SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT IN THEIR SOCIAL SETTING
with Special Reference to the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa

by

M. G. MARWICK

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(The summary required by Paragraph 7 of the Regulations will be found on pp. xvi-xvii of the Preface.)

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PLATE I - MAIZE FOR FOOD; CHICKENS FOR HONOURABLE GIFTS

A little girl, protected from sorcerers by an amulet showing under her cheek, has an early introduction to two Cewa values

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*In Appendix K, facing the page indicated.

P R E F A C E

This study is based on research which I started during my tenure of a Colonial Research Fellowship in 1946-47 and have since continued in my spare time while lecturing at the South African Native College, now the University College of Fort Hare, (1948-49), the University of Natal (1950-56) and the University of the Witwatersrand (from 1957 onwards). Since my original field trip, which was divided between the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa and the Nyasaland Ŋgoni, I have been back to the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa twice during South African university long vacations (1948-49 and 1952-53). Both these trips, like the original one, were sponsored by the Colonial Social Science Research Council, London. I have spent an aggregate of about fourteen months among the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa; though this has been spread over a considerably longer period, thus consolidating my grasp of Ceŵa language and culture more effectively than would have been the case had my period in the field been uninterrupted. Unless otherwise indicated, when the present tense is used in the text, it refers to 1953.

I started research in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland with the intention of making a comparative social-psychological study of the Ceŵa and Ŋgoni, a scheme which had been conceived on the assumption that the Ŋgoni had retained the patrilineal institutions of their forebears, the Swazi and Natal Nguni. The discovery that they had not, more particularly that they had virtually abandoned the cardinal institution of lobolo,—together with my discovery that 'pro-

jective' techniques were unsuited to the type of psychological study I had in mind—led me to concentrate on the matrilineal Ceŵa and to shift my general orientation from social psychology to comparative sociology. The latter step involved no fundamental practical change; for my social-psychological investigations had had to be preceded by ethnographic study and sociological analysis.

The theoretical problem—the sociology of sorcery and witchcraft—that I have chosen to discuss in the light of my research among the Ceŵa occurred to me at an early stage of my field-work, when I discovered that virtually all Ceŵa believed in sorcery, and that many of them, especially those more advanced economically and educationally, were preoccupied to a considerable degree by fears of being attacked by sorcerers. Furthermore, the Ceŵa dogma that sorcerers attack only their own matrikin promised some interesting correlations between social tensions, either inherent in matrilineage structure or springing from value conflicts, and the directions taken by believed attacks and actual accusations. Whether this promise has been fulfilled must be left to the reader's judgment. I should like to record with gratitude the fact that my thoughts on this problem have been stimulated and clarified by many discussions I have had during the past fifteen years with Professor J. Clyde Mitchell, now Head of the Department of African Studies in the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The detection in the literature of expressed and implied hypotheses regarding the sociology of sorcery and witchcraft and their subsequent formulation and refinement are tasks that could have been undertaken in any good library.

Their testing, however, was something that had to be attempted in a full cultural context; and this accounts for the fact that a large proportion of this thesis is devoted to the ethnography and the social organization of the Ceŵa. The fact that no adequate general study of the Ceŵa existed made the ethnographic sections all the more necessary, and accounts for their volume, not only in Part II of the text, but also in the appendices and the annotated bibliography.

Having found the official Nyanja orthography unsatisfactory in many respects, I have used one based on Atkins's suggested reforms[1], though not conforming to them entirely. Thus, I represent the velar nasal, a sound which sometimes occurs singly before vowels in Nyanja, by ŋ rather than the clumsy ng' of the official orthography; and, to be consistent, I use this symbol to represent it where it more often occurs —before k and g. This practice has led to some inconsistencies, especially in the spelling of ethnic or tribal names such as Nguni and Ŋgoni and of well known geographical names such as Kasungu and Luaŋgwa. Secondly, I write nouns of Classes 9 and 10 always with an initial n or ŋ and not with the homorganic nasal permitted in the official orthography. In this way, two words of cardinal importance in this study, 'sorcerer' and '(female) dependant', are written nfiti and nbumba—not mfiti and mbumba.

