees cats having sexual relations because witches are always hanging about at such times, waiting to use the spilled fluids"(Beidleman 1963: 65).

by witchcraft is still going on, as was demonstrated in news report five. However, witches show signs of modernising their techniques in Monze. They still employ horns and medicines, but now also have 'guns', 'planes' and 'remote control'. Witches keep familiars which they control, and sometimes even take their form. I also emphasised the point in this section that witchcraft is a discourse about the existence of violent death, even when the victim may have appeared to have died peacefully.

SECTION THREE: WHO IS SUSPECTED OF WITCHCRAFT?

In this section I introduce the idea that witchcraft is not simply an unadulterated power of evil, but can be an ambivalent power, which only becomes witchcraft when misused. Thus in Monze witches are not typically weak and envious, the down-trodden and dispossessed, but are rather the powerful and comparatively rich, who are believed to have obtained their status at the expense of others. Witches have powers which they may use for evil or good. In this section I examine *ngangas*, the traditional healers, or African Doctors as many prefer to be known, and *muchape*, witch-finders. There is often overlap between these categories, and both African Doctors and witch-finders may be suspected of witchcraft. Witches, in this analysis, are the evil wielders of ambivalent powers.

Individuals believed to be practising the type of behaviour outlined in the previous section are definitely said to be witches. However, there is obviously a problem of identifying a person who is invisible and moves around at night in the guise of an animal. Thus certain attributes and behaviour are believed to identify the witch²⁹. The typical image of the witch which was repeatedly given to me while I was in Monze was of an old man, as in the following quote from Fr. Muzombo.

In the traditional beliefs the main suspects of witchcraft were the wealthy, old people and men, especially men with red eyes. The typical story might be that a man would kill his nephew so that the ghosts could look after the cows. A difference these days is that younger people can be accused of witchcraft.

The red eyes of the men were from staying up all night, presumably flying about and

²⁹ Beidleman described the person possibly suspected of witchcraft in the following terms. "One may suspect any person of being a witch, regardless of age, sex or class. Although any person may be a witch, certain types of persons are suspected of witchcraft more frequently than others. These are:

- "1. Economically successful people with many prosperous fields, much livestock, fine clothing, attractive wives or many lovers, owner of a shop.
2. The powerful chiefs, headmen, some African church leaders.
3. Non-conformists.
4. A wife not easily controlled by her husband.
5. A woman who is envious of her co-wife.
6. Persons who refuse obligations of kin.
7. Tribal outsiders" (Beidleman 1963: 74).

robbing graves³⁰. Things have changed, however, and it was frequently said that these days anybody can be practising witchcraft, young or old, man or woman. Generally, men were thought to be mostly involved in witchcraft, especially in witchcraft for wealth. Some informants even explained that men have more wealth than women because they practise wealth witchcraft. Wealth and manhood and witchcraft are often equated as in the following statement, given to me by an old man at the Common House, "Now, when people go for wealth medicine they do not say 'I want wealth medicine', because it is such a sensitive issue, to be accusing somebody of witchcraft. They will say 'I want manhood'. Wealth, witchcraft and manhood are thus conceptually linked, and the wealthy person, who is usually a man, is frequently seen to be a witch. Maliya, an accomplished African Doctor in her seventies explained this point in the following way: "I think it is more common for men to be involved in witchcraft than women. Women tend to be a bit more compassionate. They feel it more if people die. Perhaps it is because they carry life in their wombs. But women can also do witchcraft". The common image of the witch, then, is an old man. This old man can be either African or Indian. In the urban context, however, old and young, men and women, can be suspected of witchcraft.

This description of the typical witch as an old man is in distinction from much of the material on witchcraft in Africa, where witches are often women. Thus Abrahams reports for Tanzania that "Sukuma witches are typically believed to be older women....and such beliefs are found in a wide variety of historical and contemporary locations" (Abrahams 1994: 20).

In this thesis I use the term "witchcraft", rather than making a distinction between sorcery and witchcraft, along the lines indicated by Evans-Pritchard for the Azande.

"In most English dictionaries 'witchcraft' and 'sorcery' are roughly synonymous. In anthropological usage they have acquired distinct meanings because an African tribe, the Zande, are more precise in their categories of the supernatural than we are; and Sir

³⁰ Buxton noted West of the Nile that reddish or dark whites to the eye could indicate the evil eye (Buxton 1963: 99). Mesaki noted also for Tanzania that red eyes are associated with witchcraft, (Mesaki 1994: 54), and suggests that red eyes are possibly due to the use of cow dung for cooking (Mesaki 1994: 56).

Edward Evans-Pritchard, the anthropologist who studied them, and who wrote what was to become a classic in this field (1937), found these two words a useful means of translating the distinction that his informants perceived" (Marwick 1970: 11). The essence of the difference between witchcraft and sorcery seems to rest on the issues of intentionality and innate qualities. Thus witches may unintentionally harm people by just being evil, while sorcerers are aware of what they are doing, and perform acts available to anybody who wants to perform them³¹. I did not come across a systematic division of this nature in Monze, and it is my plan to use the word "witchcraft" in this discussion because that is the word that was used by Monze residents as a translation of the Tonga word *buloz*, which is used to describe the activities of witches. It should be noted, however, that the practices I am describing come closer to the concept of sorcery, as outlined by Evans-Pritchard. Witches in Monze seem, for the most part to be intentionally aware of what they are doing, and a distinction between innate and learned powers was not made. The suggestion that a witch had to have a 'hard heart' I took as a metaphorical statement.

3.1. African Doctors, or *ngangas*.

I interviewed about twenty African Doctors over the course of my stay in Monze. Some specialised in curing Aids, some in finding stolen property, others in love potions for women. Medicines could be given to protect against witchcraft, as well as to actively promote good fortune. Some live in Monze, others travel and stay a few days only. Others advertise themselves in the national papers. Some "Good News Healing" of this sort is shown overleaf. Some saw many clients every day, and some only a few every

³¹ The distinction was described by Middleton and Winter in the following way, for example. "A sorcerer is one who is thought to practise evil magic against others. The acts themselves are usually of such a nature that they can be practised by anyone....By contrast the power of witchcraft is a mystical and innate power, which can be used by the possessor to harm other people. It is often said that the witch need merely wish to harm his victim and his witchcraft then does this, or it may be enough for him merely to feel annoyance or jealousy against somebody for the power to set itself in operation without him being aware of the fact that it has done so" (Middleton and Winter 1963: 3). Schapera also describes in Bechuanaland how 'oral sorcery' works. "The potent factor is the feeling of malevolence, anger or bitterness cherished against a person by someone else. The latter makes no use of dithare, he utters no spells, he performs no special rites, nor does he have to observe any taboos or other special usages" (Schapera 1934: 296).

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Plate # 6: Good News Healing.

month. Diagnostic techniques varied from dreams³² to reveal both the problem and the cause of the problem, to divination using water, watches, or the Bible. Almost all were possessed by healing spirits of one kind or another³³.

However, the powers that enable the African doctor to heal and solve problems also render them vulnerable to the suspicion of witchcraft. The power to cure, if misused, could become the power to kill. The line between medicine and poison is a thin one. Many medicines are believed to kill in one context and cure in another³⁴. An interesting example of this point is made by Richards in the Zambian context. Richards describes witch-finders coming to a village in Northern Zambia. The witch-finders would catch the image of each person in a small mirror, and "By his image in the glass it was claimed that a sorcerer could be immediately detected, and thus discovered, he was immediately called upon to yield up his horns (*nsengo*), a term which included all harmful magic charms" (Richards 1935: 448). These horns would then be piled up as testimony to the success of the witch-hunt. However, Richards point out that horns are also used to as containers for common ailments. "To cut a long story short then, out of a collection of 135 horns which had drawn cries of horror and execration from the passers-by, 125 were mere containers, possibly filled with nothing more than the ordinary household remedies which the English mother keeps against coughs and digestive ailments" (Richards 1935: 453). Hence in this example there is the possibility of horns indicating curing or killing. As Mombeshora suggests "it is not always easy to draw a sharp line between witches (if they exist at all) and the medicine men. The use of medicines in the two cases depends on the intentions of the individuals concerned"(Mombeshora 1994: 83). The ambiguous

³² Frankenberg and Leeson found dreams also used in Lusaka by African Doctors. They commented "for one of them this must have involved 60 or more dreams per night, if all the day's cases were to be covered" (1976: 243).

³³ I collected a huge amount of data on African Doctors, more than it will be possible to discuss in this thesis. However, a further discussion takes place in the following chapter. For more on African Doctors in Lusaka see Frankenberg and Leeson (1976).

³⁴ For more on this point see Ngubane 1977. Parkin (1968) suggests that it is the spells accompanying the medicines which make them harmful or beneficial.

status of African doctors has been commented on in a number of contexts in Africa ³⁵. Perhaps in an attempt to distance themselves from witchcraft by associating themselves with Europeans, many African Doctors are members of the Traditional healers association of Zambia. Among other things, this entitles the registered person to be called 'Doctor'. An example of one of these membership cards appears overleaf. In Monze, suspicions about healers as killers extends to some of the staff at Monze Hospital, however. Thus Litrecy told me one day that some of her village relatives said they would not go to the hospital if they were sick, because it was well known that the nurses got more money if a patient died than if they survived. Further suspicions revolved around the practise of operations. It was commonly said that doctor would give an injection to kill a patient, perform the operation, then give another injection to bring the patient back to life. Fears of what would happen should the doctor change his mind before bringing the patient back to life prevented many from having life-saving operations. A veterinary assistant asked me to publicise his case, so that others should not suffer as he suffered. He had already given his story to a national paper when he asked me to interview him. He suffered a third degree rectoprolapse after a bout of diarrhoea at the age of five. This involved up to 30cm of intestine falling out, sometimes spontaneously. He did not dare to have the operation to cure the condition until he was in his twenties. It was only when he began doing operations on animals that he realised they did not die during operations, but were rather unconscious. The ambiguous powers of African doctors is demonstrated in the following extract from my field notes.

Case # 2: Car crash involves two types of witchcraft.

About 6am one morning a white farmer from Choma, the town next to Monze going South, was passing through town in his four wheel drive vehicle. He was probably in a happy mood because he was on the way to collect his son from hospital in Zimbabwe. The son had been critically ill following a car accident, but was now due to be discharged. Suddenly, right in the middle of town, some pigs dashed out in front of the car. The white farmer swerved violently to avoid them and lost control of his car. The car overturned...and the farmer was found to be dead on arrival in Monze Hospital. This death caused shock in Monze and was the subject of gossip for some time....His watch was stolen and his money taken as he lay there dead... I later heard he was to be cremated in Zimbabwe and the ashes taken to England.

³⁵ See (Landy 1977: 196,417);(Gray 1965: 143); (Abrahams 1994). See also News reports three and four, where the divining activities of African Doctors are explicitly associated with witchcraft.

550



TRADITIONAL HEALTH
PRACTITIONERS ASSOCIATION
OF ZAMBIA
(THPAZ)

MEMBERSHIP CARD

HQ
P.O. Box 37869 Lusaka
Zambia

Name MALIA MWEENE
SPIRITUAL HEALER

NRC NO. 127585/74/1

Date of birth 1929

Place of birth HAAMAUWA

Village/Town HAAMAUWA

Chief MONZE

District MONZE

Province SOUTHERN

District Council MONZE

Date of issue 27-11-85

Issuing Officer R. Haansende

Designation Provincial Secretary



2903



If found this card should be handed in to
the nearest District Secretary's Office or the
nearest Police Station

**Plate # 7: Membership card of Traditional Health Practitioners
Association of Zambia.**

There are two angles to this so far as witchcraft is concerned. One is that the family was thought to be definite victims of witchcraft - two car accidents in such close succession could be nothing else. The second point concerns the pigs. The owner of the pigs was believed to have placed such strong protective witchcraft on his pigs that even a human could be killed before the pigs would be harmed. The ethics of this was much frowned upon, and I heard that the owner had failed to claim his animals from police custody, for fear of repercussions. Thus we have protective medicine resulting in death, a case demonstrating the powers of the African doctor to kill. The following extract from my field notes demonstrates a similar point. There are various medicines available to protect oneself, family and property against the ravages of witchcraft, or from misfortune generally. Thus animals such as cows or pigs may be protected from theft or harm, and children will carry protective medicine. These medicines are apparently specific, thus chameleon skins are protection against becoming too thin, while elephant dung protects against vomiting and diarrhoea. The problem, however, comes when a child which is protected comes in contact with a child which is not protected. If, for example, a child carrying elephant dung protection meets a child which is not carrying that protection, then the unprotected child will fall sick with vomiting and diarrhoea. Thus medicine, however, can also cause harm, as in the following example.

Case # 3: Child sickness from protective medicine.

I was told today that Kostas had just seen two sisters fighting and coming to blows over protective medicine. Both sisters have small children, and apparently the child of one sister is sick. Sister A accused the sister B of having protective medicine on her child, and not informing sister B before they breast-fed in front of each other. The child of sister B is mortally sick, and she blames sister A.

In this case medicine from an African Doctor is believed to have made a child sick. This case demonstrates well the point that medicines can both create and cure illness. Fear of this process is so deep that at under-five clinics all women are asked to remove all medicines from their babies before coming to the clinic. When this request is made all mothers simultaneously take the protection from their babies and their own clothing. They then feel able to enter the hospital clinic together.

Section 3.2. Is "women's medicine" witchcraft?

Although men were usually said to be the main culprits in witchcraft, particularly for wealth, women were also implicated. It was sometimes said that most of women's witchcraft is involved with attracting and keeping men. However, the use of such herbs and medicines makes a woman suspect. As one friend exclaimed to me one day, "If a woman can do that, what else might she be involved in?" This friend had been told that his wife was damaging his career to make him less attractive to other women.

Women's medicine is generally given by female *ngangas*, and often passed between women. In particular Regina and Mary two important African Doctors who I visited regularly, were renowned for their women's medicine. When I asked Regina if she was involved with giving powders to women she laughed and pointed to a table stacked high with powders in freezer-type plastic bags. Yes, she gives women's medicine. Mary also is supposed to be an expert on women's medicine. She does not keep her medicines for all to see, but goes off into another room to collect the powders, a little at a time. She then wraps them in bits of newspaper for the customers to take away. Women's medicine is generally a secret affair, however, and must be kept from men. One day Litrecy and I were at Mary's sitting under the tree in her back yard. Some women we vaguely knew came by for some love potions and other items to enhance their love life. Mary slowly got up from her specially-made extra-large stool and went inside to get the medicines. I asked the women if I could take a photo of this scene of a group of women sitting under a tree discussing love magic. Usually people in Monze are happy to have their photos taken, but in this case they all burst out laughing and told me not to be so stupid... How could they get their photos taken at Mary's place? If their husband's found out they would beat them very badly....³⁶

³⁶ Jacob gave me a lift on my last journey to Lusaka at the end of my field-work. We knew each other well by this time, and he was going out with Litrecy's best friend. He also had a wife and three children, however, in Lusaka. He was a former national sportsman for Zambia, and had a succession of unfortunate career failures before following a career as a car mechanic. He told me the story of how he discovered that he was a victim of women's medicine. He could not understand why it was that he kept having all these false starts in his career. He is an intelligent and hard-working and talented man, so everyone keeps saying, so why so many false starts. Eventually, when he was on a trip to Botswana he went to an *nganga*. He was told that his wife had gone for women's medicine to make him be unsuccessful. Her motivation was that if he had a good career then lots of women would be chasing after him, and she might lose him to one of them.

When discussing the general use of smoke devices to call boyfriends with one girl she explained to me that they were sometimes "even too effective". One time she was smoking with her friend trying to call her boyfriend to her. They were still smoking when who should come to her house but her boyfriend! It was almost a disaster because if he had caught her he would have been furious. She had to rush outside the house and keep him from coming inside until all the smoke had cleared away so that he would not find out why it was that he got this sudden overwhelming urge to see her³⁷. Women's medicine also appears in the newspapers, and is thus a Zambia-wide phenomenon.

News Report Six:

"Prospective Wives flock to Medicinemen".

The love potions appear to be quite varied. Some are in cigarette form and users believe that each time they smoke, their target will have sudden heart palpitations which will make them start thinking about them.. Other potions are used for bathing to make the users appear 'attractive' to their men, while some are added to their boyfriend's meal. Some women say that potions added to meals can actually make a man stop eating meals prepared by his own wife and eventually make man leave home to live with his concubine.... Other reports include those of women who have killed their own husbands in an attempt to prevent them from being 'taken away'. A young man in Lusaka was recently ditched by his girlfriend because he refused to eat the meals she prepared each time he visited her. 'I used to refuse her meals because I was sure she put some herbs in the food,' the man said.... 'But why go to such extents?' Natural love brings two people together. Love brought about by potions is not real because as soon a one stops using the potions that love will vanish, so it is believed (Sunday Mail 29/5/94: 5).

While this is in itself bad enough, as Jacob pointed out, the point here is that if a woman can do that, what does it say about what else she might be involved in?

³⁷ Dr. Masamba explained about using women's medicines:

"I've got something to show you two girls". He goes off into his hut. "There, it's a phone to call your boyfriends!" He holds out something that looks like a white onion with thick roots on the bottom and a long sprout on the top. "You use the smoke from this to call your boyfriend. It will make him come to you. But you better not let him catch you or else he will be very angry!!"

News Report Seven:

"Do Love Potions work in Homes?"

A man in his drunken rage, punches his wife as if she were a punch-bag, shouting madly: 'I will kill you today. This is the end of you. You can't feed me lizard and expect to get away with it.' The man's rage was provoked by a gossiping neighbour who told him that his wife was putting various kinds of herbs and dried salamanders in his food so that he would stick to her the way a salamander sticks to a log. Further, the informant told the man that his wife lied that she had recently gone to a funeral when in actual fact she spent the night at a grave-yard at the instructions of witch-doctors...Michael Mumba a Lusaka resident who has been married for three years insists he is aware women use love potions and quickly adds that if he ever caught his wife 'Meddling' with his food he would not hesitate to divorce her....Mr. James Mwanza reports that he believes love potions work for how else can one explain situations where after divorcing one's 'thing' is found to no longer 'tick' and only works again after the two have been reconciled? The medicine is just like witchcraft, which to me is real. 'Aren't love potions part of witchcraft? Which man isn't aware that women add things to our food?' cries Mr. Mwanza....Pastor Phiri states: 'The danger with love potions is that they open up one for a lot of demonic possessions and before one realises she would already have become a disciple of the devil' (Times of Zambia 11/7/94: 5).

Women's medicine is thus considered to be witchcraft on various levels. It is witchcraft because it involves visiting *ngangas* who are possibly witches, and uses some of the same ingredients as witchcraft. It is witchcraft because it can cause harm to others by making them fight with their sexual partners. It is witchcraft because it is outside the natural order of things, and it is witchcraft because the object of affection can sometimes inadvertently be killed.

Section 3.3. Witchfinders, or *muchape*.

Stories of witch-finders and witch-cleansing movements abound in Africa.

Wherever there are witches, there are also witch-finders³⁸. All the witch-finders I

³⁸ Stories of witch-finding come from all over Africa. See, for example, Gray (1963); Abrahams (1994); Comaroff and Comaroff (1993); Auslander (1993); Richards (1935).

encountered were also African Doctors, and these were suspect witches for the same reasons as African Doctors. The most famous witch-finder I knew was Munkombwe. He was out of town for months at a time searching for witches in far away places. Here he describes how he finds witches.

Case #4 : Munkombwe: Story of witch-finding.

If people suspect that there are witches around they will call me. Sometimes it is the police who call me, sometimes just anybody can call me. When I go near where the witches are I will be singing a song, like a song for the devil. When I get close to the house of a witch everything will sort of glitter and glow. Then I know the witches are there. The witch can be a man or a woman. They can even work together. They can fly to Choma to arrange things together. They can be old or young. Then I will cut a cross on the head of the witch³⁹. This is to show they are a witch, and to remember all the graves that the witch has sent people to. From there, if the witch does witchcraft again then they themselves will die.

Case #5: Fr. Muzombo: A Priest remembers witch-finding in his village.

I remember when I was a little boy a witch-finder came to my village near Chivuna. He had medicine which he gave to people, and quite a lot of people confessed to witchcraft. They later took back the confessions. The church view would be that they were made to confess because of the drinks they were given. The witch had to pay the witch-finder two animals. By the time he left he had lots of cows. It is my impression that witches and wealth are supposed to go together.

This description from Fr. Muzombo demonstrates well how the motives of witch-finders can be suspect. As the newspaper articles demonstrate, people are still being killed as witches in Africa⁴⁰. However, there are certain legal limitations on naming witches. Thus Nellie, for example, explained that she could tell who had committed a particular crime, but she was not allowed to name the person following a court case in which she named a suspect.

³⁹ Shaving the hair off witches is also described in Tanzania by Green (1994). The traditional punishment for witches would be to burn them while they slept in their huts. This would extinguish their spirit as well as their body.

⁴⁰ R.G. Willis links witch-cleansing cults in Africa with the cargo cults of Melanesia and millenarian movements (Willis 1970: 134).

News Report Eight: "Wizard stoned to death".

"A man suspected to be a wizard was recently stoned to death by a mob of youths in Chasele village, in Kaputa. A family spokesman who said that he did not want to be named said the man was killed in broad daylight in the football ground near the police station. After 45 minutes police and relatives collected the body. The spokesman said the youths started stoning the man from his home. He was trying to run to the police station for refuge but was killed before he got there. Police confirmed the death and named the victim as Mr. Jameson Musonda, 44, a former MMD district vice-chairman" (Times of Zambia 3/11/93: 1).

News Report Nine: "Let witchfinding ban stay".

"The law is very clear and elaborate. Accusing and parading a person suspected of practising witchcraft is defamation of one's character and is punishable in the court of law. Furthermore, resorting to instant justice by either lynching or killing the accused is triable for either assault, manslaughter or murder. But regardless of the stiff penalties involved witchfinders have continued to point fingers at people for allegedly practising witchcraft and in the process many people have lost their lives. Press reports show that there have been over ten cases of this nature this year and three have resulted in deaths. Still fresh in people's minds is the recent parading of 15 alleged witches and wizards in Ndola's Nkwazi township by three witch-finders from Mununga, in Luapula province. The 15 were alleged to have been practising black magic and killed over 30 people. The three witch-finders, in their early 20's, were hired by the MMD branch officials to cleanse the area in the wake of mysterious deaths, especially among children. Members of the public, including lawyers, the church and traditional practitioners have reacted sharply to the incident, calling for the review of the Witchcraft Act. President to the traditional health practitioner's association of Zambia, Dr. Goodson Sansakuwa reacted by announcing the ban on witch-finding in the country because the practice was illegal. He said it was against the laws of Zambia for anyone to parade publicly those suspected of practising witchcraft and that his association would take stiff actions against the offenders themselves. 'It is very disappointing to find that suddenly there are many people claiming to be witch-finders,' he said....He revealed that his association which falls under the

ministry of community development, is urging the government to amend the Witchcraft Act. Sansakuwa, however, said his association advocated for cleansing of all those practising witchcraft in privacy since he was convinced that witchcraft was real. But one of the hottest issues which has gone unresolved for years is how to deal with a suspected witch or wizard once cleansed. While courts of law insist on evidence to warrant prosecution of the accused, complainants fail to adduce this evidence because black magic is not tangible. As a result suspected witches or wizards have continued to walk soot-free because of this requirement. Dr. Musambachime said the only incident when a witch would be liable for an offence was when he actually confessed to have killed the victim. In the absence of this, he said it was difficult to prosecute one of suspected witchcraft....A bill was presented to parliament by the former Legal Affairs minister Dr. Roger Chongwe with a view to clear the air on the adducement of evidence and raise the penalties for suspected witches.....but Christians argue that it is pointless for a Christian Nation like Zambia to maintain the law on witchcraft because witchcraft does not exist in Christian society...According to Cap 45 any person who represents himself as able to have supernatural means to cause fear, annoyance, or injury to another mind or pretend to exercise any kind of supernatural powers, witchcraft, sorcery or enchantment calculated to cause such fear or annoyance is liable to a fine not exceeding K100 or to imprisonment with hard labour for any term not exceeding two years" (Zambia Daily Mail 30/10/93: 5).

There are several points which I wish to emphasise from this section on who is suspected of witchcraft. Firstly, witches in Monze are often men, rather than women, as is commonly reported in Africa. However, women are also suspected and accused of witchcraft, as will become clear in chapter seven. Secondly, African Doctors, and witch-finders are often suspected of witchcraft. This I have attributed to the ambivalent nature of the powers they hold; the power to cure is also the power to kill. The ambiguity of power is hinted at in the two articles above. In article eight, a suspected wizard is stoned to death. It is then revealed that he is a former MMD district vice-chairman. In article nine, reference is made to the case already reported in which 15 suspected witches and wizards were found in Ndola. In this case the MMD district branch officials were the ones who hired the witch-finders. In this context it is perhaps interesting that in report

eight the story of the former MMD vice-chairman being stoned as a witch appears next to a story about an MMD Minister being stoned in his house. This second stoning took place in Monze. In these examples we have politicians both being accused of witchcraft and hiring witch-finders. Thus the image of the witch which I am gradually developing in this chapter is one of a person who wields ambivalent power; power to heal, power in the political arena and, as we explore in the next section, power to create wealth.

.....

SECTION FOUR: WITCHCRAFT FOR WEALTH.

In this section I discuss becoming a witch and going for wealth medicine before introducing some techniques which could be used to become wealthy. There are many techniques to accumulate wealth⁴¹ in cows, maize and business. These include killing a person and making the ghost work for you, a very common way of becoming wealthy. Alternatively, theft of a foetus, theft of menstrual pads, sex with a pregnant woman, masturbation, sex with cattle and animals while out hunting, sacrificing a part of the body such as an eye or a finger, incest; all these are ways to become wealthy. Many of these techniques involve killing the person, or destroying something that is theirs, such as their fertility. This is described as being "put into" the wealth form selected. Thus somebody may be "put into" (*kubika mu*) - cows, (*y'ombe*). Or, somebody could be put into various stages of the food production process, such as (*muunda*), or fields, (*ciyayo*), or grinding mill for making mealie-meal, (*butala*), or granary. In businesses people can be put into (*biyaholo*), or beer hall, (*cintolo*), or shops, (*nyuka*), or cards.

In the chapters to come I will be examining in some depth the witchcraft processes and techniques behind the creation of wealth in maize, cattle, and businesses. I hope to demonstrate that the production of each type of wealth involves a different process, and each process has analogous links with the process of reproduction of people. Thus it is my argument that an examination of witchcraft for wealth, for production, reveals and clarifies the processes of reproduction.

4.1. Becoming a witch.

It is sometimes said that nobody can become rich without witchcraft. Witchcraft in this context involves a process of receiving the appropriate instruction. This is different from witchcraft in some other parts of Africa, where witchcraft may be inherited. Thus in

⁴¹ I use the term "wealth" here to cover food, cattle and business. However, there is a common distinction between types of wealth involved. Real wealth, which can be used to pay bride-wealth, is "Lubono". This could be cattle and latterly money. Food is not lubono. I use the term wealth here to imply a perceived relatively inequitable distribution of goods, or the good things in life, as this seems to be the context in which witchcraft is suspected.

article one we find the statement: "She said she had inherited witchcraft from her mother who died a long time ago." (Article 1). This image of inherited witchcraft is common in Africa, with witchcraft often involving an inherited substance. However, I came across neither an idea that witchcraft is always inherited, nor of a special witchcraft substance⁴². In Monze there is no special qualification to become a witch. Becoming a witch may involve inheritance or not, and may be voluntary or not. However, witchcraft is generally not inherited, and generally one voluntarily becomes a witch. There is no special qualification to become a witch, and people become witches in several ways, some of which are involuntary. Thus if one is named after a person who was a witch unbeknown to the general public then the propensity to witchcraft will be in built and a person is moved to begin practising witchcraft. A second way could be that if one's uncle is a witch then he might secretly send some of the ghosts he keeps to eat at your house. The ghosts will become attached to the one who feeds them. Should you then have any disagreements with anybody the ghosts will go and kill those people. This will be without your knowledge. The ghosts will then come back to you and say "Look what we have done, we have taken care of your enemies for you". You are then a witch, because you have killed. The ghosts of the dead enemies killed now work for you. Another way of becoming a witch is to go for wealth medicine. For much of the activities required to become wealthy requires the practise of witchcraft. Becoming a witch is largely a matter of apprenticeship. The practise of witchcraft is thus open to all who are willing to receive the appropriate instruction.

The victims of witchcraft would traditionally have been kin. Part of the explanation for this was given to me by Lucy. She pointed out that all people will take steps to protect themselves from witchcraft. The particular nature of the protective medicine will only be known in the family. Thus it will be somebody in the family who knows how to get around the medicine. The victims of witchcraft traditionally could only be kin, and some

⁴² Thus there is no analogous substance to the mangu described by Evans-Pritchard, which is "oval, blackish swelling or sack which sometimes contains various small objects. In size about the elbow-width of a man's bent fore-arm, it is situated somewhere near the bile tract. It cannot be observed outside of a man's lifetime, but in the past it used often to be extracted by a post-mortem examination" (Evans-Pritchard 1992: 1).

informants said that witches had no power over non-kin. This has changed in the modern era, however and now any can be the victims of even unrelated witches. "In the past it was impossible to bewitch a non-relative, but these days anybody can bewitch. For example at work a fellow worker can get bewitched because people are jealous".

4.2. The process of going for wealth medicine.

Going for wealth medicine is a dangerous process not for the faint-hearted. It is a commitment with difficult and dangerous trials to be overcome. The instructions must be followed to the last detail, otherwise the powers can misfire and destroy the would-be wealthy person. Many strange instructions will be given to the seeker after wealth, and these must be carefully followed, no matter how strange they sound. The following two examples were told to me by Musambo and a woman at the common house.

Case # 6: Importance of following the witch's instructions.

There was a certain man in Pemba who had an "Idomba", a half fish and half human creature, which used to steal money from the bank for him. Part of the instruction was that no matter how tired he was he had to remain awake until it came back from the bank at night. After some time he was used to the idomba and he was feeling very tired one night. He dozed off and the idomba came home to find him sleeping. It killed him immediately.

Case # 7: Importance of following witch's instructions.

There is a story of a particular woman who had a lot of ground-nuts in a granary. She was going away for a while, and so she called the children and said to them that even if they ran out of ground-nuts on no account should they go into the granary. she went away, but the children did not obey her. They still went into the granary. That was the instructions of the people who had given the wealth medicine, that only the mother was to go into the granary. Because the instructions were not followed, that is why the children died.

These two case studies come from stories told at the Common house, and neatly demonstrate the dangerous and ambivalent nature of the powers involved in wealth creation. Much witchcraft for wealth involves killing children, and if the instructions are

not followed exactly then the children can die, but there will be no wealth ⁴³. This was sometimes an explanation if a person was losing children, but the expected wealth increase which would indicate witchcraft was not forthcoming.

One's own child or one's sister's child are favourite victims. The father usually is the one who would decide to kill his children, should times get hard, but the wife could be in on the secret. No finger would be laid upon the child selected for sacrifice, of course, they would be killed by witchcraft. The hospital would fail to see the real cause of death, which would be put down to some disease such as malaria or vomiting and diarrhoea. The real cause of death could only be seen by a diviner. Wealth, then, is painful to achieve; you must kill the ones you love, as in the following common house story:

Case # 8: Sacrificing those closest to you for wealth.

If you go to an African Doctor you will be told to cut a root of a particular type on a path which forks. The root will become the eyes of a person you know, but you must cut the root. At that point the person is going to die. Or you can take a rooster and take it to a forked path. At the point when you are going to cut the neck it will become like a person you know, such as your sister, nephew, niece. That is the person who will die. ⁴⁴

The logic behind killing those closest to you was explained by Regina.

The people killed would be relatives. This is true for all types of wealth. Relatives have the same blood as you, so when you kill your nephew, or your son or your wife it is your loss, your problem, so people will not be so upset with you. It is not so usual to kill the wife, though, because the husband will miss his wife when she dies.

⁴³ Another field note extract contains similar themes. "They will be given the medicine, and there will be lots of instructions associated with it. For example, you might be told that you are supposed to be silent the whole time when you are walking home from the *nganga*. As you walk you might see certain things associated with witchcraft. You might be told that you must arrive home at night, which is associated with witchcraft. Then you must say the words that the *nganga* has told you. From there one of your children will die. They will keep dying, and as they die your wealth will increase. You must follow the instructions, though, otherwise they will just die anyway. When you arrive home the first child that comes to greet you will be the one to die.."

⁴⁴ Another similar story is as follows. "He (the witch) had a sort of shiny ball and on it you could see all the people at home. You would take a needle and prick the image. The person will shortly die. It is the nearest to you that will be in front, and they are the ones that will die."

Going for witchcraft to become wealthy involves the commitment to follow the witch's instructions, no matter how bizarre. It also involves the commitment to slaughter the nearest and dearest, as if they are a rooster or a piece of food about to be eaten. We now explore different types of witchcraft for crops, cows and businesses.

4.3. Witchcraft for crops.

The following story about witchcraft and crops comes from Nellie.

Case # 9: Killing children for a good harvest.

I have heard stories of people killing children to make the crops grow. When a person dies and they are buried it cannot be known if they have been put into the fields. It can be that they have been killed for wealth, and if the harvest increases then people might suspect that. The best person to kill is the nephew or son. You can kill them at any time of the year, because you will be using the same person in your fields until you die.

This story is typical of the stories about killing people for wealth in crops⁴⁵. The victims are always children. Typically a son or nephew is killed and either the crops just grow magically from there, or, less commonly, the child is imagined doing ghostly work in the fields. The killing can be done at time of harvest, planting, or of putting the crops in the granary. I came across no examples of sacrificing part of the body for crops, nor is it possible to sacrifice the intelligence of a person for crops. Likewise, use of menstrual pads or a dead foetus does not enhance crop growth. Incest between mother and son, or brother and sister is said to be a common way of enhancing crops⁴⁶. This contrasts with business wealth, where father and daughter incest are considered to be the most effective. Many stories were told about incest to ensure a good crop, but others said that incest was really only effective to make animals increase, because they increase by sex. Since crops

⁴⁵ Note in news report 3, there is a skull which has reportedly been used to enhance crop yields.

⁴⁶ The link of incest and witchcraft is not uncommon. Gray describes how for the Mbugwe incest is actually the initiation to witchcraft. "In order to make effective use of the knowledge and skill he has learned, a witch must possess a special constitutional factor that can only be acquired through an incestuous act committed with a related witch of the opposite sex. A son is usually taught witchcraft first and then commits incest with the mother, while daughters first submit to the father's incestuous advances and is taught the craft afterwards" (Gray 1963: 169). Children sometimes are said to run away from home to avoid this incest. However "even if a child escapes from parent-witches, it is fore-doomed to persecution by the spirits of ancestors who were witches so that in the end nearly every child has to submit to the initiation...It is believed that every child that refuses its parents incest will become insane, or at least show signs of mental torture by ancestor spirits...since there is no other acceptable cause of insanity at the age of adolescence, every case of insanity in young people is cited as living proof of the belief". When a child recovers that means that it has accepted the witchcraft (Gray 1963: 170).

do not multiply sexually they could not be expected to be affected by incest. "The type of wealth which comes from incest is that which involves sex. 'To make a child people must sleep together, and animals must also sleep together, but plants are not produced by sex', one informant explained. The process of making maize with witchcraft is explored in depth in chapter five.

4.4. Witchcraft for cows.

Case # 10: Nellie tells of the time she was "Put into cows".

Nellie: By the way I forgot to tell you, there was a time when I was "put in cows". They got one of my used pads, and then used it for making the cattle conceive. Every time I had my periods the cows would conceive. If I had not found this out I would never have been able to have the number of children that I have already (she has nine children).

Leonie: So, how did you find out?

Nellie: I was having problems where I was afraid of going out from the house. One day I made a big effort and went to my Uncle's house. Well, I went to stay with my uncle. The daughter of my uncle had swollen glands, so we went to the nganga. They were worried that I would feel bored at home, so I went along as well. The nganga was doing the divining for my cousin, and then she saw me in the vision, and explained the problem to me.

Leonie: Was this early when you began to menstruate?

Nellie: I think it would have been almost the first year of my periods.

Leonie: Is the pad more useful at any particular point in the life time, are young girls better to take the pads from, for example?

Nellie: No, they are all the same.

Hence we can see from this example that a common route to witchcraft in cows is to steal menstrual pads. A woman's fertility is thus stolen. A much rarer form of fertility theft involves stealing the fertility of a man. In this case he cannot have children, and in addition he will always want to leave his wife in the evenings and make love to the cows. A person can also sacrifice part of their own body. In this case they will have, for example, an eye problem, and when they are in pain the cattle will conceive. A person can have a sore which will grow maggots. In this case the maggots represent the cattle in the kraal. A further form of cattle witchcraft involves forcing children to work looking after cattle by stealing their intelligence. This is a common explanation for mentally handicapped children. They have been forced to look after cattle, either physically or spiritually. The process of making cattle from witchcraft is explored in chapter six.

4.5. Witchcraft for business.

Leonie: "In business do you think there are always stories of witchcraft, or do some people get rich because of luck and hard work?"

Nellie: Lots of people in business do not make human sacrifice, but their businesses do not do well, they just come up and disappear. But, those businesses which actually last mostly require human sacrifice. There are a lot of businesses in Monze, and where the wealth comes from is a mystery."

There are numerous stories about business owners killing people and making their ghosts work for them to make money. This particularly applies to the African community, as in the article below. The Indian community are widely rumoured to kill people and use their body parts in gruesome rituals. Father and daughter incest is also an important form of witchcraft wealth creation. Vendors of milk and beer will reportedly masturbate into their products for sale. Women selling bread in the market will use the water from washing their vaginas to make the dough. When women sell cooked food in restaurants they let the steaming pot be under their vagina, and let the drops go into the food. A few drops of menstrual blood has same effect. Women who make local beer reputedly have sex close to the barrel, and when the man is about to ejaculate they move aside so that he ejaculates into the beer. Butchers will reputedly have sex with the animal which will later be sold as meat. The processes of wealth creation in businesses are discussed in chapter seven. The following news report is typical of the stories we will explore in the next chapter.

News Report Ten: "Mourners run riot; 60 Spend Funeral wake in cells".

"Police in Kitwe arrested an entire gathering of about 60 Mourners at a funeral house in Zambia township on Tuesday night after mourners mobbed and assaulted a business man they suspected of having bewitched their dead relative. The mourners descended on Mr Aaron Mwitwa at his bar in the township after Gabriel Mulenga died after a long illness. The family was told by a witchfinder that Mr. Mulenga was killed by Mr. Mwitwa who wanted charms to boost his business. The rowdy group of mourners invaded the bar, beat up Mr. Mwitwa, who was the dead man's employer forcing him to flee to nkama East Police station. They then vented their anger on the building shattering all window panes, drank and poured one and a half 210 litre drums of chibuku beer. Some guzzlers at the bar took advantage of the unexpected turn of events and joined in the "plunder" drinking

beer, looting property and whatever they could lay their hands on in an incident in which K20,000 cash was reported to have been stolen. Police public relations officer Mr. Peter Chingaibe said some eye witnesses confessed to having drunk their heads off on Tuesday night. Police screened the 60 mourners and released part of the group later, but 30 of them - 16 men and 14 women - were remanded in custody. The funeral gathering which is being held at house number 567 in the township has been thrown in disarray as there is now divided attention, Some relatives have to visit people at the cells as well as arrange the burial of Mr, Mulenda's body. "This is a very strange funeral. Relatives do not know what to do first, whether to bury or to first clear those people at the police". Said one neighbour who declined to be named" (Times of Zambia 23/9/93: 1).

CONCLUSIONS.

In this chapter I have examined witchcraft as it is found in Monze. I have tried to emphasise the continuing importance of witchcraft in the modern era, and the point that witchcraft has showed continuing resilience in the urban context. I have looked in particular detail at witchcraft for the production of wealth. Many of the techniques for wealth creation involve the theft of foetuses, the killing of children and the use of body fluids. In other words, the creation of wealth involves a link between the processes of production and reproduction.

In section four I introduced the point that different types of wealth production involve different types of witchcraft techniques. Thus, for example, killing children is especially effective for an increased maize harvest, while killing adults is less useful. This contrasts with cattle, where the theft of a woman's fertility through the medium of menstrual blood is the most effective way to increase the number of cattle in the kraal. Menstrual blood is not useful for the maize harvest, or for business wealth. However, killing adults to make them work 'calling customers' or stealing a foetus is commonly suspected of business owners.

In particular I focused on the image of the witch as a wealthy and powerful person, rather than impoverished, dispossessed and envious. The witches in this case may be the African Doctors, with their ambivalent powers to kill or cure, their medicines which can

be poisons, or maybe the witch-finders, or the wealthy and particularly successful. This focus on the witches as powerful people, often politicians, has been discussed by authors such as Rowlands and Warnier, in Cameroon, who argue that: "sorcery and power are perceived as two sides of the same coin. As a result, power is ambiguous and any concentration of power in the hands of the State, or local officials has to deal with this issue" (Rowlands and Warnier 1988: 121). Rowlands and Warnier cite the case of the Beti, described by Laburthe-Tolra (1985: 59-164). In the case of the Beti of Gabon the visible source of sorcery is the *evu* "a material, living being which inhabits the human body. It can be found by autopsy after the death of its host in the form of a visceral polyp. It becomes the principle of sorcery when its host yields to it and provides it with human beings to satisfy its hunger..However, *evu* is also seen as the principle behind any achievement. Successful hunters, heads of large households, medicine men and witches are said to possess a strong, socialised *evu*. An individual who does not possess an *evu* (some informants are of the opinion that such a thing cannot happen), or who has a weak or inactive *evu*, is considered an 'innocent'...and incapable of any valuable achievement for his/her own benefit or that of society" (Rowlands and Warnier 1988: 22). They argue further that "The ambivalence of sorcery and power is a well-established theme in West Central African Ethnography as found, for example, in Bohannan's analysis of *tsav* among the Tiv (Bohannan 1958), the discussion of *juok* in the Nilotic material and the McGaffey's interpretation of the ambivalence of power depending on personal motivation in the case of BaKongo" (McGaffey 1970), in (Rowlands and Warnier 1986: 123).

Witchcraft as ambiguous power goes some way to explaining why witchcraft accusations become less important in this context. Rowlands and Warnier explain that in Cameroon people who have reached a certain level of wealth are not usually accused of sorcery as it would be too dangerous for the accuser. However, the threat of witchcraft accusation can lead to powerful pressures on the wealthy to redistribute their wealth. An excellent discussion of witchcraft as political power in Southern Africa is provided by Niehaus, who point out that "Engagement by political actors in the management of misfortune presents a potential source of political legitimacy" (Niehaus 1993: 500). This process is amply demonstrated by some of the newspaper articles I have discussed in this chapter.

In this thesis I focus on witchcraft as an ambiguous power. However, I do not try to deal with the question of how witchcraft is connected with political power, but rather with how witchcraft is associated with inequalities of wealth, although obviously the two processes are closely linked. As I have suggested in this chapter, processes of production and reproduction are intimately linked through witchcraft, as witches are able to manipulate these connections to their own benefit. In the next two chapters, therefore, I examine processes of spiritual and physical reproduction, before moving on to a discussion in the final chapters of witchcraft processes in more depth.

CHAPTER THREE: REPRODUCTION OF SPIRITS AND NAMES: SOME COMPETING DISCOURSES.

There is a special place where a snake could be found. The snake will slowly come from the thicket, it will keep coming slowly and it will be blinking. If the snake keeps on blinking and no water comes from its eyes then the people know there will be a drought. If it keeps on blinking and it looks as if the snake is crying, with water coming down its cheeks, then people know there will be rain and no drought.

This extract from my field-notes is part of a conversation with a rain-maker. This image of the snake shedding tears is appropriate as it contains many of the connections of substance which I make in this thesis. I argue for the connection of production and reproduction. Thus the snake which gives water, a pre-requisite to production, links with the penis which gives semen, a prerequisite for reproduction. However, this is to preempt following chapters, and in this chapter we begin to explore the process of the production of water, in the form of rain. The process of making rain involves ancestors and spirits, and is an essential aspect of reproduction.

In the previous chapter I argued that wealth is commonly understood to result from witchcraft. Further, the form of witchcraft often involves the body and bodily fluids. There is thus an intimate connection between the processes of production and reproduction. In the following two chapters I examine how reproduction of the person occurs. In this chapter I focus more on the spiritual aspects of reproduction, while in the following chapter I focus more on the bodily processes of reproduction. However, it must always be borne in mind that the division between the spiritual and physical is for analytical simplicity only, and does not exactly correspond to divisions within the ethnography.

One of the main ideas in this thesis is that bodily processes, such as sex, gestation, birth, and the growth of children are metaphorically or metonymically linked to other forms of (re)production. Witchcraft for the production of wealth thus essentially involves the

metaphorical or literal corruption of these bodily processes. Hence in the following two chapters I develop a model of the human reproductive cycle which I attempt to relate to witchcraft. I examine the composition of the person in Monze in terms of spirits, names, and the physical make-up of the body. Monze bodies are said to be made from water and blood. Any theory of reproduction must account for how water and blood are related and (re)produced. In this chapter we begin to understand the processes behind the production of water, through the rain-maker, and in the following chapters the links of water and blood are explored.

Ideas about the body, and the relationship between the body and its spiritual aspects are being challenged by much missionary activity which focuses on a delegitimation of the ancestor spirits, by educational programmes in schools, by alternative body images which are projected on American and European television programmes, and in women's magazines. Ancestor spirits play a crucial role in the reproductive process, and as ideas about the ancestors are challenged, so ideas of reproduction are challenged, and gain new emphases. Hence in this chapter I include a section on competing discourses about the reproduction of spirits.