Thirdly, I distinguish between the radical and the aspirated tʃ-sound (which, roughly, the English ch (as in 'church') with less and with more aspiration respectively

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[1] Guy Atkins, '[Suggestions for an] Amended Spelling and Word Division of Nyanja', Africa, 20, 1950, 200-218.

(Note: For the conventions to be followed regarding bibliographical references, see Footnote 1 on p. 3 of Chapter 1.)

would represent) by using c and ch; and I do this consistently, with the result that the name of the people I describe is written Ceŵa, even though the rendering in the official orthography, Chewa, which violates a phonetic principle,, is possibly an easier guide to a speaker of English.

Fourthly, although Atkins does not at this stage recommend for standard Nyanja separate symbols for the ordinary labiovelar w and the closely lip-rounded ŵ, he notes the important distinction between them in what he calls Northern and Western Cewa[2]; and the latter includes the speech of the people with whom I am concerned. Because in Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa the distinction between these two sounds is often of semantic significance, I have tried to record it by using the two symbols mentioned. I may not have consistently succeeded because one of the inadequacies of the official orthography, especially for Western Ceŵa, is its failure to make the distinction and thus to alert the beginner to its existence. In connection with the closely lip-rounded ŵ, it may be worth noting that the Ceŵa I knew used it in the prefixes of the more common Class 2 nouns, e.g. ŵanthu ('people') and ŵakazi ('wife', honorific plural); but omitted it from those of less common ones, e.g. akadzidzi ('owls') and aCite ('So-and-so', hon. plur.). In standard Nyanja they are all written without an initial consonant or semi-vowel; whereas, since it was important for me to speak the local dialect rather than what my informants sometimes derisively called ciZungu ('European [language]') or ciBlantyre, I developed the habit of recording words as I heard them; and I have retained this practice in what follows.

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[2] Ibid., pp. 205-206.

In the published version of this thesis, I shall make more specific acknowledgments to my teachers who gave me my academic bearings; to my colleagues who guided me when I took the formidable step of undertaking research for which my initial training was inappropriate; and to the many people, African and non-African, in Rhodesia and Nyasaland whose help, encouragement and friendship made my work possible and enjoyable. Here I shall confine myself to five brief acknowledgments. Firstly, I should like to record my very great indebtedness to Professor Monica Wilson, who, as the supervisor of the later part of my field-work and of the protracted preparation of this thesis, has been more considerate than I deserve and as constructive in her guidance as she has been thorough in her scrutiny of sporadic and unconnected draft chapters I have sent her from time to time. Secondly, I should like to thank my wife, who shared the excitements and alleviated the discomforts of my field-work; who took many texts from women who were too shy to dictate them to me (though they had no objection to my reading and using them); whose expert stenography often relieved the field-worker's burden of recording his observations; and who, in general, has supported me in my resolve to use my limited free time to get my record of the Ceŵa into proper shape. Thirdly, I should like to express my gratitude to the Colonial Social Science Research Council, not only for financing all my field-work, but also for allowing me independence in planning the details of my research and for bearing patiently the long delay there has been in my providing a major report on it. Fourthly, I should like to thank Professor Mitchell of Salisbury, Professor J.E. Kerrich, Head of the Department of Mathematical

Statistics in the University of the Witwatersrand, and Mr A.O.H. Roberts, Head of the Psychometric Department of the National Institute for Personnel Research, in Johannesburg, for commenting on the statistical sections of this thesis. I should add, however, that I—and not they—must be held responsible for all the tabulations and computations included. Finally, I am grateful to the Research Committee of the Council of the University of the Witwatersrand for a grant which, though intended to facilitate the production of a published book on my research, has indirectly advanced the production of this thesis by, for instance, making it possible to have master copies of maps and figures drawn, from which the ones used here are sun-print copies.

There is a possibility, however slight, that the use of the real names of persons involved in the cases described in this thesis might have identified them to their acquaintances and thus damaged their reputations. For this reason, in presenting material with the sole intention of advancing scientific understanding of the phenomena that such cases illustrate, I have, wherever necessary, disguised the identities of the persons concerned by giving them pseudonyms. These I have tried to make resemble as closely as possible the varied assortment of traditional and introduced personal names now to be found among the Cewa.

To comply with Paragraph 7 of the Regulations for the Degree of Ph.D., I submit the following brief summary of this thesis :-

This study, a more adequate outline of which will be found in Chapter 11 (pp. 383ff.) starts by examining some of the theoretical propositions implied or expressed in the writings of anthropologists and psychologists

who have concerned themselves with beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft. From these it selects those that may be regarded as sociological; and it refines and develops them, bringing them into relation with more general branches of sociological theory, such as the sociology of conflict of Simmel, Gluckman, Coser and others, and the 'social mould' theory of Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown.

Next, in Part II, the thesis provides a full 'social setting' for the empirical checking of the resulting hypotheses by describing the ecology, the social structure, the normative system and the beliefs in sorcery (strictly, sorcery and witchcraft) of the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa. Finally, in Part III, it seeks to test the hypotheses against 194 cases of misfortune (more particularly 101 of these in which sorcerers were believed to have attacked non-sorcerers) collected during the course of field-work among the Ceŵa.

It might be contended (it is for the examiners to judge!) that the thesis makes three main contributions to knowledge. Firstly, it makes explicit and tidies up some of the theoretical propositions relating to the sociology of sorcery and witchcraft that have hitherto been either implicit or vaguely expressed and but poorly linked to general sociological theory. Secondly, it presents an ethnography (incidentally to its main analysis and in the appendices and annotated bibliography) of the Ceŵa, a numerically, and in recent times politically, important ethnic group of East Central Africa, of whom there has hitherto been no satisfactory account. Thirdly, it poses some of the problems—though by no means solves them all—relating to the quantification of anthropological data, more particularly the use of summarized attributes from case records in the empirical checking of theoretically derived hypotheses.

Johannesburg
14 September 1961

M. G. M.

ERRATA

The following mistakes have been noticed too late to be corrected neatly and will be attended to before the thesis, or a revision of it, is published :-

(1) On Map 3, facing p. 94, the final A of MACANGA, the name of a circunscrição in Portuguese territory, falls across the border in Nyasaland.

(2) Table XIV, facing p. 337, is a fourfold one. The test it makes might have been safer if the table had been, like Table XIII, facing p. 336, a sixfold one, in this case by the inclusion of believed attacks preceded by no quarrels.

PART I

THE APPROACH

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIOLOGY OF SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT

Terminology and General Approach

This study aims at formulating general propositions about the sociology of sorcery and witchcraft and at illustrating these with material collected during fieldwork among the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa. At the outset, we should clarify our usage of basic terms and take such steps as are necessary to prevent the convenient conciseness of the title from being misleading.

In the first place, it is necessary, since both sorcery and witchcraft are to be discussed, to define, and distinguish between, these two terms. Although, in everyday usage, they are virtually synonymous, they have become, in anthropological literature, convenient labels for the respective activities, real or believed, of the two types of mystical evil-doers between which many native peoples distinguish. At this stage we may simplify a complex delineation, which involves several criteria, by saying that the term 'sorcerer' is usually applied to someone believed to bring harm to his fellow men by the anti-social, illegitimate use of magic; and the term 'witch', to someone believed to harm others—again anti-socially or illegitimately—through his possessing a personality of a particular type. It should be noted, incidentally, that,

while in everyday speech 'sorcerer' is masculine and 'witch' feminine, in anthropological usage both terms are applied to men or women and are thus of common gender. Magic, that which a sorcerer is believed to use illegitimately, has, unless qualified, a neutral connotation. It comprises ritual acts involving the manipulation of material substances ('medicines') and the use of verbal spells or addresses directed towards the influencing of forces—conceived of as impersonal—that are believed to govern the course of events. It may be used for either (a) productive, protective and curative purposes (white magic) or (b) destructive ones (black magic). Sometimes protective magic may be destructive in its implications, as when a taboo or a medicine for protecting one's property or ensuring the fidelity of one's wife is intended to bring death or illness to the thief or adulterer.