I begin with a discussion of the spirits found in Monze. There are representatives of three "World Religions", Islam, Hinduism and Christianity, as well as the myriad 'traditional spirits', and some apparently new spirits which combine elements of traditional religion and Christianity.

SECTION ONE: THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF SPIRITS FOUND IN MONZE.

Monze now boasts Hindus, Moslems and Christians of various denominations. The Hindu population of Monze is small, but extremely influential both politically and economically. There is no attempt to spread their faith, however, so Hindu spirits do not have much influence outside the Indian community, although the various Hindu rituals are the subject of lurid speculation. There are an increasing number of Moslems, who have a Mosque to worship in and an educational library to promote their faith. Their numbers appear to be expanding, and thus Islam may become an increasingly important influence on the spiritual life of Monze in times to come. By far the most important and influential of the "World Religions", however, is Christianity in its various guises. Missionaries have been very active in the region since 1905, and Colson recorded eight sects in 1962 (Colson 1962: 2). I came across Catholics, Seventh Day Adventist, Born Again, Dutch Reform Church, Pentecostals, Brethren in Christ, United Church of Zambia and New Apostolic Church. The largest groups are the Catholic and Seventh Day Adventist.

1.1. Ancestor spirits, or "mizimu".

Ancestor spirits are perhaps the most important spirits found in Monze. The term "*mizimu*" may be translated as ancestor spirits, though this does not fully encapsulate all the activities of this class of spirit. Colson has written extensively on the *mizimu* cult and the importance of ancestor spirits (Colson 1948; 1962; 1969; 1970). Many occasions will call for offerings to ancestors. "Changes in location of a household must be announced to the *mizimu*, by offerings made before leaving the old dwelling and before entering a new one. Changes in status must be announced to the *mizimu*, as when the household is instituted for the first time, when a man builds his first cattle kraal, and when a man obtains a new gun or plough or other major item of equipment, such as a large iron pot. The initiation of some activity and its successful completion- a hunt, fishing expedition, journey to work in White country all call for offerings to the *mizimu*" (Colson 1962: 2). The *mizimu* act as guardians to those of their own clan. I was told that the spirits of the "royal" Monze line can act as guardians of the whole community.

Thus ancestor spirits are extremely important for Tonga social life. *Mizimu* also, however, form a crucial part of the personal identity of individual Tonga, and I propose to explore their importance through the processes of birth, their significance in life, and their part in the process of dying and the afterlife.

1.2. Nominal reincarnation, birth, the naming of children.

Most Tonga believe in what has aptly been described by one informant as "nominal reincarnation"¹; the spirits of people already dead are reincarnated in children born. The vehicle for the spirit is the name given to the child, and a child's talents, interests and personality will be expected to resemble that of the ancestor after whom they are named. This is also social reincarnation. The deceased person would have had a set of social relationships such as mother of X, wife of Y, and the person who inherits the name also inherits the right to be referred to with these alternative relationship names. Physical resemblance, however, will be to the biological parents of the child, a point which will be discussed in the next chapter.

A second type of reincarnation, which I will call "professional reincarnation", occurs when the spirit of a person who followed a particular profession, or had special talents, such as healing or rain-making, is reincarnated. In this case it is understood as possession, and confers professional abilities, knowledge and skills on the person possessed. This type of reincarnation will be discussed under the section on healing and rain-making spirits. It is interesting to note, however, that the individual name of the person reincarnated in this case is not so important, as the spirit will rather be referred to by the generic name of the type of skills conferred by the spirit, such as rain-making, or healing with the Bible, or with traditional herbs. This is a professional reincarnation, and does not involve the whole identity, as with nominal reincarnation.

The issue of naming is extremely complex. Within the name is contained a major part of the identity of the person. Traditionally the name was so personal that asking a person's name would never be undertaken lightly. It is a key to a person's identity, and

¹ Note that some Tonga might not agree with the terminology of nominal reincarnation. However, several people described it to me in this way, and it seems an appropriate metaphor to express ideas here.

I was often told that knowledge of the name was necessary before witchcraft could be practised on a particular person. Each child will be given the names of two *mizimu*, one from the matriline side, and one from the patriline side. Reports of when the child should be named were not consistent. Some said the child would be named in utero, or when it cried excessively. In this case the names of various ancestors would be called and when the child stopped crying the appropriate name had been found. It is likely that this naming process applies more to those people whose spirits were not considered worthy of reincarnation, and who then force their own reincarnation by troubling children. For there is an attempt to reproduce only those people who were considered worthy of emulation (see also Lan 1985: 35). A person who was believed to be a witch, or lived a bad life in some way, will not be honoured with nominal reincarnation. Traditionally they would not even be given a burial, but left in the bush to be eaten by animals, according to one informant. These people are apparently just forgotten, and that in itself ensures their disappearance.

A child cannot be named before the umbilical chord (*lukombo-kombo*) falls. The chord will be buried at the front of the mother's house so that nobody can get to it and use it for medicine. If there is a possibility that the child might die then it could be named before the chord drops, but the child cannot be reincarnated if it dies before being named, and in this case there will be no mourning.

There would be a naming ceremony, *nguli*, which means 'to name', when the child was a month old. The naming would traditionally mark the time when the child first came out of the house where it was born. At this time some beads would be tied onto the child's wrist, which thereafter served as a sign of ancestral protection. Beads tied to the left and right wrist were for the matriline and patriline side respectively, and the name for the patriline side should be given before the name for the matriline side. This is interesting given the point that the Tonga are matrilineal. The beads should be black or white or a mixture, and according to some informants the black represents the child in the unnamed state, while the white represent the child in the named state. The use of beads is subject to variation, however; Litrecy's niece had a naming ceremony with no beads, and instead vaseline was rubbed on the face and water squirted onto the child from the mouth.

This squirting from the mouth, when done with beer, is a traditional offering to the ancestors. Hence this child also is under ancestral protection. An alternative method of naming mentioned involves placing some cow fat on the back, chest and forehead at the time of naming. Also at this time medicine to protect against disease and witchcraft would be tied to the child or to its mother. The two *mizimu* given to a child with its names will stay with that person through out their life, and will be the most important and powerful names, regardless of the other names which may be acquired later in life.

When the naming ceremony is about to be conducted the mother will either go to spend the night at the place of the person who will do the naming, often a grandparent, or she will travel there early in the morning. If she travels in the morning she must not speak to anybody on the way. The ancestor spirits are around, near to homes, in the early morning, but they will retreat from the sound of human voices.

1.3. Where are your *mizimu*? Fluidity of body and spirit.

Within the Tonga cosmology there would appear to be a certain divisibility or fluidity of the spirit, and spirits are not unique, as several living people, and even cows, may simultaneously have the same *muzimu*. Hence one dead person can give rise to several *mizimu*. This is especially common if the dead person led an exemplary life, as already mentioned. The same *muzimu*, therefore, can inhabit several bodies simultaneously, without apparently compromising the integrity of those individuals sharing the same name, and thus the same spirit. It can happen, however, that a level of fluidity of the spirit occurs, so that part of a person's essence may be voluntarily or involuntarily put into another person or even an animal. Witches may steal part of the essence of a person who is sick, and then put the essence into a hated animal such as a snake in the hope that the snake will be killed. The person in their weakened condition will then also die. Witches also have the ability to manipulate their own spiritual essence, in order to enter animal familiars.

This fluidity of the spiritual essence extends to the physical level, as mentioned in previous discussion on excruias. The core of the personal identity, however, without which a witch cannot control a person's essence, is the ancestral name. Many healers are

possessed by ancestor spirits which are also healer spirits. These spirits bestow the hosts with the gift of experiencing the bodily sensations not only of their own bodies, but of other people as well. Thus when a patient comes the doctor will feel the symptoms as if they are in his own body. The spirit can reveal if an unborn child is a boy or a girl, and, if the child is not correctly positioned, the spirit can help to move the foetus. The spirits will also reveal the appropriate treatment, often in dreams. Dreams are significant in this respect, because it seems that dreams are another way that a part of a person's spiritual essence can travel and enter another person. Thus spirits of dead people may appear in dreams to tell of an important event, although if the person has recently died this may rather be understood as indicating a possible case of haunting. Dreaming of a friend may be interpreted as a spiritual phone call to announce an immanent visit. Dreams may also have a negative and threatening side, however, as in one case where an African Doctor missed an appointment to see me because he had to deal with an urgent case in which a man was dreaming of eating the meat from a human body, and was thus in the gravest danger. In this divisibility and fluidity of the person there are similarities with Fortes's work on the Tallensi (1973).

The implications of life with the *mizimu*, therefore, are profound, and affect the deepest core of personal identity. I now turn to explore the process by which the spirits of the ancestors return once again to the mysterious place they inhabit to rest for a while before being reincarnated again, should that be the wish of those people temporarily left behind.

1.4. Death and the return to the Ancestors.

When a person dies the spirit is believed to depart from the body at the moment of death. It is thrown into confusion, however, by this sudden change in state, and will roam around looking for its lost body. For this reason the place where somebody died will preferably be avoided. The spirit is angry at its transformed existence, and it may cause illness and misfortune to those who happen to cross its path. In this condition it strikes fear into those still living and is often referred to as a ghost, *ceelo*.

After death there is some sense in which the person is still around and able to affect the living. Mbiti (1969) refers to people who have died fairly recently as the "living dead".

Hence the dead will inhabit a place similar to their former life, and will have similar needs. Thus the funeral ceremony involves placing some items in the grave which the person particularly liked, such as clothes and plates and cups, for their use in the after-life. This also ensured that the spirit would not trouble the living as it searched for its possessions. Traditionally a cow would also be slaughtered on or next to the grave, with the words to the dead spirit that this was for wealth in the next life. I went to several funerals, and saw variations from the descriptions which follow. These will be discussed as they become relevant throughout the text. Nelly gave me an excellent description of a traditional funeral which gives in one statement many of the elements which were given in much more fragmentary form by other informants². Over the next chapters we hear more from Nelly, who became something of a 'key informant'.

Case # 11: Nelly: Description of a funeral.

A relative from the patriline side is given a pumpkin, ifulu. This was used for a cup in the old days. This pumpkin is taken to a place suitable for burial. There the pumpkin is destroyed, and there the grave will be dug. This is very important and if it is not done there will be no burial. Relatives could sue if the burial went ahead without the pumpkin procedure. Usually the people who provide the food are from the patrilineal side. The matrilineal side will give the relish, but the main responsibility is with the patriline side³. This is true in towns and in villages. The person who distributes the wealth would be from the patriline side. The cow killed to feed the mourners would also be from the patrilineal side. After that cow is killed then the matriline side would kill as well. As for the killing, no animal should be killed from the day of the death until after the burial. This is because it would be a bit like calling death. It is like if a person is very sick the animals should not be killed, because it is like calling death. When a cow is killed no relative must eat the meat, only people of the clan joked with can eat the meat, so it will be eaten with insults. On the day of the funeral nshima and vegetables will be eaten. When it comes to telling people to disperse after the funeral it will now be the matriline side which does it. It is like the matriline side take care of the living, while the patriline side take care of the dead, by doing the funeral.

The body must be securely buried, and casting the whole coffin in concrete is becoming increasingly popular with those who can afford it. I was given two reasons for this. One was the preservation of the coffin from termites, the other was the protection of the body

² On reading my field notes, for example, I found that when I asked somebody to tell me about funeral practices, they explained that "They bury the person, they mourn, and after one year they have a ceremony in which beer is brewed and somebody is brought to inherit the spirit."

³ A discussion of food follows in the next chapter. The staple, *nshima*, is often referred to as 'food'. Relish is the accompaniment to the staple.

from witches. Witches are particularly fond of stealing bodies for their evil practices, as discussed in chapter two. The theft of bodies is a preoccupation and common topic of conversation. The illustration overleaf is from a national newspaper, and shows a cartoonists attempt to make fun of grave-robbing.

Several informants explained that the traditional way of burying bodies would be to dig the grave six feet down and then dig a side-compartment, *inkumbwi*, at the bottom for the body to be hidden in curled up in a small ball⁴. The entrance to the compartment will be blocked with blocks of wood and stones. The burying of bodies curled up seems to have some antiquity and the museum in Livingstone has a body which was found on the Tonga Plateau in the curled up position, which is believed to date from the 11th Century. There seems to be some sort of magical angle to body theft, as the body can apparently be removed by skilled witches without even opening the grave. The body can be spirited away and the only way the theft could be discovered is by re-opening the grave. There seems to be some suggestion that the grave must be securely closed, however, so that the ghosts cannot escape and haunt people. One story involved a ghost troubling people after it escaped through a little hole in the ground by the grave. The final part of the funeral may be the consulting of a diviner to find out if the deceased was killed by witchcraft, as described in the newspaper article mentioned earlier (p.46).

After death the spirit will be placed "under observation". The process here is not entirely clear, but basically it seems that the spirit is temporarily "tied" to some item such as a reed and left in the thatch to be observed. If the person was a witch, for example, this should come out during this period of observation. The next step, presumably if the person is not a witch, is the "tying of the spirit". This is a ceremony to "tie" the spirit to somebody else to prevent it wandering around and causing trouble. Again Nelly provides the most cogent description.

⁴ This practise is also found elsewhere in Africa. See, for example, (Ngubane 1977: 82). The connection between this position and the foetal position in the womb is sometimes explicitly made, a point we return to in chapter four.

JOLLY

By Yama

ARE WE NOT SUPPOSED TO
GO AND ERECT A TOMB
STONE AT OUR LATE SON'S
GRAVE SO JOLLY?



NOT JUST NOW DEAR

WHY?



NOT UNTIL WE RECOVER THE
BODY FROM GRAVE THIEVES

WAAAL! WAAAL!
KI MASHOHU BRING
BACK MY SON



Plate # 8: Newspaper cartoon about body theft.

Nelly: After a period varying from a month to a year a memorial is held called "mweasyo". The spirit in this case is now given to somebody. The person to receive the spirits will be put in the middle of two other people and given water on a spoon. This is the tying of the mizimo, and some water will be poured from a cup to a plate to a spoon, all of which belonged to the dead person. The person accepting the spirit will also be given a cow. The spirit is now tied.

If there is nobody willing to accept the spirit it may even be tied to a dog or a tree! This tying of the spirit is, however, qualitatively different from nominal reincarnation, because the characteristics of the dead person are not passed on to the recipient. The principle motive in this case behind passing on the spirit appears to be not the perpetuation of good human qualities, but rather the avoidance of the harm caused by ghosts on the loose.

In the case of people who are married, however, the spirit has a particular attachment to the spouse, and will follow the survivor around causing trouble until the person goes mad. This necessitates "cleansing", *kusalazya*, to confuse the spirit and keep it away from the surviving spouse. Informants differ as to whether cleansing must be done for both sexes, or for women only. The general consensus seems to be that it is more relevant for women, but apparently men are also cleansed. The cleansing is done around two days after the burial of the dead spouse, and involves sexual intercourse with the person designated to have the spirit tied to them, usually a close relative of the deceased⁵.

The process of cleansing has been focused on by missionaries and health workers as being a practise likely to cause the spread of Aids, especially as the dead spouse may have died from this disease. At various times I was with the Aids outreach team from the hospital, far into the village areas, and on hearing of a death we would speed to the place where it occurred so that my friends could try to prevent the cleansing from taking place. There are however, alternative cleansing techniques to sexual intercourse. One such alternative involves both partners removing all clothing and while the one to be cleansed lies on the ground the other person slides down the length of their body. Some herbs will

⁵ This connection of sex and death is common, as Bloch and Parry comment: "The observation that notions of fertility and sexuality often have a considerable prominence in funeral practises excited the attention of anthropologists and their public from the very beginning of the discipline" (Bloch and Parry 1982:1).

then be rubbed onto their bodies. A woman may even choose another woman to cleanse her, and a man may choose another man. In some cases a cow will be substituted for a human. The cow is placed near the doorway, and the surviving spouse jumps over the cow, as in the following description from Nelly. I then present a description given to me by an old widow of the cleansing method. It is interesting that although in general these descriptions agree, in detail they vary, thus Nelly describes the cleansing taking place before the burial, while the widow describes it as taking place afterwards.

Case # 12: Nelly describes cleansing.

The cleansing must be done by the matriline side of the deceased. The cleansing will be done the day before the funeral. Traditionally the cleansing would involve sexual intercourse, but now with Aids people often get a cow and put it near the door and make it lie down. The remaining spouse will undress and jump on the cow, which will then be given to the surviving partner. Another woman can do the cleansing for another woman, while another man may take care of another man. They both undress and slide down each other. After the cleansing the yard can be cleansed. It may not have been cleaned for a week after the death. After the cleansing ceremony the spirit will be tied and will not thereafter cause trouble.

Case # 13: A widow describes cleansing.

I am myself converted to Christianity now, but I will tell you about the way things are done traditionally. If a husband dies and the time for the burial is almost there then the wife of the deceased will be brought for the last embrace, "kubeta". The body will be taken for burial, but the wife must stay at home. After the burial some fibres from the "musekesi" tree will be made into a rope and put around the woman's waist. The wife will take off her clothes, and will swap them with a woman from the man's side. They will then carry the woman with her face covered to the grave, and walk her round the grave. She will be crying, and from that moment on she is not clean. You can touch her, but she must not eat with anybody except the person who is sent to guard her, from the man's side. For three days after the burial the wife is not clean, and after three days they will have the cleansing. A person is chosen for the cleansing who will be responsible for the children. That man thereafter is considered as the new husband. The woman must agree to make love once, otherwise she will always be unclean. After that she can refuse. If she refuses then they say the ghost will make you mad "chibinde" (Extract from field notes. Interview at Common House of woman aged 60).

These fascinating accounts contain many aspects which will be discussed as they become relevant. I was unable to gain a clear answer to the question of what happens to tied spirits when the person they are tied to then dies. The suggestion seems to be that since they do not really inhabit the person they are tied to, but rather are left somewhat marginalised, they have become used to disembodiment. In the event of the death of their carrier they float off and become passive. They are then reincarnated or forgotten

completely.

1.5. Ghosts: Ancestral Rejects?

The exact origin of ghosts is not clear, though they are considered wholly evil. Some informants state emphatically that the good become ancestor spirits when they die, and the bad become ghosts. Others state that everybody is a ghost at some point. Others say that ghosts are a type of ancestor spirit, while some say you can become both a ghost and an ancestor spirit. One informant explained that we all become ghosts while we await the return of Jesus. The term which may be loosely translated as ancestor spirit, *mizimu*, and the word for ghost, *ceelo*, are both used in answer to questions about ghosts. Accounts are much clearer and consistent regarding the actions of ghosts than their origins, so perhaps the genesis of ghosts is less important than their activities. There now follows an extract from a newspaper article which documented a ghost scare that occurred in 1994 in Zambia.

News report # 11: "The Rosemary that never was".

Did you know that there was a time when men were wary of giving lifts or making amorous advances to women they didn't know, more so if such women were young and strikingly attractive?.... Well, the menfolk were scared of a mysterious ghost girl named Rosemary Kapenta, of Ndola, who was reported to be on a manhunt for a boyfriend who had killed her so that she would avenge her death.... Just imagine: An unsuspecting motorist would stop for this cute chick thumbing a lift by the roadside. She would beam into a lovely smile and the motorist, having been swept off his feet, would begin kissing and caressing her as they proceeded on their journey. Suddenly, the young beauty would ask her newly-acquired 'lover' to stop so that she attended nature's call... and the next thing the man discovered was that he was lying in a grave in the middle of a cemetery or the girl would just disappear, leaving him non-plussed.... Referring to an allegation that a policeman lost his teeth after kissing the woman in a car, the spokesman said police had been unable to obtain any information whatsoever of the incident... (The Sunday Mail 24/5/94: 4).

Stories such as these are commonplace, and again create a link of sex and death. Ghosts are reputedly capable of causing a variety of disasters such as accidents, illness and death. They partly do evil because that is their nature, but they are also susceptible to domination by witches, and often do evil at the bidding of their masters. One of the ways that ghosts cause sickness and death is by possessing people. They might enter somebody, for example, and begin eating their intestines from the inside. The person will be afflicted with stomach pains and the cause will be revealed during divination, when the ghost will reveal their identity when alive, and who sent them. This process was described as involving seating the afflicted person under a blanket and burning some medicine so that they inhale the smoke. The ghost may beg for mercy, saying that it is the innocent victim of a witch's designs. This creates an interesting dilemma. Sometimes a person is believed to be safely joined with the ancestors, and may even have children named after them, when divination reveals that they are in fact in ghostly slavery to a witch, and performing evil deeds. The action to be taken in this case is not clear.

Apart from performing evil deeds, ghosts also have the capability to create wealth. The procedure is that a person will be killed and the ghost trapped and made to work calling customers. They require feeding, however, otherwise they may become visible and frighten people away. We meet ghost-labour again in the following chapters.

The example of ghosts is interesting because it highlights the blurred line between the dead and the living which is implicit in much of the previous discussion. The stories of ghost slavery overlap to an extent with stories of body snatching and kidnapping. Thus there is a general fear of body snatching for parts for witchcraft. There is also a belief that graves may be robbed of their contents so that the body or soul or both, may be taken to be ghost-slaves. There are also many stories about kidnapping people, often children, to make them work. The stories sometimes become confused, however, and the person who was initially kidnapped ends up as a ghost-slave without apparently having been killed. One such story involved the enslaving of a *muzungu mizimo*, or white person's spirit, and the person telling me this said that she found the story impossible to understand. This overlapping of the living, the dead, and even the enslaved will be referred to again in later chapters.

Case # 14: The muzungu muzimo, or white person's spirit.

Well, there was this thing which happened about two years ago. There was this man who used to do lifts, that was how he made his money, and he had lots of money⁶. He had two open vans. He also had two wives. He loved his second wife more than he loved his first wife. He always used to take his favourite wife to town with him when he went on trips to Choma. On one occasion he left his wife behind and went alone. Before leaving he told his wife not to open the wardrobe in the bedroom. She wondered why, and was really curious. Eventually she opened the wardrobe and there was a person sitting there. They had their back to her and she could not see the face. After another four days the husband again went to Choma, and left the wife behind. Again she opened the wardrobe. This time she found the person facing her. It was a white man with lots of money in his hands. The white man stood up and walked out of the wardrobe. He started to walk away. The lady was so shocked by this that she collapsed. Meanwhile in town the husband was busy with his business. He felt a strange pain, however, and he could not understand what the problem was, though he sensed that there was something wrong. He went back to his car. Then he was shocked to see his white man walking along the street in Choma!! He became very agitated and began shouting 'Come! Come! Come back!' But the white man did not listen. He just kept on walking and did not come back. The other man was very angry and upset. He rushed home and confronted his wife, because he knew it must have been his favourite wife who let the white man out of the wardrobe. He was so angry that he began to beat her. He beat her so much that she died. After that the man had no luck at all. His business went right down. His vehicles broke down, and he lost all his money. Now all his cars are chicken coops. He had a mansion with a downstairs sitting room. Now it is all run down and spoiled. Even the man himself has become insane and confused. So, it seems that the wealth came from the white man, and when he left then the wealth left also.

(Extract from field notes, discussion with Nelly).

This is an interesting story which we will return to later on. In the meantime I want to emphasise the point that it is told to me as an example of how it is so strange that a person can be alive and dead at the same time. Another example of this debate came from Litrecy's Aunt. She had a disease which resulted in her legs rotting (perhaps gangrene). This rotting continued and people began to say that actually she was already dead, even though she was still able to talk and eat. Eventually she died, and Litrecy's Mother had a bad dream that her dead sister was in the grave when she was still alive, and she had to take food for her to the graveyard.

⁶ Giving lifts is perhaps the most common form of public transport in Zambia. Anybody with an open pick-up truck will be flagged down by pedestrians walking down the road, a price will be negotiated, and the pedestrian jumps in the vehicle. Many make money by driving back and forwards between towns giving lifts. This story is about a person who makes their money in this way.

Over the course of this section I have examined the different types of spirits found in Monze, and I have emphasised how those spirits are related to the processes of birth and death. I have argued that ancestor spirits are intimately involved in both birth and death. Living and dying, then are processes which shade into each other, as the ancestors move between living and dead, and back to living again. There is a possibility within this framework for blurring of the boundaries between living and dead, as is exemplified in the cases of the *muzungu muzimo*, and of Litercy's Aunt. Thus a living person can influence the dead, and vice versa. This interplay between living and dead is marked in the various offerings made to the ancestors, and in cases of possession by ancestor spirits, which we explore in the next section. Further connections which will become relevant in later chapters involve the linking of death and reproduction/fertility. Thus the body is buried in a foetal position under the ground, prompting a connection of womb and earth. The connection of ancestors and water is also apparent in the tying of the spirit, where water must be poured from cup to plate to spoon as part of the tying process. The possible substitution of cows for people also suggests a link which become important when I later argue for a connection between cows and menstrual blood. Witches manipulate the connections between the living and the dead, as is seen in their nocturnal dancing on graves, eating corpses, and in their manipulations and control of ghosts. These are important points to which we return in the discussions of ghosts and the creation of wealth in later chapters.

SECTION TWO: SPIRITS THAT CAN POSSESS PEOPLE.

Colson in her article on possession among the Tonga distinguishes three types of possession: by ghosts, *basangu*, and *masabe* (Colson 1969). Ghosts have already been discussed, and she describes the Tonga as dividing the remainder of their spirit world into *basangu* and *masabe*.

2.1. Basangu.

Colson describes *basangu* in the following way: "Basangu possession is the most important variety of possession as far as public consequences are concerned. It provides the inspiration for public ritual and is linked closely with social and political life. Perhaps *basangu* were once men, earlier prophets and community leaders. Perhaps they have always been spirits who have gone from one human vehicle to another. Tonga may disagree on this point without feeling that it is important. It is what a *basangu* does, not where it comes from, that interests people. Some Tonga use *basangu* as a term for any spirit, though its specific meaning seems to be that which I have adopted in this chapter - spirits concerned with community welfare" (Colson 1969: 70). "Basangu mediums are true mediums; for they are intermediaries between the spirits and the world of the living" (Colson 1969: 70). "These deal mainly with the desire for rain and emphasise the *basangu*'s association with weather" (Colson 1969: 74).

I shall argue that the line between *basangu* and *masabe* spirits has become blurred, and that now the term *masabe* often refers to possession itself rather than to a type of spirit. *Basangu* are still identified as a type of spirit, though the term seems to be used to cover ghosts and rain spirits. The essential point which many informants stressed about *basangu* is that they are not known, or are hard to recognise.

When asking questions as to what *basangu* are, the answers were varied, but most people gave rain spirits as examples of *basangu*. The point with *basangu*, it was often explained to me, is that they are not recognisable, they have their faces bent to the ground. Ghosts also could be *basangu*, where the suggestion seemed to be that they are the ghosts of strangers that come to kill, rather than known ghosts.

2.2. Masabe.

Masabe seems to be a phenomenon fairly new to Monze: "The Tonga say they have always had *basangu* and *basangu* mediums. *Masabe* are something new, appearing within living memory. Most believe the *masabe* came from originally from the Shona-speaking areas of Rhodesia. The very name is probably derived from the Shona *mashave* spirits and mediums" (Colson 1969: 94). *Masabe* are described by Colson in the following way; "*Masabe* is a word used both for spirits and their associated dances. *Masabe* though sometimes originating in human dead are anonymous, unlike *basangu* who have individual names. If of human origin, *masabe* represent alien humanity and are known by tribal rather than personal names. There are also animal *masabe*, spirit *masabe*, and *masabe* which seem to represent a summing up of new experiences symbolised through some one identifying feature as Airplane, Dance, and Guitar *masabe*" (Colson 1969: 69). I came across an interesting example of *masabe* summing up a new experience when I spoke to an old missionary at St. Kizito's. On one occasion he arrived by motorbike to a village after some time away. He could not understand why it seemed as if there had been a slight change of attitude on behalf of some people. Eventually he found out that there had been a spate of possessions for which he was held directly responsible. The spirit had the effect of making the possessed person run along with arms outstretched uttering a strange guttural sound. The spirit was called *honda*.

Further, Colson says "Whereas *basangu* possess their mediums because they seek to control or help the public, *masabe* seek vehicles through whom they can express their own desires and essential natures. The *masabe* medium is no medium at all in the sense of being an intermediary. The possession experience is of private import: it is addressed to the one possessed. It has its public aspects only because treatment involves the performance of a dance ceremony in which others must participate. Failure to carry out the instructions of the *basangu* can react upon the public rather than upon the medium who is only a vehicle for the command. Failure to carry out the orders of *masabe* affect only their own vehicle, unlike *basangu* who influence the world of nature, especially weather" (Colson, 1969: 71).

In her article written in 1969 Colson mentions a certain blurring of the boundaries between *masabe* and *basangu* possession taking place. I shall argue that this is certainly the case now, and that in particular the realm of healing shows an integration of the *masabe* type of possession with the *basangu* possession. I shall also argue that the term "*masabe*" has now come to mean more the process of possession, rather than possession by a particular spirit. I shall begin, however, with a discussion of the more traditional *masabe*-type possession found.

2.2.1. Traditional *Masabe*.

Colson found a large number of spirits which she classified under *masabe*. These included a huge variety of animals, foreigners from different tribes, occupations, such as soldiers and police, vehicles, dance, airplane, and various other spirits such as angels and bush spirits. When asking about traditional *masabe* I have come across a variety of animals which are supposed to possess people, and also the spirit, *bambooba*, which is possibly some type of bush spirit. These follow the classic *masabe* pattern of possession followed by illness, followed by a dance and recognition of the spirit, which then lives in the person, fairly peacefully once recognised. However, it seems that possession by spirits of people, such as foreigners and certain ancestor spirits, is also associated with the assumption of certain of their talents on a permanent basis, and does not follow the classic *masabe* pattern. Healing spirits and rain spirits fall into this category, and I hope to show that they therefore do not fit neatly into the classification of *basangu* and *masabe* outlined by Colson.

Masabe may be animals, foreigners, or some entities that desire particular dances to be performed. The issue of animal spirits is interesting, because cows can be given the spirit of an ancestor during a certain ritual to protect the cows. A bull may be given an ancestor spirit to help it to protect the herd. These are individual spirits and have names associated with them in much the same way as humans. There are also animal spirits which are not individualised and named, however, and these can possess humans who then acquire certain of the characteristics of the animal concerned. The most common spirits are hippos, which force the person to try to cover themselves with any water available when the spirit becomes active. In fact the spirit may become active at the sight

of water. This is understood as a particularly debilitating affliction. Lion spirits make the person want to eat raw meat, even to the point of becoming cannibalistic. Monkey spirits will induce the host to climb in trees and eat raw maize. Possession by "*bambooba*" makes you want to dance wearing a bamboo skirt and leg rattles. Possession by these spirits requires a special dance to recognise the spirit. The spirit once recognised will be with the person all their lives. It will be in passive form much of the time, but may be activated by tapping the host between the shoulder blades. It can also become active if some set of circumstances which are appealing to the particular spirit arise. Thus lion spirits are activated by the sight of blood, and hippo spirits are activated by the presence of water.

2.2.2. Less Typical *Masabe*.

It is quite clear from many of my informants, however, that while many *masabe* do not confer any powers on the hosts, *masabe* can also give the power to heal, if they are found to be *mweenda njangula*, or *manegro* spirits, and to make rain, if the spirit is a rain-making spirit, *basangu ba muula*. A general possession dance may be held when spirits will be recognised, and some will be healing spirits, while others may be animals or other entities, which were discussed earlier. One such dance was held in Mazabuka while I was in Monze. It seems, therefore, that *masabe* have changed somewhat since Colson wrote on the subject.

Further it seems from my informants that the term *masabe* refers more to the possession by spirits rather than to a type of spirit, though it is also used to refer to spirits which possess people. Thus some informants gave rain and healing spirits as examples of *masabe*. Thus the term *masabe* is apparently now used to refer to the process of possession, rather than referring to the spirit which possesses. Thus all *masabe* possession does not follow the classic *masabe* pattern as outlined by Colson. I shall avoid referring to healing spirits and rain spirits as *masabe* to avoid confusion, and I suggest that they should rather be understood as a type of ancestor spirit, which possesses its host and confers certain professional abilities. They are ancestors with a job to do!

2.3. The Professionals: Ancestor Spirits with a Job To Do:

Healing and Making Rain.

There are two areas of life not yet explored which are perhaps far too important to be left to the hazards of the mortal world, and thus require direct ancestral intervention. These are healing and rain-making. Rain-making is common in Africa, and Mbiti suggests: "rain-makers are some of the most important individuals in almost all African societies" (Mbiti 1969: 179; See also Krige and Krige 1943; Binsbergen 1981). Certain types of ancestor spirit seem to have been professionals in former lives, and return to assist the living with the practice of their vocation. Thus healers, rain-makers, and possibly soldiers, return to possess members of the living and bestow on them the knowledge, gifts and the skills of their profession. Mediums usually specialise in healing or rain-making, though they can be possessed by both rain-making and healing spirits, and can practise in both areas. In other cases one spirit may be dominant, and the bearer of the spirit will practise one profession only. In this case the spirit for the other profession will be passive, as one African Doctor explained, she is also possessed by a rain-making spirit, but, it is not a very important spirit, and she does not actively participate in making rain. Both men and women may be possessed by rain-making and healing spirits, and the spirits themselves may be male or female with apparent disregard for the gender of their hosts. This varies from *masabe* possession, in that this type of possession appears to be most common in women, and especially in adolescent girls. It was interesting that illness in old people is thought to be more frequently due to possession; elders are closer to the ancestors.

The differences between this form of possession and the nominal reincarnation of ancestor spirits is as follows. Firstly, nominal reincarnation which involves all aspects of the personality occurs early in life, whereas possession by a professional healing spirit only occurs when the recipient of the spirit is about to embark on a healing career, or indicates that the person has that capability. Sometimes a person too young to be a healer may be possessed, as in one case of a nine year old girl. In this case they must wait to take up their profession. Secondly, ancestor spirits will be in a person or will be part of a person. They will bestow certain tendencies and aptitudes, but will enforce no action on the person who bears their name. The possession by healing spirits or rain spirits,

however, will necessitate certain actions, such as recognising the spirit and wearing of beads and clothes of a certain colour, and it is in the level of control over the individual that the difference is found.

2.3.1. Healing Spirits:

Healing here is understood in its broadest sense of repairing and avoiding damage to people which might result from all kinds of accident, mishap, or evil design of their fellows, as well as physical healing.

Healing spirits seem to fall into two groups. The first group are foreign spirits, which are named by tribe, such as Bemba or Swahili. These apparently bear no kinship relation to the diviner, and when possessed the diviner may speak or understand the language of the spirit which would normally be unfamiliar. The second type of healing spirit may be understood as ancestor spirits. Thus Munkombwe, whose parents came from Malawi, was possessed by an ancestor spirit from Malawi. Most of the Tonga healers I have spoken to, however, say they are possessed by one or both of two named healing spirits. A few informants said the two spirits would always be found together. Thus a person may be possessed by a named ancestor, who in her life was a great healer. In death she will also be one of two types of healing spirit, either *mweenda njangula*, or *manegro*⁷. I was told by one healer that when she dies her spirit will want to continue healing, so she will enter somebody else. It was explained to me that the two types of healing spirit are always found together, though one may be dominant. It is the professional aspect of the spirit that is important, however, rather than the individual identity of the spirit during life. Thus people will always say they are possessed by a *mweenda njangula* or a *manegro* spirit, they will only go into details of which individual ancestor possesses them if asked specifically. There follows an extract from my field-notes which describes Nelly becoming possessed by *manegro* and rain-making spirits, and Regina becoming possessed by *manegro*.

⁷ *Manegro* is also sometimes referred to as *Mangelo*, this point is more fully explored shortly.

Case # 15: Nelly describes how she became possessed by rain-making spirits and manegro.

It all began in April 1970. I was in Grade seven, and I became blind and I could not see. My father thought it was something to do with a headache I was having, so he gave me medicine and my sight was restored. After grade eight I went to St. Joseph's school and I started having dreams. In december 1972 I got married. As soon as I married I had a stomach-ache. I conceived, and had a miscarriage at five months. I went to an nganga who said I was possessed. Up till 1974 I was always sick and I had dreams. I would have dreams of fighting naked men, dreams of digging herbs, dreams of being outside when the rain pours down. In 1976 I was taken to Macha hospital with a swollen thigh. Divination was done and it was found to be due to possession. I was in hospital for two months and eventually the problem was operated on. A lot of pus and water came out. In hospital I dreamt of a man in white who told me to leave hospital. He said I must have a drum ritual and kill two black goats. The drumming went on for two days, and at the end of that time I could dance on my own. I was able to throw away my crutches. Around that time I started having dreams of what was going to happen the following day. In September 1977 I started healing and divining in Monze. I would have dreams in which a man in white would tell me problems and the appropriate treatment. As soon as people would come to see me I would feel their problems in my own body. From about 1979 or 1980 I also had rain-making spirits, so I could make rain.

Case # 16: Regina describes how she became possessed by a manegro.

I had been sick with diarrhoea and vomiting and I went to an nganga. The nganga said I was possessed. I had a head pain, and problems with my knee where I could feel movement. The nganga used a horn to remove a chiposu from my knee. After this the nganga showed me how to heal. I use a half of a tennis ball to remove hiposu. The ancestor spirit in me is an old woman. She wanted npande (a type of beads). When I put on the npande the spirit reveals things to me. The way I should diagnose was revealed to me by the ancestors. They said I should place a string of red and white beads into clear water on a white plate. I could just look at the beads in the water and then I would know what the problem is. But after 15 years the ancestors stopped me from diagnosing like this and gave me a new way. They said to use a special axe, which is flat on one side.

The elements of dreaming and being ill before learning to be a curer are common ones in the descriptions given of becoming a healer⁸. "Mweenda njangula", is described as

⁸ Thus, for example Anne describes how she was sick with leg pains as a young girl. She dreamt of herbs in the bush to cure herself and felt better after collecting the herbs. She did not begin healing right away as people would have thought she was too young. Eventually she began to heal. Her method of diagnosis is that she dreams of the cure, and feels the pains of the patient in her own body. She is possessed by a Bemba spirit.

Another instance is provided by Chuunga, another African Doctor. He was sick for three years, and began to dream of medicines. When he sees a sick person he will also begin to suffer. For divination he uses a red bead, which should be placed on the head, if he does not feel the symptoms himself. There are several different spirits, Bembas and Swahili.

a spirit of herbalism and traditional medicine. All informants I have spoken to agree that this spirit is associated with red beads, and one informant takes this further to say that the spirit demands she must wear a red dress and red scarf in addition to red beads. Unfortunately I was unable to obtain a picture of this woman in red. Possession by this spirit, as with others, is usually indicated by a prolonged illness. The nature of this illness varied in the accounts that I was given, but the spirit is apparently associated with a disease involving the loss of the use of one eye, one leg and one arm. *Mweenda njangula* is associated with the bush, and the medicines that come from the bush. When I went to collect medicines in the bush with Mary she persuaded Litrecy to begin digging at a particular spot for a root. After some time digging we discovered a small frog. This alarmed Mary, who said that *mweenda njangula* was refusing to give us the medicines. She began asking if either Litercy or I were menstruating, as this could have affected the spirit adversely.

The second spirit is named *manegro*. This is also a healing spirit, and it has various associations. The main theme appears to be healing with the aid of prayer and the Bible⁹. The spirit was sometimes described as a "Christian Spirit". When Nelly was possessed by this spirit she would actually use a Bible to divine with, while another would pray before using coloured beads in water to diagnose. There is also an association of angels, and purity. The spirit is also associated with race, and people of another race, as implied by the name. Again this spirit demands certain clothes of its devotees, in this case white is the preferred colour. Overleaf there follows a picture of an African Doctor wearing the clothes demanded by her possessing spirit.

Manegro may be an offshoot of the *mangelo* spirit. Colson gives some interesting historical data here. Colson (1969) records that possession by *mangelo* spirits was the most common type of possession in 1963-1965. She writes: "Until recently both *basangu* possession and *masabe* cults existed without acknowledgement of the existence of Christianity, and Christianity has not as yet given rise to any separatist movement in this region which admits of possession. Recently, a few mediums have appeared who

⁹ As Colson points out: "The Bible was then the source of truth, and its truth assured all the other things that Europeans had brought. It was the source of European wealth and power" (1970: 150).



Plate # 9: An African Doctor Possessed by Manegro Spirit.

incorporate aspects of Christianity into their cults. Since the Tonga classify mediums as being either *basangu* or *masabe*, a valiant attempt is being made to force the development of the new cults into one or the other pattern. In the Lusitu area recently settled by Tonga removed from the lake Kariba basin, the man who announced himself in 1959 or 1960 as a *mangelo*, that is 'angel', was coping in some measure with Christianity. He claims to have received his mission from a *mangelo* living in Rhodesia who confirmed him in his knowledge of the *mangelo*. He himself practises as a healer who drives out ghosts sent by sorcerers. Soon after he began to practise, others announced that they too were possessed by *mangelo*, and typically they have developed a *mangelo* dance along the lines of other *masabe*" (Colson 1969: 101).

She points out that *mangelo* had its drum rhythms, its bead wristlets, its songs, its medicines, as does any possession dance, and spread in the same fashion that other *masabe* spread. "The various activities of the original *mangelo* impinge, however, upon another field, that of communal rituals. As such he becomes associated with *basangu* mediums" (Colson 1969: 102). Some villagers apparently "attributed to him the power to speak about the rain and other matters reserved to *basangu* mediums. Despite this the *mangelo* movement is being assimilated to the *masabe* pattern, with men and women made ill by the spirit or essence of angels instead of by the spirit or essence of the airplane or the dance" (Colson 1969: 102).

Another informant is described as being possessed by God or Jesus or the angels and "She used the sign of the cross and Christian tags freely as she prophesied and related her experiences"(Colson 1969: 102). She was accepted as a *basangu* medium and consulted if the rains failed, as other *basangu* would be consulted. Colson comments: "Between 1963 and 1965 Mangelo spread widely and proliferated into a number of different aspects all of which were said to be European in origin: Negro, American, Japanese" (Colson 1969: 85).

Thus the finding that *manegro* is one of the main healing spirits is interesting on several levels. Firstly, it shows that the influence of Christianity on the spirit world has continued to be of mounting importance. Secondly, growth of the *mangelo* spirit as more than just

another *masabe* dance has continued. Thirdly, the line between the *masabe* and the *basangu* has apparently become further blurred, as now mediums are possessed by both the rain spirits and *manegro* spirits. It would seem likely that healing spirits should be *basangu*, because they have both individual and collective names, but the possession by healing spirits is recognised in a traditional *masabe* possession dance.

2.3.2. Rain-making Spirits: *Basangu ba muula*.

Rain-making spirits are slightly different from healing spirits, as the ability to make rain is traditionally the domain of the Rain-Makers who were made Chiefs during the colonial era. People possessed by rain spirits, therefore, will often say they are possessed by Kings, *ndijidwe baami*, and rain spirits are sometimes referred to as spirits of the kings, *basangu ba baami*. I have been told that rain spirits are also ancestor spirits, however, so the exact nature of who is possessing is unclear. There is some association of rain-making spirits and possession by snakes, as in the quote at the beginning of this chapter. One informant explained "The snake is the rain-making spirit" *inzoka ya malende*. This connection was born out in Nelly's description of the rain-making ceremony in which a central aspect of the ritual involved the appearance of a green Mamba snake from a sacred thicket, which then wrapped itself round the rain-maker. After it disappeared rain would come. Colson also found the association of rain-making spirits and snakes (1977). Other associations with the rain spirits were that they would be hard to identify, invisible, be associated with the first chief Monze, be very tall with the face in the clouds and be associated with the holy thicket of the rain shrine.

Possession by rain-making spirits involves a similar process of becoming ill and then having the spirit recognised. The colour of clothing required in the case is black, as in the picture of the rain-maker over leaf. The rain-maker wears strings of black and white beads on his wrist, and around his neck. The black beads are for a rain spirits, the white ones come from the patriline side. However, the white beads, he says are not for *manegro*, but for a bright future. In the following extract from my field notes the rain-maker tells of the process of being selected to be a rain-maker.

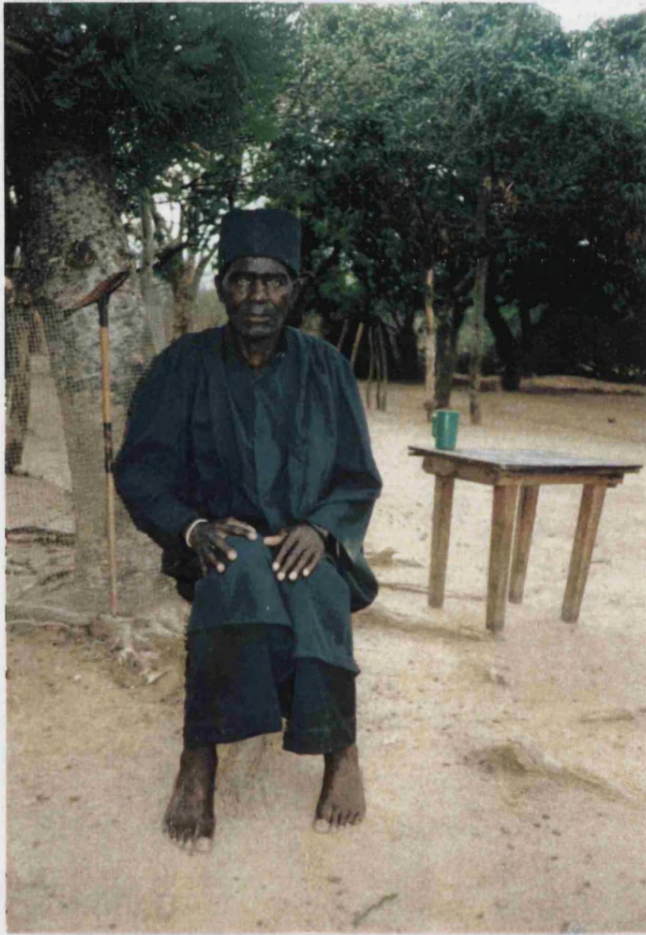


Plate # 10: A rain-maker in the clothes demanded by his spirit.

Case # 17: Becoming possessed by a Rain-making spirit.

I got sick and I started dreaming of the palace. The spirits directed me to the chief's house. When I reached there the chief tied some black beads on my wrists. He told me to go home and get a hoe without a handle and a black chicken to take to the shrine to offer. I presented the hoe and the chicken at the shrine and immediately the rain started to fall down. This was at the beginning of the rainy season, but rain would have fallen down no matter what time of year.

The colour associated with the rain spirit is black, with black beads, black clothing, and black animals being involved in rain rituals. I was told that this is to represent the black colour of the rain clouds. I was also told that black beads are always for rain, though other colours which become classified as black, such as blue, can be used as well.

In this section we have examined spirits that can possess people, and some of the changes that have taken place since Colson wrote on the Tonga. Of particular interest for this thesis are the healing and rain-making spirits. The classical African colour classification involving red, black and white is evident here. White is associated with *manegro* and *mangelo* spirits, and thus white becomes the colour of the angels, the Bible, and also has associations with ideas of racial difference. Red is associated with *mweenda njangula*, and thus by implication becomes the colour of traditional medicines, and the bush where they are found. Black is associated with rain-making, and thus with rain, rain clouds, and the animals sacrificed to make rain. This colour classification will become significant later as I draw the links between rain-making as an essential substance at the beginning of production, and semen as an essential substance at the beginning of reproduction.

SECTION THREE: SOME COMPETING DISCOURSES.

Part of the legacy of the relatively recent colonial experience in Zambia has been the quite overt discourses relating to the world of the spirits. In light of the previous discussion of ancestor spirits, names and possession, it can be seen that ancestor spirits play a crucial role in social reproduction, and also figure prominently in the production of rain. Rain is perhaps the initial prerequisite without which neither production or reproduction can occur. Discourses about ancestor spirits therefore cut to the heart of ideas of production and reproduction. We now outline some of the history of mission activity, as this has been one important source of discourse.

3.1. Advent of Indirect Rule: The battle for legitimacy.

The British colonial policy of Indirect Rule required that representative leaders of the Tonga were to be utilized (Vickery 1986; Vail 1989; Hall 1976). Obviously, however, the acephalus nature of Tonga society meant that this task was fraught with difficulty. Monze Ncete was the first leader to be tabbed by the new regime. As Vickery points out, however, "in designating, or as they thought, recognizing, political authorities deemed more or less permanent and hereditary, the British were establishing an essentially new status with little base or parallel in Tonga tradition" (Vickery 1986: 64). Colson found in the 1940's that chiefs emphasised their position to people as representatives of government. The rest of the Tonga view these chiefs not as hereditary representatives of the community, but as government appointments. The language itself makes this point; the chiefs were often referred to as "government chiefs" or "box chiefs", from the box given by the British in which to keep the symbols of chieftainship, such as medals¹⁰. A recent holder of the Monze title, distinguishing between the powers of these appointees and the spiritual powers of his ancestors, called the former "Chiefs for Ruling, not of Rain" (O'Brein 1983). The importance of ancestor spirits in providing legitimacy to chiefs is outlined in the following description from chief Monze.

¹⁰ It was interesting that when I visited the Chief Monze he had a wooden box in which he kept his "address book."

Case # 18: Chief Monze: How he got elected.

Before becoming chief I did not even think of becoming chief. Just occasionally I would dream of the thicket. I told my uncle who was at that time the chief, and he said it was probably the spirits telling me that I would become chief. The spirits told the chief to prepare in 1989, so they must have told him that death was approaching. When the chief died Father Dominic¹¹ was away, but he wrote two names on a piece of paper, my name and the Father's younger brother on a paper. Perhaps the spirits spoke Father Dominic about this. Anyway, I was elected in, but with the help of the spirits.

Thus there was a contest for legitimacy inherent in the colonial situation between the old powers and the new. This theme is also evident in the area of health, where missionaries used Western medicine, science and technology to add legitimacy to their religious message, and is evident today in the claims of traditional practitioners to be able to cure such diseases as Aids by re-defining them as "African diseases", and as such amenable to the older powers of the traditional healers (Ingstad 1990). Aids will be discussed further in chapter four.

3.2. History of rain-making.

Before Colonisation, the Tonga were a notably egalitarian and acephalus people. The figure of respect was the rain-maker, who controlled water, the source of crops, cows, and thus possibly life itself. To refuse water was a great insult and showed the ultimate disregard for fellow men. Songs are written about the low character of those who withhold water, and withholding water is considered an insult to the Kings, who gave the water through their work as rain-makers.

On Colonisation the rain-maker, Monze, was made a "chief", and given secular powers. an event described by the current chief Monze in chapter one. It was explained to me that in fact Livingstone was a little mistaken, because the chief who he met was in fact the second chief. The first chief did not die, but "ascended", and was still around in some form. That is why he has no grave. He still appears to people and possesses them. In this

¹¹ Father Dominic was directly in line to become a chief. However, he became a priest, and thus gave up his right to become a chief. By the time I undertook field work he was an old man, and sadly he died while I was in Monze. Perhaps ironically, he was killed by a train while trying to cross the "Line of Rail", the railway that so shaped the history of Monze. At his funeral, there was torrential rain, and many said this was proof that he was the greatest rain-maker of all.

form he often gives the ability to make rain.

It is interesting that the ability to make rain has devolved from the Monze line. The present chief Monze has no ability to make rain, and says he is not possessed, though he had ancestral sanction for his election as chief. He took me to see his chief rainmaker, who he has designated as being in control of rain-making. When I asked why the present chief does not make rain he told me "They all had helpers, I command and they fight!" The powers of rain-makers are under deep discussion at present, as there has been prolonged drought on the Plateau.

A ceremony, the *lwiindi*, to make the rain should be held every year, and I was assured it was to be held soon, as I spoke to the chief and his Rain-Maker at the time when the rains were supposed to begin. In fact the *lwiindi* was not held in 1992. The rain-fall had been good, and there was some concern that a *lwiindi* ceremony would disturb the rains. There seems to be a general lack of confidence in the rain-maker's abilities to control the elements, with even the suggestion that he may be having an adverse effect.

3.3. Brief History of missionary activity.

Vickery points out that: "Unlike these of many regions of Africa, Missionaries on the plateau did not serve as cats paws for European colonial conquest. They arrived only after the Company administration was secure" (Vickery 1986: 91). Carmody describes the central aim of these missionaries as being to "enlighten the darkness of heathenism" and to "make Christians of the Batonga" (Carmody 1988: 194). In 1905 a Jesuit Mission was set up at Chikuni, near Chisekesi. By that time the American-based Seventh Day Adventists had settled on a site only five miles north, in what became Rusangu Mission. Also in 1905 the American Brethren in Christ Established Macha Mission, not far from Mapanza, North of Choma. A fourth station was founded by the Anglican universities mission to central Africa in 1911, also near Mapanza. Thus there were two concentrations of mission activity, both with two denominations at work. These missions went far beyond teaching the gospel; they were "torch-bearers of capitalist social norms"(Vickery 1986: 91). Fr. J. Moreau, an early missionary on the plateau commented: "Material advantages are more readily appreciated than purely spiritual ones"

(Vickery 1986: 91). Initial missionary activity, therefore, concentrated upon offering more tangible benefits, such as the ox-plough, and health. Hence education and cultural suggestion were a central part of mission activity, and as such Missions contributed to the creation of an educational and cultural elite among the Tonga.

Several authors have discussed the importance of Missions for African health (Vaughan 1991; Good 1991). As Good comments: "Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions pioneered Western Medicine and Public Health decades in advance of health services provided by colonial governments" (Good 1991: 1). Gelfand's work on early health in Zambia also supports this point. "When sleeping sickness threatened the future of the country the administration knew it could rely on the doctors of the London Missionary society and the Church of Scotland, whose work for the missions in this territory was of a high standard" (Gelfand 1961: 159). Likewise, "When Forbes and his small band of officials took over the administration in 1895 there were already a few doctors belonging to the London Missionary society practising south of Lake Tanganyika" (Gelfand 1961: 159).

Even when government services were set up they often catered almost exclusively for the European population. Gelfand's work is again informative on this point. In his discussion of early health services there is a tacit assumption that these services were for Europeans, as when he describes the health problem in North-Eastern Rhodesia as being less serious than that in North-Western Rhodesia, because not only was the area less malarious, but there was also a much smaller European population (Gelfand 1961: 58).

Missions continue to be extremely important, and Good suggests that church-based hospitals and health-care programmes continue to account for 25-50% of available services in most African Countries. Medical missionaries are crucial as they often used the provision of health care and the miracles of science to justify and legitimate the powers of the "Great Healer in the Sky" (Vaughan 1991). They also used this to give legitimacy to their religious and cultural message. Vaughan describes an example of a Moslem patient being retained in hospital after cure to save his soul, for example, and comments; "There was no escape from a degree of evangelizing in the mission hospital."

(Vaughan 1991: 62). Further, the message of missionaries appealed more to some sections of society than others. Hence Colson describes how the notion that the Bible is the source of truth appealed to young people who were literate, as this undercut the power of the elders who were illiterate. The "Africanisation" of the Christian church has been a subject of much study, as well as the extent to which Africans have been able to use Christianity in their own struggles. Thus Colson describes how some Tonga pointed out that Whites killed Christ, hence defending Christianity while undermining European authority (Colson 1971, Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). The Christian message was often in direct conflict with traditional explanations for illness, in terms of ancestor spirits. Thus Lan (1985) describes some of the attempts by missionaries to de-legitimize ancestor spirits in Zimbabwe, and Colson also points out that many Tonga are Christian and hence deny explanations of illness in terms of ancestor spirits. (Colson 1969, 1970).

3.4. Beads (*bulungu*): Unification of God and the ancestors in the healing process.

Beads have been mentioned several times in this chapter, and here we explore some of the ways in which they may be understood. Small coloured beads are used in a variety of situations, and the particular colour is often very important. The beads were reportedly introduced by Europeans. This was confirmed during a visit to the museum in Livingstone. However, a skeleton which dated from the eleventh century and was found about a hundred kilometres from Monze was displayed with items found in the grave, and these included a string of small blue beads. The use of beads, therefore obviously has some antiquity, and they continue to be used today in various important situations. Their use is apparently curtailed to some extent due to the problem of obtaining beads, which are now reputedly imported from Namibia. One informant suggested that possibly tree fibres might have been used before beads were available, and fibres or even a line of vaseline are sometimes used instead of beads.

A woman may influence the sex of her next child by swapping the beads worn around her waist with a woman who has many children of the desired sex. If beads are not worn even a rope may be tied and then swapped. Misfortune and sickness could be passed from one person to another by leaving beads on the road in the hope that somebody would find

them and pick them up, and thus inherit the problem. Beads are tied on the wrist of a child when it is named. Beads are also generally associated with possession, and when Litrecy and I went to interview an African Doctor who was possessed, she said that both Litrecy and I were possessed, though we did not yet know it. In my case this showed itself because I was wearing some earrings with small beads!

Beads are also found on many of the items used both by witches and African Doctors, as is evidenced in the discussion in chapter two on the witches' paraphernalia. Red beads and white beads are particularly common, though green yellow and blue are also found. As already discussed beads are understood to be required by, or represent certain healing spirits. Red for the *mweenda njangula*, and white for the *manegro*. Black beads are associated with rain spirits, and are worn by those possessed of a rain spirit. Blue beads are also associated with rain spirits, and some informants stated that in dreams they would see the chief Monze, wearing beads and a leopard skin.

Given the previous discussion regarding the healing spirits, what can be found encoded within the use of beads? Firstly, beads are strongly associated with ancestor spirits, and the protection of ancestor spirits, as is seen in the tying of beads at the naming of the child. Secondly beads are associated with rain spirits, *mweenda njangula*, and *manegro* spirits, which I have argued are also a type of ancestor spirit. The use of red and white beads by many healers thus calls on ancestral aid and invokes the powers of traditional healers, and herbalists, as is found in the use of red beads. The use of white beads invokes the powers not only of the ancestors, but the power of another race, and the powers of Christianity and ultimately God to heal.

Most of the government health services that were first set up in Zambia were colonial institutions designed largely to cater for the needs of the White settler population. Health care for the indigenous population was largely left to the missionaries. For many Africans, therefore, their experiences of allopathic healing would have been inextricably linked with their experience of Christianity. The power of the whites to heal would have been perceived to come directly from God. The use of white beads in the healing process, with their associations of healing with the Bible and race and purity, can be seen

as a direct attempt to harness the healing powers of both the ancestors and the ultimate source of the power to heal as explained and controlled by medical missionaries.

3.5. Different ways of living with God and the ancestors.

Much of the preceding discussion relates to the interaction of the "new" spirits introduced by Missionaries, and the older spirits which inhabited Monze before colonisation. I have suggested that there has been a degree of integration and accommodation found within the cosmology of people living in Monze. I now turn to examine this in greater detail.

3.5.1. Community Attitudes to God and the Ancestors.

Within the local community also the debate and the drawing of various lines between God and the ancestors continues. Thus one informant told me that "Possession and spiritism is not Christian, it is Satan's work" (See Colson 1970 for more on this point).

Case # 19: Cleansing.

*I am a Christian and my husband was also a Christian, before he died. When the body was brought home I was told to do the last embrace, but I refused, because of my faith. For guards I had people from my church. Even when I was told not to greet people and stay inside I refused. When the time to cleanse came, the brother of my husband was supposed to make love with me. But I refused to be cleansed, saying that he had to take responsibility anyway. My husband is dead and cannot do anything to me. Well, people did not mix with me, they said I was unclean, and would not let me draw water from the same well. Then the rains came, and my well was full. Then they all came to my well, which had been left to me by my husband. It is just lucky that my eyes troubled me before my husband died (She wears thick glasses), because everybody would say it was the ghost. But I know, my husband is DEAD and he cannot trouble me now.
(Extract from an interview with an old widow).*

This example is interesting, because it shows that she had adopted a view of death far removed from the traditional view of the afterlife, in which the "living Dead" can affect those still alive. The extent of her adoption of Christianity apparently extended to altering fundamental beliefs about what happens after you die. For the chiefs and rainmakers too the question has to be addressed. Thus the present chief Monze told me that he cannot communicate with his ancestors, probably because he is a Christian. The Spirits, however, apparently indicated by various means that they approved of his appointment as chief, as we saw earlier in this chapter. The chief's main rainmaker, whose picture we

saw earlier, when dressed in full ceremonial clothes for the rain festival, wears a hat reminiscent of a cardinal's. On the front of this is embroidered a cross, "to remember Jesus".

For many informants the line between traditional beliefs and Christianity has been drawn to oppose witchcraft and Christianity. There is more witchcraft in the Western province, it was explained, because the Bible is not there. The only people who are safe from witchcraft are good Christians. Just being a Christian is apparently not enough. This point was demonstrated when a woman who was an active member of the church died, but was still the subject of lurid accusations relating to her involvement in witchcraft, as we find in the case study in a later chapter. Likewise, the *idomba*, a creature made from human blood, which we meet later, can only be destroyed by a priest, according to some informants. Likewise, a common punishment for a witch is to have a cross carved on their head. This is apparently to represent the coffins the witch has put people inside. On this point many whites were thought to be safe from witchcraft because of belief in the Bible.

3.5.2. African Doctors: attitudes to God and the ancestors.

Among African Doctors there is likewise a variation in attitude to how to reconcile God and the ancestors. The fact of possession by *manegro* spirits means that for many of them the power of God and the Bible is already within them, so that they are possessed by an ancestor spirit that draws power directly from God. Apart from that many healers make a point of limiting their attention and recognition of the ancestors in deference to their Christian beliefs. There is, however, a lot of variation in how this is done. Thus one African Doctor mentioned simply that she always prays to God before healing because she knows that the ultimate power to heal comes from him. She is already possessed by a *manegro* spirit. Another did not use drums "because it is like recognising the spirits before God". Drums are used in a variety of situations to communicate with and recognise spirits. One man said that he used ancestral prayers, but did not pray to the ancestors. Three healers who said they were not possessed at all linked this with their Christian beliefs. Thus they said they might have been possessed, but their faith prevents them. One *nganga*, interestingly enough, used Saints to help him. He had a massive

ledger entitled the "Wisdom Book", in which a huge variety of cures and formulae were written down. Part of this was an alphabetical list of complaints. Under "C", for example, were found "Car Crash, Child, (to bring home), Cough", and under "D", could be found, "Diarrhoea, Death sentence (Avoidance of), Dog bite". Next to each problem and disease was the name of the saint whose speciality each problem was, and to whom prayer should be directed. This list had apparently been sent on mail order from America after following up an advert in a newspaper in Zimbabwe. This list from his Wisdom Book is so interesting that I have decided to reproduce it in an appendix at the end of this thesis.

Case # 20: Nelly tells of her personal struggles with possession as satanism.

When I was a child in Choma we went to a pilgrim's holiness church. Then we came to Monze, in 1973, and there was no church so we joined the Brethren in Christ Church. From 1987 the Brethren in Christ Church was pressurising me to give up my profession. The pastors gave me verses about spirits and divination. I began to ask myself whether I was working for God or the spirits. I continued to heal, even though I was unsure. When the preacher began to preach against traditional healing I would feel general body pains. In 1990 I called the church to preach to my family. Myself and my husband were seated in this very room. My husband was angry with me for thinking of giving up, and asked me if I wanted to be ill again like before. I did not listen to my husband. I listened to God and tried to find the truth. I eventually realised I was living in a satanic world. What made me realise was the spirits telling me what to do all the time, giving me orders every day. On the 16th Aug. 1992 I went to a meeting and explained my predicament to members of the church. The cognator, who was white, prayed for me for about 10 or 20 minutes. I felt as if all my bones were coming apart. I was crying and screaming. Eventually I felt the strength coming back to me, I felt like my chest was opening and then I felt all right. So, the cognator, Miss Mira, told the bishops to come to my house the following Wednesday, the 22nd of August. They came as planned, and collected all the things that I used for divination. I had those things for about 15 years. They took them to the bush and burnt them (Extract from field notes).

3.5.3. Church attitudes to God and the ancestors.

The attitudes to such accommodation found within the Mission hospital and the missionary community appear to vary between churches, within the churches, and also between the African and White Church officials. At one end of the spectrum the approach is characterised by gentle persuasion and alteration of certain customs and beliefs, with a stated intention to compromise. At the other pole are attempts to root out and destroy the signs, symbols and practises of traditional spiritual worship, which are understood to

be none other than evidence of the presence of Satan in Monze. It seems that at present the Catholic Church is practising a more integrationist approach than the various branches of the Protestant Church found in Monze.

The debate seems to turn on the question of how God should be worshipped, rather than whether God exists, or which God exists, or how many Gods exist. For there would appear to be an almost unanimous opinion that God, as roughly conceived by the Christian faith, does exist, and as such should be worshipped in some way. The traditional name for God would be "Leza" (see Hopgood 1950).

The most acrimonious part of the debate revolves around the question of whether ancestor spirits can be a part of Christian worship, and if so, to what extent can they be recognised before idolatry occurs. At one extreme is the reasonably common view that ancestors are Satanic manifestations¹². As such they have to be combatted in every way possible. This view was expressed by some members of the clergy as well as members of the community. Thus Nelly tells previously of her experiences with the Brethren in Christ church, which is firmly against ancestor spirits in any form. She was possessed by both healing and rain-making spirits and was an advanced and extremely successful consultant of some fifteen years experience. This, she was made to realise, was all part of Satan's work, and she gave up her profession. It is perhaps a measure of her conviction in this matter that she now supports her nine children by selling fish in the market. I was lucky enough to interview Miss Mira, the person directly responsible for Nelly's exorcism, when she came to Nelly's house one day.

¹² For more on this point see (Lan 1985: 40).

Case # 21: Miss Mira.

Eventually Miss Mira arrived, a plump American lady of about 50, wearing a floral dress. One of the first things she told me was that she had been in Zambia for thirty five years. The Brethren in Christ church is American-based, where it was founded about 200 years ago. The first mission in the area was established in 1906. I asked whether she would discuss some issues with me. She said that she would, but said that she wanted to talk to Nelly first. She was due to go back to America soon and she wanted to take the good news home, because this is the first time she has been to call on Nelly since Nelly was saved. She began by asking how Nelly's life has changed since being saved. Nelly said everything is better now.

M. What differences have the children noticed?

N. Well, before I used to make money by traditional healing, and now I make money by selling things in the market.

M. Yes, but what about family prayers?

N. Well, you know children are never too keen on praying...

M. What difference have you noticed at church?

N. Well, I feel more free, because I am not possessed any more. I went to my mother's village, and there were shrines there. I even touched one of them, and I felt nothing. I am no longer a person who is possessed.

M. What would you like me to tell the people in America about you? I have already sent them one letter about you. (An embarrassed laugh from Nelly).

N. Well, tell them that I am happy and my life is better now.

M. Did you get the package I sent you?

N. Yes.

M. Well, I thought that you could use those little books to help you when people come to see you to be healed. You can refuse them and give them one of the books and say "Here is something that can really heal you".

(The books are fetched, they are little booklets with Bible quotes written in Tonga.) Everybody started reading the booklets, so I took the chance to ask Miss Mira a few questions.

L. What would the church attitude be to herbalism without spirits involved?

M. To herbalism as such we have no objections, and I believe there are some herbal medicines that do work. The problem of course is the regulation and dosage. Also I doubt whether there are really any herbalists who only deal with herbs without spirits. The power to heal has to come from somewhere, and I think when you get into it there are usually some spirits involved.

L. What do you think ancestor spirits are?

M. I believe they are satanic manifestations. I believe there are spirits, but these are not them. They are Satan's imposters. (Extract from field notes).

On the subject of beads this particular church seems to be equally strict. Before being admitted for treatment at their mission hospital, all signs and symbols of ancestral recognition, such as beads and strings, must be removed.

A more common approach, however, is to attempt some level of integration and cooperation between the various spirits. Many people compare the Ancestor spirits to the Saints. It was explained to me that the early missionaries accused the Tonga of Idolatry. The debate now turns around saints: if you can pray to God with the intercession of saints, the why not with the intercession of Ancestor Spirits, is the argument of many African clergymen, and some European ones. One response is that Saints have been approved, while Ancestors have not. The answer given to this is that some Saints are not approved, but have led exemplary lives, so this still does not exclude the ancestors. This debate appears to be still going on within the Catholic Church, with accusations of Eurocentrism from the one side countered by arguments about dilution of Christianity on the other.

There are certain boundaries drawn, however, which serve to limit recognition of the ancestors. These were explained to me by priests who would otherwise agree with praying through ancestors. One informant said that beads should always be removed from babies before baptism, while another said that a careful questioning of the parents to ensure they did not hold the Ancestors above God would be sufficient. The wearing of beads on babies is being discouraged, while instead a small statue of the Virgin Mary should be placed on a string around the child's wrist. On the subject of funerals the general attitude seemed to be that so long as no traditional rituals were performed on the body before the Christian service, it would be handed over after the service with no questions asked as to what would then happen. There is also variation between official attitudes of the church and practises. Thus one informant explained that the Church says they condemn cleansing, but in practise other ways are acceptable than the sexual one.

There is enormous variation, therefore, in how healers, clergymen and members of the public recognise and live with the spirits which inhabit their world. The problem of knowing what was right seemed to tax some people more than others. One particularly thoughtful man told me the following story. He suggested that religion changes as society changes, and society has no doubt changed. The old African ways of worshipping God have been overtaken by the European ways of worshipping God. His grandfather used to say that the problem is that we do not know which is the right way to worship. "What

would happen" he would say, "if you got to the Day of Judgement and find that God is there saying that the old African ways of worshipping were right after all?!!" At this thought the assembled group of friends laughed uproariously.

Conclusions.

In this chapter I have showed some of the competing discourses found in Monze regarding the role of the ancestor spirits in reproduction of the person. I have explored the importance of ancestor spirits and reincarnation in this process, and tried to demonstrate how new religious beliefs have challenged some ideas of reproduction, naming and the after-life. I have shown how the two key processes of healing and making rain are being challenged by Christianity, but have none the less shown considerable resilience and adaptability. A key underlying theme of these issues has been the ancestors as the source of rain, and thus water. In the following chapter I will explore ideas of the corporeal body and the way in which water forms a key element of the physical make-up of a person.

CHAPTER FOUR:

BLOOD AND WATER:

BODY SUBSTANCES AND REPRODUCTION.

And so, here we are, you and I: members of a species whose blood runs back through the origins of the earth....to carbon and phosphorous and sulphur-all seething in the heart of a dying star...to the cauldron of creation that preceded the big bang, when time itself was timeless (Pellegrino 1986: v).

This quote is at the beginning of a book about western cosmology as understood at the end of the twentieth century. I have chosen to begin this chapter about what constitutes a body in Monze with this quote as it highlights, albeit in a fairly poetic fashion, the way that the constituents of a body are linked with other fundamental beliefs about the nature of the universe. In Monze many discourses exist about the universe, and different universes entail different ideas about the body and its constituents. It is extremely difficult to separate out ideas of the body which are "traditional" from those which are of more recent origin. The models which I present in this thesis thus often represent an amalgam of school biology classes combined with elders' wisdom, mission messages, and the dictates of American television and European fashion magazines¹.

¹ The effects of these multiple discourses on the body, with their different messages and power bases are profound and often contradictory. Thus elite women aspire to fair skin, straight hair, and a slender body largely due to the influence of European and American body ideals. To further this image hair extensions were commonly used, hair cream (called "Elite") can make the hair look shiny and straight, bleaches are available for the skin, and there were periodic attempts to get Jane Fonda workout sessions started. The latter, it has to be said, were always a failure. The image of a thin, slender body contrasts sharply with the older ideal of a fat round body as being attractive. Wealthy women were aware of this contradiction. They were almost always fairly fat by European standards, and would sometimes reconcile this desire to be both thin and fat by saying that thin women are all right to look at, but fat women were better in bed. An interesting example of this contradiction was the singer Tshala Mwana, also known as the "Songbird of Zaire". While I was in Zambia she was extremely popular, and was often seen as a type of sex goddess. Men would go wild at her concerts as she gyrated her huge hips, and women would say she was nothing but a tart. Tshala must weigh at least 15 stones. She is currently trying to break into the European market, and I read a newspaper interview in which she complained that in Europe she was forced to slim down for the audience, while in Africa she would have to fatten up again (see article in appendix 2). For more on this see Manganyi (1977) and Comaroff (1985).

In this chapter we begin to explore the complicated question of what exactly constitutes a body in Monze, and the even more complicated question of how bodies reproduce. In the following chapters this leads on to a consideration of how the different body substances involved in reproduction are linked metaphorically with different types of production, and how this connects with witchcraft. In chapter six we examine how semen becomes associated with processes of growth, and thus with plants and maize in particular. In chapter seven we examine how menstrual blood becomes associated with processes of replication of animals, and cattle in particular.

I argue in this thesis that there are two essential processes in Monze involved in reproducing the human body: growing and replicating. In this chapter I introduce the idea that some substances are associated with growth, while others are associated with replication. Growth may roughly be understood as the process of becoming bigger, as plants grow, children grow, and thin people become fat. Replication may be understood as the process of doubling, reproducing. The process is associated with humans and animals rather than plants. Water is associated with growth, but growth of plants; water cannot grow humans. Humans grow from semen, and from eating maize; thus semen and maize are also substances associated with growth. Semen and maize are converted into blood and thus people become bigger. The secret of replication is contained in menstrual blood, although the blood in the rest of the body also has a residual ability to replicate.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first explores the substances that make up the body. Certain foods are included in this, and I suggest, therefore, that food must be considered when we come to explore substance exchange. The second section covers the process of the reproduction of substance, while the final section tackles the process of substance exchange between men and women, and introduces the links between eating and sex.

SECTION ONE: INTRODUCING BODY SUBSTANCES.

1.1. Water.

The topic of water was introduced in the last chapter. The significance of water, *meenda* lies behind much of the concern with rain and rain-making. Water is considered a gift of the ancestors to the living; it is a substance of equality, and it should be freely available to all, as the rain is available to all. Water is the cherished gift of the ancestors, and to withhold water when it is requested is the highest order of stinginess, an insult to the individual concerned, and to the ancestors who sent the rain.

Water is one of the primary constituents of all human beings.

The colour associated with water is black, black for the rain-clouds that are the original source of water. Water when it falls as rain is the source of growth of plants. For six or so months in the year rain does not fall. The ground becomes barren and dusty. When the rains finally come there is a dramatic transformation in the landscape, as plants shoot out of the newly fertile soil. Water is the agent of growth and transformation of the land.

Water in the body is appropriately found in the mouth, in the form of saliva. When paying homage to the ancestors water is taken into the mouth and sprayed onto the ground, an act reminiscent of rain. During the naming ceremony of a child, discussed in the last chapter, water may be sprayed from the mouth of an adult onto the face of the child who is now under the protection of the ancestors. However, while water is seen as one of the constituents of a person and appropriately found in the mouth, water in other parts of the body is inimical to the reproduction of life. This statement will become clearer over the following chapters. However, I will briefly outline the point here. Water is opposed to blood. In other words, blood contains various properties which water can undermine. Thus a sick person will develop "watery blood", and become weak rather than strong. The fertility of a woman can be undermined by a "watery vagina". The fertility inherent in semen can be undermined by water: "watery semen" can be a cause of male infertility².

² Male semen, I will argue, is best understood as a type of blood, a point that is explained shortly.

1.2. Blood *bulowa*.

The term *bulowa*, meaning "blood" is used to cover a range of body fluids. It may refer to semen, sometimes to vaginal fluid, menstrual blood, breast milk, and red blood. Statements such as "blood is life" and "blood makes a person live", or "blood makes a human being" are common responses to questions about blood. As one informant explained: "The blood makes a person move, because blood moves. It makes up a person's life" (*mbobubi bwamuntu*)³. A healthy person will have a lot of blood, which will manifest itself in the appearance of them being fat, a condition which also denotes wealth. All illness is seen as involving loss of blood, which in extreme cases will manifest itself as thinning of the body⁴. Blood is understood as a type of food in some contexts; it can be stolen and used in wealth production; it forms an essential ingredient of many witches' potions, and it can be passed on to the next generation. In a sort of asexual reproduction, blood can also be used to create a being which is half human and half snake, the *idomba*, which we meet again later.

1.2.1. Red Blood.

This is, roughly, the red substance which comes out from the skin when a person is cut. It does not include menstrual blood. It is interesting, in light of the fact that the Tonga are matrilineal, that the "red blood" is believed to be passed from father to child. Informants, when asked whether the baby in the womb would have the blood of the father or the mother, would generally explain that the baby would have the blood of both parents, but it would have more of the father's blood, and only a little of the mother's blood. Some informants even thought that the mother contributed no blood at all to the child. Thus children of the same father will share the same red blood, but children from

³ Note that Jacobson-Widding suggests for the Gusii that the house "is a place where adult Gusii feel they can relax from their official identities in order to build up their body from within (by 'making blood')" (Jacobson-Widding 1991: 33).

⁴ By implication a sick person is short of blood. The standard drink to bring to a person who is sick is "Mazoe". This is a concentrated orange drink. In the African context "red" refers to many colours from pink to brown, including orange. It occurred to me that perhaps the emphasis on bringing Mazoe to sick people is connected with the fact that orange is a classificatory red, and thus is part of a process of bringing back the blood. This is also a common practise in Tanzania. Thanks to Todd Sanders for this information. African doctors have medicines which are supposed to "bring back the blood". One example of this medicine I was shown came from a tree with veins of red sap that looked like blood.

different fathers will not. There follows an extract from my field notes relating to an interview with a lab worker in Monze hospital.

Case #22: Sharing of the blood of child and father.

Well, there was this one thing which happened at the hospital. A child was sick and the doctor wanted to know the blood group of the child. The father and mother were both there when the blood was being taken, and the father said that if the child had a different blood group from him then the mother would be in for a good beating! Luckily the child had the same blood group as the father (Extract from field notes).

There are, therefore, believed to be different types of blood, and that blood passes from father to child. Monze District hospital seemed a good place to begin exploring people's ideas about blood as giving blood samples is a routine part of much hospital care. In addition blood transfusions are known to occur, so I focused on questions about who it would be good to donate blood to and receive blood from⁵. When I asked general questions about who would hypothetically be the best person to give blood, it was generally agreed that the father would be the best person to donate blood.

The prevalence of Aids was an important theme in questions about blood transfusions. Many informants thought that a sexual partner would be the best person to receive blood from, as they would have the same HIV status. Workers in the hospital laboratory complained that it is difficult to find donors since the advent of HIV screening. There is a policy of telling donors the results of the screening of the blood, and so people are now refusing to give blood, because they do not want to know if they are HIV positive. It seems that patients are quite happy with the idea that sickness can be detected by looking at the blood, as it is widely believed that all diseases affect the blood. Giving away blood for testing did not seem a problematic issue in the hospital environment. Blood can be put to many evil uses by witches, who apparently spend much time trying to steal blood, and people would not easily part with blood samples under normal conditions. In the hospital, however, which is associated with white people and their medicine, there is apparently little risk of witchcraft, which is often seen as a primarily "African" phenomenon.

⁵ Blood transfusions are the only artificial transfers of substance between people undertaken in hospitals in Zambia. The technical and financial resources for other types of organ donation have not allowed these to become commonplace.

Blood was also thought of as being highly individualised. Thus one informant explained, "I am X, so I have X-type blood". The individual nature of blood is demonstrated in the extremely common belief in the creature called the *idomba*. This is created by witchcraft using medicine and blood from one person only. It will resemble exactly the person whose blood it was made from, except that the legs will be joined to look like a snake.

Blood could also embody and pass on certain characteristics. Thus some informants said they would not like to receive a blood transfusion from somebody they did not know in case the person was of bad character, such as a thief, and they would acquire these characteristics with the blood. It seems, therefore, that blood is not entirely fixed, but can change over time. Blood will also decrease in quality as the person ages, and if a blood transfusion was necessary it was thought best to receive blood from the youngest donor possible. Blood can confer individual identity, but it can also confer group identity with relatives and even, by extension, sometimes 'tribe' or 'race'.

Other responses to questions about the different types of red blood included descriptions in terms of the appearance, such as runny blood, thick blood, light and dark blood. The differences in blood were attributed to different levels of health. Runny and dark blood were thought of as indicating poor quality blood and possibly indicating infertility. The high levels of malaria and other health problems on the Tonga Plateau would certainly lead to a high proportion of anaemic blood, which, I was told by the hospital lab workers, will appear watery.

During sickness bad blood would collect around the site of an ache or a cut or a sore. "Tattoos" or small incisions with razor blades would be made at the site of such a problem, and medicine would be rubbed into the cut. Informants said that such tattoos were to allow access to medicine, however, rather than to allow exit of bad blood.

1.2.2. Menstrual Blood.

The nature of menstrual blood, *bulowa bwakumwedzi*, is thought to be different from other red blood, because it has the capability to be fertilised by semen and to begin to form a baby. It is also darker than other blood. A possible explanation offered for this

is that it has been charred by the heat generated during sexual intercourse.

The word for period is *kumwezi*, which means "to the moon". Menstrual blood is thus literally translated 'blood for the moon'. It is commonly said that rain cannot fall on a full moon. This is a point to be kept in mind as I try to draw the analogy of semen and rain. Semen must not fall on the menstrual blood of a woman, while rain will not fall on a full moon. While it is recognised that a woman will menstruate without sexual contact with a man, it is also believed that sex will induce periods. The idea seems to be that semen is taken into the womb, where it comes into contact with the blood. It is the mixing of semen and blood that congeals to form a foetus, and if conception does not occur then the blood and semen mixture is released, and this explains the widely held belief that sex will tend to induce a period. The age of the first menstruation was widely said to have decreased, and many attributed this to the increased promiscuity of young girls. A young girl who begins menstruating early could be in for a severe beating as her family might think she has been sleeping around.

The menstrual blood is thus a sign of failed fertility, comparable to a miscarriage or an abortion. This is a very important point which we return to later. Rose, one of my closest friends who is also a nurse and Aids counsellor at the hospital, explained the connection between periods and abortions and miscarriages in the following way.

Case #23: Rose explains the link of periods and abortions.

Well, the time before the period is when the bed is made from the foetus. If the woman is not fertilised then the womb expels all that is there, the egg and all. It is like that with an abortion, the cervix can be weak and it all comes out. Even with an abortion it is like a foreign body comes in and everything gets expelled. It is like that thing inside is good, but outside is bad. It's like the vagina. The fluids inside are a clean thing, a smart thing, but it is only when they come outside that they smell and become bad (Extract from field notes).

The English term "abortion" is used to cover both accidental miscarriages and deliberate termination of pregnancy. The term in Tonga is *kusowa*, which literally means "to throw". Much destructive power is attributed to women during their periods and in the time following an "abortion". In this dangerous state it is believed women are responsible

for a number of problems ranging from asthma to Aids and TB, a point to be more fully explored in the following chapter.

While a woman herself may be highly contagious during periods or after an abortion, the menstrual blood, (or the dead foetus), can be used in witchcraft to create wealth. While use of foetuses is a rare and especially evil area of witchcraft it seems that stealing used menstrual pads is fairly common⁶.

1.2.3. Semen: "Man's Blood".

Semen is usually referred to as "man's blood", *bulowa bwamwalumi*, though there is a separate word, which translates as semen, *bweenze*⁷. Semen has unique body-building properties, and can form a baby in the womb, as well as making a woman grow fat. To be effective, however, the semen should be thick; it is blood. Watery semen would indicate male infertility. Semen is thus opposed to water; semen can make bodies grow, and in this it is in contrast with water, which can make plants grow, but not humans or animals.

Man's blood has unique body-building properties. Firstly, it has the quality of being able to unite with the menstrual blood of a woman and make a baby. The sperm is usually described as being the active agent in this process. The job of the woman in conception is merely to provide an environment for the meeting of the two types of blood. The body of the child is often seen as being totally provided by the man. As one informant

⁶The victim is described as having been "put into" cattle, or cards, or the host of other types of wealth that pads can help to create. See case study in chapter two, where Nellie describes the time she was put into cattle. The mechanism seems to be that the link with fertility creates wealth. The former owner of the pads may become barren as the wealth that would have been hers in children now grows somewhere else. The pads belonging to the daughters of witches are supposed to be particularly potent wealth-creating charms. They can ensure luck in cards, or wealth in cattle. Witches can take the pads to use in medicine and this can result in prolonged periods or stopping periods for life. Given the many dangers of carelessly disposing of menstrual pads, it is not surprising that great emphasis is placed on their appropriate destruction. A cloth rather than a disposable pad would have been used in the older times, and this had to be carefully washed and put in a pit latrine, if the latrine was deep enough. If there was any doubt then the cloth should be dried and then burnt.

⁷ Semen is the blood the man gives to the woman when he ejaculates, *kusuba*. This actually means "to urinate", or "to release", but refers also to ejaculation.

explained "the blood, the bones, the guts, everything comes from the father"⁸. This contrasts with the nearby Bemba, for whom Richards comments: "While the substance of a child is believed to come entirely from its mother animated by her ancestral spirits, the Bemba regard impregnation as vital to the process of child-bearing. A husband initiates conception and is honoured for the gift of the children he brings" (Richards 1956: xxix). During the growth of the foetus the mother is seen as essentially providing an environment for the growth of the baby which the man has formed with his sperm. Her part was described by one informant as being like a pocket for the baby to grow in. She cannot even grow the baby by herself, as the husband must continue to feed the baby in the womb by regular sex with the mother. Should he fail in this duty then the child will be underweight at birth, and the mother may even have a miscarriage. Regina explained to me that on one occasion she was not with her husband while she was pregnant and her mother suggested that she should eat lots of *nshima* so that the baby could grow strong. This further reinforces the link which I try to make between semen and *nshima*.

It is not only the foetus that the man feeds with his blood, it is the woman herself. It is sometimes said that a boy gives "protein" to a girl when he gives her semen. The concepts here involve body strength, power, food, etc. A woman who does not have enough sex, therefore, could suffer from some sorts of malnutrition, her skin will show this lack of protein, and it will become pale and velvety-looking. This sort of malnutrition could also result from boys with watery semen. A woman who grows fat while with a man may be jokingly told that her man has good semen, while if a woman loses weight the opposite is true.

The exact process behind this is not clear. At some point the semen changes into red blood, as it is said that there is not actually any man's blood in the veins of a woman. A consequence which comes from this, however, is that the woman's body is qualitatively changed as a result of receiving semen.

⁸ Compare with, for example, Nepal, where Diemberger comments on the point that girls pass on blood/flesh, while men pass on bones (Diemberger 1993)

It was often said that a man and a woman would become "one blood" after a period of time of having sex together. Closer investigation of this statement, however, reveals that it is rather that the woman's body changes to adapt to the man, rather than the other way round. Thus it was said that co-wives would become "of one blood" because they have sex with the same man. A woman who slept with more than one man, however, was said to become a "mixture of bloods", and could present a health hazard to herself, her children, and any man who would sleep with her. Thus we can say that it is believed that the red blood of the woman is less pure than the red blood of the man. It will be altered by the man's blood, or semen, while the man's blood remains in a pristine state. Note that the man's supply of semen is unlimited. It was directly likened to maize by some informants, who explained that you plant it and it just grows again. It could temporally run out, and decrease with age, but it is not, by its nature limited. Again this reinforces the link which I try to make between semen/nshima.

1.2.4. Woman's sexual blood.

Women are also believed to have sexual blood. However, the ideas surrounding this type of blood are much less elaborated than notions surrounding semen. The woman is believed to release some fluid during sex, and this is referred to using the same verb for male emission, *kusuba*. There does not appear to be any special name for the fluid that is released by the woman, and a moment's thought always greeted my attempts to ask for a word for the female ejaculate. Some informants offered the word *musana*. It is interesting that *musana* refers also to the waist, which is intimately associated with sex in some contexts. *Musana* covers all vaginal secretions, including the normal white discharge, the clear thick discharge, which is associated with fertility, and the fluid released during sex. Other informants said the sexual blood of a woman is the blood in the womb awaiting fertilisation and activation by the man's blood. Opinion was divided on this, and it did not seem to have preoccupied people much until I began to ask questions.

Conception was sometimes described as the meeting of the male and female sexual blood. The sexual blood of a woman cannot change the blood of a man. However, during sex

some of it was believed to enter his body, and could then enter the body of the next woman he slept with. It does not seem that the female sexual blood is the true counterpart of the male sexual blood, therefore, as it is very limited in effect.

1.3. Breast-Milk.

Breast milk is occasionally referred to as blood. In this it contrasts with semen, which will almost invariably be referred to as blood. It is possible that breast milk is not actually seen as capable of feeding and growing a baby by itself. Richards reports for the Bemba that they consider breast milk to be water. Thus it is not capable of feeding a child without a food supplement (Richards 1939: 69). From birth a child will be fed on maize porridge, which is believed to be the active ingredient which can make a baby grow. I also noticed that babies would be given maize porridge from a very young age, but I did not hear people commenting that breast milk alone could not feed a child. The status of breast milk, as to whether it is water or blood, remains unclear⁹.

It seems that almost as soon as the woman conceives her breasts begin to adapt. They may even fill with milk, but the milk is only suitable for the child in the womb. It must not be given to any other child, or it may become sick. Hence the woman must wean a suckling child as soon as she suspects she is pregnant. Some shame is attached to the woman who becomes pregnant while breast-feeding as this shows lack of sexual restraint.

So long as she is not pregnant, however, a woman may suckle the child of another woman. Some informants said that a child could suckle from any woman who had not already lost a child, as the spirit of the dead child could harm the baby sucking. Other informants said that a woman could suckle any child of a woman connected by the same womb. Thus any woman in the female line would be acceptable, whereas suckling by

⁹ Mombeshora points out in Tanzania that "Men's fertility is, according to Bena traditional beliefs, derived from the mother's milk. This belief system demands that the young mothers place their milk, at secret places away from houses, into the foreskin, and make it go down the urethra. The belief holds that the milk generates the infant's future fertility" (Mombeshora 1994: 75). It is also sometimes said that milk should be put on the genitals of young babies in Monze.

co-wives would not be acceptable¹⁰. Breast-milk, then, creates connections down the female line, but it remains ambiguous whether it is blood or water; its body-building properties remain unclear.

1.4. Nshima.

I have included an introduction to *nshima*, the staple food made from maize, in this section on body substance. The reasons for this will, I hope, become clear over the following chapters. Basically I argue that *nshima* and semen have certain important qualities in common, such as the ability to act as agents of bodily growth, and to create temporary bonds of shared substance between people. Thus women who receive semen from the same man become temporarily "one blood", and people who eat *nshima* together are also seen as becoming bonded at a substance level. Richards wrote of the Bemba in 1939.

The giving or receipt of food is a part of most economic transactions, and may come to represent a number of human relationships, whether between different kinsmen or between subject and chief. For this reason the whole question of handling or dividing food acquires tremendous emotional significance for the native, and discussion of personalities or legal relationships tend to be ultimately expressed in this idiom. To speak of a chief is to mention before the end of the conversation his reputation for generosity or meanness in the giving of porridge and beer. To describe an attitude to any particular kinsman leads almost invariably to a comment, for instance, on the food in his granary, the number of relatives he supports, the share of meat he has asked for, or the amount of beer he contributed at the marriage of his daughter or the visit of an elder (Richards 1939: 45).

A complete meal includes both *nshima* and "relish"¹¹, as elsewhere in Southern Africa. Richards described for the Bemba the "perfect meal" in the following terms. "Ubwali" (porridge of finger millet), and relish are the main elements. Ubwali is made from coarse-ground flour, poured into boiling water, stirred until the mixture is stiff, and then kneaded and patted with a strong wooden blade. To the Bemba, millet porridge is not

¹⁰ One informant made the connection with the matrilineal clan and breast-feeding. She explained: "I could breast-feed my grand-child, because we are from the same clan. What is important is the womb. So if people have the same mother it is O.K., but if they have different mothers it is not O.K."