Some writers, especially those dealing with Oceania[1], use the term 'sorcery' to embrace all forms of destructive magic, including those applied with social approval; others restrict its meaning, as we shall do in this study, to those applications of destructive magic that are socially disapproved or deemed illegitimate.

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[1]See, for instance, Bronislaw Malinowski, Crime and Custom [in Savage Society], London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1926, pp. 85ff.; and H. Ian Hogbin, Law and Order [in Polynesia], New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934, pp. 216-24. Note: When a work is referred to for the first time in a chapter, full bibliographical details are given (as they are in the Bibliographies on pp.469 ff.). Subsequent references in each chapter include author (if not named in the text) and title only, the latter in some instances being abbreviated by the exclusion of the part of it enclosed in square brackets in the first reference. For instance, Crime and Custom [in Savage Society] is abbreviated to Crime and Custom.

According to this narrower meaning, the sorcerer and the witch have a fundamental similarity : 'Both alike are enemies of men.....[2]; and this fact makes sociological generalizations about either type largely applicable to the other. The implications of beliefs in their existence and activities can, therefore, be taken up in a single set of sociological propositions.

A second point to be disposed of here is that this study will not grant the same reality to sorcery and witchcraft as natives do. It will be concerned with beliefs in them and with the objective social concomitants of such beliefs. Our declining to adopt the viewpoint of the native believer applies even to sorcery. We need to be explicit about this because, as we shall see, one of the criteria modern anthropologists use for distinguishing between sorcery and witchcraft is that the scientific investigator, while regarding witchcraft as existing only in the imaginations of his informants, can usually believe that sorcery is sometimes practised[3]. This does not, however, commit him to sharing his informants' notions about its prevalence or effectiveness. Just as all witchcraft may be regarded as belonging to a super-empirical realm beyond the reach of scientific investigation, so, conceivably, may much sorcery. The impression I gained from field-work among the Ceŵa was that the number of

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[2] E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft[, Oracles and Magic] among the Azande, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1937, p. 387.

[3] See, for instance, Raymond Firth, Human Types, London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., Revised Edition, 1956, p. 165.

occasions on which sorcery is attempted is small in proportion to those on which people believe that they or their fellows are the victims of it[4]. To attempt a scientific study of sorcery and witchcraft would, therefore, hardly be justified; for the first exists in large measure, and the second entirely, in people's imaginations. But to make one of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft is worth while, since these beliefs have social repercussions.

The primary data of the scientist studying phenomena related to beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft are behaviour-episodes such as accusations, protective measures and (rarely) malevolent rites. From these he can infer the nature of a secondary order of data, viz., the beliefs themselves, whose existence helps to explain the behaviour. He can confirm his conclusions concerning the nature of these beliefs by noting what informants say about them when asked, or in some other way moved, to describe them. As the data on which this study is based will comprise only the primary and secondary orders mentioned, i.e., observed behaviour and inferred or described beliefs, I refer whereever possible to these by using terms such as 'witchcraft accusations', 'beliefs in sorcery', 'anti-witchcraft measures'—and so on, rather than the terms 'sorcery', 'witchcraft' etc., which leave in doubt whose beliefs—investigator's or informants'—are being referred to.

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[4]This does not appear to hold universally. Note, for instance, the frequent practice of sorcery revealed by Reo Fortune, Sorcerers of Dobu, London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1932, Chap. 3, and to a lesser extent by Malinowski, Crime and Custom, pp. 65ff.