¹¹ "Relish" could be rape and tomatoes, cooked with ground-nut powder, eggs, or on very rare occasions meat cooked in sauce.

only necessary, but it is the only constituent of his diet that actually ranks as food" (Richards 1939: 46).

These statements about the Bemba staple, millet porridge, are largely applicable to the feelings about *nshima* found in Monze. *Nshima* is pounded maize boiled with water and stirred constantly to produce a consistency and appearance a bit like mashed potatoes. *Nshima* is eaten by making a little ball in the right hand and then pressing an indentation with the thumb. The ball of *nshima* is then dipped in relish. *Nshima* is the quintessential "food". It is the force of growth, and the source of energy. If a person is sick they must at least try to keep eating *nshima*. Lucy complained that some of her village relatives were convinced that somebody dying from Aids could be nourished from *nshima* alone.

Nshima is prepared by women, and the preparation of good *nshima* is probably the essential wifely skill. It is difficult to prepare a nice smooth *nshima* without lumps. Badly cooked *nshima* is rumoured to lead to terrible stomach problems. Hope, a sociologist who was considering marrying a particular woman explained to me that he would just have to tell her to cook *nshima* for him...if there were any lumps in there then he would not marry her.

For *nshima*, then, I want to emphasise the following points. Firstly, *nshima* is "food". If people say they have no food they mean they have no *nshima*. Relish should accompany *nshima*, but this is for taste more than body-building. *Nshima* is what makes a person strong, what makes them able to work and move about. It is *nshima* which makes blood. It is also *nshima* which creates social relations at the level of substance. To share *nshima* together is, I suggest, on some level to temporarily become one blood. In these qualities *nshima* is linked to semen. Semen also has the qualities of being able to create a body, of a baby and of a woman. Semen also can create temporary shared substance, in that the women who share the semen of one man will become "one blood." It is my suggestion that *nshima* and semen are analogous substances. Both are linked to gender, as *nshima* must be prepared by women, and semen comes from men's bodies. Further, both *nshima* and semen are white. The whiteness of *nshima* is considered one of the indications of a good quality *nshima*. The significance of colours will be explored

in a later section, but sufficient to mention here that the colour connection between *nshima* and semen is extremely significant within an African context¹².

In the following pages I explore the suggestion that we can consider *nshima* and semen as part of a substance exchange cycle between men and women, hence my reasons for introducing *nshima* in this section on body substances.

¹² While I was in Monze the drought relief operation following the drought of 1991 was still involved in distributing free maize. This was donated maize, and was of a type that produced *nshima* that was bright yellow, rather than white. This was a cause of consternation for local people who said that it was bad for them to eat yellow *nshima*. I am indebted to Fernanda Claudio who told me that in Zimbabwe the eating of yellow maize at the same time was said to lead to infertility. This point would seem to support my suggestion that maize and human fertility are connected.

SECTION TWO: SEX AND REPRODUCING SUBSTANCE.

Often as they crooned over their infants they would exclaim, 'This is happiness, having a child in your arms' (Colson 1958: 148).

In this section I discuss the processes of sex, pregnancy and childbirth. However, my argument involves the idea that reproducing a person involves connections with plants and animals, and food, via semen and menstrual blood respectively. Thus the sexual reproduction of substance is only a partial picture, and further connections are made in later pages. Colson wrote in 1958 about the value of fertility, and here I quote her words directly. "Both men and women want children. But in line with the matrilineal nature of the society, the emphasis falls on the wife's right to fertility, not the man's right to offspring" (Colson 1958: 148). "A woman has the right to as many children as she can bear with due regard for the health of her children. Births are spaced, but a woman has a right to bear children at decent intervals, a right which overrides other duties and other moralities" (Colson 1958: 149).

2.1. Women's preparations for sex.

An enormous amount of energy is put into preparing for sexual intercourse, so I propose to begin by exploring some of these activities. The woman must be past puberty before sex begins, and traditionally she should have been initiated¹³. The labia, *malepe* should be very long, perhaps a couple of inches, which is achieved by regular pulling between the ages of around 10-13, sometimes with the aid of a clothes peg (For more on this see

¹³ Tonga initiations are said to be insubstantial, and so Tonga girls are reputed not to be very knowledgeable about sex. Girls from other tribes such as the Bemba and Lozi are supposed to be much more knowledgeable. One Tonga mother with teenage daughters said she was going to ask some women she knew from those 'tribes' to give some sexual advice to her daughters so that they would be able to keep their husbands in the future. The high rate of divorce was sometimes blamed on men travelling to other areas and finding that the women there were better lovers and becoming disappointed with their Tonga wives. Initiations have reportedly declined in the modern era, and are not allowed by the Seventh Day Adventist churches. The passing on of knowledge about sexual matters now takes place during the "Kitchen Party", a sort of bridal shower which occurs before the wedding. I went to several of these parties. The first time my friends gave me the impression that it was a sort of Zambian Tupperware party, where women give kitchen goods to the bride-to-be. This does occur, but had I been in Zambia for longer at the time I should have suspected that there is almost always a link between cooking and sex. Explicit sexual advice is given to the bride-to-be given by all present, regardless of their ethnic background. This seems to be an urban phenomenon, however. One woman from a rural area explained when I asked her about kitchen parties: "Yes, I've heard of them. That's what women in towns do. They get together with woman from all different tribes and swap advice about sex."

Colson 1958:274). This process was sometimes described as quite painful, and one problem page entry in a woman's magazine even complained that the friction during walking about was unbearable due to the length of the woman's labia. (The proposed solution was to fold them up during the day). Smoking certain dried herbs was also said to lengthen the labia¹⁴.

The clitoris, *mukongo*, will have become long as a result of pulling by the man to stimulate her, though this is not in itself considered desirable. In fact women are advised not to whistle because this could result in lengthening of the clitoris. This is interesting as it reinforces a later argument I make about the links between the mouth and the vagina. Further, it is sometimes said that women can grow little penises after menopause. This is a point we return to later when discussing gender and substance.

The woman's pubic hair should all be removed to avoid scratching the penis. This was traditionally done by the husband using ashes. She would then perform a similar service for him. She may wear beads on her waist which the man enjoys touching during sex.

The woman should ideally be fertile for sex to be pleasurable to the man; she should still be menstruating. Older women will sometimes take medicine to delay the onset of menopause; as it is said that a man will no longer want to sleep with a woman who does not bleed. In fact it is even possible that women past the menopause cannot have sex in the full sense, as will become clear later. Some are even said to grow penises and chase after women.

The most important preparation for sex, however, is the creation of the appropriate conditions within the vagina, *nyo*. The vagina must be dry, *kuyuma*, and hot, *kupya*.

¹⁴ The artificial lengthening of the labia by women was known about by men, and boys. Litrecy explained that in schools boys would draw lewd pictures of girls with the word "pulling" written underneath. This caused annoyance to the girls, apparently. Men that I directly questioned on this said that they were aware that women artificially lengthened their labia. The labia would swell during sex, and this was said to be exciting for the man and acted as one particularly explicit informant explained, as a "brake" during sex.

Although the vagina may become wet during sex as a result of the male ejaculation, the vagina of the woman should be as dry as possible at the commencement of sexual intercourse¹⁵.

There are a huge number of preparations and tips available as to how to dry the vagina¹⁶. For this thesis the main point that I wish to emphasise here is the enormous importance which is attached to the woman having a dry vagina during sex. I will return to this point later when I draw an analogy between sexual intercourse and rain falling on dry land. A wet vagina is not directly said to be linked to infertility, but rather to the enjoyment of sex. However this is linked with fertility, in that it is said to be necessary for a both partners to enjoy sex before conception can occur. Women are often proud of their sexual prowess, and will boast of their abilities to make a men cry on top of them. There follows an instance in which a woman at my office building proudly explained that she had burnt her boyfriend's penis.

Case #24: The burnt penis.

Well, My boyfriend had blisters all over his penis. So he went to see Dr. Sitali. He was told that he should not worry, it is just that my vagina is so hot that his penis got burnt (Extract from field notes).

¹⁵ It was pointed out to me by some hospital staff that there is a fairly high rate of sexually transmitted diseases in Monze. The symptoms of many of these STD involve abnormal vaginal secretions. Thus the emphasis on the dryness of a woman's vagina may be a protective measure against the transmission of STD. However, The rate of HIV infection is also high, and it seems likely that the emphasis on dry sex could lead to lesions during sexual intercourse which could facilitate the spread of HIV. The phenomenon of the emphasis on dry sex is widespread in Southern Africa. See, for example, World Aids May 1994.

¹⁶ Some women are said to be unfortunate enough to have wet vaginas which are "just like taps, but it seems that almost all women will use various powders to improve their vaginas. The use of various "Western medicines", such as Flagyl and Vitamin C was also recommended. A black market existed in the hospital, as nurses sold these items known as "Virgin Pills". Both Flagyl and Vitamin C reputedly have the side effect of drying the bodily mucus secretions.

2.2. Men's preparations for sex.

The man should also be sexually mature before he begins to have intercourse¹⁷. Although he will not have been initiated¹⁸, he should have the appearance of a man before beginning to have sex. He should be big and muscular-looking and have a deep voice.

The man should ideally have a fairly large penis. In case he should deviate from the ideal there are various self-help devices available¹⁹. Sexual prowess was often linked to having a strong back, and some men had tattoos across the lower back for this purpose. A medicine made from goat's testicles could reputedly make a man capable of making love to "ten women and still wanting more!" Another technique involved the root of a plant called "*mudolo*" or "*mulolo*". A root matching the desired size and length of the penis should be selected, and then a charcoal fire should be built outside. The root should be roasted until the fluid starts coming out and it sizzles. The root should then be hit against the penis three times. The penis would then grow to the same size as the root, to either enlarge or reduce the size of the penis. Another technique involves the perhaps appropriately named "sausage trees". These have sausage-shaped fruits whose size ranges from a few inches to about two feet in length. A fruit should be selected that is still growing, and the penis should be hit three times against the fruit²⁰. The fruit should be marked for identification later. As the fruit grows the penis will grow also. Once it has attained the required size the man should return to the tree and find his fruit, which he should now chop off. If this is not done then the penis will continue to grow and dire

¹⁷ Both men and women can suffer from "impela", an Aids-like disease if they begin sex too early.

¹⁸ It is known, however, that men from other 'tribes' such as the Luvale are initiated. They are reputed to be excellent lovers as a result. A naughty children's game involves dressing up and pretending to have a Luvale initiation.

¹⁹ Tonga men have the reputation of having large penises compared to other tribes, due to their knowledge of men's medicine. One Bemba woman complained to me that it was a real problem in some cases. She had actually split up with a Tonga boyfriend over this matter.

²⁰ After returning from the field I discussed this technique with a male colleague who pointed out some of the logistical problems of the description given to me; I do not have more detailed information on this point.

consequences result²¹. When I was first told about this technique I discussed it with a neighbour, who had not heard of the technique. Later my neighbour's wife complained that her husband had brought a sausage fruit home, saying it would improve their love life. This was probably the only really concrete example I had of how the anthropologist in a community can introduce new data to the field-work situation.

The man should have the ability to have intercourse several times. The ideal number was said to be three times every night; in the evening, during the night, and in the morning. A high value is placed on the ability of the man to have sex many times and traditionally the woman would have to declare that the man was capable of sexual feats after their first night together after the wedding²². If not satisfied the woman could leave her husband after the first night (See Colson 1958: 339).

Impotence, which is widely linked to male infertility, could be attributed to women's medicine,²³ to drink, and to the umbilical chord falling downwards onto the penis at the time it detaches from the baby's body. It should ideally fall off to the side, otherwise the child will be impotent upon reaching manhood. The cure for this condition was reputed to be some sort of sexual contact with the mother.

Men's preparations for sex are interesting for several reasons which are relevant to this argument. The ability of a man to attain an erection is emphasised as impotence is a major cause of male infertility. This point will be returned to later as I will attempt to

²¹ One instance involved the "friend of a friend" who lost his sausage fruit, and in the end the penis was "too heavy to carry around". As a result he had to always have a wheelbarrow in front of him to move the giant penis from place to place. Perhaps this is an example of a Zambian urban myth.

²² Note that I was told that people are shy to show the genitals. Women in particular are reputed to prefer to make love in the dark. Oral sex is a new practise which is, none the less becoming popular. The focus of sex, however, is penetration, and good sex involves penetration and ejaculation many times. This was explicitly contrasted by some informants with European and American attitudes to sex, which supposedly involve one prolonged act with many different techniques. The evidence for this was sometimes said to be 'blue movies' which informants had seen.

²³ Occasional impotence could be attributed to the wife taking precautions so that her husband would be incapable of sleeping with another woman. A pen knife kept half closed in the house would prevent the man's penis from becoming erect. A bow and arrow kept at home would prevent the man from "shooting away from home".

make a link between growth of crops, growth of children, and growth of the penis. I will ultimately suggest that growth is a male-coded activity, whereas replication is a female-coded activity.

2.3. Sex: The hot dry woman is wet with the "blood of a man".

Tonga attitudes to celibacy seem similar to those described by Audrey Richards for the Bemba. "Sex relations are openly desired by the Bemba, and celibacy for men or women is not admired. A girl who rejects men is criticized as having 'pride of the womb' (cilumba ca munda). Abstinence is only practised for ritual reasons, by a woman nursing a child, for instance" (Richards 1956: 50). I was told the joke while in St. Kizito about a missionary who was trying to make a Tonga dictionary. He was trying to find the Tonga word for "virgin", and explained that he wanted to know what you would call a woman who had never had sex with a man. The answer is *mufubafuba*, "a fool". I felt there was more than a little misunderstanding regarding the topic of celibacy between the African and Irish elements of the Catholic church in Monze Diocese.

Both the man and the woman are believed to release fluid during sex. These fluids are crucial to conception. Thus it is seen as important that both partners enjoy sex and both men and women had strong opinions about lazy lovers. Women often said that the ideal man should not be in a hurry but should take time to ensure that she enjoyed herself. The lazy lover who hops on and off too quickly was a topic of conversation, and could be a possible cause of infertility. The woman, on the other hand, should respond to the rhythm and not "lie like a log". Regina complained that some women want to play with their husbands as if they are playing with their brothers!

During sex the woman's vagina should be very dry, small and hot, and the man should ideally have a big penis. Sex should therefore involve a large amount of friction, sometimes even described as pain, which will only be relieved when the partners ejaculate, for both men and woman are believed to release fluid at orgasm. They should ejaculate simultaneously. The reasons given for this included that it was not good for one to be in pain while the other was relieved. Others said it was acceptable if the woman

reached orgasm before the man, but not the reverse.

Some of the fluid released by the woman is believed to enter the man during sex. The comparison with STD and Aids in particular was often drawn when I asked how the woman's fluid entered the man. Several informants, both male and female, explained this in terms of the penis sucking a little after ejaculation, while others said this sounded most unlikely²⁴. There was a general agreement, however, that the woman would release some fluid and some of it would enter the man. Sex, then involves sharing of the "blood" between the parties involved.

The fate of these bloods once they have been exchanged is not entirely clear. When asked what happens to the semen if it did not go to make a baby the answers varied considerably. Many informants said they did not know, or that the semen would just get wasted. Others said that the semen would go to the womb and come out when the woman had a period. Many people expressed the belief that some semen would enter the blood of the woman, though the mechanism for this was not always clear.

Sex thus involves several processes. The man and woman must be ready for sex. They must both be sexually mature. The man must have an erection, and the woman's vagina must be dry. This means that there is a great amount of friction during intercourse which is only relieved when the man ejaculates; the man wets the dry woman with his semen, or "man's blood". As a result of this process the man and woman become "one blood", although this rather means that the woman's blood is changed to become similar to that of the man. She also becomes "one blood" with his other regular sexual partners. She may be fed by the semen of the man and begin to grow fat. She may also become pregnant. If she becomes pregnant the child's development is facilitated by regular sexual intercourse with the father.

²⁴ John said that maybe old men could be the ones who would have penises that suck. He suggested that I should come back to Monze in a few years and he would be able to tell me if "we have started sucking yet".

2.4. Conception.

Conception *kumita* as a particular moment does not seem clearly defined. Some informants suggested that several acts of intercourse were required for conception to occur. Some informants claimed to have little knowledge of how conception actually occurs. Regina became frustrated with my questions about the details of conception one day and said "I don't know! I always tell you what I know, but this time I really don't know. I only know that if you sleep with a man then you get pregnant!" Again this reinforces the connection which I make between rain and semen. Just as the rain does not fertilize the ground by one shower, so the man does not fertilise the woman by giving semen once. Some women cite this belief as the reason for why they accidentally became pregnant. There follows the story a nurse told me about her first child.

Case #25: Accidental Pregnancy.

I went on a picnic with lot of my friends and some of my brother's friends were also there. One of my brother's friends took me to the bush and proposed love to me. Well, I was quite young and all my friends said that you could not make a baby by just having sex once! So, that's how I got my first child.

Conception is generally to be understood in terms of meeting and mixing of the "blood". In the case of the man this means that his semen enters the woman and begins to form the baby, but in the case of the woman the mechanism is less clear. Most informants agree that the blood the woman contributes to the baby is the blood in the womb which would come out during menstruation if it is not fertilised by semen, or male blood.

The role of blood was explained by one lady who was trained as a nurse in the following way: " The blood of which babies is made is the egg. The egg ruptures and the blood is inside. It makes the baby. If the mother is not fertilised then the blood comes out." This quote comes from Rose, a trained nurse and Aids counsellor. It is interesting as it shows both elements of her training in Western medicine combined with the more "traditional" beliefs regarding babies being made from blood. The physical aspect of reproduction thus appears to be conceptualised in terms of passing on the blood, although the exact details of conception often are quite unclear.

2.5. Pregnancy.

Once conception has occurred and the woman is pregnant she is now believed to be a mixture of bloods, her own blood, the man's blood, and the baby's blood, which is some sort of special mixture of the parent's blood²⁵. Early on in the pregnancy the woman's breasts will begin to adapt to deliver milk which is uniquely adapted to the blood type of the baby. The man contributes directly to the formation of the growing baby by continuing to sleep with the mother and give her "blood", and it is said that the semen of the father is necessary to help the baby to grow while it is in the mother's womb. It is recognised that a woman can grow the baby by herself, but it is commonly believed that an underweight and malnourished baby will be the result. Sex with the father of the child must, therefore, continue up to the eighth month of pregnancy, to nourish the child²⁶. It should at that point stop, however, otherwise the baby will be born dirty. A hospital midwife explained to me that the "venix" surrounding the baby is thought to be the semen left over from sexual intercourse, and should be immediately washed off. It is also said that the mother will lose interest in sex during the last month, as all she can think about is the delivery.

Early signs of pregnancy might include the woman becoming selective of foods, vomiting, spitting a lot, becoming short tempered, and possibly exhibiting jealousy of her husband. She may also reportedly develop pimples, or become extremely beautiful.

For the first two months of pregnancy the womb contains only "blood", from about 2-4 months the foetus is metaphorically described as a "lizard", and from about 4 months it is a "baby". This is interesting in light of the story that if a lizard falls on a woman that means she is very fertile, and will become pregnant if she sleeps with a man. Some

²⁵ Note that barren women would be buried with charcoal in the vagina. It is a sign that she has no child and should not trouble the children of other people. A barren person can still be reincarnated, because it is not their fault they are barren.

²⁶ Note this is in contrast with the Bemba for whom Richards reports: "While the substance of a child is believed to come entirely from its mother, animated by her ancestral spirits, the Bemba regard impregnation as vital to the process of child-bearing. A husband initiates conception and is honoured for the gift of the children he brings" (Richards 1956 xxix).

informants claimed that the spirit or *luo* is believed to enter the baby at about two months²⁷. Thus as soon as the blood begins to congeal to form a recognizable shape then the foetus begins to become human. It is from this time on that miscarriage becomes dangerous. Younger informants described the two stages of pregnancy as "foetus" and "baby". They agreed that the change from one to the other occurred around five months into the pregnancy.

If the child is a boy the husband and wife may begin to fight a lot. If the child is a girl the husband will be very attentive and loving. Some people also say that if the woman talks a lot when she is pregnant then the baby is a boy. Other informants pointed out, however, that the best way these days to find the sex of a child is to go for a scan. The sex of the child can be influenced in several ways. A man may have tattoos on his back to make him have boys only. Praying to God was also a way to have a child of the desired sex.

Some things to bear in mind during pregnancy are as follows. Eggs should not be eaten otherwise the baby might be born bald and be dumb. An old lady said that there are no special foods for pregnancy. She added that the young women nowadays will know all the special nutrition, but their babies are sickly compared to babies in the old days. In particular the wearing of beads, belts, and necklaces should be avoided, otherwise the baby would be born with the chord round the neck or leg or arm, and that is very dangerous for the baby. There are a great many other things that vary from clan to clan. Promiscuity in particular is to be avoided, due to the danger of *masoto*, or malnourishment of the baby, which is discussed in the next chapter.

Babies in the womb are thus susceptible to a variety of external influences, and are believed to be affected by the things that the mother comes in contact with while she is pregnant. It seems that the basic influences come from the ability of the semen to form

²⁷ Richards pointed out for the Bemba that "The spirit of a maternal ancestor is thought to quicken the child in its mother's womb and protect it all its life. The name of the ancestor or ancestors is discovered by divination, and given to the child" (Richards 1956: xxix). I came across no idea that the spirit actually assists the formation of the foetus, although I did not directly ask questions on this point.

the menstrual blood into a lizard and then a baby, and also from the sort of visual influences that the mother experiences. Things in direct contact with the mother's body, such as belts and bangles also have an effect on the growing baby.

This material on pregnancy gives some important clues about the processes of transformation and how they are understood. During sex, we had the process of wetting of the dry woman with the semen of the man. Now we have the process of a baby being formed from the mixing of the bloods of the man and the woman. The baby must also be fed with semen to make it grow: we have the idea that semen is the agent of growth. Semen is also the agent of hardening, the baby is gradually formed from liquid semen and blood into the form of a baby. Further, the baby will be influenced by the external factors which are present when the woman is pregnant, particularly the appearance of things will be reproduced. Thus, for example, the explanation for albino skin was that the mother had spent too much time looking at white people while pregnant. Several people stated that before whites came to Zambia there were no albino children. Another case involved a woman who was very fond of walking past the shops in the capital city and looking at the clothes on the dummies on display. When her child was born all the fingers on the hands were joined together, and this was attributed to the effect of the shop window dummies. Certain things, however, have a power inherent within themselves to attract the gaze. One women's love medicine involved taking the paint from a train, or a hair of a white person, and mixing it with body lotion. The effect of this would be to draw as much attention to the wearer as is attracted by a white person or a train. A similar example of this phenomenon of the power of looking was that when I was researching into Aids, discussed in the next chapter, I showed some pictures to people of various symptoms of Aids to get their responses. Regina warned me that by looking at such things I was likely to call them to myself, so I should be careful. Looking, then creates internal changes, and draws the seen item into the person doing the looking.

2.6. Birth .

Some said that traditionally the birth, *kyszala*, would take place when the woman was alone. Others said that these days the girls are cowards who need lots of people around.

Old women were most likely to attend the birth if it was not in the hospital, and the only people definitely not welcome would be the mother-in-law, and the girl's mother, as girls would feel shy to give birth in front of these women, and it is said the baby would not come out well. *Ngangas* mostly said they would not themselves attend a birth, but would give medicine to make the birth easier, though some *ngangas*, including the males, said that they would be called in the event of an emergency. If the woman has not been sleeping with the father of the child then the child will not only be undersized, but the birth will be difficult, and a caesarian may be necessary. In addition, the vagina of the woman will shrink if she does not have sex during the pregnancy, and it will be necessary to rub okra on the vagina to make it slippery. The woman must confess to the lovers she has had during the pregnancy otherwise the baby cannot come out, and a difficult birth, or even a still birth, will often be attributed to the promiscuity of one of the parents during the pregnancy of the mother. Apparently in the labour ward women can be heard encouraging other women to give details of what happened to make her take a lover²⁸. There follows a description of birth given by a hospital midwife.

Case #26: A hospital Midwife describes hospital birth.

When somebody is pregnant everybody will try to help as much as possible. In the 8th and 9th month a woman must not make love to her husband. It will disturb the baby, and it will be born with the semen there on the body. In the hospital we bathe the baby the day after it is born to prevent pneumonia. But traditionally they would want to bathe the baby to get rid of the venix, the cream the baby is born covered with, because they think it is semen. But the baby should be left with the venix for a while, because it is good for it.

Given that my field work was in an urban context, with a famous mission hospital nearby, it was not easy to collect data about birth outside the hospital context. However, an old woman gave the following description of birth outside the hospital.

²⁸ On this point Colson says: "If labour seems prolonged- and a labour of more than a few hours is regarded as long-the woman is begged to confess to her adulteries. The midwife acts as confessor, and her aim is to get the confession and thus shorten the labour. If the woman maintains firmly that she has no lover, the husband who is supposed to remain quietly at home during this time is questioned. His confession will also hasten the delivery" (Colson 1958: 159).

Case #27: Description of birth.

There would be a lot of women around when somebody is giving birth. The only person the women could refuse is the mother-in-law, and she cannot even refuse her if she is in a lot of pain. They will put medicines on the women to help the baby to come out. If the birth is difficult she must confess to her lovers during pregnancy. The women will all be saying 'Come on! Tell us how it happened!' When the baby arrives the person attending the birth will cut the chord. The baby will be bathed in medicine. Then the mother has a chitenge (women's wrap-around cloth) tied round her stomach, and she will stay indoors until the chord falls off the baby. Then she can do housework outside the house, but the baby must stay inside. It should be like that for three months, but now people are working, so it is only about two weeks to one month that they stay inside (Extract from field notes).

The seclusion of the child following birth may be said to link with other ideas. The house is, as elsewhere in Africa, associated with women and the womb. "As has been shown from many parts of Eastern and Southern Africa, the inside of the round traditional cooking hut is associated with the inside of the mother's body" (Jacobson-Widding 1991: 19). The child, therefore, which is still in the hut is symbolically still in the womb. It is at the time of coming out of the hut that the naming ceremony described in chapter two takes place, the social birth²⁹.

2.7. Breast-feeding.

The breast milk is called *mukupa*, or milk, and breast-feeding is called *kunyosya*. Breast milk is seen as perhaps a type of blood, directly made from blood, and thus susceptible to mixing of the blood. Hence if either parent is promiscuous the baby is thought to be harmed by drinking the milk which is a mixture of bloods. The mother's promiscuity is a greater threat to the child than that of the father³⁰. The mother can, however, make adequate milk without the contribution of the husband's blood, and in fact after the birth a period of sexual abstinence is recommended. This is largely because of the dangers of *masoto*, discussed later. (For more on this see Colson 1958: 158; Richards 1939: 67).

²⁹ Note this differs from the description given by Colson, who recorded that the child would be named when it cut its top teeth (Colson 1988: 64).

³⁰ This is because the woman receives the semen of the man. Her blood is affected after sex in a way that the man's blood is not.

It was commonly said that traditionally the period of abstinence was longer than it is today. Some informants even said that the mother would return to her parents from the time of the birth until the child was weaned, a period of up to two years. Others said that the period of abstinence traditionally would only be 3-6 months. There was a degree of uncertainty about how long the traditional period of abstinence would be, but people generally stated that the time was longer in the old days. Men were supposed to be lacking in self control these days, and sometimes would even not wait until the woman stopped bleeding after giving birth before wanting sex. A typical response to questions about abstinence from sex is this statement from an old lady: "Today things have changed. No wonder there is lots of disease, because people like sex too much. Parents should not have sex from birth until two months after weaning!" It was sometimes said that men are like dogs, they have to be chased away! The man would come wanting sex and say that if the child was really his it would have the same blood and so it would not be harmed by him sleeping with the mother. Most people agreed that a time of abstinence was a good idea, however, but the recommended length of time varied from a few weeks to a year³¹.

Most people said that the period of breast-feeding should be upwards of a year and a half, with two years being a commonly accepted length of time. Again it was said that these days mothers breast-feed for a shorter time. One lady explained that in the old days a woman would call the child in from playing football to come and suck at the breast! Standards of child-care were frequently said to be declining, and one woman of 70 said she was most disappointed in the young girls of today due to the short length of time they breast-feed. They give porridge to babies at a very tender age. "We never gave cold porridge to babies. Now they pack cold porridge in cups and move with it. Mostly you

³¹ The time of weaning is very dangerous, and the child can die if the proper procedure is not followed. The mother and father of the child must plan the weaning carefully in advance. On the evening before the child is due to be weaned they must have sex together. This ensures that they have sex before the milk has gone "sour". The English word is used in this case, even by Tongas who would not normally speak English. If they do not have sex on the night before weaning they must abstain until the milk has dried up from the breasts completely. It seems that so long as the semen and the milk are souring together then the child will not be affected, but if fresh semen is introduced once the milk has begun to sour then the baby can be severely affected.

find that babies are too small to eat and it dribbles out of the corners of the mouth"³².

Some informants mentioned that it is good for the parents to sleep together during the time when the child is beginning to become very active, around 8-10 months. Some of the sexual fluids should be rubbed on the knees of the child. This will give the child strong bones. It was suggested that this is a new practice, though, and not a traditional belief. This is an intriguing suggestion that links semen with bones. A common understanding of procreation beliefs would be to link semen with bones and menstrual blood with flesh/blood. This is described as a new custom that has come from other parts of Zambia and is new in Monze. The common understanding is that the whole body comes from the father, not just the bones. Perhaps this new custom is being adopted in Monze in such a way that the role of semen is being emphasised, and not in opposition to menstrual blood as such. Another possible link of semen and bones occurred during the rain ceremony. It is said that after the black goat has been sacrificed and eaten its bones could be burnt. The smoke from the bones goes into the sky and forms the rain clouds from which the rain will fall. This further reinforces the argument which I make in this thesis that rain and semen are connected.

³² The emphasis here is on the point that the porridge is cold. Infants are regularly given porridge, but it should be hot.

SECTION THREE: EXPLORING SUBSTANCE EXCHANGE.

3.1. Links of sex and eating.

It is the duty of the husband to sleep with his wife nightly, or, if he has several wives, to divide his time more or less equally among them. It is equally the duty of the wife to allow him access to her body when he wishes it. If either spouse repudiates the other by going to spend the night on the floor, the breach in the marriage compact must be repaired in a ritual eating together of a chicken killed for this purpose. This is known as ku-sangana, 'to re-tie', and is also performed as a reconciliation rite if the wife has refused to cook for the husband, or if the husband has refused to eat the food she has brought him. Either of these acts is considered a denial of the basic responsibilities of marriage (Colson 1985:164).

About two days after the wedding feast the wife returns to visit her old home for two days. She takes with her some shelled maize and the spear used to cut the fowl for the wedding feast. The last she gives to her father, the former is used to provide porridge at her old home. While at home, she stamps more maize, and when she returns to her husband she brings with her a basket of meal and a basket of ground nuts. These baskets become part of her possessions and form the nucleus of her household equipment. The day after her return, she makes light beer (chibwantu) and cooks porridge and relish for her husband and his messengers. This nowadays usually ends the period of nabwiinga (Colson 1958: 339-40).

The above quotes, which come from Elizabeth Colson's work, are apt exemplifiers of the connections between sex, marriage and food. The connection between food and sex is perhaps at its most explicit during "kitchen parties" which have already been mentioned. During kitchen parties women give the bride-to-be kitchen-ware. This is hers to keep, even if the couple divorce. Alongside the kitchenware and advice on how to treat guests and serve food, however, there is explicit sexual advice, as mentioned earlier on page 132.

The connection between food and sex is further emphasised in the transmission mechanisms of various serious diseases such as Aids, which are believed to be passed on from women to men either through sex or by cooking food. This is further explored in the following chapter. The prevalence of Aids in Monze was sometimes blamed on the prevalence of restaurants around. Thus a person could be eating food prepared by a woman infected with Aids and become infected. When a new restaurant opened in town

part of its success was attributed to the fact that men had been employed as cooks instead of women. Thus the risk of getting Aids from this particular restaurant was minimised³³.

3.2. Substance exchange between men and women.

It is implicit in much of what has been said that a process of transfer of substance is occurring. Thus men feed their lovers and make them fat with the blood they give them. They also feed their children in the womb with semen. Men pass on their semen to their children which goes to form their bodies. Women feed their children with blood (water?) from the breast. Thus it seems clear that there is a transfer of substance occurring. It is my suggestion that there is also an exchange of substance occurring between men and women, that involves semen from the man and *nshima* from the woman. This exchange is shown in the diagram overleaf.

In the diagram semen moves from man to woman. It can cause her to become fat, to become pregnant, and to become "one blood" with other women who receive semen from the same man. This process of becoming one blood is often said to be the substance basis behind a marriage. Thus when a man sleeps with a woman for some time he becomes her "husband".

Nshima moves from woman to man. A woman must cook *nshima* for her husband. An offer of cooking food for a man is seen as an offer of sex, and accepting food from a woman who has offered to cook for a man is seen as the beginning of a sexual relationship³⁴.

³³ This connection of restaurants and the spread of Aids is further enhanced by the fact that long distance lorry drivers are a major reservoir of HIV infection. They are some of the main customers of restaurants in towns such as Monze which are important stopping points on the north/south road.

³⁴ An instance of the connection between food and eating is found in the case of a woman who was admitted to Monze hospital with serious internal bleeding. She had problems conceiving and went to an African Doctor. She was told that the solution was to cut off a piece of her cervix and eat it. After that she would conceive. She began to bleed heavily after the removal of a piece of her cervix, and the African Doctor took her to the hospital. A further connection relates to the appropriate place for sexual intercourse. "It may be added that, in this cultural region, the kitchen is the place where conjugal intercourse should take place-with the fire burning on the hearth" (Jacobson-Widding 1991: 19).

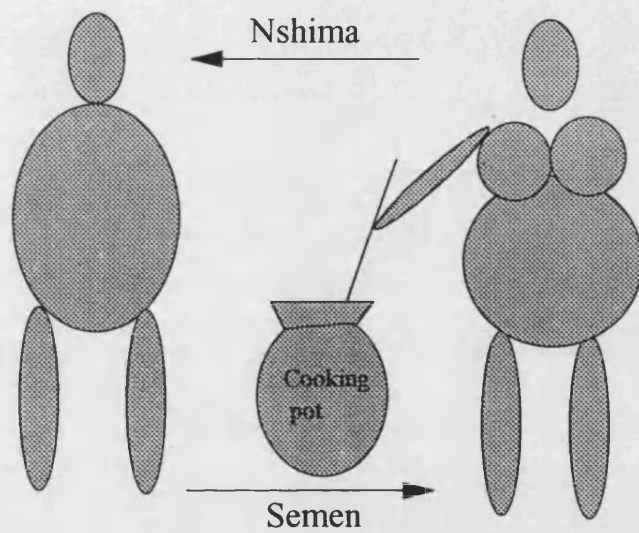


Plate # 11: Substance exchange between men and women.

Thus the appropriate exchange of substance between men and women leads to both becoming fat, or having a lot of blood. It leads to the creation of children, and the creation of connections of substance between people. There are some implications of this analysis which I will touch on here, but which become more significant in later chapters. The man feeds the woman with semen, via her vagina. The woman feeds the man with *nshima*, via his mouth. Thus there are possible symbolic connections between the man's mouth and the woman's vagina. The vagina could be a mouth, or the mouth could be a vagina. The resonances between these body parts will become more significant in the following chapter, when I develop an argument which attempts to explain the aetiology of certain problems such as Aids in terms of reversals in the direction of flow of substance exchange. The blood flow from man to woman becomes reversed, and blood, mucus and pus begin to be coughed from the man's mouth. I will argue that mouth of the man begins to act like the vagina with which it is symbolically associated.

The mouth is appropriately the place of water, while the vagina should be free of water. In the body of the man, therefore, *nshima* is taken in through the mouth, and then it becomes converted not only to his own red blood, but into his "man's blood", or semen. This he passes on to the woman, who becomes fat, creates her own red blood, and can mix the man's blood with her menstrual blood to create a child.

In this analysis the body of the man is capable of converting white *nshima* into white man's blood. The woman, however, does not have this capability, and must grind the raw maize and cook it outside her body, using fire as a transformative agent.

Semen, according to this analysis, comes ready-cooked, while women cannot provide cooked material from their own bodies with which to feed adults. The ability of the woman to feed her child with breast milk is even in doubt in this context and it may be that the child actually grows from eating maize porridge.

Thus we begin to develop a picture in which semen, which is male-coded, becomes linked with *nshima*, which is also male-coded. Thus women might cook and transform raw food into cooked food with the aid of fire, but the substance they transform, *nshima*, the quintessential food, is in essence male coded.

Conclusions.

In this chapter I have examined the constituents of the body, and suggested that a person is made up out of water and blood. Water is the substance of rain, freely available to all people equally. Black, the colour for water through association with rain clouds, is also the colour of community and community healing, through association with rain-making spirits, which were discussed in the last chapter. Water has the capacity to create growth in plants, but not in animals. The reproduction of water in the body comes from rain, and from drinking water, thus the mouth is wet, and associated with rain and water. However water in semen, in the vagina or in the blood is a sign of infertility and illness. Thus water can undermine the fertility of the body.

I have tried to show that this is because of its opposition to blood. Blood, I suggest, is a term which covers menstrual blood, body blood, semen, and possibly breast milk. Thus blood may be either red or white. Red blood passes from father to child via mediation of semen. It seems that breast milk and possibly menstrual blood are passed down the matriline. These are permanent transformations. However there are also temporary transformations which occur as men pass semen to women.

My argument in section three suggests that we may make a model of substance exchange between men and women in which semen and *nshima* are exchanged, as both have analogous properties. Both are white, both can create temporary shared substance, both can build bodies and blood. Further, there is other evidence to link food and sex, such as kitchen parties and the point that women pass on sexual diseases through cooking and through sex.

Thus so far we have examined rain/water as black substance, and semen/*nshima* as white substance. Both have the capacity to create growth, although water can grow only crops, while semen/*nshima* can grow bodies. In the following chapters I develop a model to account for how rain, and semen/*nshima* are connected, through their capacity to create growth. Thus semen becomes connected with the production of crops. The process of growth is only part of the process of procreation, however, as the baby in the womb can

only grow after the meeting of the semen and menstrual blood. The secret of replication is contained within the menstrual blood. Thus in chapter six we move on to consider how menstrual blood is connected with the production of cattle. In the following chapters I develop a model to show how the processes of procreation involve connection with several metaphors. Sex becomes associated with rain producing fertility in the land. Menstrual blood becomes associated with animal reproduction and production of cattle in particular. Thus processes of replication in general, and of cattle in particular, I will argue, are female-coded. Semen, through its capacity to create growth, becomes associated with the capacity of rain to create growth, and the growth of crops and children. Thus substances for growth, semen and *nshima*, are male-coded, while things that grow, such as crops and pre-pubescent children are also male-coded. Over the following chapters I will try to demonstrate how witches manipulate these links between the processes of production and reproduction for their own benefit.

CHAPTER FIVE:

MIXING AND EXCHANGE OF BODY SUBSTANCES.

There is no such thing as Aids. It is a traditional disease due to abortions. If women have abortions and flirt and sleep with people when they have not been cleansed then they will get sick themselves, and they will pass on the sickness to others. The man will get affected, and he will pass it on to the wife. If Aids is really passed on the way that doctors say it is then everybody in Zambia would have been affected by now!!! (Interview with an African Doctor who specialises in curing Aids. Extract from field notes).

These words express a common set of beliefs about Aids, and in this chapter I elucidate the assumptions and logic behind such statements. The route I take into this topic is a consideration of the mixing and exchange of body substances.

SECTION ONE: MIXING BODY SUBSTANCES: MALNUTRITION AND AIDS.

The mixing and exchange of body substances in the appropriate way is the primary mechanism behind successful reproduction, as I explained in the last chapter. Thus mixing of the blood of the man and the woman can result in the production of a child, and the exchange of semen and *nshima* between man and woman can result in both becoming fat, a condition which is understood as having a lot of blood. However, the inappropriate mixing of body substances can have the opposite effect. Thus if a woman mixes the semen of more than one man in her body this will result in the poisoning of the child in her womb, or at her breast. It will lose blood or become thin. This may be diagnosed at the malnutrition clinic as *kwashiorkor*. However, this is commonly seen as a misdiagnosis, and the true name for the problem is *masoto*. In more extreme cases, the poisoning of the semen from multiple lovers can end ultimately in miscarriage, or the death of a suckling child. Following miscarriage the woman is dangerous to any man who attempts to engage in substance exchange with her; if he should eat the food she prepares, or if he should have sexual intercourse with her, then he will lose blood, or grow thin, and suffer from coughing. This may be misdiagnosed at the hospital as *Aids*, but the true name for the problem is *kafungo*. It is to this set of relationships that we turn in this chapter.

1.1. Masoto.

"The word masoto is said to come from the verb ku-sotoka, 'to jump'. Its general meaning is injury brought about through illicit intercourse - illicit either because with the wrong person or at the wrong time. Those who do not observe the rules on continence in connection with hunting, fishing, brewing etc, are said to infect the activity with masoto" (Colson 1958:158). The general meaning of *masoto* is that inappropriate sexual activity can affect various projects. While I did not explore ideas relating to hunting and fishing, this general definition of *masoto* which Colson gave in 1958 is still applicable almost forty years later. I collected a vast amount of information on *masoto*, more than I can fully discuss here. *Masoto* divides into two types: *masoto* which affects the child in the womb, and *masoto* which affects the child while breast-feeding.

1.1.2. Masoto in the womb: Masoto a mwida.

Beliefs that sexual incontinence can affect projects are widespread in Africa. Herbert, for example, discusses sexual continence in iron workers, who must observe strict rules of sexual avoidance when smelting iron. If this is not done then the iron can fail to harden. "The vulnerability of the furnace to sexual relations seems to stem directly and logically from the notion that it is a woman-more correctly a wife, impregnated by the smelter husband and gestating a foetus of raw iron in its womb" (Herbert 1993: 81).

The furnace must be protected from adultery. "An adultery that can cause the smelt to abort, just as a wife's or husband's adultery during pregnancy may cause a difficult labour or a deformed or still-born infant" (Herbert 1993: 81). Herbert's fascinating discussion of iron-working and procreation metaphors fits neatly with one of the primary arguments of my thesis; that there are metaphorical/metonymical links between production and reproduction. Herbert points out that the furnace must be protected from adultery, as this may lead to the iron-smelting equivalent of abortion, difficult labour, or a still-born infant. These beliefs correspond well with beliefs about *masoto* in Monze. As Colson wrote in 1958: "If a woman miscarries during the first months of pregnancy, it maybe ascribed to masoto from her adultery" (Colson 1958: 159). *Masoto* in the womb can cause miscarriage, prolonged labour and stillbirth. I explained in the previous chapter that a woman will be encouraged to confess to the lovers she has had during pregnancy

to enable her child to be born¹.

The root cause behind this problem is seen as sexual contamination. In Monze this is explicitly seen as poisoning from the semen of a man who is not the father of the child, or the contamination he brings from other lovers. However, a polygynous man does not affect his co-wives with *masoto*, as he makes his lovers 'one blood' after a time, as explained in the previous chapter. Nelly explained the process to me in the following way: "If a man is married to no matter how many women the sex protects against *masoto*, because their blood becomes the same. It can happen that the husband or the wife are both blood group "O". The man then sleeps with a woman of blood group "A" or "B", and the combination of the bloods leads to *masoto*". As Colson pointed out in 1958: "The Tonga claim that a man cannot give *masoto* to his child if he has intercourse with another wife or long-standing mistress, for from the beginning he has slept alternately with the child's mother and the other woman" (Colson 1958: 160).

1.1.3. Masoto at the breast: makupa.

Masoto at the breast results either from parental promiscuity or from the mother becoming pregnant while still breast-feeding. Beliefs of this type are not confined to Monze. As MacCormack points out: "Beliefs are widespread throughout the world that semen and breast milk can mingle in the mother causing harm to the unweaned child" (MacCormack 1994: 8). Gray points out within the Melanesian context that "The Enga believe that a baby will die should the parents cohabit, because it may drink the father's war magic with its mother's milk. The father's semen is believed to be a potent source of his war magic, and is said to mingle with the mother's milk within her body thus constituting a grave danger to the suckling infant" (Gray 1994 :67). It is also a widespread belief in Africa that the child can be poisoned at the breast by parental adultery. Thus Winter describes a case where a child dies and the husband beats his wife, for it is suspected that the child died due to its mother's adultery (Winter 1959: 104).

¹ Note that Richards points out that adultery in women is thought to cause death in child-birth among the Bemba (Richards 1956: 160).

The belief is also widespread in Africa that a child will be harmed if its mother becomes pregnant. "The deleterious effect of a supervening pregnancy on lactation, causing a drop in milk volume, eventual cessation of lactation and early weaning of the older child has been well documented" (Gray 1994 :74). Further, the Ghanaian word "kwasiorkor" which means 'the disease of the deposed baby when the next one is born' is now used universally to denote a syndrome of chronic protein and calorie deficiency in the 2-3 year old weanling" (Gray 1994: 75). In an African context both Moore et al (1994:201) and Richards (1939:67) have discussed this belief. Richards notes for the Bemba: "it is considered very dangerous for the mother to become pregnant before the first baby has been successfully weaned. The child will fall ill of a particular disease, *ukulwake lunse*, of which the symptoms are coughing, wasting or diahorrea" (Richards 1939: 67). The root mechanism behind this type of weaning *masoto* is also said to be mixing of the blood. The woman who is breast-feeding has only one type of blood, her own. When she is pregnant she has a mixture of two types of blood, her own and that of the father of the child. Thus if she is breast-feeding and becomes pregnant this confuses the two states of blood mixing. Further, the breast-milk produced while breast-feeding is of one type, while the milk in the breasts of a pregnant woman is of another type. It is the mixing of these two types of breast-milk that can make the breast-feeding baby sick if its mother becomes pregnant.

1.2. Aids, T.B., Kafungo, the 'Abortion diseases'.

I have called Aids, T.B. and *kafungo* the 'abortion diseases' because they are generally said to be caused by women who have had abortions and not been cleansed in the traditional manner. The reason why women have abortions or miscarriages is often said to be promiscuity, which results in mixing of the blood of several men in their bodies, and poisoning of their child. This will become clearer over the course of the following pages.

One of the saddest aspects of my field work in Monze was the prevalence of HIV and Aids². I lost several friends and many acquaintances while I was there, and many of the

² There is a massive amount of literature on Aids in Africa, but of particular interest are: Chirimuuta 1989; Ingstaad 1990; Stanton 1992.

people whose words and lives and experiences are discussed in this thesis have died since I returned from the field. Virtually no family was unaffected by Aids, and those who had not already lost a relative were still conscious of the threat of death. It is not a compliment generally in Monze to say that a person has lost weight, as might be inferred from some of the previous discussion. However, in this time of a new danger, being fat is also a sign that the killer disease has not yet struck. In this chapter I have chosen not to use extended individual case studies; it does not seem appropriate to discuss individually those friends who have passed away already, and those whose lives will be shortened by Aids.

Aids was a very real threat to the lives of Monze residents, a vital issue on which everybody had an opinion. There were at least ten theories popular in Monze at present which purported to explain the identity, aetiology and possibilities for curing Aids. These theories were often overlapping, confused and sometimes contradictory, and different versions of each theory were found. However, I have tried to disentangle them and make explicit some of the implicit assumptions behind each theory.

There are a relatively small selection of diseases which are believed to be caused by "natural causes" *nsiki ya Leza*³. These are diseases which anybody can get, and they are believed to be unconnected to the breaking of taboos, the actions of witches, or social structure. Alternatively diseases may be African diseases (*bulwazi bwacintu cisiya*). Causation has many levels, however, and it can happen that a disease which is ultimately caused by witchcraft may be cured at the hospital. Thus in the case of some surgical procedures to remove lumps or growths the question still remains of who put the lump there. The answer to this often involves witchcraft. One lady claimed to have had a "frog" removed from her uterus at the hospital which had been placed there by witchcraft. Thus the hospital may be credited with curing some "African" diseases. This is, however, the exception rather than the rule, and hospital failures are usually seen as indicating the presence of an African disease.

³ This literally means "God's diseases".

It is often said that there is no such thing as an incurable disease (*tacisilikiki*), and even if some diseases are incurable, this is often said to be because treatment has not been given early enough. The most dramatic and tragic hospital failure of recent years has been the disease of Aids. Since a cure will always be effected if a disease is caught early enough, so long as the cause and treatment are matched correctly, the natural inference is that the failure of the hospital to treat Aids means that the cause has not been correctly divined. This failure to provide a cure thus invalidates other statements regarding the disease. Thus to be told one is "HIV" positive, and there is no cure is only to hear that the doctor has failed to link the correct cause with the correct treatment.

It is obvious, from a Tonga perspective, therefore, that Aids is not a "natural disease" but an "African disease". Were it a natural disease the doctors at the hospital would be able to correctly identify the cause and match it with the appropriate treatment, thus effecting a cure. The only question remaining, then, is to find which category of African disease explains the phenomenon of Aids and its sudden increase.

There are several traditional diseases mentioned as being mistaken for Aids at the hospital. The most popular of these is *kafungo*, an African disease of great antiquity. The local aetiology involves contact with women who have had miscarriages or abortions. It seems likely that *kafungo* may be a type of T.B., and the fact that Aids patients often contract T.B. only further confuses the issues. All the African diseases mentioned as being what Aids "really is" fit within the "taboo infringement" category, and they are all old diseases. The explanation for the sudden increase of Aids is the increase in taboo infringements which has allegedly occurred recently. The ultimate source of Aids is failure to observe tradition, to respect the old ways, as will become clear in our forthcoming discussion.

The essential argument of many Monze people, then, is that there is no such thing as "Aids". Aids is in fact the sudden increase of a traditional disease. Aids is a new name which has been given to an old disease, an old African disease. All African diseases can be cured, if caught early enough, and Aids is no exception. Many *ngangas* are in the business of curing Aids, and their business is thriving. Some *ngangas* charge up to £20

to cure Aids. The only *nganga* I met who was convinced he could not cure Aids was Mwanza, who died from Aids while I was in Monze.

We now turn to examine some local theories of what Aids "really is". The "Aids theories" may be divided according to aetiology into two categories, "taboo infringement" and "natural disease". Over the following pages we examine some theories of what Aids 'really' is. Here I simply list the theories to demonstrate the range of Aids discourses in Monze.

Some Aids theories:

Taboo infringement explanations.

1. Aids is *kafungo*, a disease involving sores, coughing and weight loss. It is curable.
2. Aids is *kafungo* which has not been treated in time. It has the same causes as *kafungo*, therefore. It is incurable.
3. Aids is not *kafungo*, but it has the same causes as *kafungo*.
Version a) It is curable.
Version b) It is incurable.
4. Aids is T.B. Various versions.
5. Aids is *impela*, a disease associated with sex between people at different stages of their sexual development, or different ages.
6. Aids is *lukoko*. This means "slimming". It is caused in the same way as *impela*.
7. Aids is *senso*, a traditional disease associated with diarrhoea.
8. Aids is *kasowe*, a traditional disease associated with contact with a dead foetus.
9. Aids is a combination of the above.

Natural disease explanations.

10. Aids is caused by a virus, or germ. Various versions.
Version a) It is incurable.
Version b) It is curable. This was by far the most popular version.

The natural diseases group within the Tonga cosmology includes all diseases for which the aetiology does not involve witchcraft, the intervention of the spirit world or infringement of cultural taboos, as explained earlier. This category of "natural diseases" would include the explanation of Aids in terms of virus or germ transmission, the understanding favoured within the Western medical cosmology. This theory is popular with many Tonga, but does not seem to be the most common understanding of Aids. Although there are some Tonga who will explain Aids in terms of witchcraft or

intervention from the spirit world, by far the most common understanding of Aids involves the infringement of cultural taboos. Taboo, *malweza*, is the same word as incest⁴. The "taboo infringement" group can be subdivided again as the breaking of several types of taboos can lead to Aids. Some of the major rules that should not be broken are as follows.

1) A woman who has an abortion, or a miscarriage, should be subject to "cleansing" before re-integration into society. Failure to comply with this rule was the most commonly given cause of Aids, although TB was also said to be caused in this way, as well as *kafungo*.

2) Secondly, women should not cook, or most importantly, put salt in food during their periods. This also was said to lead to Aids, TB and *kafungo*, as well as various other disorders.

3) Two people who have a big difference in age should not sleep together. This was sometimes said to lead to Aids, but was less common as an explanation than the other two causes.

The first two taboo infringements are frequently cited as a cause of Aids, T.B., and *kafungo*. The first two taboo infringements are connected to abortions and periods, and they are the most popular forms of explanation in discussion of disease aetiology.

There is an intimate conceptual link between periods and abortions as was explained in the previous chapter. Menstruation is understood as the loss of blood which would have formed a baby if it had been fertilised. During the first two or three months of pregnancy the womb is said to contain only blood. There is a link, therefore, between menstruation and miscarriages, in that menstruation is a sign of the loss of the beginnings of a foetus, a sort of very early miscarriage. As one informant explained: "It's like if a woman is pregnant, and from 2-5 months she aborts she must not greet anybody, she must not touch anything in the kitchen, and she will need to be cleansed by medicine. It is the same thing with Aids and salt in cooking. The bleeding is the same."

⁴ Other associations are that it is an evil thing, bad luck, an ill omen etc. (Colson 1958: 126).

The English term "abortion" is used to cover both accidental miscarriages and deliberate terminations. In Tonga the term *kusowa* refers to miscarriages and *wakali gwisya* refers to deliberate terminations. However *kusowa* is more commonly used, and in terms of disease aetiology a distinction is not made. This perhaps reflects the fact that miscarriages are to be understood as having a voluntary element. The primary reason given for miscarriages is female promiscuity; people bring about their own miscarriages as surely as if they take steps to have a termination⁵.

The symptoms of Aids, T.B. and *kafungo* are linked as they are all said to involve coughing and weight loss and are all difficult to distinguish from each other, if they are not in fact identical. One of the main causes in the case of all three diseases is contact with menstruation and/or abortion. I propose, therefore, to call these three diseases the "abortion diseases" in our forthcoming discussion.

⁵ Note that Colson points out that village women are bitter towards their town counterparts who have many lovers, thus harming their fertility. They are held responsible for the widely perceived increase in miscarriages and still-births (Colson 1958: 8). Abortion is illegal in Zambia, but is often practised by African doctors. Infanticide is also practised. There were several cases of unwanted children being thrown down the latrines in the hospital while I was in Monze.

SECTION TWO: SYMPTOMS OF ABORTION DISEASES.

2.1. Symptoms of Aids.

When I asked informants for the symptoms of Aids a huge variety of conditions were given, but weight loss and coughing were invariably mentioned. Some would mention a few key symptoms, such as weight loss, coughing, diarrhoea and vomiting. Others offered a list which might include any of the following: weight loss and coughing, bad condition of the hair, diarrhoea, sores, body pains, headache, cessation of periods in women, feeling cold all the time, pains in the legs, abdominal pains and vomiting, sores on the anus, and swellings and pains in the groin. The basic idea seemed to be that there are a variety of diseases which could dominate and lead to Aids. This is how one *nganga* explained it to me. "There are at least six types of Aids. There are boils that lead to Aids, headache and fever that lead to Aids, coughing that leads to Aids, weight loss that leads to Aids, sores on the anus that lead to Aids, chest pains and coughing that lead to Aids. You will have the symptoms of one or the other and then you will die". In this case "Aids" more or less means a slow downhill slide to death. It is important to bear in mind that when discussing "Aids" there may well be a considerable difference between what a western-trained doctor would consider to be Aids, and what some informants described as Aids. This partly explains the confusions arising over whether Aids can be cured. However, the two basic conditions which are always mentioned are coughing and weight loss.

2.2. Symptoms of *kafungo*.

Kafungo is said to involve coughing and sores, followed by weight loss. The initial symptom will be coughing, *kukola* which will be followed by lumps which develop into sores which become infected with pus, (*busina*). The infected nature of the sores was stressed. There are two words for sores: *cicisa*, which are sores for which the cause is known, they develop after a cut, for example, and *cilonda* which are sores which just happen. They are incurable, long term sores, *donda mwaka*. They will usually be on the neck glands, but also in the genital area, and possibly on other places in the body. Mistaken diagnoses at the hospital which were "really" *kafungo* included TB, Aids, abscesses and cancer.

Death would always be the result if the appropriate treatment was not given early enough. Some informants thought that *kafungo* could only be cured at the stage when it was still only a cough. If it had already progressed to the stage where there were sores then it was too late. Some said that if it is left for a long time diarrhoea could develop. Others said that if diarrhoea develops it is no longer *kafungo*, but Aids. This is caused by sores on the inside bursting and stomach pains are sometimes produced in this way, as well as sores on the anus. Thus piles could be *kafungo*. It was this advanced stage of *kafungo* that was often mistaken for Aids, according to one theory that suggests that Aids is untreated *kafungo*. Most informants said that *kafungo* could only be cured by the *nganga*.

When I asked what *kafungo* would be in English one informant said it would perhaps best be described as "cancer sores", or "incurable sores". One of the important things about *kafungo* is that it is difficult to treat, though not impossible, if caught early. Perhaps Western attitudes to cancer are in fact a good comparison to Tonga feelings about the possibility of curing *kafungo*.

2.3. Symptoms of T.B.

T.B. is almost invariably said to be *kakwekwe* in Tonga. It is said to be an old disease which has been increasing recently. Again coughing is a central symptom. Informants varied as to what they thought the T.B. cough would be like. Some said it would be dry, others that there would be a cough with clear sputum which is hard, *chinkolwa*. Others said that there would be a cough with pus. Others said that blood in the pus was a distinct possibility. T.B., then will always involve coughing, but chest pains and weight loss are also key symptoms. As one sufferer in the T.B. ward at Monze hospital exclaimed: "T.B. is a terrible disease that can destroy people. People can be fat, and working, and having a good job and then they get T.B. In two or three days they are finished in the body". Some thought there was only one type of T.B., while others said there could be T.B. of the lungs, and of the bones. Some thought that these are separate entities, but others were of the opinion that T.B. will go into the bones if left long enough. Another type of T.B., *kakwekwe kankugu* meaning "T.B. of the chicken" was recognised by several informants. This results from stealing chickens. The former owner can send T.B. to make you "cough like a chicken". This type of T.B. was usually said to be an African disease which could

only be cured by an African doctor. Some said that T.B. was an Aids symptom, and could be found with other symptoms that were Aids, such as weight loss, diarrhoea and vomiting.

2.4. The symptoms in common.

Abortion diseases all have two symptoms in common, coughing and weight loss. Thus patients will have a cough which they will try to classify according to the other symptoms which accompany it. For the Tonga the crucial problem is to identify the cause of a problem, for the cure will be determined by the cause. The exact nature of the cause of a problem will be found by divining, or by the doctor at the hospital. The patient will judge whether a cause has been accurately divined by whether a cure is effected. For the Tonga all diseases can be cured if they are treated early enough. Generally this theory was found to include Aids; there were few informants who agreed that Aids was incurable from the beginning, though some said that in the later stages it would probably be fatal. We now turn to consider weight loss and coughing within the Tonga cosmology.

2.4.1. Coughing.

Coughing was described as a central symptom of abortion diseases. In fact the matter of distinguishing between them was sometimes described as a matter of classifying the cough, as we see from the following statements: "In the old days we had *kakwekwe* and it was *kafungo*. It came from sleeping with a woman who had aborted. The cough is the same as *kafungo*." Another informant said: "I don't know if T.B. is *kafungo*, it's hard to tell with all these coughs. Some people say that whooping cough is *kakwekwe*". Another explained: "There are 3 types of cough. First, there is *ciya*, this is asthma in English. It is a cough and suffocation, and pain in the chest. Then there is *kafungo*. This is Aids in English, and the cough will have pus in there, and there will be severe pain in the chest. Thirdly there is *kakwekwe*. This is T.B.".

Another lady explained "There are three types of cough. There is the *kasowe* cough. This comes from somebody who aborts giving food to people. There will be pus (*busina*) in the cough. This is like the pus that would come from a sore. Then there is the TB cough.

This has a lot of clear mucus (*chinkolwa*). Then there is asthma. This is more like suffocation. Then there is the dry cough (*kolokolo*), but this is not part of a disease. The coughing associated with the abortion sicknesses, then, is a wet cough, in the sense that some sputum, blood, or pus, is involved.

2.4.2. Slimming of the body.

A fat person is generally thought to be a healthy, wealthy person, while a poor sick person will be thin (*fuluka*). Fatness (*neneya*) is usually described in terms of having a lot of blood, rather than having a lot of fat. All disease is thought to involve loss of blood, as the blood fights disease, but only some diseases will lead to loss of blood to the extent that a person will appear to become thin. A disease which involves thinning is thus a very serious and life-threatening disease. Sometimes the slow decline of weight is described in terms of the blood becoming finished. When the blood finishes then death will automatically follow. All the diseases we are discussing have profound weight loss in common.

SECTION THREE: CAUSES OF ABORTION DISEASES.

When trying to outline the causes of any problem there are always different levels of causation that can be considered. There were several levels of causation which were often given in discussion on Aids, *kafungo* and T.B. I have divided these into indirect and direct causes. I list these before discussing each in some depth.

Indirect causes:

The deepest cause of these problems is said to be the failure to observe traditional ways which has become common, especially in young people.

This failure leads to promiscuity, "sugar daddies", and girls who have abortions not observing the correct rituals. Restrictions during periods are not observed. The promiscuity leads to "mixing of the blood". This mixing of the blood is a main cause of miscarriages, as will be explained shortly.

Direct causes:

Abortions and miscarriages are the main source of Aids, *kafungo* and T.B., the abortion sicknesses.

3.1. Deepest causes: Loss of respect for taboo and tradition.

There is one indirect cause behind these diseases which was constantly stressed: the failure of young people, especially girls, to obey the traditional taboos and traditions. The following statement is typical. "*Kafungo* is an old disease, but it has become very common now. This is because people do not take abortions seriously. In the old days a woman would be taken aside, and would be kept away from people until she was cleansed. Now they are cooking and eating with everybody and sleeping with people. This is spreading Aids. It is due to the moral breakdown".

The promiscuity of women in the modern era is described as being unchecked. A friend called Raphael explained this to me in terms he thought I would understand: "When you look at some women and you imagine all the penises that have been inside their vaginas there would be many. If you decided to hang all the penises on the washing line to dry all your clothes pegs would get finished. You would have to borrow some from your neighbour!"

THE TABOOS: THE CORRECT PROCEDURE.

3.1.1. Cleansing following abortion.

This type of cleansing does not have a special name, but was usually described as *kusamba musamu*, "to cleanse with medicine". Some informants said that as soon as she menstruates following the death of the foetus/child a woman will automatically become cleansed and cease to be infectious. Others stated that she would always be a source of contamination until certain rituals involving bathing in medicine were carried out. Others said that she would be clean after she stops bleeding, the baby is buried and she had then been cleansed. Another theory stated that the woman would cease to be infectious for *kafungo* after the next menstruation. However, the cleansing was still necessary because the *luo* or spirit of the aborted foetus would affect the next child she conceives if the cleansing has not been done. Other informants said that the woman could go to another town and sleep with a man who would then die, and she would be cleansed. Some said that three days of complete social isolation followed by sexual abstinence until the next period would be sufficient. The sexual abstinence was necessary because the vagina was not clean because a dirty thing had come from there. It could only be clean after the next menstruation. Most informants, however, stated that a rigorous application of a period of social isolation followed by a formal re-integration into society following the next period would be adequate. During the period of isolation she should:

1. Avoid sexual intercourse.
2. Avoid cooking or serving food to people, as both these mechanisms can pass on *kafungo*. Sharing the same plate can also lead to infection.
3. Avoid greeting people, sitting by the fire, and any mixing in large groups.

An elderly woman, *mucembele*, would take the uncleansed woman aside and keep her at home. If any visitors came then medicine would be put on both their hands and feet. When she reached her next menstruation then they would brew sweet beer and medicine would be put there for all the village to eat. Another technique involved the mixing of medicine with maize which should be given to all. They should only bite on the maize and spit it out. The old woman then announces that she is now clean and can now mix with people again.

Contact with the dead foetus or baby could also cause *kafungo*, however, and care must be taken not to step on the place where it is buried. Before three months there will not usually be much to dispose of. After three months the foetus will either be incinerated by nurses or given to the parents, if the miscarriage occurs in a hospital. If the miscarriage occurs at home the foetus could even be put in a pit latrine or flushed down the toilet. If buried in the grave yard it should be wrapped in some green leaves and taken for burial by old ladies only. (I was told this story by a woman in her twenties who out of curiosity went to the burial of a foetus, however, young women would not generally attend as they fear to affect their fertility). This is an interesting point in light of the connections I am making between production and reproduction. In this case the earth may be seen as analogous with the womb. The old women would dig a shallow grave using their hands only, no hoe or shovel. The foetus is buried in a slightly upright position, as it might occupy in the womb. If it is not buried in this position then the mother may find difficulty conceiving the next child. There should not be weeping or mourning, as people say that the *luo* can affect the chances of a woman of conceiving if she has not already had a baby, and that it will affect those babies she already has if she mourns. Things are changing these days because of church influence, and a baby should always have a coffin. A friend who lost her two baby twins who were born at seven months had to undergo cleansing. However, I could not bring myself to ask her for a description of her experiences.

3.1.2. Restrictions during periods.

Restrictions during periods are similar to those when a woman is not cleansed after abortion. Traditionally a woman should be isolated during her periods as she is in an impure state. Thus during periods she should not touch anything in the kitchen, not be near the cooking fire, avoid sexual contact, not greet visitors, and not sit with big groups of people. However, this taboo has been considerably relaxed now and women observe few if any of these restrictions today.

It has been frequently mentioned, as a cause of abortion diseases and a host of other problems, that women should not put salt, (*mwino*) in "relish" when menstruating⁶. Not all women observe the avoidance of salt during menstruation. It seems that some women avoid putting salt in food during menstruation, while others say they have been doing it for generations and there has been no harm. A few informants had never heard of the suggested link between salt and abortion diseases. They looked extremely alarmed when I asked if there could be a link between salt and Aids/*kafungo*/T.B. Others thought it was only to be linked with possession. "Salt added to food will not affect anybody. It will only affect those possessed. The spirits can make all sorts of demands, like don't eat fish. Sometimes they stop a person from taking salt for a while". Another said: "It is a trick! It is so that young girls can show parents that they are still having their periods. There is no sickness from contact with menstrual blood".

When I asked about the importance of salt there was no ready answer available. An informant suggested that it is to do with the blood. Thus "It's the same blood. Blood makes a person, you use the blood to work, and then when you put salt in the food you infect the food". Salt is important in another extremely significant context. Thus at the *lwiindi* rain festival to make rain a goat will be slaughtered as part of the ritual and the meat eaten communally. It is imperative that no salt be eaten with the meat, otherwise the ritual will become ineffective. The penalty for eating salt is severe; payment of a cow. There was the suggestion that people would be so keen to eat salt that they would tie salt into their clothes and secretly eat it with their meat, thus invalidating the ritual. Some said that the link is that if you put salt on the fire then it will spark. At the rain ritual if you eat salt then there will be lightening. Richards point out for the Bemba that "the craving for salt is so strong that the word itself (*umucele*) has come to have figurative meanings. In proverbs and folk tales the husband goes to fetch salt from distant places, and this represents the fulfilment of his duties as a husband" (Richards 1939: 56).

⁶ In addition it was suggested that women should not add ground nut powder, sugar, or bicarbonate of soda to food during their periods. If a man is an athlete he should not eat salt or sugar on the days when he is to perform, and the house should not be swept that day.

Thus salt is apparently of some ritual significance to the Tonga. However, many informants are of the opinion that the taboo on putting salt in food while menstruating is new to the Southern Province, and is perhaps much more important in some Northern parts of Zambia among the Lozi, Ngoni, Bemba and Luvale. The practice seems to be gaining importance with the Tonga, however. Salt is already important in other contexts, and there is a strong belief that if you believe in a custom then it works. Thus if you suspect for a second that something might be true then you had better observe the custom; belief leads to effects!

This belief in the power of belief has another implication when considering the fact that many have lost the respect for tradition they once had. It is argued by some that the incurability of some diseases like Aids is due to the fact that people have lost faith in the *nganga*. The hospital was only ever able to cure some problems, and the *nganga* could cure the rest, the argument goes. If the people lose faith in the *nganga* the power to heal is partly undermined. Thus we are left with some diseases which can be cured neither by the hospital nor by the African doctor. The following statement on this point is typical.

"*Kafungo* was a common problem, and it had the same symptoms as HIV, young people do not believe in the traditions nor do they follow them. There has been a spread of abortions. When people step on the *kasowe*, (dead foetus) where it is buried they can get *kafungo*, it will be like sores and chest pains, but the difference was they had a cure. They were healed by faith. Now we know differently and the faith is in the hospital".

The point that people put all their faith in the hospital is an explanation for why a cure is no longer effected by the *nganga*. Thus the failure to follow the old ways has led to incurable diseases like Aids. It is interesting that there was quite a variation in terms of who saw Aids as being caused by this chain of causality leading from a failure to follow the old traditions. Old people were particularly vehement on this point, and some younger, highly educated Tongas claimed never to have heard of *kafungo*. However, it seemed more that they did not believe in its potency, rather than that it was invisible to the young Tonga elite.

It is important to bear in mind that there is not unanimous emphasis on the importance of abortions in discussions of causation of Aids. Many Tonga gave a description of Aids in terms of a virus or germs as outlined in the ten theories of Aids. However, the majority of Tonga I spoke to understood Aids as in some way connected to abortions.

3.2. Secondary causes of abortion diseases: Female promiscuity and blood mixing.

The second root cause behind *kafungo*, Aids and T.B. is often said to be promiscuity, (*bwamu*) almost invariably female. After sex the blood of the woman is said to be altered as a result of receiving the man's semen, while his blood remains almost unchanged, as explained in the previous chapter. She may poison her unborn child with the semen of a man who is not the father and cause a miscarriage. This is the cause of miscarriage which is most frequently quoted in discussions about Aids, *kafungo* and T.B. This can also be caused by male promiscuity, but the effect is much worse if it is a woman who is promiscuous. This is due to the closer proximity of mother and child, and because it is the woman whose body and blood is altered after sexual intercourse.

3.3. Direct Causes of abortion diseases: Abortions.

Abortions in this case refers both to deliberate terminations *wakali gwisya*, and miscarriages *kusowa* (For more on abortions in Africa see Devereux 1955). Miscarriages are believed to be caused in a variety of ways, including bad luck, witchcraft and God's will⁷. The most common cause of miscarriages given, however, is promiscuity of the mother. The semen of the man is believed to feed the child while it is in the womb, and the child must only be fed by the father. If it should be fed by the semen of another man it will be poisoned and can die, leading to miscarriage. If the father sleeps with another woman the child will also be harmed, but the effect is much less. During sex the man and the woman are believed to exchange fluid, often referred to as blood. Following sex the blood of the man is believed to enter the blood stream of the woman and change her own

⁷ Colson mentions on this point that "Abortion seems rarely resorted to. The only instance that I heard about, among either married or unmarried women, involved the young wife of a migrant labourer who had conceived during his absence. She sought an older woman to ask for medicines to terminate her pregnancy. The older woman had her summoned to court on a charge of slander, as this was tantamount to saying that she had medicines for sorcery. The court and spectators agreed with her, and the young wife was made to pay her damages" (Colson 1958: 156).

blood in some way. This happens in reverse, but to a very small degree. The most commonly given cause of abortions or miscarriages, then, is maternal promiscuity.

The most dangerous time was sometimes suggested to be 4-6 months, but a woman is infectious if she loses the child from the first two months of pregnancy onwards⁸. Still births, (*mwana wakaindiliila*), can also lead to *kafungo*. *Kafungo* can even be caused in the case of a woman who loses a baby which has been born at full term and then died. If the baby dies before the mother has had her first period after giving birth then *kafungo* can result, but if the baby dies after the first period she is safe from *kafungo*. There are many ways to contract abortion diseases which involve miscarriages or periods. However, it is also said that the spread of the disease in the community passes through sexual intercourse only. In other words, the woman who has aborted will be infectious from sex, cooking, breast-feeding, and other forms of casual contact, but once she passes the disease to her lover, or other people who she sees, the route narrows to sexual intercourse only. Thus it can be caught in several ways, but only passed on through sex. Thus the spread in the community is linked to sex. However, the initial contact with an uncleansed woman is always stressed as "the cause" of abortion sicknesses, and the spread is not much focused upon.

⁸ It is two months into the pregnancy that the child becomes capable of becoming a ghost if it should die, according to some informants.

SECTION FOUR: AIDS DISCOURSES.

4.1. Eight ways to catch Abortion diseases.

1. Having an abortion or miscarriage and not being cleansed.

Some informants thought that the woman herself could become sick in this way, while others thought that she merely passed on the disease while appearing healthy. Some informants said the woman would become sick with Aids, T.B. and *kafungo* within the month, but would be infectious to others before she herself became sick.

2. Sexual intercourse with a woman who has had an abortion and not been "cleansed".

This was usually named as the prime cause of *kafungo*, though accepting food and stepping on the place where the foetus was buried are also important causes. The initial sign of sickness, coughing, was usually said to begin shortly after sex with the woman.

3. Accepting food cooked or served by a woman before she has been cleansed.

"*Kafungo* is called Aids in English. There will be coughing, and there will be a severe pain in the chest. *Kafungo* can be contracted in two ways. A man can sleep with a woman who has aborted. In this case a sore starts in the genital area which eats inside the body up to the neck and ends up as a big lump on the neck which has a lot of pus. *Kafungo* can also be caused by somebody who has had an abortion preparing food for people and have the same effects, except that there will be pus in the sputum."

4. Casual contact, such as greeting and sharing the same plate as a woman who has not been cleansed.

This was extended by some informants to include babies who are cared for by uncleansed women. This was sometimes used to explain the prevalence of Aids in babies.

5. Breast-feeding following a miscarriage.

The child of a woman who has had an abortion will also be affected if it is still breast-feeding. "It will get swelling of the legs and purging and coughing. It is like Aids, and it is often mistaken for Aids at the hospital."

6. Sexual contact with a person, male or female, who has in their sexual history some contact, however indirect, with a woman who has had an abortion and not been cleansed.

In other words, the woman who has had an abortion passes disease to her lovers and they pass it to their other lovers and so the disease spreads within the community. The following quotation refers to the passing on of *kafungo*. "If a woman has an abortion and sleeps with a man before her next period it will result in coughing and swellings on the neck, problems with the nose, and sores on the gums. The woman is sick and she passes it on to the man she sleeps with, he passes it to his wife, and the wife passes it on to others".

7. Contact with the dead foetus.

This was usually described as inadvertently walking on the place where it was buried. However, another way of contracting *kafungo* is contact with a baby which has died before weaning. In this case the only person to be affected would be somebody who has already contracted *kafungo* and been cured. If the cure has not been complete they are very susceptible to *kafungo* and can catch it in this way which would not normally cause *kafungo*.

Disease caused by contact with the dead foetus was sometimes called "*kasowe*". This is the term used to describe the aborted contents of the womb. This was sometimes described as the primary cause of *kafungo*, and was sometimes said to be a separate disease, though informants sometimes could not explain how it was different from *kafungo*. The following is how one informant describes *kasowe*.

"With *kasowe* there is weight loss. It is more like Aids than *kafungo*. It is caused by passing where a still-birth or foetus has been buried. Or, you can get it by sleeping with a woman who has had an abortion before she is cleansed. She will not be affected, but the man will be affected. The man can then pass it on to somebody else".

8. Women putting salt in the "relish" when they are menstruating.

This was commonly described as a primary cause of T.B. and asthma, but it was also mentioned as a cause of Aids and *kafungo*. This cause was denied by some as having anything to do with Aids and *kafungo*. As already explained this custom is claimed by many to be foreign to the Tonga, but appears to be gaining popularity, as can be seen from the following statement.

"Have you heard of a disease like Aids that is spread by women adding salt to relish while they have their periods?

Yes, This is a common belief. Aids is spread that way, and also T.B. and coughing. This cannot be cured by Western Medicine."

Various problems such as prolonged periods are attributed to menstruating women putting salt in the relish. The most common problem which was described as being due to this practice, however, was a cough. This could then be attributed to T.B. Asthma, or Aids, or *kafungo*, all of which are supposed to be caused in this way.

As one informant explained: "If a woman puts salt in relish during periods then you will cough without stopping. This is the same if you sleep with a woman who has had an abortion and is not cleansed. Eventually it comes to Aids. This is a Zambia-wide belief."

4.2. Ten theories of what Aids is.

We now turn to re-examine the ten Aids theories prevalent in Monze.

Theory 1: Aids is *kafungo*.

Kafungo has already been discussed in some depth. It is a disease of some antiquity which is sometimes said to be Aids or to lead to Aids if untreated. It is also sometimes described as T.B. The symptoms are usually described as coughing leading to sores on the neck over the glands with pus coming from them. There could also be sores on the genital area, though some informants thought that the sores could be all over the body. *Kafungo* is described as curable in the early stages, though it will not respond to treatment at the hospital, and the treatment is difficult.

Theory 2: Aids is untreated *kafungo*.

Many were of the opinion that Aids is simply the result of *kafungo* left untreated. Informants with this belief usually said that Aids was incurable. However, this was not by any nature of the problem itself, but rather that *kafungo* could only be treated in the early stages. By the time it degenerated into Aids it was beyond the stage of possible treatment. *Kafungo* could only be treated by the traditional healer. This explains the failure of the hospital to treat Aids. The following is a typical statement on this subject: "*Kafungo* can be cured if it is caught early enough. The problem these days is that people hide their miscarriages. The problem gets serious and then they die. They get slim and then it comes to Aids. So *kafungo* comes to Aids if it is not treated".

Theory 3: Aids is not *kafungo*, but it has the same causes as *kafungo*.

Informants who espoused this theory would sometimes give symptoms of *kafungo* in terms of the sores on the neck and the cough, and they would give symptoms of Aids in terms of a multiplicity of problems including weight loss, diarrhoea etc. However, they would say that Aids is caused in the same way as *kafungo*. They might stress that Aids is incurable while *kafungo* can be cured.

Theory 4: Aids is *kasowe*.

Kasowe is a traditional disease which many felt was the same as *kafungo*. However, some informants distinguished it by stressing that it is caused by contact with a dead foetus, rather than by contact with the woman who has aborted. The symptoms would be more to do with coughing and weight loss, compared to *kafungo* which in addition always has sores.

Theory 5: Aids is T.B.

T.B. is usually described as being "*kakwekwe*" or "*kayanga*" in Tonga.

The symptoms are described as being chest pains, coughing, weight loss, and sometimes dizziness. It is very difficult to treat, though it can be treated by both the Traditional healer and the hospital. It will be fatal if not treated in time. I conducted several interviews at the hospital in the T.B. ward. There seems to be a considerable awareness in the T.B. ward at the hospital that there is an intimate connection between being diagnosed as having T.B. and being diagnosed as having Aids, as a sizeable proportion of the patients are suffering from both diseases. As such patients in the ward seemed

reluctant to discuss the Aids/T.B. link directly. However, some said that T.B. is *kafungo*, and some said that *kafungo* is Aids.

Informants vary considerably in how they believe T.B. to be caused. Some, who believe T.B. to be *kafungo* said it could be caused in all the ways that *kafungo* is caused. Thus women who have had abortions were an important route, while women putting salt in food while they have their periods represent the other main route.

There is a general emphasis on the latter form of transmission as being primary in the case of T.B. The focus is on coughing as a consequence of women's cooking habits, and asthma, or *ciya* was often named as the other disease that can be caused in this way. Another cause of T.B. which was mentioned by several informants was the problem of stealing chickens. If you steal chickens then "T.B. of the chicken" "*Kakwekwe kankuku*" could be sent to you by the owner as a punishment. The connection here is that you will cough so much you sound like a chicken! This type of T.B. could only be cured at the *nganga*. Other informants thought that T.B. was airborne, and could be caught from close contact with victims, such as kissing. "T.B. can also come naturally. The liver and the lungs get eaten away." This type of T.B. could be cured by both the *nganga* and the hospital. Informants with this belief will often say that it is impossible to contract T.B. from abortions or cooking. T.B. could also be inherited from one generation to the next in the blood, and it could come from certain occupations, such as building in which there is a lot of dust. In this case the lungs get congested.

Theory 6: Aids is *impela*.

Impela is a disease which is believed to result from a man or woman who is sexually mature having intercourse with a boy or girl who is not yet mature. In this case the "blood will not agree" and the girl will become sick. Thus in the case of a girl she will be below puberty, and not initiated. Thus sexual contact in which one partner is say 7-12, and the other is over 20 can lead to *impela*. It applies if the man is older than the girl, but even more if the girl is older than the man. If a similar age difference occurs if both partners are over 20 then they will not be affected by *impela*, since they are both mature. However, some said that if a younger boy sleeps with an older woman this could result in *impela*. They will not ejaculate at the same time, because she will know how to ejaculate and will release before him. She will become sick with *impela*. The symptoms of *impela* will involve the nails becoming long, weight loss, and greyish skin. *Impela* is sometimes described as Aids.

Theory 7: Aids is *lukoko*

Lukoko is one of the traditional diseases which was mentioned by some informants as being "really Aids". *Lukoko* means "slimming". "We had a disease in the old days called *lukoko*, which had a lot of the symptoms of Aids, the slimming etc. But it really only affected old people. Now even young people can be affected. It is because they are not afraid of the taboos. It can happen that a young girl sleeps with an old man. The blood does not go well together. The girl becomes sick and passes it on to others she sleeps with. The symptoms are coughing, loss of weight, body pains, general sickness, dizziness. It has increased recently due to sugar daddies".

Theory 8: Aids is *senso*

Senso is a form of uncontrollable diarrhoea. It was rarely mentioned, but some thought it was a disease which is mistaken for Aids.

Theory 9: Aids is a combination of the above.

Some informants explained that Aids was actually some combination of diseases, such as *kafungo* and *senso* or *impela*. This explained the many symptoms of Aids.

Theory 10: Aids comes from a virus.

Some informants could give a fairly clear description of Aids that would be substantially accepted by members of the allopathic medical system. Thus Aids is due to a virus or germ that is passed from person to person in body fluids. The main transmission mechanism was recognised to be sexual intercourse in which body fluids are exchanged. The only substantial variation from the Allopathic model of Aids would be that many informants thought that Aids could be cured so long as it was not too advanced, and some informants thought that it could be cured even if it was well advanced. One of the *ngangas* who specialised in curing Aids distinguished between Aids and *Kafungo* in the following way. "Aids is a new disease. It was brought from Europe, like gonorrea. *Kafungo* is almost the same as Aids, but it is not Aids. It is caused by stepping on the place where an abortion is buried. It is almost Aids, except that it can be treated. With *kafungo* there are ulcers which will not heal, and there will be signs in the nose. The person will not be able to breathe and there will be pus in the nose. The treatment for the two is also the same, but *kafungo* cannot be treated in the hospital.

Everybody is already infected: Fatalism: The eleventh theory?

Some informants are of the opinion that it does not matter where Aids comes from, or how it can be avoided, it is already too late. There is no point in changing behaviour, everybody is already infected. The following statement is typical.

"There is nobody who can tell me she does not have Aids. Everybody has Aids, so there is no point in worrying about it. Now for the first time I am going out with a single man. He wants to marry me. I am glad he comes from the next town, because he might find out my past if he comes here. All my previous boyfriends have died from Aids. Now we are all waiting to die. We are all going to die, so there is no worry for Aids".

In this section I have shown how there are many different discourses as to what Aids is. Aids is a topic on which everybody has an opinion, and thus there are many different ideas about Aids. This leads to many competing and sometimes contradictory beliefs. I have tried to present some of the complexities and inconsistencies relating to Aids in this section. However there are certain themes which are repeated. Aids is linked with abortions, coughing and thinning of the body. In the next section I connect these symptoms to the model of substance exchange developed in the previous chapter.

SECTION FIVE: REFINING THE MODEL OF SUBSTANCE EXCHANGE.

In chapter four I outlined a model of substance exchange between men and women in which the man gives semen to the woman, and receives *nshima* in return from the woman. Thus in healthy substance exchange *nshima*, which is white, thick, makes blood, builds bodies and can create shared body substance between those who eat food from the same pot, is exchanged for semen, which is white, thick, makes blood, builds bodies and creates shared substance among those who receive it from the same man.

Now I develop this model to explain the links between Aids, coughing and weight loss. The primary cause of Aids is women who have many lovers, and thus poison the child in their womb, resulting in a miscarriage/abortion. Semen/poison enters the woman's vagina causing the contents of the womb to come out of the vagina. When she has sex with a man or cooks for him he will cough and grow thin. I suggest that we may understand these connections if we consider abortion/miscarriage as a reversal of the substance flow which takes place within the healthy model of exchange. I have shown some of this process in diagrammatic form overleaf⁹.

1. Semen enters the woman's vagina, poisons the foetus, and causes the contents of the womb to come out of the vagina. I suggest that this sets in motion a basic substance flow reversal. Miscarriage can involve thinning of the body, and spasmodic contractions of the uterus.

2. The man she exchanges substance with will cough and grow thin. The growing thin may be seen as a simple reversal of the fattening which will be expected in healthy substance exchange. Thus the man's semen has lost its capacity to make the woman fat, and in return he is no longer nourished by the food she cooks for him. The coughing, which is always emphasised as an important aspect of abortion diseases, is, I suggest, also part of substance flow reversal. I eventually came to this conclusion after months of thought and examining my field-notes for clues. Eventually one image stuck constantly in my mind.

⁹ Certain works have provided inspiration for some of these ideas. They are referenced as becomes appropriate. (Edwards 1993; Epstein and Straub 1991; Herdt 1994; Laqueur 1990; Lindstrom 1987; Mansfield and McGinn 1993; Meigs 1976, 1990; Scott and Morgan 1993).

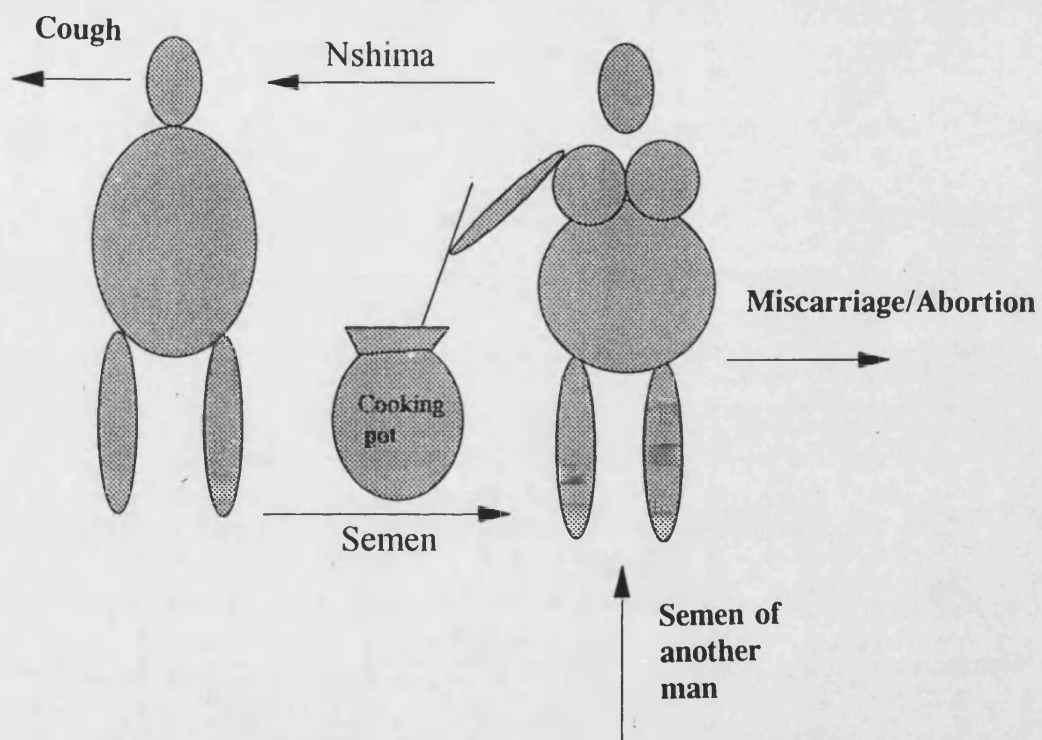


Plate #12: Substance exchange and abortion diseases.

Case # 28: Coughing and blood

I was sitting under a tree outside the T.B. ward at Monze Hospital, discussing T.B. with a man who obviously suffered from an advanced case of the disease. As we talked he kept interrupting the conversation to break into spasms of coughing. I had my note pad out as I scribbled notes on what he was saying. At one point I was writing on my pad and the man again broke out coughing. A brownish spot landed suddenly on my pad next to where I was writing. My first reaction was to look for a passing bird, but I realised almost immediately that I was looking at a spot of blood which had escaped during a coughing fit (Extract from field notes).

The cough involved is not a dry cough, but involves the production of sputum, pus or blood. This point, which is emphasised by informants in many of the descriptions of abortion diseases, is highly suggestive. Basically I argue that there is an analogous connection between abortion/miscarriage and coughing. It is implicit in much of the discussion in this chapter and the previous chapter that the woman's vagina and the man's mouth are analogous orifices. Thus in the model of substance exchange the vagina takes in semen, and is nourished by it. The man's mouth takes in *nshima*, and is nourished by it. Mouth and vagina thus have analogous properties in one way at least. It is my suggestion that when a reversal of the substance flow between man and woman occurs the male mouth begins to take on other aspects of the vagina; discharge of blood and other substances. Thus a woman who aborts/miscarries loses substance from her vagina, following uterine contractions. The man who exchanges substance with a woman who has miscarried/aborted loses substance from his mouth, following contractions of his upper body: coughing.

Hence I suggest that Aids and the other abortion diseases may be understood as involving a reversal of the normal process of substance exchange between men and women. Both *nshima* and semen lose their nourishing qualities. The mouth of the man begins to act like the woman's vagina, it loses blood and other substances. This leads to some fascinating possibilities in terms of understanding body and gender in this context. It seems that the maintenance of the gender-coding of various body parts and body substances is dependent to a large extent on the appropriate exchange of body substances. Different body parts contain within themselves the possibility to change their gender coding. Thus the vagina may be nominally female, but some informants thought that a woman past menopause could grow a small penis and begin to desire sex with women. A close friend, Regina,

told me on one occasion how she had been raped by a woman who had grown a penis.

Case #29: Regina tells of the time she was raped by another woman.

L. Will women still want to have sex when they are too old to have children?

R. When women stop bleeding they will lose interest in men. Some of them will even develop small penises and propose love to a fellow woman. There was a time when I used to sell beer, we were all a bit drunk and some women were dancing together. Another woman came up behind me and started rubbing herself against me from behind, she was getting sexual pleasure from this, and eventually she ejaculated. Everybody standing around was so embarrassed, because I had been raped in front of them all. Well, that woman had to pay two cows in compensation to me. Another time I was at a funeral, and I went for a pee. A woman followed me and proposed love to me. Those penises that women have, they are only about half an inch long. It is there at the top of the vagina. You can see when women are giving birth that some women have longer ones than others.