A third point that should be clarified is that, though the general propositions developed in this study will be intended to apply to beliefs in both sorcery and witchcraft, they will be tested against material from a society in which it is debatable whether sorcery is distinguished from witchcraft; and, if it is not so distinguished, whether the translation of the term given to the native concept should be 'sorcery', 'witchcraft' or some compound such as 'sorcery-witchcraft'. In some societies the distinction between sorcery and witchcraft, which is clear, for instance, to the Azande[5], has been hard to find, as among some of the South African Bantu where the two concepts are amalgamated[6]. The Ceŵa use the term nfiti (plur. also nfiti) for all types of mystical evil-doers as well as for poisoners. It is only when they are asked to split hairs that they distinguish—mainly on the score of motive—between the 'real nfiti' and the 'killer-for-malice', a distinction that resembles the one between 'night-witch' and 'day-witch' of certain South African tribes[7] more closely than it does the more commonly accepted one between 'witch' and 'sorcerer'.

If we follow Evans-Pritchard's well known distinction, the term 'witch' is applicable to someone believed to harm

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[5]Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft among the Azande, p. 21.

[6]A. Winifred Hoernlé, "Magic and Medicine", Chapter 10 of The Bantu-Speaking Tribes [of South Africa] ed. by I. Schapera, London: G. Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1937, p. 242.

[7]E. Jensen Krige and J.D. Krige, [The Realm of a] Rain Queen, London: Oxford University Press for International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1943, pp. 250ff.

others mystically and illegitimately as a result of psychic emanations from an inherent physiological condition that is transmitted biologically; and the term 'sorcerer', to someone believed to harm others mystically and illegitimately by practising destructive magic, i.e., by performing rites, uttering spells and using material substances (medicines)[8]. This distinction has certain implications which have sometimes been drawn by other writers[9], for instance, the idea that the sorcerer is deliberate and vengeful in his intentions, whereas the witch, if conscious of his motives at all, is driven by an uncontrollable urge which often operates against his better nature, and which may be personified as one of his familiars.

To anticipate a more systematic treatment of this problem (see below, Chapter 7, pp. 299-301), we may note that the Ceŵa nfiti has qualities of both witch and sorcerer as defined above. The correct translation of this term is therefore 'sorcerer and witch'; and that of the corresponding abstract noun, ufiti, 'sorcery and witchcraft'.

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[8] Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft among the Azande, pp. 9-10, 21ff. and 387. Although Evans-Pritchard made it clear ('Sorcery [and Native Opinion]', Africa, 4, 1931, 22-55, at p. 26, and Witchcraft among the Azande, pp. 8-9) that his primary aim in using terms such as 'magic', 'witchcraft' and 'sorcery' was to find English equivalents for concepts between which the Azande distinguished, other anthropologists have recognized the analytical value of the distinctions that emerged, and have adopted his definitions of the English terms. It is possible that C.K. Meek (A Sudanese Kingdom, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1931, p. 294) and Fortune (Sorcerers of Dobu, p. 150) arrived at similar distinctions between witch and sorcerer independently of Evans-Pritchard.

[9] For instance, Hoernlé, 'Magic and Medicine', p. 241.

For convenience I have avoided these clumsy compounds, and, for the reasons set out in Chapter 7, I have written 'sorcerer' and 'sorcery' rather than 'witch' and 'witchcraft'. The terms 'witch' and 'witchcraft' occur, however, in those parts of this study where references are made to societies in which they correctly apply. In other words, though we maintain the precise distinction between witches and sorcerers, we take cognizance of their basic social similarity. To repeat: 'Both alike are enemies of men', and this fact makes sociological generalizations about either type largely applicable to the other.

The design of this thesis has been determined by a principle to which I attach great importance, and which is succintly stated in the epigram, 'Concepts without percepts are empty; percepts without concepts are blind'[10]. There has been a great deal written about the interdependence of theoretical development and empirical research[11], and all I need do here is indicate how the application of this principle has shaped this study.

As subsequent sections of this chapter will show, sociological and even psychological theory regarding beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft need to be unified and systematized. General sociological theories, such as the

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[10]Though this sentence, which originates in Kant, is forceful, it does not go far enough; for concepts are but one aspect of theory. As Robert K. Merton puts it, 'It is only when.....concepts are interrelated in the form of a scheme that a theory begins to emerge' (Social Theory [and Social Structure], Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949, p. 87).