L. Do you think that those women at kitchen parties who get on top of other women to show them how to make love really want to propose love to other women?

R. No, they really only want to show those other women how to make love.

L. Do you think a lot of women are like this, they grow penises?

R. It's hard to tell. You can only see when somebody is giving birth if they have that enlarged part.

Likewise, in the case of Aids we find that if body substances are not exchanged in the appropriate way, then the mouth of the man takes on more of the residual female-coded qualities and begins to produce substances such as mucus and blood.

In chapters four and five I have focused on developing a model of substance exchange, and I have outlined some of the properties of semen, nshima and menstrual blood. The properties of menstrual blood are more fully explored in chapter seven on witchcraft for cattle. In chapter six I now move on to further explore the links of semen and nshima. I argue for a connection of children and maize which helps to explain witchcraft for maize production.

CHAPTER SIX: WATER INTO BLOOD:

WITCHCRAFT AND MAIZE.

The sun beats down on the soil which has dissolved into dust. The dust is everywhere, in houses and huts, on roads and tracks and fields. It creeps up from the hot ground to cover tired feet and slowly climbs up weary legs. People breathe dust, and the desire for water is almost constant. This is the season of dryness and heat. Eventually clouds are seen in the sky and everybody knows that this is the sign that the time of tiredness and heat and waiting for rain is drawing to an end. The permanent topic of conversation is the heat, and when the rains will come. Theories of how to predict when the rains will come are constantly swapped. It will rain soon because there is a cloud shaped like an anvil in the sky. It will rain soon because Independence Day is soon. It will rain because it already rained in Mazabuka. The rains will be late this year. The rains will be the best for ten years. Eventually the first drops of rain come splattering down from the sky. Almost immediately the temperature seems to drop, the air becomes soft and easy to breathe. The dust falls to the red earth and becomes trapped, baked hard as the sun dries out the soil between showers. Plants spring up from land that had seemed impossibly barren, and the preparation for planting crops can begin (Extract from field notes).

This is an extract from my field notes which I wrote when the rains came. In a very real sense rain is the first pre-requisite of the process of production; if the rains fail there are no crops and no food, animals die, and people become thin and weak. I have decided to begin this chapter on maize production with an image of rain falling on parched land, as this is in a very real sense the beginning of the life cycle. It is implicit in this thesis that the processes of production and reproduction are intimately connected, and in this chapter I develop a model which connects the production of crops with the production of people; a process of turning water into blood.

In chapter two I introduced the idea that wealth can be produced through witchcraft by manipulating the connections between production and reproduction. In chapters three, four and five I examined the processes of reproduction of the person. In chapter four and five I focused particularly on the substances that make up a person, and on how they are

reproduced. In the following three chapters I draw together the processes of production and reproduction, and demonstrate the connections between them. Thus in this chapter I examine witchcraft for maize, in the following chapter I examine witchcraft for cattle, and in chapter eight I examine witchcraft for business. From this, I argue, comes an explanation of why some types of witchcraft are more particularly suited to some types of production. In other words, why it should be that killing children should be a particularly good way to enhance maize production, while stealing menstrual pads should be especially suited to cattle production, and why ghosts should be good for business. In this chapter I focus on witchcraft for maize production.

SECTION ONE: MAIZE PRODUCTION.

1.1. History of maize, *mapopwe*, in Monze.

The Southern part of Zambia is relatively fertile, and maize production has figured prominently in the history of Monze. Maize is not indigenous to the area, and is reputed to have been introduced by the Portuguese. The current chief Monze told me the story of how David Livingstone brought maize to the area. He apparently offered the rain-maker a choice between a corn cob and a bullet.

Historically, the construction of the "line of rail" is also significant in understanding the context of maize production. The building of the line of rail has been described as the most important event in Tonga economic history (Vickery 1978; 1986). The line of rail passes directly across the Tonga plateau. This was significant as the alternative forms of transport involved either human or animal power, and the distances to be covered were staggering. The presence of the railway meant that Europeans clustered on the plateau, thus depriving the Tonga of much land, and introducing them to missions, native reserves, racial discrimination and apartheid. By 1910 nearly 14,000 acres had been alienated from the Tonga to make way for European farms. Historically the Tonga became relatively successful peasant farmers, and did not have to migrate in large numbers to make a living. Maize is thus perhaps even more important in Monze district than in other parts of Southern Africa, and this may go some way to explaining the

elaboration of so many stories of witchcraft associated with maize production¹.

In addition, the railway meant that the Tonga themselves were able to gain access to markets in Zaire and Zambia for the goods they eventually began to produce. Thus the line of rail is important in understanding the transition of the Tonga to a peasant mode of production, and also helps to explain why the Tonga were not "locked in" to labour migration on a long-term basis; there were alternative forms of involvement in the cash economy due to labour opportunities among Europeans on the plateau, in addition to the possibility of selling their own produce.

1.2. The process of maize production.

Maize production begins with the rains which should fall around October or November. This is the time for preparing the ground and planting. The growing plants must be regularly watered, and kept free of weeds. Harvesting occurs in March. There then follows a period of about six months where it does not rain at all. This is the winter time, and the nights can be bitterly cold, although the days are always bright and cloudless. Eventually the seasons begin to change and the days and nights heat up gradually until the almost unbearable heat is relieved only by the advent of the rains in October or November. Maize production is a family affair, with husband and wife performing different tasks. Colson notes that a husband must provide his wife with "a hut, a field, a hoe, and a certain number of household utensils. He must clothe her and her children" (Colson 1958: 108). She describes the division of labour in the following way.

In working their fields, husband and wife with the children attached to their household form a single work team with duties apportioned according to the traditional division of labour between the sexes. The husband with the assistance of the boys clears the land. Today they are responsible for the transport and spreading of manure, for ploughing and for cultivation since these tasks depend upon the use of oxen whose handling is generally reserved for men. The wife with the assistance of the girls plants the seed, does most of the hoeing, and is largely responsible for the harvesting. The crop is then divided into two portions, depending upon the field in which it grew. The wife uses the crop from her

¹ There are, however, hints of similar types of witchcraft in other parts of Africa. Marwick, for example, cites the Cewa case. "Cewa hold sorcerers (as I shall now call them) responsible for a great variety of misfortunes: illness, death, loss of livestock to hyenas, lions and other familiars; loss of crops by *nfumba* sorcery into the sorcerers garden, or, at a later stage, into his granary; miscarriages and still births; disturbed social relationships and insanity" (Marwick 1967: 107).

field for feeding her household, for brewing, and for gifts. Once stored in her granary, it comes under her strict supervision. No man has the right to go to his wife's granary or the privilege of arrogating to himself the right of doling out the daily provisions. If he thus encroaches on her sphere, it is grounds for divorce (Colson 1958: 109).

Maize production, then, is a gendered activity, with men and women performing different tasks. Children help their parents growing maize, but growing maize is not children's work per se. Hence we do not find an explanation here for why witchcraft for maize should be particularly associated with children, rather than adults. In the following section we examine witchcraft for maize in greater depth.

SECTION TWO: WITCHCRAFT FOR MAIZE.

Witchcraft for maize was regularly discussed by many of my informants, which is interesting given the fact that my research was conducted in an urban context. However, most, perhaps all, of the people I knew had rural connections; relatives in villages and plots of farm-land. Wherever possible a few stalks of maize would be grown in town, and any spare bits of land at the side of the road were likely to be planted with maize when the appropriate time of year arrives. Witchcraft for maize appears to be an old tradition, and is widely believed to occur. There are various techniques of witchcraft which involve maize production. These include simple types of labour theft in which the unsuspecting person is made to work on another's fields while they are asleep as well as incest, destroying the crops of another through jealousy, and killing children to ensure a good harvest.

2.1. Labour theft for crops.

Production of crops involves a lot of hard work, and this is reflected in stories of witchcraft for maize. Both the living and the dead can be made to work. Stealing the work of the living involves making them work while asleep. This was a common story. It was a joke when people woke up in the morning feeling tired at certain times of the year. The witch will magically take the spirit of the person to work in their fields, while the person lies asleep. By morning, they will again be returned to their beds. They will feel exhausted on waking up, just as if they had been working all night. In one case a school teacher was rumoured to have had all the boys in the school out working in his field at night! Another story concerned a sceptical priest from Europe. One day he said in his sermon that all this stuff about witchcraft was a lot of rubbish. Next day he reportedly woke with his hands covered in blisters and mud on his shoes. Other stories of witchcraft for maize involving labour theft are outlined in the following two case studies.

Case #30: Susan tells of killing children for the harvest.

For a good harvest people should use their own sons, or other people's children. They can then be used for ghost labour. They will steal from the fields and granaries. You can see that the carts will be full when they have just cleared a small bit of land. The people will be killed by witchcraft. They might have a sudden death, and we will find from divination what has happened. The killing can be at any time, at the time of preparing the fields, at the time of planting, or at the time of harvest. Mr...is a prominent farmer and a supposed Christian, yet each growing season he loses a child. This pouring of human blood is not good. These people will never go to heaven!! (Extract from field notes).

Case #31: Musambo tells of killing children for the harvest.

In the old days people would bewitch their sons, but that is largely abolished now. The son would die and be doing the ploughing etc. The other people's crops would not be so good, but he would have lots of maize. There is another type of medicine that if you pass through somebody's fields with it the whole crop will be destroyed. This is called "masumbale". This is done because people see the crop and they feel jealous, and they want to destroy it (Extract from field notes).

In both these stories the dead sons are said to be at work stealing from other people or doing ghostly labour which involves the crops of others becoming less fruitful. The point that it is sons who are killed will be used to reinforce my later argument that pre-pubescent children are perhaps all male-coded due to their association with the growth of crops, *nshima*, and semen. The following example involves killing of an adult.

Case #32: Story of mother killed and put in granary.

There was this lady who ran away from her husband because he killed his mother. He had put the ghost of the dead mother in the granary. The ghost was going to other people's granaries and taking maize from them. The wife did not know about this. After the harvest all the maize was put into the granary and the wife went to collect some. It seemed as if some of the maize was falling down all by itself, as if somebody was trying to help her. Later the wife noticed some cloth from the skirt of her dead mother-in-law at the granary. Since it looked like an abandoned rag more than anything that somebody might wear she did not think too much about it. Then she noticed that when the maize fell down sometimes in the granary it was as if the rag was pulling the maize down to help her. Then she realized that her husband had killed his own mother to gain wealth. She left him, and now he is dead (Extract from field notes).

In this example an adult is killed. However, the association here is between an adult and the granary, rather than the growing maize crop. Hence this reinforces my argument that crops are associated with children.

2.2. Incest for crops.

Whether it is possible to enhance crops with incest is an issue on which informants disagree. One person explained: "In the growing season the son should sleep with the mother at all four corners of the field and in the middle. This will make the crops grow well". Another said: "Incest can both protect from witchcraft and it can increase the crops. A man should sleep with his own daughter, his mother or his sister in the field. At the time of the harvest they must make love in the field, but the rest of the time they can sleep anywhere". This was disputed by other informants: "There is no incest for crops. Incest is common in business. You can be given medicine to make love to your blood sister. Medicine is given to make her agree and once this happens then you are going to be rich. If your sister refuses then you can turn into a fool or even go mad".

Case #33: Regina tells of incest story.

Well, there was this neighbour of mine who was suffering some hard times. He got really desperate, and decided to try this stuff about incest for wealth. He persuaded his mother to have sex with him to create wealth. But the magic failed, and no wealth was created. The mother died shortly afterwards from depression (Extract from field notes).

2.3. Killing children for a good harvest.

In some cases children are killed and the crops just grow more, without the children actually working on the crops. This is the case in the following example.

Case #34: Nellie tells of killing children for a good harvest.

One type of wealth involves the killing of a human being every year, to keep the harvest good. For farmers, they might be told to sacrifice every year at the beginning of the rains, for others it might be at the time of the harvest. At the time of the harvest the farmer will get very angry and difficult to live with. The person who he shouts at will die after that. It will be one of his children. It can also happen that the husband and the wife get together and decide which of their children should be sacrificed each year. Then that child will die, but the harvest will be good (Extract from field notes).

It is killing children that is the key in several of the previous cases. The question we have to answer is why killing of children particularly should be good for wealth in maize. The following two cases give some clues.

Case #35: Regina tells of why it is good to kill young people.

L. Is it only children that can be killed or can adults be killed as well?

R. It is best to kill children, because they can be made to do more work, if you steal their life.

L. Does that mean that a ghost will work for you only as long as it would have lived?

R. No, it is more that a young person has more sort of potential for production because their life is just beginning. An old person has produced a lot already, and so they have less to give when they are killed. So there is no point in killing an old person (Extract from field notes).

Case #36: Kidnapping for wealth.

It often happens that people are kidnapped and kept like fools. It often happens to children. There was a case of a man who lives down that side (she indicates where). He was on trial recently because he had been hiding children. With wealth medicine people can be kidnapped and not killed. This is because they should still be growing, and as they grow the wealth grows. Children who are only children, the first and last-born are especially prone to this (Extract from field notes).

These cases seem to involve two issues: that the children are still growing, and that children have not produced much in their lives, so if their life is stolen then all that they would have produced, had they lived, can be stolen from them. An older person who is no longer growing will produce less if killed. In this, witchcraft for maize differs from both witchcraft for cattle and witchcraft for business. In cases of witchcraft for cattle children are rarely killed, while in business children are killed, but so too are adults. In the only case discussed of killing for maize which involved an adult, she was put into the granary rather than into the crops as such. This reinforces my argument that adults are linked with mature maize ready for harvest, while children are associated with the growing harvest. I now turn to the question of the connection between the growth of children and the growth of maize. I develop an explanatory model which draws on the arguments made in previous chapters about the connections of semen and *nshima*.

SECTION THREE: WATER INTO BLOOD.

In this thesis I argue that there are metaphorical and metonymical links between production and reproduction that are manipulated by witches to their own benefit. Here I propose that growing children are linked with growing crops, while puberty and adulthood are linked with the mature crop ready for harvest, once growth has ceased and the crop can be eaten or reproduce itself. To develop this analogous connection I examine the two linked processes which produce crops and children; which turn water into maize and maize into blood. This is shown in diagrammatic form overleaf. I begin with a discussion of rain making, the beginning of the processes of production.

3.1. Rain making: the beginning of production.

I have suggested at various points that rain making is in many ways the start of the reproductive process. Throughout Southern Africa rain makers are crucially important figures. Mbiti argues, for example:

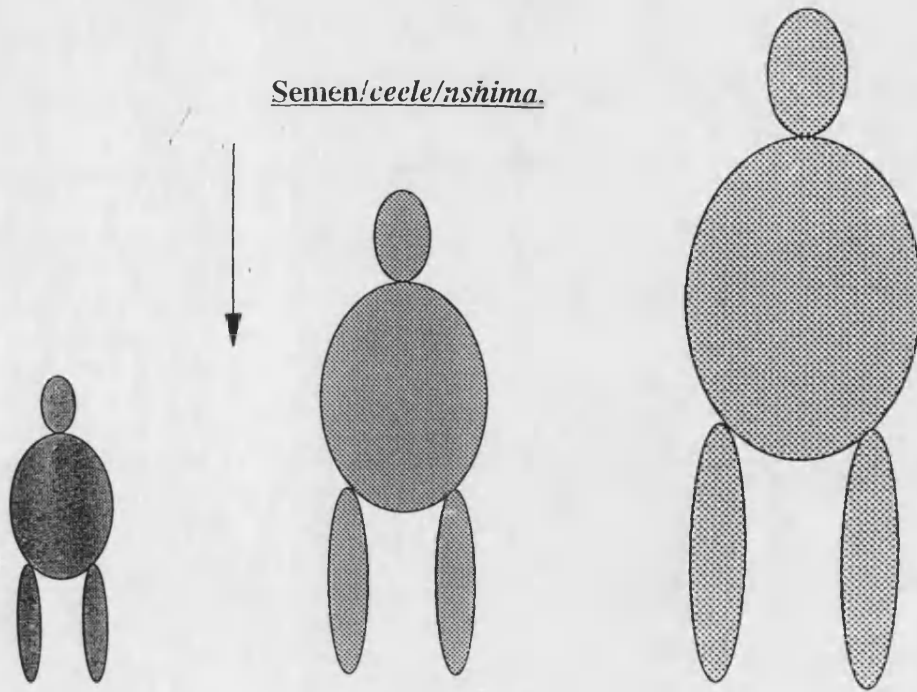
The Zulu speak of rain makers as the "Shepherds of heaven", and people do indeed look at them as the shepherds of men, cattle and plants, all of which depend on rain. The seasons control the rhythm of community life, and in many societies the change of the seasons is marked or observed with ritual activities. There are rites to mark many occasions like the start of the rain, the planting ceremony, the first fruits, the harvest of the crops, the beginning of the hunting or the fishing season. These communal rites and activities are extremely important in strengthening community consciousness and solidarity, and are educational occasions for the young people concerning both social and spiritual matters. Rain making is one such communal rite, and rain makers are some of the most important individuals in almost all African societies (Mbiti 1969: 179).

In the Tonga context Colson describes rain making in the following way:

Shortly before the first planting-rains of the year begin in earnest, the man in charge of the ritual announced it was time to prepare the beer for the *luinde*, as the ceremony is called. When the beer was ready inhabitants of each village spent the eve of the ceremony dancing and singing rain songs. They moved from house to house, calling out pleas to the *basangu* to send the rain. This is supposed to continue until the rain comes...Meantime the leader addressed the spirit at the shrine: send us rain and good crops and health. We have done all the things you told us to do. We have not forgotten you. Send us rain. Help us (Colson 1962: 95).

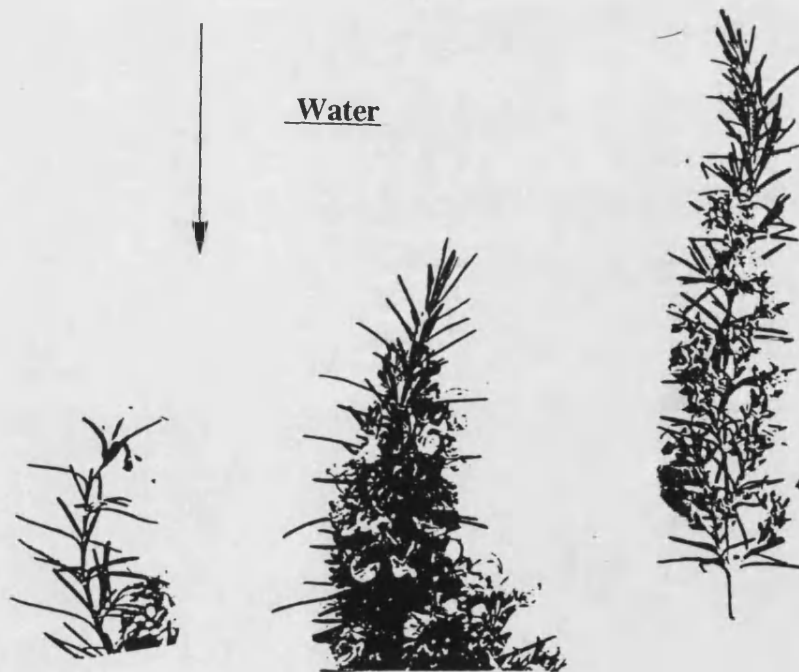
During my field work the rain making ritual was described in the following way by two different rain makers.

Semen/ceele/nshima.



System Two: Making Blood.

Water



System One: Water into Maize.

Plate #13: Two systems turn water into blood.

Case # 37: Nellie tells how she made rain.

At the Iwiindi there would usually be clapping and they would say: 'God we are humans, we are modern, we do not believe in the ancestors. Make us believe in the ancestor spirits through seeing and understanding'. Well, at that point a green mamba snake would come from the magic thicket, (ngonde) and wrap itself around my body. Eventually it would leave me and go to its hole, then thunder would be heard. At this point in the conversation loud thunder sounded out, and rain began to pelt down on the corrugated iron roof of Nellie's house. We had to shout and huddle close together so that we could be heard (Extract from field notes).

Case # 38: The chief rain maker tells how he makes rain.

It is in the thicket where the chief Monze is buried, and we take off our shoes and we go clapping. (Demonstration of clapping with cupped palms to make a hollow-sounding noise. The chief begins to look at some papers in his pocket in a very important manner). The pots are put in the little hut which is made for the spirit, where the grave is, and we continue clapping. Every person then gets beer from the hut. The goat is put into the hut. The goat must be black with no white spots on it. The animal killed can also be a cow or a chicken but it must be black. Black is the colour for the rain-clouds. The goat is then killed outside the pyramid. A fire is made and the goat is roasted. The skin only is removed and all the intestines are left inside. The skin of the goat is put on the roof of the hut. The meat is cut up by people from the matriline of the royal Monze clan. Then everybody eats some of the meat. But, no salt must be eaten with the meat. (The common way to eat dry meat is to put a little salt on the piece and then eat it). People who put salt on their meat must pay an animal. There will be people guarding to see that the salt-eating does not occur. Somebody might have a little salt tied to their clothes and sneak it onto the meat. That would be disastrous. That is how the great chief Monze left it and it must not be changed. The meat must all be eaten at the shrine, and none must be taken home, even the intestines, and the bones must not be chewed. After eating the bones are collected and put with some leaves. They are burnt, and the smoke is like rain-clouds. The rain will douse the fire. Everybody is clapping. After the bones are burnt everybody leaves clapping and singing, and the rain will be following behind them. They are in a happy mood, and by the time they arrive home the rain will have soaked everybody. This is all as the first chief wanted. He was a rain-maker but he was made a chief by the Europeans (Extract from field notes).

Part of my argument suggests that rain falling on dry land and sexual intercourse are metaphorically connected. Thus we may recall the earlier discussion about the emphasis which is placed on the woman having a dry vagina. Human fertility begins with a process of dry becoming wet. This emphasis on dry sex is common in Southern Africa, and it is tempting to suggest a connection at a regional level with the incidence of rain makers. However, for the present context we can look for ethnographic details which suggest connections between rain falling on land and sexual intercourse. Some of the material from the rain-making ritual is certainly highly suggestive. We may remember that rain spirits are associated with snakes, and in Nellie's description of rain-making a snake comes and wraps itself round her body before going off into its hole. Further, there are certain metaphorical links of the woman's body and the earth. I described in chapter three how a body traditionally would be buried curled up in a foetal ball in the earth. Richards also makes this connection between humans and agriculture for the Bemba.

The Bemba data might also be interpreted in this way. A woman is represented as a garden, 'cultivated' by her husband; her bodily processes of menstruation and childbirth are dangerously polluting and must be controlled. However, it would be misleading, in my opinion, to accept this without question, for it is women's magical knowledge, owned and used by women, that transforms the girls into women (Richards 1956: xxxiv).

It is difficult to be certain how far human fertility is associated with agricultural fertility in these rites. I was never specifically told that the garden mimes were done to make the gardens yield, but merely to 'teach the girls to garden', but it would certainly be very hard to distinguish very clearly between the productivity of the girls and the productivity of the seeds they sow in rites which involve the constant handling of seeds of different types (Richards 1956: 125).

Further, if we consider how rain must fall on the ground for some time before the plants grow, this perhaps gives us a clue as to why there is no definite moment of conception described by informants in chapter four.

3.2. Growing crops and growing people.

Once the process of production has been initiated by rain making crops continue to grow with the action of rain until they are ready for harvest. This is a process of getting drier and harder. At harvest the plants are ready to be harvested and enter into the cycle of exchange between men and women which involves semen and *nshima*, outlined in chapter four. According to the model I am developing there should be a connection

between all the agents of growth which promote growth in people up to adulthood. In other words, as plants grow by the action of water up to the time of harvest, there should be an analogous substance which grows humans up to adulthood.

I have already outlined the processes of growth in the womb by the action of semen, and I have argued that semen may be analogously linked to rain, due to some of the symbolism of the rain making rite, and the connections of dry sex. Should the father of the child not be present to provide semen, then porridge or *ceelee* can be eaten by the woman to make the child grow well. *Ceelee* is made from ground maize, and is basically the same as *nshima*, but made to a much runnier consistency. While *nshima* can be picked up in the hand and eaten, *ceelee* is white, glutinous and runny; closer, in fact to the consistency of semen. *Ceelee* is given to small children, possibly from birth. This is seen as an essential growth agent for children, who will be forced to eat *ceelee* if necessary. As a child grows it will gradually move from *ceelee* to *nshima*. The age of this depends partly on taste. Some children seem sick of constant *ceelee*, and stop eating it whenever they are able to defy the attempts to force feed them, perhaps around the age of four. As the person reaches adulthood and the plant reaches maturity they both stop growing. As a person stops growing it is no longer possible to kill them and put them into maize.

In this chapter I have examined witchcraft to produce maize. We have seen that witchcraft techniques express the labour aspect of crop production. Thus growing maize is hard work, and much witchcraft revolves around stealing labour from people. However, what is less clear is why killing children rather than adults should result in an enhanced maize crop. I have developed a model to explain this in terms of two analogous systems, one which results in the production of maize, the other which results in the production of people. These two systems together involve the conversion of water, from rain, into the blood of human beings. The agent for growth in the first system is water, in the form of rain. The agent for growth in the second system is semen, or its metaphors in the form of *nshima* and *ceelee*. Witches manipulate the connections between these two systems to convert children into maize.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BLOOD AND REPLICATION:

WITCHCRAFT FOR CATTLE.

You know, when I was little people used to say you should never marry a Tonga man. I said: "But why?" Then I was told: "Well, you see, when it rains, the Tonga men put out their women and bring the cows into the house".

The joke above was told to me by a woman who was not a Tonga, and hints at the connections between cattle and women which are explored in this chapter. In chapter six I argued that semen is associated with processes of growth, with crops and children. Reproduction, however, involves not only growth but also replication, or doubling. In this chapter I argue that the secret of replication is contained in menstrual blood, and to a lesser extent in the red blood found in the rest of the body. This is the explanation, I suggest, for why witchcraft for cattle involves menstrual blood.

SECTION ONE: WITCHCRAFT FOR CATTLE.

There are many stories of witchcraft for cattle. In particular the connections of women and cattle are expressed in the forms of witchcraft found; one important type of witchcraft involves stealing the menstrual pads of women. Another important form of witchcraft for cattle involves making children mentally handicapped. I argue that this reflects the child labour of herding cattle¹.

1.1. Children, witchcraft and cows.

Herding cattle is traditionally the work of young boys. This connection of cattle and children is reflected in witchcraft for cattle. Children can have their intelligence stolen, and become mentally handicapped, or they can be killed and their ghosts can be made to

¹ This is described as making into "fools" in Zambian English. This is the term that I will use in this chapter.

look after cattle, as in the following example².

Case #39: Killing children to put into cows.

A person who wants many cattle should go to a witch for wealth medicine.

They will probably be told to kill the child they love the most. This will usually be the first-born, as that is the one they are the most proud of. Sometimes they could be told to kill both the first two children, if they are a boy and a girl. After killing the children they should buy a cow and a bull. The spirit of the female child will look after the female cow, and it will have first a female calf, and then a male calf (Extract from field notes).

Another version of this story suggested that the two spirits would be put into two birds. The first is called "jule", and it will lead and protect the cattle. The second is called "moomba", and it will follow and protect the cattle. So the cattle can be going everywhere with nobody to protect them, because they are already protected by the spirits. These cattle can have many calves, and they appear to take care of themselves.

1.2. Killing intelligence for cows, kufunkula.

The active part of a person, their intelligence, can be stolen and made to re-appear in cow wealth. As one informant explained: "They have had their active part stolen, they are just humans. It is as if they have been half killed. Some of the loonies you see and people say they have slept with a person whose husband or wife has died, actually it is because somebody has stolen their intelligence for business or magic. What is missing is like the difference between a fool and a normal person". There are various theories as to how people, both adults and children, become mentally sick. One of the commonest theories is that they have had their intelligence stolen by witches. To put this in context we shall briefly explore some theories about mental illness.

"Kufunkula" means "to kill the active part of a person and to make them into a fool, by witchcraft". This is a polite way of describing people with mental problems. It is not

² While collecting material on this subject I interviewed about 20 adults and children at a hospital for the mentally and physically handicapped. Much of the data in this chapter comes from this source.

their fault they are mad, it is witches who made them that way. Thus the friends and relations of a person with mental problems might say that he is that way because of witchcraft. If, on the other hand we were to say that a person suffers from madness "kusondoka", then this implies that it is their fault. Possibly they slept with somebody whose husband died and they had not been cleansed, or perhaps they stole something and this was the punishment sent to them.

If somebody sleeps with a widow or widower when they have not been cleansed following the death of a spouse they will go mad. As one friend explained: "You can usually tell if madness has been caused in this way, because the person will behave sexually. They will undress in public, they will give a lot of sexual insults etc. If they steal they will have the sort of madness where they want to confess all the time and let everybody know what they did. This is called "chikwambo", and they will be made to return what they have stolen. they will always be confessing".

Children can be made into fools in various ways and for various reasons, but the exact way that these children increase the wealth in cows is not clear to many informants. Some describe them as physically protecting the cows, and others say they magically help the cows to increase. This was explained to me by a child at the hospital for the handicapped.

Case # 40: Story of killing children to make into fools.

I have heard that people can be made into fools to make them look after the cattle, but I don't know whether they look after cattle because they are fools, or whether they help the cattle to increase in number. The ones that I've seen cannot do anything apart from sitting around and I even wonder why people say they were made into fools to look after the cattle. Most of them have no balance, they have big heads and they can't walk a long distance without falling down. I don't know how this works, but it happens and it's a very strong belief in Tonga-land, especially Monze west and Namwala district (Extract from field notes).

It is a common belief, however, that the fools are actually physically looking after the cattle. Some informants say that the truth of the matter is that people with mental handicaps are easily taken advantage of. Herding cows is boring and monotonous work, and a fool can be set to look after cows for days on end without complaint. Some argue

that they are fools before they are put to look after cows, not because they have been made that way specially. A young herd boy was of the opinion that the job of the fools is to physically care for the cows.

Case # 41: A herd boy tells of children put into cows.

C. Some are made fools so that they can look after the cows.

If you have an uncle who is a witch then he can get medicine for wealth and make you care for animals.

L. In this state are you a ghost, or is it you?

C. It is you.

L. Are there many people who are fools who look after cattle?

C. Yes!!!

L. What do they look like?

C. Well, they can go to the bush all day, and not even ask for food when they get back. Saliva drips from their mouths.

L. So, some people might be made fools so that they can look after cattle, but what about those people who are so bad they can't even look after cattle?

C. I don't know why they are like that. Those people who just sit and don't do anything, I don't know why they are like that.

L. Do you have to care for cattle?

C. Yes, but some of them are very naughty, they always try to run away and then they have to be caught. You have to be always watching them, and it disturbs your games, where you are making toys from clay. You can't even sit and play!! (Extract from field notes).

Some informants were of the opinion that putting somebody into cows works on a more metaphysical level than the physical protection, and they may magically increase and prosper with the energy stolen from the child, even if the child is not present.

One person explained: "The medicine will take the active part of the child and wealth with cows will increase. The child will not always be looking after the cows. The child could even be alone in the town, and the magic will still work. For this medicine some of the urine of that person, some cow dung, and some cow's urine is mixed with medicine. The person will then become a loony. They might just stay inside, they might even shit and piss where they are". Children in institutions are thus not exempt from the suspicion that their intelligence has been stolen. At the hospital for the mentally and physically handicapped I spoke to a boy of about 15 with severe mental handicap, physical handicap and epilepsy. He had trouble answering many mundane questions, but when the subject of witchcraft was brought up he became very agitated and said that his father wanted him dead. Other children in the institution were of the opinion that

witchcraft explained his condition, and during his life he had probably heard many whispered stories about his father killing his intelligence to gain wealth.

Case # 42: A mentally handicapped boy voices some of his fears.

L. Have you heard of any stories of witchcraft from the villages?

A. No.... My father said that I should be in a coffin and be left there, even before I am dead. Even if I leave here and get a job I can't say I have a Mum and Dad. They always want me to die!! (Extract from field notes).

1.3. Women, witchcraft and cows.

It was often said that the best way to ensure that the cattle conceive is to steal the fertility of a female relative, usually a daughter or a niece. This fertility can be in the form of a used menstrual pad. The menstrual blood is thus connected to the woman's fertility, and to steal the used menstrual pad is to have some power over the fertility of the woman. Once stolen the fertility within the menstrual blood is transformed into cattle fertility by witchcraft. The victim becomes barren, and the children that she would have conceived are now in the form of calves in the kraal, as in the following stories from the hospital.

Case # 43: Stealing fertility for cows.

People increase their wealth in cattle by using their children. They are given instructions. They are told to steal a used pad from one of their daughters and mix it with the medicine. The daughter cannot have children ever in her life. Each time she conceives she will miscarry. She can be pregnant for 3-4 months but the pregnancy would just disappear. Each time this happens it means that a cow will conceive in the kraal, and can even give birth to twins. Some go for wealth medicine and they get their nephews and nieces to be involved. For the nieces they take the pads. All her children that she could have had would be put into wealth, and she would never have any children. With the nephews they can marry, but never have any children. Further, they will want to make love to the cows. They will always be leaving the wife in the evening and going to the cows (Extract from field notes).

Thus witchcraft for cattle reflects both the labour involved in looking after cattle, and the connections of cattle and women. In the next section, I further explore the properties of blood and I argue that menstrual blood contains the secret of replication or duplication, a property which is also residually contained in the blood that flows in the veins.

SECTION TWO: BLOOD AND REPLICATION.

2.1. Female fertility: Association of Women and Cows.

Women are associated with cattle in various ways, the most obvious of which is the point that cattle are the quintessential bridewealth, as in Litrecy's description of bridewealth payments below.

Case # 44: Litrecy's description of lubono, bridewealth.

- 1. Cow or ox given to father of girl, ngombe yachilezu.*
- 2. Cow or ox given to girl in hope of fertility. This is hers even if the marriage breaks or if the husband dies. Everything else can be returned in such cases.*
- 3. 5-15 animals given by the boy's side to be shared among the girl's side. Paid before wedding.*

There are various other connections of women and cows. Traditionally, Tonga women had their top four incisor teeth removed around puberty. This was reportedly to make them look more like cows. The connection of cows and people is further emphasised in that cows are given names and may even be given ancestral spirits. In the cleansing following the death of a spouse, sex with a relative of the deceased is recommended. However, a cow can be substituted and the surviving spouse simply jumps over the cow. In the following chapter we find that butchers are rumoured to make love to the cows they have just slaughtered. This will increase sales of beef. Thus there is a fairly clear connection between women and cattle. It seems clear that the fertility of the woman is seen as residing in her menstrual blood. In earlier chapters I have argued that the forces of growth are associated with semen. Here it is becoming clearer that menstrual blood is associated with replication and doubling.

2.2. The Idomba.

I reinforce this argument in the forthcoming discussion of the *idomba*. This creature was an almost daily topic of conversation, and it is a beast that everybody seems to fear. Essentially, it is a creature made from the blood of one person mixed with water and medicine, as in the following two examples.

Case #45: Litrecy describes idomba.

A person with marriage problems went to see an nganga. The nganga cut tattoos on her, and mixed some blood and herbs in a bottle. She was told to keep the bottle until a worm grew, when she was supposed to go back to the doctor. She forgot about it, however, and the worm grew and grew until it eventually became like her, except that the body was that of a snake. It grew big and wanted sex. It started to trouble her man, and even troubled a five-year-old boy in the house. The husband eventually wanted to divorce his wife. She kept the creature in a sewer, and it was invisible. People with certain tattoos could see the creature, however, and would catch it and beat it. She could feel the beatings on her own body. God is the only protection against such creatures, and eventually the pastor came and burnt it. She was then free. The person who told me this story said it happened to her (Extract from field notes).

2.2. The idomba.

Case #46: Lucy tells of Idomba.

There was a certain nurse. She went to get a love potion because her husband was sleeping around. She was told to leak some blood into water and bring it back when a worm had formed. She waited until the worm was big, however, before going. So, she was stuck with this thing that got bigger and bigger. In the end her husband left her because of the idomba. Such creatures cannot be killed because they would kill the person associated with them as well (Extract from field notes).

Stories about the *idomba* are well elaborated, and I was lucky enough to be shown a picture of an *idomba* painted on a bar wall. It lives in sewers, it eats eggs and it crawls along the ground and leaves a trail like a snake. It can be killed by hot food, or by putting a razor blade into its path; losing one drop of blood will kill it. When it is hungry it opens its mouth and makes a noise, then somebody will die. It resembles exactly the person whose blood it came from. The stories about the *idomba* are really worthy of a chapter to themselves, but space is limited, and I will emphasise only that it is made from blood, of either a man or a woman, and results from replication, or doubling. In this chapter I argue that the property of replication is contained in the menstrual blood, in contrast to semen, which is associated with growth. However, blood in the veins also contains some of the ability to replicate, as is evident in the stories of the *idomba*.

There are some interesting points that come out of this argument, relating to gender and various processes of reproduction. I have suggested in previous chapters that processes of growth may be male-coded, through their association with semen. Thus semen, *nshima*, growing crops, and possibly growing children are male-coded. I now suggest that



Plate #14: Picture of an *idomba*.

processes of replication may be female-coded. Thus menstrual blood is female-coded, and possible the red blood contained in the veins is female-coded. In light of the fact that the Tonga are nominally matrilineal, this is an interesting point. Blood is said to pass from father to child. Thus we have female substance passing down the male line.

In this chapter I have discussed, firstly, how witchcraft for cattle reflects the connection of children and cattle through the labour of herding. Secondly, I have demonstrated that women are associated with cattle through menstrual blood, fertility and the properties of replication contained in the menstrual blood.

CHAPTER EIGHT: URBAN WITCHES:

WITCHCRAFT AND BUSINESS.

Lots of people in business do not kill other people. But their businesses do not do well. They just come up and disappear. But those businesses which actually last mostly require the killing of people. There are a lot of businesses in Monze, and where the money comes from is a mystery (Extract from field notes).

In this chapter I look at processes of witchcraft to gain wealth in business and money. Witchcraft in businesses is said to be very common, and some informants thought that at least three quarters of business owners use witchcraft to attract customers. The techniques involved include murder, placing some sexual fluids in products for sale, and incest. I have emphasised in this thesis that witchcraft beliefs reflect the changing historical circumstances in Monze. In this chapter it becomes clear that beliefs about businesses are entwined with beliefs regarding the different racial groups in Monze. Thus in this chapter I consider witchcraft as believed to be practised by Africans, by Whites and by Indians. The first section considers witchcraft in African businesses. The second section is a case study relating to a particular African business. The third section considers witchcraft as it relates to Whites and Indians.

SECTION ONE: WITCHCRAFT AND AFRICAN BUSINESSES.

1.1. Witchcraft techniques in African business.

Witchcraft for business involves various techniques. One of the main methods involves killing adults and making them work "calling customers". This murder often occurs in the family. The business owner must kill a member of his family, preferably the first-born son. The ghost is put to work to attract customers and a busy shop or business may have many ghosts working for the owner. These ghosts may be either relatives or members of the public killed for the express purpose of extracting ghost labour.

Other stories involve the sale of food. To enhance sales of beer or milk a man should masturbate into the container before it is sold. To enhance sales of bread or meat a woman should place some menstrual blood or the water in which she has washed her vagina in the products for sale. Butchers in particular are suspected of witchcraft. When a butcher has killed a cow he is reputed to have sex with the dead animal to enhance

sales. This is interesting in the light of other material which suggests that cattle are like people and vice versa. Another technique involves the placing of a human foetus in the fridge with the meat. This will also make money and attract customers.

1.2. Father-daughter incest for business.

Father-daughter incest is frequently linked to the creation of wealth in business. As one friend explained: "Usually for wealth medicine the person will be told that the man should sleep with his daughter. After a while, once they are used to each other, and they are lovers, then wealth will slowly begin to increase. The daughter will not have children from this, even though they do not use contraception". Most informants thought that the incest was on a very material, physical level, while some said that perhaps the father makes love to the daughter in a dream or on some other spiritual level. In this case the daughter might not be aware of what is happening.

Girls are often pressurised into incest by fathers, brothers or uncles, as in the news article in appendix two. The stories I was told always had the man as the instigator of incest, as he was the one to get wealthy from it. Girls were sometimes said to be selfish if they refused to help their male relatives to become rich by refusing to have intercourse; so emotional as well as physical pressure could be brought to bear on young girls. The incest may begin when the girl is young, as in the following case.

Case #47: Incest for wealth.

There was this man, X, and he was supposed to be sleeping with his daughter in order to be wealthy. This began when she was about 9 years old. Eventually she got a boyfriend, and the father was upset over this. She stopped sleeping with the father, and the father died later (Extract from field notes).

Father-daughter incest, although stigmatised, seems on some level to be acceptable. It is almost seen as a natural impulse for a man to want to have sex with any pretty young girl, even if she is his daughter. Some stories about people going for wealth medicine involve a test of strength in which a man must spend the night in bed with his daughter and not have sex with her. Only after he has proved himself to be capable of such a feat of self-control can he expect to be approved as a suitable candidate for wealth medicine. In one instance a man was sleeping with his prepubescent daughter. The daughter eventually ran away and revealed all. The police refused to interfere in what was seen

as a family matter. However, it is recognised that such incest can damage young girls, and if a young girl shows disturbed behaviour it can sometimes be attributed to the father having abused his daughter, as in the following story.

Case #48: Incest causes mental illness.

Even in X's family there is a lady who sleeps with her father. There are lots of demons there!! It was a shame. She was a very clever girl, very brown and nice. She is now very black and has become a fool!! The father made her do it. She is now a sort of a fool. Even when she has her periods she just sits and lots of blood comes out. These days she even chases her own brothers for sex. Before this girl agreed to sleep with the father he had approached some of his other daughters. They refused, and each one who refused died. The ghosts of the dead girls possessed people, and when they possessed them the story of how they died came out (Extract from field notes).

SECTION TWO: A CASE STUDY.

Case # 49: Murder and incest in Monze leads to wealth.

There were many stories about business owners doing evil things to become wealthy while I was in Monze. One family in particular was often whispered to be implicated. The family were quite wealthy, with a successful bar and shops. The bar was a lively place, which I sometimes frequented. It was a typical Monze nightspot with the usual mixture of beer and bar girls, live rhumba music and dancing. There was something for everybody and a night out at this particular bar was a sign that life was being enjoyed to the full! Business prospered, and the bar was famous. Unfortunately, however, the family suffered 10 deaths and a late miscarriage over a fairly short time and rumours began to fly that there was at least one witch in the family. Customers became frightened, ghosts were seen by some people in the bar, business began to decline and custom moved elsewhere. The bar became empty and joyless. I will explore here some of the unfortunate events which affected the family, and the explanations which were offered to me for what happened. The family relationships are shown in diagrammatic form overleaf. However, the main points of the case study can be grasped without excessive reference to the diagram, as I have written the relationships into the text wherever they seemed relevant.

The Events: 11 deaths between 1988 and 1993.

Event 1: Death of No. 9, around 1988.

Event 2: Death of No. 5, also around 1988.

Event 3: Death of No. 1, around 1989.

Event 4: Death of No. 21, in 1991.

Event 5: Death of No. 10, 1992.

Event 6: Death of No. 22, aged 2 months. This baby died two days after the funeral of No. 10, in 1992.

Event 7: Death of No. 24, aged 2 weeks. Died around that same time as the other deaths in 1992.

Event 8: No. 6 has miscarriage, at 4-5 months, in 1992.

Event 9: Death of No. 2, 1992.

Event 10: Death of No. 11, 1993.

Event 11: Death of No. 8. Killed by relatives with an axe, 1993.

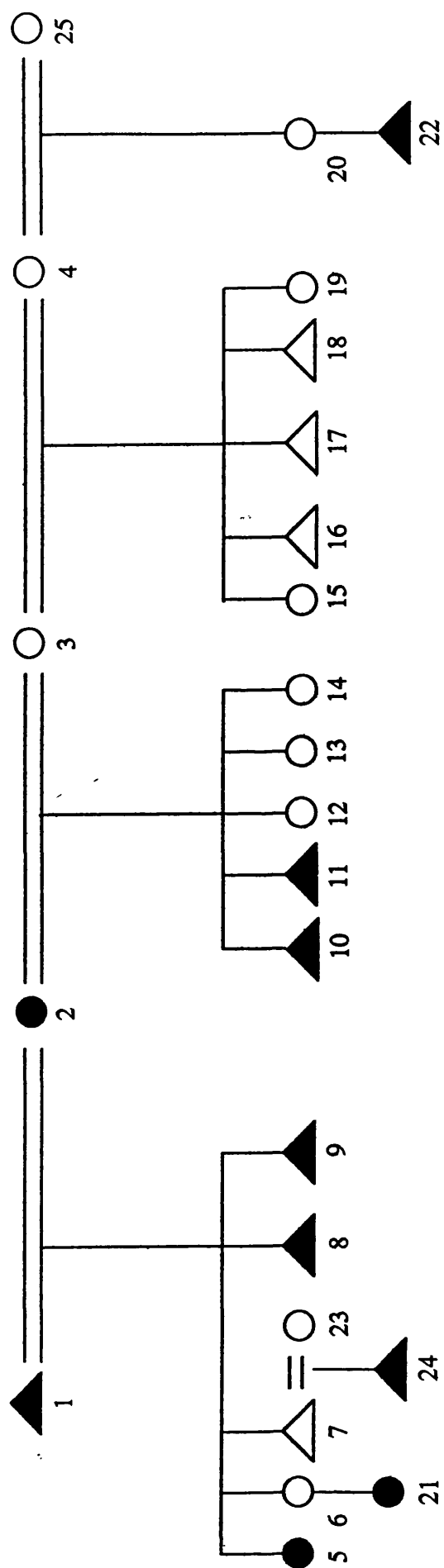


Plate #15: Kinship relations in case study family.

The stories of why they died.

I collected stories connected with the deaths of these people, some of whom I came to know before they died. There were often several explanations for the same death. The point should be made that I did not interview any of the subjects of these stories about why they thought their relatives had been dying. I thought it would have been insensitive, given the vicious and cruel rumours which had been circulating. If I had interviewed them I do not expect they would have offered me the explanation that their family was full of witches. They might have said they were the victims of jealousy, and found other witches who are not mentioned here. However, it is possible that in their quieter moments some members of the family could have come to the conclusion that a witch was active in the family. I did come across stories in which people accused members of their immediate family of trying to murder them. However, the basic point here is that these stories are some of the stories which circulated while I was in Monze to explain the deaths in this family. I collected this information from gossip which circulated in Monze and from more formal interviews with friends who I persuaded to discuss this dangerous topic with me.

Event 1: Death of No. 9, 1988.

Said to have died from sores.

Version 1:

Killed by witchcraft so that his ghost could enhance the business. This is a case of killing for business as described earlier. Note here that this is an adult man being killed; the preferred sacrifice would be a child, as they can produce more after death. This killing of adults would seem to be a new tradition. Killing for grain or cattle traditionally involves children.

Version 2:

Killed by revenge witchcraft for theft. The story was that he had made some deal with a South African truck driver and did not keep his part of the bargain, or he stole something from the truck. The driver of the truck sent him this sickness through witchcraft. This is an aspect of witchcraft where healing/divining and witchcraft overlap. Thus it is commonly said that a thief will be struck down with sickness or death.

Event 2: Death of No. 5, 1988

This woman committed suicide by burning herself to death.

Version 1:

Possibly driven to suicide by witchcraft. This is another example of the powers of witches. Any type of accident can be caused by witches.

Version 2:

Possibly murdered by husband.

She had a boyfriend and one day the husband came and caught her on the phone with the boyfriend. She died shortly afterwards. There was a court case and the husband was the main suspect. The testimony of a small daughter saved the father.

Event 3: Death of No. 1, around 1989.

Version 1:

Possibly died because the daughter began to refuse incest.

This man was supposed to be sleeping with his daughter, no 6, to create wealth. Eventually she got a boyfriend, who came from an Indian family widely reputed to be witches. She stopped sleeping with the father, and this is supposed to be why he died. This accusation of incest in a wealthy family is common. Note that it is father-daughter incest, which is supposed to be typical of the way to create wealth in business.

Version 2:

Died through revenge witchcraft following murder.

Another story was that No.1 and his son No.8 had murdered somebody, and so he died from revenge witchcraft. It is common when somebody dies that medicine will be placed in the grave so that the person responsible will themselves die. This might be the case if the person dies from direct murder, or witchcraft murder. This technique accounts for several deaths in this family. The identity of the murdered man was sometimes said to be No 1's brother, a rich man who was an ambassador in Europe, and sometimes said to be the brother of No. 2, his brother-in-law. The man was supposedly shot by No. 8, but the father, No.1 took the blame and spent time in prison for murder. In the version of the story that said the murdered man was the brother of No. 2, she supposedly

connived in killing of her brother, because her children stood to inherit, according to the matrilineal system.

Event 4: Death of No. 21, 1991.

One version only:

Killed by witchcraft and put into business.

This girl was said to be about eight or nine years old when she died. She was the daughter of the same daughter that No. 1. was reputedly sleeping with to create wealth. People said that it was No.1's wife, the dead girl's grandmother, No. 2, who killed the girl by witchcraft. She supposedly put the ghost of the girl into the business to make it grow. There are two significant points here. Firstly, note that in the three cases in which children die, and in the case of the miscarriage, the only version of why they died is that they have been put into the business. Children are the preferred victims for putting into business. It is said that as they would have grown the business will grow. This is contrasted with adults who are not growing, and thus have less to contribute if killed. The second important point here is that it is the grandmother who is the suspected witch. The practitioners of this kind of witchcraft are usually perceived as being men. Wealth and manhood and witchcraft are sometimes actually equated, as discussed in chapter two.

The typical depiction of the sort of witchcraft that a woman will be involved in is that to secure and keep a good husband. However, it is also said that times have changed and these days anybody can be a witch, and hence there is no anomaly in the suggestion that a woman is doing the killing. This woman has an added motive in this case as she is killing the child of the daughter who reputedly committed incest for wealth; she is taking revenge on the woman who slept with her husband. Another point in this case is that the suspected witch is an old woman past child-bearing age.

Event 5: Death of No. 10, 1992.

He died apparently from swelling of the feet and became confused.

Version 1:

Possibly killed by witchcraft by mother's co-wife.

One story said that No. 2 had killed him by witchcraft. No. 10 was the child of her co-wife. This would fall within the classical pattern of witchcraft as falling along lines of social tension, such as between co-wives or half-brothers.

Version 2:

Possibly killed by revenge witchcraft for murder.

Another story implicated him in the murder of a worker, and the revenge witchcraft from the grave of the worker killed him (See Death of No. 2. for full story).

Version 3:

Possibly bewitched by half-brother due to jealousy over inheritance, and then put into business to make it expand. According to this version No. 8 bewitched his half-brother, No. 10. When their father, No.1, died, it happened that No 10 inherited a bus. No. 8, his half-brother, was jealous of this and wanted to own it jointly with him. No. 10 refused, and was killed by No. 8 by witchcraft. This is again a typical story of witchcraft in Africa. The story does not end there, however, because the ghost of No. 10 was "put into" the business to make it expand. Around this time people started to say that they had seen the ghosts of not only No. 10 but also No. 9 in the bar owned by the family. Thus suggesting that not only No. 10 had been murdered and "put into" the business, but No. 9 as well. For ghosts to increase wealth in business they must be properly looked after, and must be fed with good food, such as eggs and *nshima* (cooked mealie-meal). There are stories of women leaving their husbands because they are fed up with having to cook for so many ghosts! Should they not be properly kept they may become visible. The suggestion was that this is what happened here, although the ghosts might also be visible to show that they had been murdered. Customers became frightened when rumours of ghost sightings became prevalent, and business declined. The family reputedly went to a witch on the border with Namibia to make the ghosts invisible, but it was all too late and the business continued to decline. This is an interesting point, because this family had ceased to show increasing wealth, the sure sign of witchcraft. However, the stories of ghost sightings were used to explain the decline in business, and the witchcraft was believed to be carrying on in spite of the failing business.

Event 6: Death of No. 22, aged 2 months, in 1992.

One version only:

Killed by witchcraft and put into business.

This baby died two days after the funeral of No. 10. 1992. The baby was said to have been put into the business to create wealth, possibly by No. 2. the co-wife of No. 22's grandmother. The father of the child ended his relationship with the mother because there were too many deaths in the family and he became frightened.

Event 7: Death of No. 24, aged 2 weeks, in 1992.

One version only:

Killed by witchcraft and put into business.

Died around that same time as the other deaths in 1992. Again was said to have been put into business, possibly by No.2.

Event 8: No 6. has a miscarriage, at 4-5 months, in 1992.

One version only:

Miscarriage caused by witchcraft.

This is the same daughter who was supposed to have slept with her father to make wealth, and who lost a child, No. 21. This miscarriage was supposed to be a classical witchcraft case of foetus theft, in which the foetus magically disappears and the stomach just goes flat. "It was more as if the baby just disappeared from the womb. The story was that she did not even know what happened to it. It was maybe taken by witchcraft, and the stomach just went flat". In such cases the foetus is taken to be used in witchcraft practises to make wealth.

Event 9: Death of No.2, in 1992.

Died suddenly from high blood pressure.

This lady had already been implicated in the deaths of some of her grandchildren, (No.21 and No. 24) and in the deaths of the child (No. 10) and grand-child (No.22) of her co-wives.

Version 1:

Killed by revenge witchcraft for murder of No. 10.

It was thus not surprising to find that there were those in her family who were thought to have reason to kill her. Thus the revenge medicine placed in the grave of No. 10 was supposed to have finally killed her, according to one story.

Version 2:

Killed by revenge witchcraft by daughter, for killing her children. According to this story she had been killed by her own daughter, No. 6, in revenge for the loss of her daughter No.21 and unborn child.

Version 3:

Killed by revenge witchcraft for protecting a murderer.

This story links her death to another two deaths, of non-relatives. A certain worker in the business was accused of stealing by the family, and in the course of the interrogation was beaten to death. Fearing a murder charge, the family formed a plan to make it look like suicide. They smeared poison on the body, and bribed a doctor at the hospital to give a death certificate saying that the worker died from cerebral malaria. The father of the dead worker guessed that something was amiss, however, when he saw the bruises and damage to his son's ribcage. He went to a witch, who ensured that all would be justly punished. According to this story, No. 2 died from this revenge witchcraft, because she was the one who came up with the idea of smearing the poison on the body. The doctor at the hospital died horrifically in a car crash.

There had in fact been a doctor at the hospital who died in a car crash during my stay in Monze. She had worked in Monze for many years, and was generally a very friendly and pleasant person. The crash caused shock in the town. The person who told me the story about her link with these other deaths in town was Dr. Mwanza, an *nganga* who was dying himself. He told me this story the last time I saw him alive as a most horrific example of what witches could do. What other explanation, he asked me, could there be, when the other people in the car survived and she died, even when she was sitting in the back seat? "Come on", he said to me, "her brains were out there on the road, how can

that happen unless somebody wants her dead?"

I had planned to interview No.2, in the course of asking questions about causes of death, as people kept saying that I should talk to this family, because they had so many deaths. Before I was able to discuss this subject with her, however, she died suddenly.

At her funeral I noticed that the base of the grave was filled with concrete. There was a coffin-shaped hole in the concrete, which the coffin was lowered into. Some corrugated iron was placed on top, and then more concrete was added over so the coffin was completely encased in concrete. When I enquired about this it was explained that this is becoming a popular way of burying those who are rich enough to afford the concrete. The explanations for this varied. One suggestion was that it prevented people from stealing the coffin. The most common explanation, however, was that it prevented witches from digging up the body to eat and use in their heinous rituals and spells. She was an active church woman, but this did not protect her from the accusations of witchcraft. Generally it is said that Christian people are not witches, but an exception to this belief was made in the case of this woman. Following her death there were rumours that she had been seen at the bar, well dressed, and busy supervising the activities that were going on.

Event 10: Death of No. 11, 1993.

One version only:

Killed by witchcraft for jealousy.

After the death of the father, No. 1, No. 11 inherited a house. It was said that his half-brother, No. 8 (again!) wanted the house, so he killed him with witchcraft. This death occurred in the capital city, Lusaka. At the funeral, it was said that No. 8 had a fight with some of his uncles, which led to his murder shortly after.

Event 11: Death of No. 8, 1993.

One version only:

Murdered during argument over witchcraft accusations.

No. 8 was killed by relatives, with an axe. He became involved in a fight with one of his

uncles, on his father's side, at the funeral of his half-brother, No 11. No. 6, his sister, was sick, and she had a dream which implicated his uncle in sending illness to her through witchcraft. She told her brother, and he confronted his uncles at the funeral. They quarrelled, and the uncle left for Monze, and No 8. followed, saying that he was going to shoot his adversary. This threat was apparently taken quite seriously, because it was rumoured that No. 8 had already murdered one man, his mother's brother, apart from all the people he had killed by witchcraft. No. 8 followed the uncle to the village, and a quarrel ensued, during which No. 8 was killed with an axe by his relatives. Funerals are a tense time, and the hint of witchcraft is never far away, as any death can easily be the work of witches. The association of witchcraft, death and funerals is not unusual.

The sister, No. 6, who the uncle was accused of bewitching, apparently then recovered. Following his death many said that he was the greatest witch and the source of much death and trouble. I went to the funeral, which was badly attended, with many expressing relief that he was gone. He was buried in town as the relatives were not keen to take him home to the village, where his relatives were buried. In spite of the fact that he was dead, however, informants were still uneasy about discussing his witchcraft and mis-deeds. He might be dead, but he was not powerless! Those who have been witches during life are not believed to become ancestor spirits. They are thus denied the opportunity to be re-incarnated after death, and are doomed to be wandering ghosts and eventually vanish forever. However, as ghosts they have evil and malicious power. I complained to somebody that people were still unwilling to discuss No. 8, even after his death, through fear that he might bewitch them, and she exclaimed: "Ah! But they are worse when they are dead. You don't know!!!!?"

The Future.

This all concerns the children and the family of the first three wives. It was pointed out, however that there is a younger fourth wife. There are still babies in the family that could be taken.

SECTION THREE: WITCHCRAFT AND RACIAL DISCOURSE.

It has been mentioned at several points in this thesis that Indians are believed to be important witches, while whites are less involved in witchcraft due to their association with Christianity. Thus there are differences in attitudes to witchcraft which vary according to perceived racial differences. In this section I draw some of this material together. I suggest that racial discourse is particularly important for the Tonga for several main reasons. Firstly, the Tonga were in close contact with whites due to their proximity to the line of rail. This exposed the Tonga to a system of apartheid along the South African lines of black, white, Indian and coloured¹. This factor, combined with the relative lack of ethnic consciousness among the Tonga² (Vail 1989), may have lead, I

¹ Tonga informants name "Kanamuswensenswe" as the first white trader on the plateau in the 1890's. The name means "a talkative person". Gradually more settlers moved in to take over land, and when the copper mines began to yield impressive amounts of copper during World War Two this encouraged further immigration. A significant Asian population began to move to Zambia from further South. They became extremely important traders, catering largely for Africans in the "Second Class Trading Areas" (Kieth 1966: 89). Eventually, a regime of apartheid was in operation, along the South African style divisions of Black, White, Indian and Coloured. This involved designated living areas, segregation of leisure facilities, disallowing of mixed marriages and segregated shopping. The former president of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, relates how he was ejected from a bookshop for entering by the "Europeans Only" entrance (Kieth 1966: 85). "Though the policy of its government before federation was one of "Paramountcy of African interests", in some ways Northern Rhodesia at that time practised a more rigid form of colour bar than did either of its Southern neighbours, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa" (Kieth 1966: 85). Eventually, in the late 50's and 60's a "colour bar campaign" began; the most controversial and effective campaigner was the first African Nationalist Leader, Mr Harry Nkumbula. The attitude of Europeans was clear. In Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, cafe and restaurant owners conducted a referendum among their customers; 90% voted against Africans being permitted to use the same cafes (Kieth 1966).

² A series of natural disasters occurred in the 1890's on the Tonga Plateau, including attacks by locusts, and rinderpest epidemics. This partly explains the large-scale migration of this period, but much migration was also forced, either physically, or by the need for cash to pay the taxes which were instituted in 1904. Vickery suggests also that goods such as blankets and guns had become "real wealth", or "*lubono*", and they could only be bought with cash. Migration among the Tonga, however, was neither as large-scale, nor as long-lived as in many parts of Southern Africa, and by the 1930's migration rates were comparatively low. (Vail 1989; Vickery 1986). Vail associates migration with the under-development of ethnicity in Southern Zambia. He argues that the movement of men on labour migration helped to create ethnicity and Tribalism, a process begun, he argues, by intellectuals such as missionaries and anthropologists. "Without ethnicity- or Tribalism the migrants would have been less able to exercise the control that was necessary for them to assure the continuation of their positions in rural societies and their ultimate retirement in their home areas. In those situations in which labour migration was not a pressing reality (the Afrikaners, the Cape Coloureds, the Luso-Africans of Mozambique, and, to a lesser extent, the contemporary Swaziland and Ciskei), or in areas from which men did not emigrate in large numbers, such as Southern Zambia and central Malawi, the ethnic message has clearly had less popular appeal, reaching no further than the petty bourgeoisie in most cases" (Vail 1989: 15).

suggest, to a heightened awareness of racial identity among the Tonga. Thus it is perhaps not surprising that discourses about witchcraft are entwined with discourses about race.

3.1. Farmers, Witchcraft and Whites.

In chapter six I outlined techniques for creating grain by witchcraft. It is interesting to consider how ideas about race are connected with these ideas. Many of the large farms around Monze are owned by whites, and I was unable to get a clear answer as to whether they are believed to be involved in witchcraft. Some people state quite clearly that whites and witchcraft do not mix. There would appear to be a big stress on belief and faith as affecting susceptibility to supernatural influences. Thus one could only be affected by ghosts, for example, if one believed in them. Since whites mostly were not believers in spirits and witches, the argument goes, they cannot be affected.

Some people did offer stories as evidence of white involvement in witchcraft, however. One man told me a story about a wild white man dancing in circles while performing witchcraft rituals. There were also dark hints about some farmers in the region having an unhealthy interest in witchcraft. Some of the whites I spoke to mentioned that they had attended *ngangas* for various reasons ranging from theft to snake bite cure. When a local white man died in a car accident some people said it was a clear case of witchcraft. Another story concerned a white preacher who delivered a heated sermon about witchcraft being an ineffectual load of superstition. The next morning he woke up with his hands all blistered and his clothes covered in mud. He had been made to work all night in the fields by a witch! A related story concerns a certain school teacher in Kemba who had all the children working to grow his maize at night. The nature of herbal teas and of the witchcraft traditions brought from Europe were also the subject of speculation. There is the case of Bwana Smith. Workers in the house noticed that the wife was in the habit of drinking herbal teas. Shortly after that she conceived, and this was partly attributed to the "medicine". Some people have heard of the history of witchcraft in Europe, and there is some suggestion that whites not only brought their own traditions, but learnt things from Africans as well.

3.1.2. Witchcraft to accumulate for money.

One clear domain where whites are associated with witchcraft, however, is in the area of money. Stories of witchcraft for money as such often focus on the bank and stealing from the bank. They often involve whites, as banking and coin money are seen as being essentially white institutions. There are various stories around of people using magic coins to make more money, and some of these are said to involve blood spilling.

Case #50: Witchcraft, money and whites.

L. Have you heard any stories to create wealth which involve getting hold of old money?

I. That is white men who do that, they are also witches!!

They used to come looking for gold pounds, 2/6, two and six, half a crown. The one with the two picks. Whites came looking for this and they had large amounts of money. They would pay a lot for these coins. They were using them to make money. This was in the 60's.

L. Why did the whites want this?

I. They wanted it so that they could put them with medicine and kill their fellow whites.

They could make them into ghosts and they could collect money from the bank. If you gave the coin they could use it to make their fellow whites into a muzungu idomba (white spirit/ghost) (Extract from field notes).

Case #51: Witchcraft, whites and banks.

There was a man in Pemba, Mr ..., who kept a muzungu (white person) and he got lots of money from it. The person who gave the medicine left certain instructions about how to care for the muzungu. But the most important was that when the muzungu went to the bank he should be awake and then be waiting for him when he comes back from the bank. But then he got a bit used to the muzungu, and he slept one time. It came back from the bank, found him sleeping, and then it killed him. This is a true story, that is why he died. The best mizumus (spirits/ghosts) for stealing from the bank are the muzungus (whites). Blacks cannot steal from the bank. If an African makes you an idomba to steal from a bank it is probably going to steal from you!!!! (Extract from field notes).

Thus whites are associated with witchcraft connected to banks, and to money in the form of coins.

3.2. Witchcraft and Indian businesses.

There are a number of interesting stories surrounding Indian businesses. The Indian community in Zambia is well established, and has historical roots dating to the early days of the Colonial era. Most are Hindu, and can trace their ancestry to Gujarat. The numbers of Indians has dwindled in the last 15 years, but formerly a significant

percentage of the wholesale and retail businesses in the Southern Province were run by Indians. There are still today a fair number of extremely successful Indian businesses in and around Monze. I was told that Indians are the "big dealers" in witchcraft. They are reputed to be skilled witches, and to have brought their own powerful witchcraft traditions from India. Indians have been seen to undertake endless strange rituals and to wear threads on their wrists. In particular certain rituals are performed in the morning before the businesses were opened. All these Hindu rituals are seen as evidence of witchcraft practises.

The Indian rituals and the nature of their religion appear to be the subject of lurid speculation. It was explained to me that human sacrifice is a part of their religion. Litrecy borrowed a book for me to prove the point. This showed a picture of an "Aztec human sacrifice". The picture depicts people with brown skin and long black hair gloating over a man dying and twisted in agony as the heart is ripped from his body. Given their predilections for taking human life, it was explained to me, it is not surprising that Indian rituals involve murder and the use of body parts.

Two stories involve the murder of children. In one, Africans have committed the murder on the instructions of Indians who wanted to cut the body up for parts to use in witchcraft. The other case involved a customer who went into a changing room and never came out. I was unable to discover whether this hapless person was the same one who was reputedly later discovered in the fridge of a business owner in the same town. Some informants said that Indians also use ghosts in their businesses, but some thought that it would only be the ghosts of fellow Indians they have killed, while others thought that Indians might kill Africans to make them into ghosts. However, the main witchcraft activity of Indians involves killing and cutting up the bodies for later use in witchcraft rituals.

There are some interesting comparisons relating to witchcraft in the African and Indian business community. Africans are believed to kill using witchcraft, while Indians are reputed to kill by more tangible means, such as employing an African to do it. Africans are supposed to kill their own children, as well as other unfortunate relatives and



Plate #16: Picture of alleged ritual killing.

individuals. Indians are reputed to kill African children and adults rather than their own people. While I was in Monze stories were rife about a particular family in Mazabuka, the town next to Monze. This family reputedly had killed several African women and removed their genitals for use in witchcraft for wealth. After I left Zambia these rumours fuelled a violent riot that took place following the "ritual murder" of a young girl. This incident was reported in the national papers³.

In this chapter I have outlined some of the techniques used by witches to enhance their businesses in Monze. Witchcraft for business obviously contains several of the elements of witchcraft for cattle or maize such as use of ghost labour, but is also different in several respects. Further, witchcraft in towns reflects the new social relationships between peoples of different "racial" groups. In the final chapter I draw some comparisons and contrasts between the different types of witchcraft.

³ See appendix two for this article.

CHAPTER NINE: STEALING THE MILK OF THE LIONESS.

Well, there are some stories of what you must do to become wealthy. You will go to the witch, who will point out a tree to you. "Behind that tree is a special cow, you must milk that cow, and then you can become wealthy". When you go behind that tree what do you find there but a lioness. If you are brave enough to take the milk from the lioness, and then cook it and eat it with porridge then you will become very rich (Extract from field notes).

This story, with which we began this thesis, now begins to make much more sense. I have argued for the connections of production and reproduction. Witches, I have suggested, manipulate the connections between production and reproduction for their own ends. Much witchcraft involves the substitution of reproduction for production. Thus over this thesis we have explored the processes of reproduction in some depth.

We have explored witchcraft for wealth in Monze, a small town in Southern Zambia. In chapter one I described Monze history as a legacy of the Colonial era, when the building of the "line of rail" at the turn of the century created a line of railway towns. Now, almost a hundred years later, as we approach the millennium, we find that an understanding of the processes of witchcraft is still important in understanding the society and culture of Monze. Witchcraft beliefs about wealth show clear continuity with traditional beliefs about wealth. The forms of expression have changed, however, and witches are now car-owners with modern bungalows and air-conditioned lounges. They may be the Indians that own businesses, and they will be reported on national television and in the daily papers.

In chapter two I described my plan to explore witchcraft for wealth in the three key areas of wealth in maize, cattle and businesses. Since witches manipulate the connection of production and reproduction, it has been necessary to explore the process of reproduction in some depth.

In chapter three I examined the process of spiritual reproduction, death and the return to the ancestors. The spirits which make rain, the beginning of both production and reproduction, were discussed.

In chapter four I discussed the main body substances in Monze; water and blood. I introduced the idea that water is normatively shared between people, due to its origin as rain, which should be available equally to all. Blood is a term which refers to semen, menstrual blood, as well as the blood which flows in the veins. I began to develop a model of how water and blood are reproduced. I suggested that we may understand substance exchange between men and women as involving the man giving semen to the woman in return for *nshima*, the staple made from maize.

In chapter five I further explored the processes of substance exchange between men and women, and thus further explored the connections of eating and sex. An explanatory model for local beliefs concerning Aids has been suggested. I argue that Aids is basically understood as being caused by a reversal of the normal substance flows between men and women, which were discussed in chapter four.

In chapters six seven and eight I draw together the models developed in earlier chapters relating to sexual reproduction and substance exchange to explain the mechanisms behind different types of witchcraft.

The processes of sexual reproduction of humans are, I have argued, sources of root metaphors for other types of production. There are two essential processes of reproduction of people: growth, and replication. Menstrual blood contains the secret of replication, of doubling of a person, while semen is the agent of growth, the force of expansion in the womb. The physiological process of semen mixing with menstrual blood and causing it to harden and grow into a baby is, I suggest, a potent source of models of production. Thus we find echoes of the process of human reproduction in other types of production. In particular I have argued that semen and growth have become associated with maize, while menstrual blood and replication have become associated with cattle.

I have suggested that the semen-like ability to create growth is seen as male-coded. Cooked maize in the form of *nshima* or *ceelee*, is also male coded, as it has the same ability as semen to produce growth. Further the ability to grow may also be seen as

male-coded. Hence growing maize is male-coded. I have argued in chapter six for the connection of maize growing and children growing. Hence we can further suggest that perhaps all children are male-coded while they are growing. They only become divided into male or female at puberty. Further, we may suggest that children are associated with plants more than with animals and people as a result of these other connections, and the fact they cannot reproduce.

I have argued for two basic processes of (re)production: growing and replicating. Growth is associated with semen, with water, with maize, with plants, with children, and with *nshima*. Growth is thus basically male-coded. Replication is associated with animals, with menstrual blood, with blood in the body. Replication is thus essentially female-coded. The two processes of growing and replicating are, I suggest, fundamental to the process of production. Thus any process of production must make sense in terms of these two processes.

I have argued that rain making is in many ways the beginning of production. According to my earlier argument, semen is associated with rain. Rain falls on the dry ground, which is analogous to the "dry sex" popular in Southern Africa. However, for the female ground to be fertile she must be past puberty; she must menstruate. I suggest that we may consider the sacrifice of an animal during the rain making ceremony as analogous to the menstruation of the earth. The animal sacrificed should ideally should be a completely black cow, but a black goat or even a black chicken can be slaughtered. It is possible that conceptually the animal sacrifice is a stand-in for a human sacrifice. Humans and cows are conceptually linked in many other ways, as discussed in chapter seven. Further in some rain-making ceremonies it is said that a human sacrifice was sometimes required to make the rain fall. This practise of rain-makers bringing rain from the ancestor spirits as a basic form of production is common over much of Southern Africa, and a sacrifice is generally required. In the case of the Mbugwe of Tanzania Gray states "The normal rain-making ceremony involved the sacrifice of an unblemished black bull. If this failed to produce results and the country was threatened with drought a human sacrifice was required; the victim had to be an unblemished male of dark complexion. If the drought

still continued and famine impended, the people then killed the rain-maker and installed another in his place. There is supposed to have been a saying in those days that: "Rainmakers do not die of disease" (Gray 1963: 145). Rain making may be said to contain elements of both growth and replication, as the rain, which is the male-coded growth agent, meets the ground which has been made fertile by sacrifice of an animal, which is analogous to menstruation.

I have tried to show the traditional beliefs surrounding production of rain, and how this process of production can be perverted by witchcraft to produce a grain surplus for an individual, instead of enough for all. The mechanics of sacrificing people for business is fundamentally the same. There are some interesting differences however, between the putting of people in crops and putting people in businesses, some of which reflect changes in the system of relationships of exchange.

The themes which we found in the creation of excess maize and cows are also found in wealth creation in business. Thus we find that children can be killed and put into business, as they can be put into maize. However, adults can also be put into business, in a way that is not possible with maize. Another difference with wealth in maize is that maize cannot be grown from killing a foetus, while business can be made to prosper in this way. Thus we find that witchcraft for business contains elements of both witchcraft for maize and witchcraft for cattle.

The people killed and put into crops would always be kin, usually the children or nephews and nieces of the witch. Now anybody can be killed and put into the business, even if they are not related. I suggest that this may be linked to the new forms of exchange in business in which are primarily with non-kin. In distribution of grain kin ties are paramount. Thirdly, the image of what the person killed by witchcraft is doing has changed. In witchcraft for crops the dead person is not imagined to be working, while if killed and put into a business the victim is said to be working "calling customers". This is the way that a shop or bar will become full of people wanting to spend their money and enhance the riches of the witch. This image of labour may perhaps be tied up with new forms of wage labour which have arisen in towns. It makes an interesting contrast

with the image of labour theft to make a person work in the production of grain. In this context the person is forced to work only while sleeping, and is not killed. The usual way of getting assistance with labour in fields is to give beer to those that come to work. There is thus an element of free will involved. This perhaps contrasts with the wage labour of towns, where the labourer has become increasingly dependent on his employer. Further, in this area there is a history of slavery in which a person could be enslaved and disappear to work for a member of another tribe. Such stories of enslaving and kidnapping perhaps can be readily metamorphosed into stories of ghost-slavery (Smith and Dale 1920: 398; Colson 1962: 605).

One way to understand this material is to look at this association of wealth and evil as an expression of the colonial encounter and the advent of capitalism, of the experience of alienation that has occurred as a result of commodity fetishism. An example of this approach is Taussig's work on "The Devil and commodity fetishism." (1980). He argues: "The superstitions with which we have been concerned in the Cauca valley, namely, the devil contract and the baptism of money, are thus revealed to be beliefs that endorse systematically the logic of the contradiction between use-values and exchange values." ... "These superstitions are not confused vestiges deriving from a prior era when peasant life or Church influence were more intact, but are precise formulations that entail a systematic critique of the encroachment of the capitalist mode of production" (Taussig 1980: 134). While it is undoubtedly valid to suggest that the beliefs I have described here partly reflect changes brought about by the advent of the capitalist mode of production, it is also important to place these beliefs within a cultural and historical context. In other words the nature of these beliefs about capitalist production must at least partly be understood as continuations of beliefs about pre-capitalist production. Thus as Bloch and Parry argue "The first things these essays collectively emphasise is the enormous cultural variation in the way in which money is symbolised and in which this symbolism relates to culturally constructed notions of production, consumption, distribution and exchange. It becomes clear that in order to understand the way in which money is viewed it is vitally important to understand the cultural matrix into which it is incorporated" (Bloch and Parry 1989: 1). In Monze the understanding of money and business enterprises has been profoundly influenced by the attitudes that already existed

towards wealth in other forms.

Thus production requires the same elements as reproduction: growth and replication; semen and menstrual blood. I end this thesis about how to get rich in Southern Zambia at the end of the twentieth century with two stories which encapsulate beautifully some of the themes which I have been discussing.

Case # 52: Lions and money.

I have heard of people looking for old money, especially the 1972 2 ngwee, the old pound, the tiiki with three spires, the 50 ngwee coin, and the half a crown. It is recommended to use an old coin with a head of a lion. You should be careful not to use an old coin with an odd number, because to make the money such numbers also require human sacrifice. The old pound date must be an even number. This old pound is witchcraft to steal money from banks. If you get an old British pound from 1920 or 1930 it can help you to make money (Extract from field notes).

Case #53: Blood and Money.

People used to collect old gold pounds, but now they are hard to find. They use two and six, or half a crown, or what they call "teeki", the three pence. It has the three spears, and the half crown has the two picks crossed. When they used to use the gold pounds there were two types. One had a lion, and one a horse. The one with the lion was the best, because it could bring wealth by itself. The one with the horse also required that you should bring some blood as well, it also requires killing (Extract from field notes).

In these two stories we find several of the themes which I have identified as important in this thesis. Thus we have the importance of the colonial encounter as bringing new forms of wealth and money. The association of different forms of wealth with distinct "racial" groups is also stressed. I have suggested that one of the most interesting aspects of my research has been the finding that the Indian community are believed to be involved in new and potent forms of witchcraft. This connection of "race" and witchcraft is one which presents exiting possibilities for further research.

Finally the stress on blood as a requirement of production is significant. The horse, then, is incomplete, it is a herbivore which eats only plants, the equivalent of semen without menstrual blood. Killing is required, therefore, to provide the blood which is necessary for (re)production. Only the lion, which has eaten blood, is complete. If you want to be rich, therefore, you must steal the milk of the lioness.

THE END.

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APPENDIX ONE:

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE LEGISLATURE OF ZAMBIA.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE LEGISLATURE OF ZAMBIA

- 1890 North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia came under British protection through the British South Africa Chartered Company.
- 1911 North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia were amalgamated into a single territory called Northern Rhodesia.
- 1918 An Advisory Council of 5 elected unofficial members was set up.
- 1924 Northern Rhodesia handed over by the British South Africa Company to the British Government and became a Protectorate under direct Colonial Office rule. First Executive and Legislative Councils were set up. The First Legislative Council consisted of the Governor as President, 9 officials and 5 nominated unofficial members.
- 1926 The Second Legislative Council consisted of the Governor, 9 officials and 5 elected members.
- 1929 The Third Legislative Council consisted of the Governor, 9 officials and 7 elected members.
- 1932 The Fourth Legislative Council consisted of the Governor, 8 officials, 7 elected members and 1 temporary nominated unofficial member to represent African interests.
- 1935 The Fifth Legislative Council consisted of the Governor, 8 officials, 7 elected members and 1 nominated unofficial member to represent African interests.
- 1938 The Sixth Legislative Council consisted of the Governor, 8 officials, 7 elected members and 1 nominated unofficial member to represent African interests.
- 1941 The Seventh Legislative Council consisted of the Governor, 9 officials, 8 elected members and 1 nominated unofficial member to represent African interests.
- 1945 The Eighth Legislative Council consisted of the Governor, 9 officials, 8 elected members and 5 nominated unofficial members, 3 of whom represented African interests.
- 1948 The Ninth Legislative Council consisted of the first Speaker, 9 officials, 10 elected members, 2 unofficial members nominated to represent African interests and 2 African members elected by the African Representative Council.

1954	The Tenth Legislative Council consisted of 8 officials, 12 elected members, 2 nominated unofficial members to represent African interests and 4 African members elected by the African Representative Council.
1959	The Eleventh Legislative Council consisted of 6 officials, 22 elected and 2 nominated unofficial members. Two African members sat on the Executive Council as Ministers (1 elected, 1 nominated) and there were 6 elected African backbench members.
1962	Coalition Government between UNIP (14 seats) and ANC (7 seats) and the UFP held 16 seats.
Self Government . . 22nd January, 1964	The Legislative Council was re-named the Legislative Assembly. The Executive Council was replaced by a Cabinet consisting of Dr K. D. Kaunda as Prime Minister and 13 Ministers. The Assembly consisted of 75 elected members: 65 on the Main Roll and 10 on the Reserved Roll.
Independence . . . First Republic . . . 24th October, 1964	Dr K. D. Kaunda became the first President of the Republic of Zambia and the Legislative Assembly was re-named the National Assembly. Parliament consisted of the President and the National Assembly. The National Assembly consisted of: 1 elected Speaker, 75 elected members, 5 nominated members. The Cabinet was increased to 14 Ministers.
1966	The Constitution was amended to increase the Cabinet to 16 Ministers.
1968	The Constitution was amended to increase the number of constituencies from 75 to 105.
1969	The Constitution was amended to increase the number of Cabinet Ministers from 16 to 19.
1970	The Constitution was amended to delete any limitation on the number of Ministers appointed.
Second Republic . . 13th December, 1972	The Constitution was amended to enable the Republic of Zambia to become a One-Party State.
1973	A new Constitution was enacted by Act No. 27 of 1973. The National Assembly consisted of: 1 elected Speaker, 125 elected members and 10 nominated members.
Third Republic . . . 17th December, 1990	The Constitution was amended to enable the Republic of Zambia revert to a Multi-Party State.
1991	A new Constitution was enacted by Act No. 1 of 1991. The National Assembly consisted of: 1 elected Speaker, 150 elected Members and 8 nominated Members.

THE PRESIDENTIAL AND GENERAL ELECTIONS HELD IN ZAMBIA SINCE JANUARY, 1964

28th January, 1964 . .	General Elections.
19th December, 1968 . .	Presidential and General Elections.
December, 1973	In accordance with the provision of the new Constitution enacted in 1973, under One-Party Participatory Democracy, Primary Elections were held on 1st November, 1973 followed by Presidential and General Elections on 5th December, 1973.
December, 1978	Primary Elections were held on 19th October, 1978 followed by Presidential and General Elections on 12th December, 1978.
October, 1983	Presidential and General Elections were held on 27th October, 1983.
October, 1988	Presidential and General Elections were held on 26th October, 1988.
October, 1991	Multi-Party Presidential and General Elections were held on 31st October, 1991.

PARLIAMENTARY SESSIONAL COMMITTEES

<i>Name of Committee</i>	<i>Duties of Committee</i>
Absence of Members from Sitzings of the House and Sessional Committees	Absence of Members
Agriculture, Lands and Co-operatives	Scrutiny of Agriculture, Lands and Co-operatives Policy
Foreign Affairs	Scrutiny of Zambia's Foreign Policy, Treaties and Agreements
Delegated Legislation	Examination of Subsidiary Legislation
Government Assurances	Scrutiny of Assurances, Promises and Undertakings
House	Comfort of Members
Library	Library Matters
Local Administration	Scrutiny of Affairs of City, Municipal and District Councils
Parliamentary Procedure, Customs and Traditions	Parliamentary Procedure and Related Matters
Parastatal Bodies	Examination of Accounts and Other Matters of Parastatal Bodies
Public Accounts	Examination of Government Accounts
Social Services	Social Services and Related Matters
Standing Orders	Standing Orders, Privileges and Staff Matters
Women, Youth and Child Development	Scrutiny of Affairs of Women, Youth and Children

APPENDIX TWO:
NEWSPAPER ARTICLES USED IN TEXT.

INSIDE TODAY: Police hold 12 pupils — P2, Harare lays off 3,000 soldiers — P4; Kenya seeks more trade — P7; Holmes to ape Foreman

AN elderly woman stunned police in Solwezi when she surrendered herself yesterday and confessed she was a witch who had killed seven of her own children.

She now felt remorseful and promised to turn her back on the "evil" practice.

The woman, who was named, in her early 60s hails from Ntambo village in Chief Kapijimpanga's area. She said she inherited witchcraft from her mother, who died a long time ago.

She admitted killing her seven children who were named through witchcraft and only two were alive.

The killings were done in compliance with her husband

'I killed, ate my own 7 children'

band who is a wizard and approved of the practice.

Looking calm and composed, she said the couple ate the flesh of their children whom they killed using the most potent charm called "tuyobela".

She boasted "tuyobela" was the most potent and dangerous device which once unleashed, victims never survived as they died within minutes.

She displayed her witchcraft paraphernalia at the police station which included items used for flying and others for stealing money from homes.

She often flew to Lusaka

to see her son, and all she did was annoint her feet with some charms and get on the "plane" and flew away.

North-Western Province police chief Nungu Sasassali said the woman would appear in court soon because she had confessed to killing.

If the matter comes up for hearing, it will be a test case and it is not known whether the bodies of the seven children will be exhumed as evidence.

She said she had realised her wrong-doings and wanted a witchfinder to cleanse her so she could

turn a new leaf.

She used to go to a "church", which she called "London" although there was no church with such a name in her area and wanted to resume her religious obligations once cleansed.

Almost tearfully, she said at times she went for days on end without eating when she recalled her children whom she bewitched, and wished she had not done so.

The story of the woman has generated much talk and interest in the town. People are trooping to the police station to catch a glimpse of her and see her witchcraft paraphernalia.

In Ndola, three men took turns in raping a 12-year-old girl on Tuesday at Northrise primary school and one has been picked up. The others are still on the run.

Police public relations officer Mr Francis Musonda said yesterday the three men pounced on the young girl at the school play ground.

Police were still trying to track down the other two suspects with the help of the one picked up.

In Senanga, one man has been held for allegedly murdering his wife and would appear in court soon.

Mr Musonda said the suspect allegedly assaulted his wife Kalaluka Imangolwa in July and she died last Sunday of injuries.

In Solwezi, a suspect has been arrested for striking a man with an axe last Friday. He died two days later.

Mr Musonda said the suspect struck Mr Maurice Mulope on the head. Mr Mulope died two days later.

In Chingola, police are looking for people who assaulted the man who died on his way to the police to report the case.

He is Mr Wellington Mulenga who died outside Chiwempala police station.

Mr Mulenga had a deep cut on the forehead and another injury on the eye. — Zana.

Miners in pay



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Ndola suspect witches caught

By VICTOR KAYIRA
FIFTEEN suspected witches and wizards have been flushed out from Nkwazi township in Ndola and are detained at a clinic under paramilitary police guard. They have confessed to practising black magic and eating human flesh.

The elderly suspects yesterday stunned residents of Ndola's Nkwazi township when they narrated how they bewitched people and later ate them. The "voodoo" practitioners were flushed out of the township by three young witchfinders from Munanga in Lupatula Province.

The three witchfinders "Dr" Joe Mpala, 23, and two brothers "Dr" Samu Mulubwa, 25, and "Dr" Chishimba Imfwayenda, 27, were hired by the MMD branch officials to cleanse the township.

MMD Bombesheni branch chairman Mr Batwell Zulu and his deputy Mr Jackson Musonda said they had hired the three witchfinders with the help of the Copperbelt provincial cultural officer Mr Juma Banda.

Mr Musonda said they were forced to hire the witchfinders to cleanse the township because several people, especially children had died mysteriously of late.

"When we took these bodies to the hospital we were told that they either died from meningitis or cholera but we knew that there was something fishy," Mr Musonda said.

Nkwazi township residents donated K120,000 for the hiring of the three witchfinders to cleanse their township.

Also confiscated from the group were roots and other items.

The suspects explained how they worked at night and admitted their involvement in ritual killings.



• CAUGHT... the suspects are paraded as the three witchfinders "Dr" Mulubwa with glasses "Dr" Mpala and "Dr" Imfwayenda (standing) explain how the suspects allegedly used their wares.

One elderly woman in her late seventies said she had so far killed 10 people. The woman who disclosed her name said none of the 10 people was her relative but her "friends" had killed four of her children through witchcraft.

She said they worked in a group and they regarded themselves as a religious organisation.

Asked if they kill for pleasure or whether they ate human meat, she replied: "Mwana wandi eco twipaila kabili pantu tulalya inama ilya ine," (my son we kill because we eat the flesh).

One of the suspects said she flew on her errands like a bird and whoever she bewitched did not live for more than two days. There was no way a bewitched person could get cured by modern medicine even when that was administered by the best doctors.

On how they entered houses after doors were closed she said they did so like rats and other tiny animals.

Looking composed the woman said human flesh was "tasty" and they ate it either raw or cooked. After someone was buried they went to graveyards and using medicine they retrieved the bodies.

Witchcraft: A traditional 'skill'

By Nadine Bateman

A YOUNG girl who was certified dead in 1980 and buried was discovered by her brother alive but in slavery in 1990.

She had been turned into a zombie and "resurrected" after her death - strange but true, as long as you believe in witchcraft, that is.

This is just one of the extraordinary facts to be learned

at an exhibition from the Nayuma Museum of Western Province, and currently showing at L'Alliance Francaise, Longacres, Lusaka - an exhibition which is topical following recent news reports of the ac-

tivities of witchfinders in Ndola.

According to the information on show, witchcraft is the use of supernatural powers to attempt to explain something which seems to have no logical

or scientific basis. Apparently acknowledged by many, it is traditional 'skill' still practised in both rural and urban areas.

The exhibition, which finishes tomorrow, poses the question whether witchcraft is myth or reality, and aims to give the public a general insight into this fascinating and often little understood part of our culture.

Witchcraft is divided into three groups; offensive, defensive, and communicative.

Witchcraft is divided into three groups; offensive, which uses objects to inflict harm, defensive, which uses them to protect, and communicative which reveals the cause of harm.

There are three main witchcraft practitioners. The sorcerer or "Muloi", is believed to be able to harm others by magic means, either through inherent or acquired powers.

He is associated more with offensive practices and must himself, be well protected.

The witchdoctor-witchfinder, also known as "Naka", acts at the request of others of his own volition, against a local person or persons and the purpose is to find out the cause with both the defensive and communicative.

The diviner, "Mwishi", accredited with powers to contact the spirits, and, in particular, give protection against evil spirits. He is also consulted to give explanations for even particularly unfortunate ones.

On display at the exhibition is a large selection of interesting and often weird and wonderful items.

There are "Kalilose" guns used to shoot at or, in the general direction of the victim, or a photograph of him. Other weapons include the macabre "Tulilose" gun, which is made of human bones.

Look out, too, for the "invisible" missile called "Sipos". This is also made of human bone and is used for inflicting fatal snake bites and other diseases to the intended victim.

The human skull, on the other hand, is used for enhancing yields, and there are many others used for medicinal purposes.

You will also be able to read the incredible story of Susi Namwaka whom it is claimed "rose" from the dead while under the influence of a witchcraft practice called "Mutukule" - "Zombie-making".

Susi, from the Kalabo district, was taken ill and eventually died at the age of 15 in 1981. It is said that her brother, M, after hearing of sightings of his sister, found her in the Lufu district in 1990 where she apparently, been sold for labour. The police exhumed her grave and found it empty!

Popular belief has it that she died again in 1992, but speculation remains as to whether she is really dead or has, again, been the subject of "Mutukule".

Whatever you believe, the exhibition is a wonderful insight into one of Zambia's colourful cultural traditions.



Just some of the many gruesome items (left) on display at Nayuma Museum's exhibition on witchcraft, currently on show at L'Alliance Francaise, Lusaka. 'Zombie' Susiku Namwaka (right).

ZAPP RESORTS TO WITCHCRAFT

BY SANDIE NGOMA.

The Zambia Pork Products, was caught in a rare maze when the Chief Security officer a Ms. G. Ngilishi took a suspect in the theft of plastic sausage sheath rolls to a witch-doctor, against his will.

Sources close to the suspect told CRime News that the suspect a G. Moonga, was picked up from his auntie's Kabwata home and driven to a house, in Mandevu, where a Witch-doctor, applied herbs on him.