[11]For instance, Merton, Ibid., Chaps. 2 and 3, and Talcott Parsons, [The Structure of] Social Action, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1937, Chap. 1.

'social mould' theory[12] of Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown, have implications for the sociology of sorcery and witchcraft; and general psychological theories, such as the theory of frustration, aggression and anxiety of the neo-psychoanalysts[13], have implications for their psychology. In neither case have the implications been clearly and systematically drawn. More specific theories of magic, sorcery and witchcraft, in which sociological and psychological approaches are not always distinct, are implicit and explicit in the writings of modern anthropologists and psychologists, such as Malinowski, Evans-Pritchard, E.J. and J.D. Krige, Kluckhohn, Wilson, Mayer, Whiting, Starkey and Willoughby[14]. The common threads of all these theories need to be drawn together, either into a

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[12] So called by George Caspar Homans, The Human Group, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1951, Chap. 12.

[13] John Dollard et al., Frustration and Aggression, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1944, passim; Karen Horney, New Ways in Psychoanalysis, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1939, Chap. 12. For a recent critical review, see Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954, Part IV.

[14] Bronislaw Malinowski, Magic, Science and Religion [and Other Essays], ed. by Robert Redfield, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1948, pp. 50ff.; Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft among the Azande, passim; Krige and Krige, Rain Queen, Chap. 14; J.D. Krige, 'The Social Function of Witchcraft', Theoria, 1, 1947, 8-21; Clyde Kluckhohn, Navaho Witchcraft, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 22, 1944, passim; Monica Wilson, 'Witch Beliefs [and the Social Structure]', American Journal of Sociology, 56, 1951, 307-313; Philip Mayer, Witches (Inaugural Lecture), Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1954; Beatrice Blyth Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, 15, 1950; Marion L. Starkey, The Devil in Massachusetts, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1950, passim; Raymond Royce Willoughby, 'Magic [and Cognate Phenomena : An Hypothesis]' in A Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. by Carl Murchison, Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1935.

single theoretical system, or, as seems more feasible to me, into separate sociological and psychological systems.

Yet the moment one pushes tentatively forward towards the logical extension and rearrangement of the propositions thus far established or suggested, one appreciates the need for further empirical checking. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, as a general rule of scientific procedure, it is wise to progress by testing hypotheses on new materials. This applies especially in social science where, owing to the greater variability of its subject matter, i.e., human group behaviour, the difficulty of controlling extraneous variables and of specifying stimuli—either those that the scientist applies in an experimental situation or those that happen in nature and whose effects he observes—is greater than in natural science. There is thus a correspondingly greater need for the replication of research and the testing of new hypotheses on varied material[15].

Secondly, and this is a telling illustration of the interdependence of theoretical development and empirical research, the data on which the propositions of recent writers on sorcery and witchcraft are based have not been collected or presented in such a way as to permit of the checking of any hypotheses that may be derived from these propositions by logical extension and co-ordination. Parsons reminds us that 'Theory not only formulates what

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[15]For a fuller account of the argument put forward in this paragraph, see Arnold M. Rose, Theory and Method [in the Social Sciences], Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1954, especially Chaps. 15 and 16.

we know but also tells us what we want to know, that is, the questions to which an answer is needed'[16]. It sometimes does this in a very specific way, showing, not only what data are needed for further theoretical development, but also the form that such data should take.

A case in point is the method of recording case material relating to sorcery and witchcraft. Some writers have very commendably provided detailed statistical support for their conclusions by publishing tables of cases of believed sorcery and/or witchcraft that they have collected during the course of their field-work[17]. While this procedure represents an improvement on the formulation of hypotheses based on anecdotal observation, some of the tables thus far published are inadequate in that they refer to the realm of belief rather than to that of actual social tension. This is because, while they record the characteristics of, and the relationships between, the sorcerer or witch on the one hand and the victim on the other, they make no reference to the third, and highly important, character in any sorcery or witchcraft drama, the accuser[18].

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[16]Parsons, Social Action, p. 9.