According to the Source, Ms. Ngilishi, acting to together with an unknown man believed to be her lover, Mr. Aginie Ngoma, drove to Kabwata to pick up Moonga on the pretext that he was to be taken to Lusaka Central Police Station for interrogation.

Though Moonga had been released from the Central Station for lack of evidence, the Security chief, insisted he was still required for further investigations in the theft case.

"She insisted that he must go with them," said the Source.

The Source who followed the two after they had picked Moonga from Church, said he

was surprised that they drove past Lusaka Central and proceeded to Mandevu.

"We were taken to a house where, on reaching the door, he had to take off his shoes...we only discovered it was a witch-doctor's home when we entered," said the source.

He said after a few minutes the Witch-doctor applied some herabl mixture on Moonga and told him to return the following day.

"The People that stole the sausage skins will be caught

tomorrow," He is reported to have said.

However the following day, the Witch Doctor is reported to have denied saying Moonga was among the thieves and said Ms Ngilishi had taken a wrong person to him.

Moonga is reported to have become very worried with the turn of events and reported the matter to police.

Police sources confirmed having received the report though no action has been taken.

Another Source told Crime News that Ms. Ngilishi was able to evade the police wrath

after providing an number of sausage kilogrammes to Police officers sent to pick her.

"She gets the sausages as samples for clients and yet they go to police officers.... They can not pick her in anyway.

In another development, Ms Ngilishi who despite being given ten thousand Kwacha for transport, claimed a hundred thousand as being Taxi fare.

The management has however refused to pay.

Ngilishi could not be reached for comment by Press Time.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD
TO: THE CHIEF OF POLICE
FROM: THE CHIEF SECURITY OFFICER
SUBJECT: THEFT OF SAUSAGE SHEATH ROLLS
RE: THE CHIEF SECURITY OFFICER'S REPORT OF THE THEFT OF SAUSAGE SHEATH ROLLS FROM THE ZAMBIA PORK PRODUCTS, LTD. ON 10/10/80.
1. THE CHIEF SECURITY OFFICER REPORTED THAT HE WAS PICKED UP BY AN UNKNOWN MAN AND DRIVEN TO A HOUSE IN MANDEVU, WHERE HE WAS TAKEN TO A WITCH DOCTOR.
2. THE CHIEF SECURITY OFFICER REPORTED THAT HE WAS TAKEN TO A WITCH DOCTOR'S HOME AND THAT HE WAS FORCED TO TAKE OFF HIS SHOES AND TO HAVE HERBS APPLIED TO HIM.
3. THE CHIEF SECURITY OFFICER REPORTED THAT HE WAS TOLD THAT THE THIEVES WOULD BE CAUGHT TOMORROW.
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THIS IS A COPY OF THE MEMORANDUM
WRITTEN FOR NGILISHI'S TRAVEL
EXPENSE CLAIMS.

CRIME NEWS FEARS NO
HURDLES.
WE EXPOSE CRIME
WITHOUT RESERVATIONS.
INSIDE. SEXY COP ON THE LOOSE. P3

Are some deaths caused by witchcraft?

By Dingi Chirwa

RECENTLY a young Kitwe resident, Joe Banda died from an attack of cerebral malaria.

Some family members did not believe that their son, a healthy and energetic footballer with one of the division two teams, could die from natural causes within a period of two days.

This is what his grandfather, who was asked to speak on behalf of the family said during burial at Chingola road cemetery:

"My child, if it is God who has taken you back, then rest in peace. But I swear by all truths that if there is someone responsible for your death, he too will follow you very soon. I have spoken."

In his less than a minute speech, the old man had not been addressing the mourners gathered at the burial but the dead body, with his right index finger pointing to the fresh grave.

Several people nodded their heads in approval. Whispers started circulating to the effect that someone at Joe's workplace was behind this death.

They said this was because Joe had recently been made assistant workshop foreman despite having stayed at the company for less than two years whilst others had been there for ages.

Early this year, five men were found guilty of murder after they beat to death an old woman



A bereaved party - not all deaths are caused by witchcraft.

in Solwezi whom they suspected of having killed their relative through witchcraft.

A case of assault is still going on in the Ndola High court of a man by two brothers who suspected and accused the man of killing their mother, a businesswoman.

In 1990, a Ndola businessman who did not believe that his child had died of natural causes, was swindled out of K25,000 by a self-styled witchfinder who claimed he could find the killer of the child.

These days it is becoming common that whenever there is a death from natural illnesses,

whoever is behind the death must be sought by the family.

This is more often if the death coincides with say, a job promotion, an academic scholarship, winning of a competition, lottery or raffle or even having a successful wedding.

Even in straight forward cases of a car accident or any other accident, there must be someone or something behind it, most families contend. Their relative cannot just die naturally.

There was a case four years ago of Chao Mwanza who died in a car accident after Kapiri

Mposhi after a business trip to Lusaka.

His family refused to believe this death as being natural because apparently, Mwanza had been in hospital for almost one year due to a liver complication, then recovered and resumed work.

Having attended the funeral, I remember one of Mwanza's relatives passing the following remarks at the funeral house in Kitwe:

"If it is dying, he should have died whilst in hospital. There is no way that just after recovering, he should come and die in a mysterious car accident.

Someone must have played a trick on him."

In some parts of Zambia, a system of a moving coffin has been devised. The myth is that the coffin will refuse to be buried and will lead pall bearers to the person responsible for the death.

And it is not only in Zambia but in most parts of Africa that this belief exists.

The famous writer Okot P'Bitek, in the book "Songs of Lawino" Lawino bemoans and asks why, out of ten girls coming from drawing water, a large snake should single out only her daughter.

She further bemoans why out of a group of men working in the fields, lightening should strike and kill only her husband. There surely must be someone behind these deaths.

But according to the Witchcraft Act of Zambia, it is an offence to name a person a witch punishable by a prison sentence.

Reference is made to a case where a man axed another man to death who had earlier threatened to kill him.

The killed man is said to have told the man in question that he would be a deadman before the sun rose the following morning.

The judge threw out the offending man's mitigation of having killed the man because he had threatened him with death and sentenced after finding him guilty of manslaughter.

"Witchcraft does exist but it is an evil vice which should not be allowed to be practised or encouraged," a Lusaka lawyer said.

A Member of Parliament, brushes aside the notion of people not wanting to accept natural deaths when they bemoan saying it is primitive speaking.

"In my case, I will even have it emphasised in my Will that there should be nothing of the sort of witch-hunting after my death," the MP said.

No doubt death is a mystery. It is painful to lose a beloved one. But should people allow emotions to take the better of them so as to try and find out "who is behind" every death when, according to the Bible, "It is appointed unto all men to be born once and then to die and later face judgement?"

Prospective wives flock to medicinemen In desperate search of marriage

By DORCAS CHILESHE
PEOPLE involved in the love potion business are making a fortune as hundreds of women struggling to find husbands keep flocking to them for the medicine.

Most traditional healers, who exhibited their goodies at this year's World Decade for Cultural Development in Lusaka recently, confirmed that hundreds of women keep visiting them for love potions.

Apparently, it is not only single women who are involved in the crucial search for love potions, some married women are also busy looking for herbs to shield their husbands from "potential men grabbers."

As for some women in polygamous marriages, it could be even worse as both women may be working day and night to find herbs that will make their man pay "more attention" to them.

Some single women today will not care whether the man they are going out with is married. It is not their business if the man ends up mistreating his wife because she is "nagging" about her husband's sudden "long hours" away from home.

All they want is to win the man.

The love potions appear to be quite varied. Some are in

cigarette form and users believe that each time they smoke, their target will have sudden heart palpitations which will make him start thinking about them.

Other potions are used for bathing to make the users appear "attractive" to their men, while some are added to their boyfriend's meal.

It is not their business if the man ends up mistreating his wife because she is "nagging" about her husband's sudden "long hours" away from home.

Some women say potions added to meals can actually make a man stop eating meals prepared by his own wife and eventually make a man leave his home to go and live with his concubine.

The list of love potions is long, with some too disgusting to write about. But are these women who are busy using these herbs aware of the consequences?

"Most of them refuse to believe that these things are not beneficial. They may not realise the harm there and then, but much later when it's too late," said Ms



A MEDICINEMAN AT WORK...prospective housewives are now flocking to these for assistance

Manlyn Haangala of Family Life Movement of Zambia.

A woman on the Copperbelt was recently divorced because her husband could not stand the sight of the herbs which she kept all over the house. He displayed in court herbs which his wife put under his pillow. She failed to explain why she did that.

The man told the court that almost everything in his house was "polluted" including his bath and drinking water.

He said he had decided to divorce his wife because he believed his life was in danger.

Another woman in Central Province was reported to have developed a rash all over her body which later

turned her skin into like that of a frog after using herbs in her bathing water.

Other reports include those of women who have killed their own husbands in an attempt to protect them from being "taken away."

Some men are really in trouble as there is no safe place for their own wives. They may be "polluting" the meals while

their girlfriends are also doing the same.

A young man in Lusaka was recently ditched by his girlfriend because he refused to eat the meals she prepared each time he visited her.

"I used to refuse her meals because I was sure she put some herbs in the food," the man said.

high-class with the later being more involved.

This could be proved by some women driving posh cars who flock to old women selling love potions from mud houses in compounds such as Kamanga and Misasi in Lusaka.

"The first time she prepared a meal for me I tried to be romantic by making her eat from my plate but she refused. She did not even want to taste it and that was evidence enough that she had put 'juju' (love potion) in the food."

Mable Bwanga of the University of Zambia (UNZA) said it was surprising that young women struggling to get married using love potions did not stop the trend even after finding a "Mr Right".

Ms Bwalya said she believed love potion users got addicted, adding that very few women stopped using them after winning over their man.

"When these women manage to get husbands, they still go ahead to hunt for love potions that would make their husbands stick to them," she said.

PROBABLY

Such women would probably go on using herbs until they die. Usually they would not want to be near a person who advises them to stop the habit. They usually refuse to such women who ask them to stop as "not being normal or not being women."

There are a lot of women who have really turned themselves into slaves by using love potions.

"In the morning they make a bath with herbs, apply lotion with herbs and eat breakfast with herbs," a female journalist who chose to be anonymous said.

VANISHES

But why go to such extents?

"Natural love brings two people together. Love brought by love potions is not real because as soon as one stops using the potion that love will vanish so it is believed."

But do love potions really work?

Do love potions work in homes?

By MARTHA MPANDE

A MAN, in his drunken rage, punches his wife as if she was a punch-bag, shouting madly:

"I will kill you today. This is the end of you. You can't feed me with lizards and expect to get away with it."

The man's rage was provoked by a gossiping neighbour who told him that his wife was putting various kinds of herbs and dried salamanders in his food so that he would stick

to her the way a salamander sticks to a log. Further, the informant told the man that his wife lied that she had recently gone to a funeral when in actual fact she spent a night at a graveyard at the instructions of witch-doctors.

This story and many other similar ones are common among many Zambian couples and many women stand accused of feeding their husbands with love potions often referred to as "chikondi" (English for love).

A survey conducted in

Lusaka recently revealed that more and more young married women are flocking to see witch-doctors in attempts to elicit more and deeper love from their husbands and thereby strengthen their marriages.

For me, why do some Zambian women have tattoos, usually two in number, — on their foreheads? Most women do not say anything about those tattoo marks on their faces when asked to give a statement on which they would be quoted. But in privacy, they confess and say they are love tat-

toos.

"All women who have taken my medicine have come back to tell me that the results have been successful. They tell me that their husbands have given them more love as a result of applying the medicine I have given them," reveals "Dr" Chintelelwe, a Lusaka traditional herbalist.

But "Dr" Chintelelwe says his medicine does not include applying dried and crushed salamanders.

Michael Mumbu, a Lusaka resident who has been married for three years insists he is aware

women use love potions and quickly adds that if he ever caught his wife "meddling" with his food, he would not hesitate to divorce her.

"The increasing use of love potions in marriages is saddening and causing great concern. How can so many women rush to witchdoctors for herbs to win the love of their partners," he laments.

Peter Chanshi, Lusaka clinical officer, says that such practices should be stopped as they sometimes lead to the death of unsuspecting husbands.

"The so-called educated

Zambian woman is among the most confused of all women because she sees happiness in marriage in terms of trips to Botswana, Swaziland or London. If such things do not happen, she becomes disillusioned and spends her time looking for love-potions and spending nights at graveyards trying to find "happiness" in marriage," says Mr Chanshi.

Mr James Mwanza reports that he believes love potions work for how else can one explain situations where after divorce

the one's "thing" is found to no longer "tick" and only works again after the two have been reconciled?

"The medicine is just like witchcraft which to me is real. Aren't love potions part of witchcraft? Which man isn't aware that women add things to our food?" critic Mr Mwanza.

Miss Lydia Namusote, a secretary, adds that she lost faith in "love potion" some time back when a friend gave her some which did not yield the

desired results.

"I had some misunderstanding with my boyfriend and I was afraid he would leave me for someone else. Luckily, a friend of mine gave me some dried leaves to smoke while calling out my partner's name. I did this for a week but nothing happened," Ms Namusote reveals.

She says she gave up snuffing the strange stuff after three weeks. Her boyfriend went back to her and they ironed out their differences. "Love is love. I urge women not to waste money or time on things that do not work," she now says.

A clergyman, Pastor Kamukile Phiri, also condemns the increasing use of love potions in marriages.

"In today's society, most men are busy looking for money coupled with the pressure from relatives and as a result they do not find ample time for their wives and children," Pastor Phiri states.

"The danger with love potions are that they open up one for a lot of demonic possessions and before one realises she would already have become a disciple of the devil."

Mr Albert Silwiza, an accounts clerk with a Lusaka parastatal firm says he has discovered that some married women become annoyed if a relative of a husband inadvertently eats the food which was kept for the husband especially if the food contained some "chikondi".

He claims that some married men who have come under the influence of love medicine, usually become angry if they are told that they are under the influence of love potions.

"And very often a man can't know that he is under the influence of a woman's medicine and charms. It is other people who notice a change in his behaviour," claims Mr Silwiza.

Ms Mary Daka, a healer at Soweto market, discloses that the most sought potions are a kind of tree called "umutwalwala" in Nkhoma and "Kamwaza" in Nsenene.

Translated, the name of the tree means "Creator of confusion". Ms Daka reports that when one takes a leaf of this tree and buries it on any doorstep, there would be certain trouble in that home.

Mr Daka says a man beats his wife who would in the long run flee. The woman who put the leaf there would then take over.

"If that man marries another woman he will continue with this habit of fighting because that other woman has not taken out the leaf," narrates Ms Daka.

Another herb which is common in the Eastern Province is called "mpetu" which means "the diverter". This herb is used mainly by women to divert men to them.

Women mix roots of this herb with incense and perfume so that men can be diverted to them if they had the intention of seeking love elsewhere.

Mrs Veronica Kangwa who has been married for 30 years and is a vendor on Lumumba road insists that this so-called love medicine is useless.

Perhaps the question one would ask those who practice this craft is: Are the homes of those who provide love potions stable? Is it similarly logical to induce or force love?

S OF ZAMBIA

FORWARD WITH THE NATION

WEDNESDAY, November 3, 1993

No. 8,703



elections drama — P3; Historic trial opens — P4; Teachers bully pupils — P6; Lottie cautioned — P12

Police breaks out

MINISTER'S HOUSE STONED IN MONZE

By Times Reporter

POLITICAL violence erupted in Monze where a deputy minister's house was stoned by a mob of allegedly unruly National Party (NP) supporters on Monday.

The home of area Member of Parliament Mr Suresh Desai, who is Deputy Minister of Environment and Natural Resources was "terrorised" by a mob that hurled stones at it at around 19.00 hrs.

A statement from MMD campaign committee in Monze and signed by nominated Member of Parliament Mr William Harrington said yesterday that the mob which attacked Mr Desai's home had just returned from a National Party rally.

Police public relations officer Mr Peter Chingaipe confirmed there was confrontation between the rival parties.

NP spokesman Dr Sam Chipungu said in a letter dated October 26, addressed to Chongwe UNIP district party chairman. The letter was released to the ZIS yesterday.

He said parties should refrain from mudslinging and character assassination as there were national issues which could draw crowds.

"We should not strive to pull crowds by dragging names of opponents in the mud," Dr Chipungu said.

But Mr Harrington in the statement said: "The rally was characterised by inflammatory speeches. The mob which attacked Mr Desai's house hurled rocks, shouted racial abuse and terrorised women and young children who were in the house at the time."

"The campaign for Monze urban ward local government by-elections in which MMD, NP and UNIP have fielded candidates has been characterised by acts of intimidation and political thuggery," the statement said.

'WIZARD' STONED TO DEATH

A MAN suspected to be a wizard was recently stoned to death by a mob of youths in Chashele village, in Kaputa.

A family spokesman who did not want to be named, said the man was killed in broad daylight in the football ground near the police station. After 45 minutes police and relatives collected the body.

The spokesman said the youths started stoning the man from his home. He was trying to run to the police station for refuge but was killed before he got there.

Police confirmed the death and named the victim as Mr Jameson Musonda, 44, a former MMD district vice-chairman.

Police are investigating the matter and have not yet made any arrests.

And a suspect was yesterday shot dead in Lusaka after a fierce exchange of fire in Kaunda Square.

Police public relations officer Mr Peter Chingaipe confirmed the shooting which occurred around the market place in Kaunda Square Stage One when a patrol challenged a group of suspected thieves who refused to stop.

The suspects fired back when police fired warning shots. The exchange of fire lasted over 15 minutes.

An unidentified suspect was shot and died on the spot. His colleagues fled.

In Chingola, a suspected thief is fighting for his life in Nchanga North mine hospital after police shot him in the chest.

The incident happened on Monday around 03.00 hours in Nchanga township.

The man who was named is alleged to have been removing iron sheets from a house when police shot him in the chest. ZanaTimes Reporter.



• CHINGAIPE

Suspected poachers nabbed

By Times Reporter
FOURTEEN guns including 10 AK47 rifles, 450 rounds of ammunition and 23 elephant tusks have been seized in an operation in which 28 suspected poachers have been arrested.

The operation jointly conducted by police, wildlife department and the Wildlife Conservation Society of Zambia in Chirundu also yielded crocodile skins.

Police public relations officer Mr Peter Chingaipe said two shotguns and two SKS rifles were also recovered.

He said the operation was successful because of support from the Lower Zambesi Watch Association.

The association in conjunction with police and wildlife department have since April been involved in checking poaching in Chirundu on the border with Zimbabwe.

He saluted the association for the invaluable vice which had led to the capture of suspected poachers.

State rebuts claims

GOVERNMENT has dismissed allegations in the WEEKLY POST that it intends to close down one local newspaper.

Special assistant to the President for Press and public relations, Mr Richard Sakala yesterday described yesterday's POST lead story headed "Mushota accuses THE POST of criminal reportage" as rubbish.

He said Government had no intention to "silence" the paper but only demanded that it publishes the truth.

Mr Sakala said at no time did Minister of Information and Broadcasting Dr Remmy Mushota summon its editors to State House but asked them to provide information regarding corruption in Government.

He said State House was aware of the people behind what THE POST was doing. They would like to get to the leadership through the paper.

He said in the letter dated May 20 this year, Dr Mushota stated that President Chiluba was interested to receive information on



Geoffrey Miyanda (left) and President Chiluba at the official launching of the programme.

of turning entrenched habits of the... of the... would focus on... government... and carry... national... of public... was an ingre... mobilisation... This would help... in future... cash-budget... proved had... improving the... continue to... future of our... momentary... Development... (UNDP)... Mr Yucer... launching of... would send... in favour of... next month's... tive talks in... Aldridge... the trimming... could not... This... of further

Let witchfinding ban stay

By CHARLES

MUSHITU
THE law is very clear and elaborate. Accusing and parading a person suspected of practising witchcraft is defamation of one's character and is punishable in the courts of law.

Furthermore, resorting to instant justice by either lynching or killing the accused is triable for either assault, manslaughter or murder.

But regardless of the stiff penalties involved, witchfinders have continued to point fingers at people for allegedly practising witchcraft and in the process many people have lost their lives.

Press reports show that there have been over 10 cases of this nature this year and three have resulted in deaths.

Still fresh in people's minds is the recent parading of 15 alleged witches and wizards in Ndola's Nkwazi township by three witchfinders from Mununga, in Luapula province.

The 15 were alleged to have been practising black magic and killed over 30 people. The three witchfinders, in their early 20s, were hired by the MMD branch officials to cleanse the area in the wake of mysterious deaths, especially among children.

Members of the public including lawyers, the church and traditional practitioners have reacted sharply to the incident, calling for the review of the Witchcraft Act.

President of the Traditional Health Practitioners Association of Zambia Dr Goodson Sansakuwa

reacted by announcing the ban on witchfinding in the country because the practice was illegal.

He said it was against the laws of Zambia for anyone to parade publicly those



** IN PROGRESS...witchfinding has now been banned in Zambia and the law has been amended.*

suspected of practising witchcraft and that his association would take stiff action against the offenders themselves.

"It is very disappointing to find that suddenly there are many people claiming to be witchfinders," he said.

He added "We are an association with rules and regulations to follow but if certain witchfinders just want to make quick money for themselves then the law of the land will take its course," Dr Sansakuwa

warned.

He revealed that his association which falls under the ministry of Community Development, is urging the government to amend the Witchcraft Act.

Sansakuwa, however, said his association advocated for cleansing of all those practising witchcraft in privacy since he was convinced that witchcraft was real.

But one of the hottest issues that has gone unresolved for years is on

how to deal with a suspected witch or wizard once cleansed.

While courts of law insist on evidence to warrant prosecution of the accused, complainants fail to adduce this evidence because black magic is not tangible.

As a result suspected witches or wizards have continued to walk soot-free because of this requirement.

Researchers say, since the law on the provision of evidence in court by complainants is ambiguous,

he only incident when a witch would be liable for an offence was when he actually confessed to have killed the victim. In the absence of this, he said it was difficult to prosecute one of suspected witchcraft.

"Witchcraft is a very complex matter because it hinges on beliefs and there is no way you can prove a belief in a court of law," he said.

A bill was presented to parliament by the former Legal Affairs minister Dr Rodger Chongwe with a view to clear the air on the adducement of evidence and raise the penalties for suspected witches.

He proposed to increase the penalty from the current K100 fine to K5,000.

But Christians argue that it is pointless for a Christian nation like Zambia to maintain the law on witchcraft because witchcraft did not exist on christian society.

If you set rules for a society it means you are engaging that society to conform.

If government is talking about penalties of witchcraft, it means witchcraft exists in Zambia, is not the case," a member of the church said.

The church must always stand firm when they make a decision. It would affect the church. There must not be a breakdown between the church and government," he said.

According to Cap 45 any person who represents himself as able to have supernatural means to cause fear, annoyance or injury to another mind or pretend to exercise any kind of supernatural powers, witchcraft, sorcery or enchantment calculated to cause such fear or annoyance is liable to a fine not exceeding K100 or to imprisonment with hard labour for any term not exceeding two years.



** WITCHCRAFT...the church believes it does not exist while non-believers say it is real.*

But when parliament opened yesterday there was talk of dis-

NOV 20 1995
FBI - NEW YORK

The Rosemary who never was!

DID YOU know that there was a time in Zambia when men were wary of giving lifts or making amorous advances to women they didn't know, more so if such women were young and strikingly attractive?

Yes, that was the time when a ravishing beauty would be standing there and a man would go nowhere near her - not because he feared to be spurned by her, but...

Well, the menfolk were afraid of a mysterious ghost girl nicknamed Rosemary Mpetwa, of Ndola, who was reported to be on a manhunt for a boyfriend who had killed her so that she would avenge her death.

Indeed, one of the country's newspapers, even offered a £500 reward to anyone who produced this mysterious ghost girl!

From Press reports, it appeared that poor bachelors were in big trouble; for they happened to be Rosemary's favourite victims.

Just imagine: An unsuspecting motorist would stop for this cute chic thumbing for a lift by the roadside.

She would beam into a lovely smile and the motorist, having been swept off his feet, would begin kissing and carressing her as they proceeded on their journey.

Suddenly, the young beauty would ask her

"We have heard rumours about the girl being in Lusaka. But we are doing everything to find a way to dispel these rumours."

newly-acquired "lover" to stop so that she attended to nature's call...and the next thing the man discovered was that he was lying on a grave in the middle of a cemetery or the girl would just disappear into thin air before his very eyes, leaving him nonplussed.

Unbelievable? Well, according to what people told the Press, this was as true as day follows night...and that was 28 years ago, or early 1966 to be a little more exact.

There was for example this 57-year-old man, William Machinjili, who used to work as a sales representative for the now-defunct Heinrich's Syndicate in Kitwe, who claimed that he missed Rosemary by a hairsbreadth and was left numb, cold and frightened.

According to him, after the encounter with the mysterious ghost girl, he had no appetite for food for two days.

He claimed that some time early May, 1966, at about 11 hours, he was driving from Kitwe to Bwana Mkubwa on then Broken Hill (now Kabwe) Road.

About a kilometre from the Skyways Club, he noticed an army truck in front of him. Then he saw a woman with a small child going in front of him on the roadside.

The trouble was he could not catch up with her although he was in a van and she was only walking. Then she began thumbing a lift.

"I never give lifts to anybody in the company van," declared Machinjili "and I did not intend to stop on this occasion. But before I realised what was

happening, the van had stopped and the woman was sitting beside me, and we were moving again."

The next thing he noticed was that he was on the road to Tug Argan Barracks and not on the one to Bwana Mkubwa.

"Woman, where did you say you were going?" he asked the woman sitting beside him, constantly looking out through the window.

*This life
By
Philip Chirwa*



"Don't you understand?" she said in Nyanja. "I told you to leave me at Bwana Mkubwa junction."

He then noticed that the woman no longer had a child with her. And before he had time to think, his van had turned and was heading for Bwana Mkubwa Road again. But just a few metres from the road, his friend

disappeared into the mists of a very clear day.

Machinjili was now thoroughly perplexed. He drove as fast as he could to Ndola. But just as he was joining the main Broken Hill Road for his escape, he saw the same girl going in the direction of Broken Hill.

Machinjili reached his home and did not, or could not, tell anybody about his fascinating story until two days later.

But five families in Lusaka's Chinika compound claimed to the ZAMBIA MAIL (forerunner of ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL) to have seen the ghost girl who had brought so much misery to the bachelors of several Copperbelt towns.

The MAIL first heard about the report from a "highly reliable source." It despatched its reporters to Chinika immediately. And this, in their own words, was the story the DAILY MAIL reporters were told:

On the night of Saturday, May 21, 1966, at about 08:30 hours, a strange-looking girl went to B112, Chinika. Two young girls lived there with their parents. They were Rosemary (figure out for yourself), who was aged 14 years and Catherine, who was 11 years old.

The strange girl knelt politely and asked for a cup of water. Catherine gave her some water. The girl then asked for fire. Catherine obliged. The stranger dipped a piece of burning charcoal into the water and drank, after which she started chewing the charcoal.

Then came the news that Rosemary had invaded Lusaka. How she journeyed to the capital from Ndola was quite conveniently not discussed or disclosed.

The police in Lusaka had this to say:

"We have heard rumours about the girl being in Lusaka. But we are doing everything to find a way to dispel these rumours."

At the same time, the strange girl took the remaining water and poured it over her head. Catherine and Rosemary claimed they did not see the water dripping from her head.

Then the stranger said to the two girls: "Do not fear me. I am Rosemary, the girl you have probably heard about. I came from Ndola. I am looking for the man who killed me, nothing else."

So saying, she disappeared...

She re-appeared and repeated her performance at B66, where a Mr Remember Sákala, the owner of the house, told the MAIL team that she had ended up with: "I am Rosemary, the girl you have read about in the newspapers."

She visited three more homes in the compound. At her last stop, she told the family that she was visiting a bar in the second class trading area.

Police were later called to Chinika but they found that the girl had disappeared as mysteriously as she had appeared. Similar reports were received by the MAIL from other areas of the capital.

As the news of the mysterious ghost girl spread, a spokesman for the Office of the President assured the public that there was no substance in the "Rosemary story."

Commenting on the activities said to be those of

"Do not fear me. I am Rosemary, the girl you have probably heard about. I came from Ndola. I am looking for the man who killed me, nothing else."

Rosemary, the spokesman said that none of the reported activities of the ghost girl could be substantiated nor could the source of the rumour be traced.

And referring to an allegation that a policeman lost his teeth after kissing the woman in a car, the spokesman said police had been unable to obtain any information whatsoever of the incident.

Meanwhile, the ZAMBIA NEWS was later to report in its issue of May 26, 1966:

"The £500 reward offered by the ZAMBIA NEWS to anybody who produced Ndola's ghost girl, Rosemary, is unsustainable. Rosemary is too elusive for any mortal to catch."

The comedy of the situation was that it later transpired that the "Rosemary story" was after all a creation of a man who was found asleep one morning in the cemetery near a Masala beerhall in Ndola, the scene from which the Rosemary story originated.

According to investigations by then ZAMBIA MAIL (forerunner of the ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL), the man picked a girl from the beerhall but because he had "one too many," he fell asleep. Naturally, the girl left him there.

The next morning, the cemetery caretaker was surprised to find the man still sleeping off his previous night's enjoyment. He was questioned about the circumstances of his predicament and, apparently for want of a more plausible explanation, gave the caretaker the "Rosemary story"....

protection, wealth, witchcraft or something else?

FEATURES

Sunday Mail, August 7, 1994

Confession of a woman in labour

ditional birth rarily known imbuse" in ded with the ant mother in trahful to them id die. They kept the same question ver and over again: had she ver slept with any other man, her immediately before or ter her marriage apart from or husband?

The banachimbuse vere prompted to ask this uestion when it was coming quite evident they ere, dealing with a shiplicated birth when the 'young woman appeared to be experiencing problems in olivering.

She lay there writhing and screaming in agony as he two elderly women fanically tried to help her ut without success.

It is a generally accepted ersion in traditional African society that a woman will ildy have problems in ildbirth if she engaged in extramarital love affairs with other men and that as soon as she confesses to these transgressions she will deliver safely.

This was why the two achimbuse demanded the d from the young woman,

Enala Sitoloyanga, 24, of Taseukanji Village in Chadiza district of the eastern province. They suspected that she was herself with other men prior to or during her marriage to her husband, Sokoloku Simbazako who worked as a civil servant in Lusaka.

Enala was the fourth born child of a Chadiza peasant farmer, Bindula Sitoloyanga, who owned two grinding mills and a store in his chief's area. Information had it that both the grinding mills and the store were doing extremely well business-wise.

The marriage between Enala and Sokoloku, aged 30, had started through correspondence. It so happened that Sokoloku had spent most of his childhood in Lusaka, although he was born at his village in Chadiza.

As a hardcore traditionalist, Sokoloku's father, Simbazako was worried that his son would lose touch with home life if he allowed him to marry in town, especially if, as was most likely, he got a wife from a different tribe.

To forestall such an

eventuality the old man advised his son to get a wife from the village. However, he was aware that his son had completed his education and would thus want to marry a woman of decent education, preferably Grade 9.

The old man was then working for a construction firm in Lusaka as a building foreman and what he did was to write to his young brother at home and ask him to find a decently educated wife for the son.

Later, Simbazako's young brother wrote back, saying that he had found a Grade 9 girl for Sokoloku and that as far as he was concerned she was quite pretty and presentable.

The old man's young brother also expressed satisfaction with the girl's family, saying she had very respectable people for parents and that he had no hesitation in recommending her to be Sokoloku's future wife.

But Sokoloku's parents decided that since they did not want to appear to be imposing a woman on their son, they would give him the opportunity to go and visit

her at home so that he would make his own mind.

What transpired thereafter was that Sokoloku first initiated correspondence with the girl, Enala. In his first letter, he gave a brief background about himself and his family and that he was prepared to marry her if the two were attracted to each other.

He enclosed two of his latest photos in the envelope.



One of them was a full-length colour photo showing him immaculately dressed in a dark blue suit and holding an attache case in his left hand. The other photo, a black and white one, showed him tendering his garden.

In her reply letter, Enala also enclosed one of her latest photos which confirmed that she was very pretty. She had been snapped in a squatting position and she was holding a vase of

flowers in her hands.

Sokoloku liked the girl's photo and felt there and then that his Uncle had chosen a proper woman for him.

It had never occurred to him all along that rural areas could boast of such pretty faces, if what he saw in the photo was an accurate representation of her actual appearance.

Before his parents proceeded to pay lobola,

Immediately after the wedding, Sokoloku and his newly wedded wife came down to Lusaka and they lived in a beautiful house in Kuomboka Township near Chewama.

Meanwhile three months later, Sokoloku literally grinned from ear to ear when his wife told him she was pregnant.

When she was in her eighth month of pregnancy, Sokoloku decided to send his wife back home to deliver.

It is believed that during the first pregnancy, it is usually advisable for a woman to deliver at her parents' home and this is exactly what Sokoloku did with his wife - he sent her straight to her parents' village.

When the crucial time for delivery came the two banachimbuse were called in to attend to the expectant young mother.

She had started experiencing labour pains during the day but by 20 hours, she had still not delivered.

"My daughter," one of the birth attendants said, "it's your life at stake. Did you

sleep with other men or did you not?"

To the women's surprise the young woman started sobbing. "The answer is there but I'm failing to say it," she said.

"What's the answer? Yes or No?"

"Yes."

"And how many men did you sleep with?"

"Only one? Are you sure?"

"Yes."

"Who is it?"

"Yes."

"Who is it?"

Enala hesitated for a moment and then blurted out:

"My father."

"What?" both women exclaimed.

"Are you serious?"

Enala confessed that shortly before her husband married her, she had been approached by her father, Sitoloyanga at night and he told her he was in need of her assistance.

She explained: "My father told me that he had been to see a witch doctor to get some medicine for his medicine to be effective, he said my father would need to sleep with one of his daughters.

"He therefore asked me to sleep with him. When I tried to refuse he produced a knife and threatened to stab me to death. It was then that he ordered me to accompany him into the bush where he had sex with me," she said between sobs.

But Enala assured the two old women that the baby in her womb was certainly her fathers'.

Interestingly enough, as soon as she made the confession a bouncy baby boy was delivered.

This was supposed to be a top secret known among the three women. But three years later one of the banachimbuse inadvertently leaked the information to another woman who happened to be a relation of Sokoloku's.

And when Sokoloku eventually learnt of what had happened he challenged his wife to refute the allegation.

He was apparently not impressed by her half-hearted denial and decided to divorce her rather than live with the shame of having shared his wife with his father-in-law.



A WITCHDOCTOR had advised her father to sleep with one of his daughters.

BHAGOO'S MANAGER'S OFFER TO BUY A CHILD SPARKS RIOTS

offer to buy a child
Kitwe woman at
Mazabuka railway sta-
was what triggered
two-day riot that cost
own life and prop-

mel Njekwa sounded the
on Friday last week as
identified the man, Dave
who she said had pes-
her over her child the
us night at Mazabuka
station while waiting
to the train to Kitwe.

at night at the rail station,
man approached me and
me to give him my child
amount of money I
I cannot come all the
from Kitwe to accuse a
have never seen of such
crime.

remember him very well.
is wearing those same
last night and I remem-
face so well," Njekwa
shortly after spotting the
screaming for help.
ates of street vendors and



Residents of Mazabuka have for some time now been complaining to *The Post* about ritual murders in the town. Reporter Levi Ngoma has been following up the issue for the last three weeks. He was in Mazabuka when the riots started and he now reports.

marketeers began assembling, and before long were shouting, stoning and running after the man.

Quick action by police saved Njovu from injury but the crowd had by then swelled.

"Why are they protecting him like this when he is a prime suspect?" shouted one of the rioters.

Njovu has been identified by locals and police as an employee of Mazabuka businessman Selemani Bhagoo, who is believed to be behind ritual murders in the area.

"He is the shop manager at

Bhagoo Super market," a police officer disclosed in an interview last Saturday.

And last Saturday a mob descended on an incomplete house being built by Njovu, and pulled down the walls.

"This is blood-stained money. He is just a shop manager where he is getting this money from to build a house of this size if not from human private parts," shouted one man wielding a metal bar.

Another group rushed to Bhagoo's supermarket where



Angry residents pounce on the house of Bhagoo's shop manager Dave Njovu, the man accused of wanting to purchase a child presumably to use in a ritual murder

they threatened to lynch Bhagoo.

His supermarket was stoned but damage was limited through quick action from the police.

For over four hours, police ran battles with an angry mob which

was armed with stones, sticks and shouted vulgar language.

Bhagoo's whereabouts could not be established. The police and Bhagoo's wife refused to disclose where he was hiding.

"Don't come here, we have nothing to do with you. If you want any information, go to police who have received our report," shouted Bhagoo's wife from her kitchen window.

Girl's mysterious death

RE was another claim, Saturday, of a ritual murder in Mazabuka mother. weekend's riots right to the mind of Namataa Nasilimwe of Mazabuka's Njomona town- memories of her



Mushiba Nasilimwe: daughter's death

daughter's death.

"I lost my nine-year-old girl, Mushiba Nasilimwe, in a ritual murder on December 24, last year," Namataa claimed in Mazabuka last Saturday.

"I had gone for a funeral on that particular day and came back while everyone was sleeping at night, so I did not bother to check on the children because I took it for granted that they were all asleep. But in the morning I discovered that my daughter was missing after her elder sister told me that she had not slept home," she narrated.

She said she rushed to church where other children had been for overnight Christmas carols but her child was not there either.

"So I started coming back home. As I came close home, I saw a large crowd in the neighbourhood and when I went there, I saw the body of

my child, her private parts and her heart had been removed," Namataa narrated, amid sobs.

Namataa is still very much in grief and has been burning with desire to find the culprit and avenge her daughter's death.

"I felt very hurt and very sad in my heart and cried a lot. Those involved must be punished," Namataa cried out.

And her husband Kamitondo Nasilimwe, added: "I loved my daughter and feel deprived of some one special to me. I now feel bitter against those who murdered my daughter."

Mazabuka Sugar Estate police confirmed the murder and disclosed that the suspect, a sugar plantation security inspector, Bonn Mwema, was in detention at the main police station.

Ritual killings rioting leaves one dead and four injured

THE Mazabuka ritual murder riots which lasted for more than 24 hours had four main victims:

□ Nurses disclosed that an unidentified man, believed to have been shot at close range with a tear-gas canister in the chest, was brought in dead.

□ Mabvuto Kakumba, a boy aged 12, was shot through the stomach on February 4 by Mazabuka police and rushed to Mazabuka district hospital. Doctor Okelo said he was in a critical condition.

□ Charles Tembo, aged 27, broke his leg while trying to take cover from police fire power. His conditions appears stable.

□ Charles Bulanda, aged 26, was trampled on the head by fleeing rioters. His condition was not disclosed.



A doctor looks over Mabvuto Kakumba, 12, shot in the stomach by a policeman during the riots

How it started

THE ritual killings are reported to have rocked the Southern Province town since mid last year but, it is claimed, police have all along not paid much attention to the allegations.

About three weeks ago, a Mazabuka resident reported these allegations to *The Post*. Two days later, another Mazabuka resident made a similar report to *The Post*.

"People in Mazabuka are disappearing mysteriously and when their bodies are picked up later, they are reported to have no hearts and private parts," a *Post*

source claimed.

Mazabuka member of parliament, local government and housing minister Bennie Mwilinga, confirmed that reports on the matter are not

new. "It appears these are long standing suspicions and the residents are tired of them and that's why they exploded like this," confirmed Mwilinga.

Mazabuka residents call for police officers from Lusaka

When Mazabuka residents ran riot against Bhagoo, police were rushing to the man to borrow his vehicles to use in the riot.

"As we used Bhagoo's vehicles during the riot that is because we did not have enough police to control the situation," explained Namataa's police commanding officer, B K

Mazabuka residents interviewed, however, gave a different interpretation of the police's use of Bhagoo's motor vehicles.

"We need independent police officers from outside to come and investigate these allegations. Our police have been corrupted by Bhagoo. They use his money to cover up his killings,"

a Mazabuka resident claimed, and was supported by many others.

And Mazabuka police confirmed that Bhagoo is a registered reserve policeman working under them.

'Our police have been corrupted'

Area member of parliament, local government and housing minister Ben Mwiinga, seemed to agree with his constituents' calls for neutral policemen from outside Mazabuka.

"These are serious allegations. Lusaka police will make some reinforcement in the investigations. But these allegations have to be proved before any action is taken," Mwiinga stated.

TRADITIONAL ONE TWO HOLY SAINTS

Many sick or ailing desperate and hopeless people
 have attended a competent Medical Doctor, by
 long established custom and tradition, its popular, pray
 for the spiritual help and intercession of certain Saints
 in their illness. The blessed spiritual assistance of many
 of these patron Saints has also enabled to give one much
 hope, consolation and inspiration to persevere against the
 trials and tribulations of a troubled life. Religious
 Authorities declare that this faith and a firm belief
 can greatly assist you to attain Grace your divine destiny
 through custom, tradition and traditional beliefs.

APPENDIX THREE:

EXTRACTS FROM Dr. MUSAMBO'S "WISDOM BOOK".

appealed to for Happiness, Peace, Protection, Good Vegetables
 etc. This list was carefully compiled from traditional sources
 that are considered authentic and reliable.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1- ANSWERS to Prayers | - Sacred Heart of Jesus |
| 2- AIRPLANE Safety | - Our Lady of Lourdes |
| 3- AUTO Safety | - St. Christopher |
| 4- BEGGING | - St. Francis |
| 5- BRUISES | - St. Amalberga |
| 6- BREAST Disease | - St. Agatha |
| 7- BLINDNESS | - St. Raphael |
| 8- COMFORT & Protection | - St. Benedict |
| 9- CHILDLESS WOMEN | - St. Anthony |
| 10- CANCER | - St. Peregrine |
| 11- COLIC | - St. Agapitus |
| 12- CONVULSION IN CHILDREN | - St. Scholastica |
| 13- CRABBS | - St. Thomas |
| 14- CURE OF ... | - St. Kamper |

TRADITIONS OF TWO HOLY SAINTS:

Many sick or ailing devout true believers, while being attended a competent Medical Doctor, by long established custom and devotion, it's reputed, pray for the spiritual Help and Intercession of certain Saints in their illnesses. The Blessed spiritual assistance of many of these Patron Saints are also invoked to give one much Hope, Consolation and Inspiration to persevere against the trials and tribulations of a troubled life. Religious Authorities declare that true Faith and a firm belief can greatly assist you to obtain. Gain your desires desires through centuries of devotion and traditional beliefs, it is reputed, the spiritual Help of these Holy Patron Saints are invoked against these Afflictions and Troubles, or appealed to for Happiness, Success, Protection, Good Happenings, etc. This list was carefully compiled from traditional sources that we consider authentic and reliable.

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | ANSWER to prayer | - Sacred Heart of Jesus. |
| 2 | AIRPLANE Safety | - Our Lady of Lourdes |
| 3 | AUTO Safety | - St. Christopher |
| 4 | BEGGING | - St. Alexius |
| 5 | BRUISES | - St. Amalberga |
| 6 | BREAST Diseases | - St. Agatha |
| 7 | BLINDNESS, Fear of | - St. Raphael |
| 8 | COMFORT & Protection | - St. Benedict |
| 9 | CHILDLESS WOMEN | - St. Anthony |
| 10 | CANCER | - St. Peregrino |
| 11 | COLIC | - St. Agapitus |
| 12 | CONVULSION IN CHILDREN | - St. Scholastica |
| 13 | CRAMPS | - St. Maurice |
| | COLD severe exposure | - St. Maurice |

15	CONDEMNED to Die	-	St. Dismas
16	CRIPPLES	-	St. Giles
17	CATCH a Thief	-	SS. Servase & Protase
18	CHILDREN to Have	-	St. Felicitas
19	CHARITY & Help	-	St. Vincent de Paul
20	DESPERATE Trouble	-	St. Jude
21	DIE in Peace	-	St. Joseph
22	DOG Bite	-	St. Hubert
23	DEAFNESS	-	St. Cadoc
24	DROUGHT Relief	-	St. Eulalia
25	EARTHQUAKES	-	St. Francis Borgia
26	EYE Diseases	-	St. Lucy
27	EPILEPSY & Nerveousness	-	St. Vitus
28	EVIL Works Overcome	-	St. Mich Michael.
29	FAMILY Troubles	-	St. Eustachius
30	FEVER	-	St. George
31	FIRE, Fear of	-	St. Lawrence
32	FLOODS	-	St. Columban
33	FOOT Ailments	-	St. Victor
34	FALSELY Accused	-	St. Gerard
35	FARMING Prosperity	-	St. Widorq (Amicus)
36	FISHING Success	-	St. Andrew
37	GALL Stones	-	St. Liberius
38	GLANDULAR Ailments	-	St. Cadoc
39	GOUT	-	St. Andrew
40	GARDENING Success	-	St. Dorothy
41	GOOD Living	-	Blessed Mother
42	HEART Ailments, Sudden Death	-	St. Andrew
43	HEADACHES	-	St. Denis
44	HUSBAND, to get a Good one	-	St. Joseph
45	HAPPY MARRIAGE	-	St. Theresa
46	HUNTING SUCCESS	-	St. Hubert

79	SICKNESS & Afflictions, all types	- Our Lady of Lourdes, also St. Theresa
80	SORROW & Misfortune Relief	- Sacred Heart of Mary
81	TUBERCULOSIS	- St. Pankratius
82	THROAT Diseases	- St. Blaise
83	TONGUE Diseases	- St. Catherine
84	TRAVEL Dangers	- St. Christopher
85	THUNDER, Lightning & Fire	- St. Barbara
86	TOOTHACHE	- St. Apollonia
87	TYPHUS & Fevers	- St. Adalard
88	WOMEN in Labor	- St. Anne
89	WORK to Have a Happy Home	- St. Joseph
90	WIFE, to get a good one	- St. Anne

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