[17]See, for instance, Krige and Krige, Rain Queen, pp. 264-67; Monica Wilson et al., Social Structure, Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, Vol. 3, Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1952, pp. 182-85. I Schapera, 'Sorcery and Witchcraft [in Bechuanaland]', African Affairs, 51, 1952, 41-52, at p. 49, refers to such a table though he does not publish it.

[18]I am grateful to Professor J. Clyde Mitchell for impressing upon me the sociological importance of the accuser's rôle, and to Professor Monica Wilson, whose Nyakyusa material (Good Company, London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1951, pp. 198-205) does not suffer from the defect mentioned, for suggesting a systematic method of collecting data.

These tables, since they record imaginary events, such as attacks by witches, rather than real ones, such as quarrels expressed in the idiom of witch-beliefs, reflect, not the actual tensions prevailing in the society, as most of the authors seem to imply, but rather people's beliefs about such tensions. Strictly speaking, they thus belong to the ethnography rather than the sociology of sorcery and witchcraft. They are nevertheless valuable as indirect indicators of the sociology; for, as Lévi-Strauss has suggested[19], the models people build after their own social structure often aid the investigator who seeks the model that most closely and economically fits the recurrent behaviour he has observed. However, if field data are to be used in advancing the sociological theory relating to sorcery and witchcraft, they will not get us far unless they include records of accusers as well as of witches, sorcerers and victims.

The limitations of some of the existing tables of case material have been raised here to illustrate the interdependence of theoretical development and empirical research, a recognition of which has contributed to the order in which this study is written. Part I will be devoted to detecting, amplifying and systematizing the existing sociological theory of sorcery and witchcraft; Part II will provide an ethnographical and sociological account of the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa, i.e., the social setting for the testing of hypotheses developed in Part I; and Part III will be devoted to this testing.

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[19]Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'Social Structure' in Anthropology Today, ed. by A.L. Kroeber, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1953, p. 527.

Why Only a Sociological Approach?

Science progresses by studying recurring events in such a way as to arrive at tested generalizations about the relationships between them, or, more precisely, between aspects of them; and by using such generalizations for predicting future events of the same general kind as those studied. In other words, facts are collected, sorted and arranged, and recurring themes are detected and formulated as hypotheses. If these hypotheses have instances that are susceptible of empirical checking, they are put directly to the test of controlled observation. If they are non-instantial, implications must be deduced from them, and these put to the test. The sequence of observation, analysis, generalization and testing implies an inductive phase followed by a deductive one. While this order has heuristic value for explaining the nature of scientific investigation, Wisdom has rightly questioned its validity, and has suggested that scientists do not, in fact, include the earlier, inductive phase, but progress by what, following Kraft, he calls the hypothetico-deductive method, by which they proceed direct to the testing of hypotheses that they have arrived at without induction[20]. This view is especially plausible when applied to a scientific discipline in which there is emerging a system of interrelated, but not fully consistent, propositions, one in which conflicts need to be resolved by subjecting certain crucial hypotheses to empirical examination.

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[20] John Oulton Wisdom, [Foundations of] Inference in Natural Science, London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1952, Chap. 5.

Whether one accepts Wisdom's contention or not, one must recognize the inherent selectiveness of scientific procedure. In either the induction or the testing of its generalizations, it uses the comparative method. For instance, it compares two situations that differ in only one respect, viz., variations in (including the sheer presence or absence of) a single factor termed the 'independent variable'. In this way it assesses the effects of the independent variable on the other elements in the situation, especially the one (termed the 'dependent variable') whose association with it is being tested. Parsons points out that the comparative method is indispensable for all the analytical sciences and that 'Experiment is, in fact, nothing but the comparative method where the cases to be compared are produced to order and under controlled conditions'[21].

Since science thus proceeds by making comparisons, it can deal only in comparables, i.e., use only facts of the same general kind in building a particular system of scientific theory; the currencies of different systems are in varying degrees mutually irreducible.

If we turn to a definition of the facts that are recorded and compared in empirical research, and related to one another in theoretical propositions, the selective nature of scientific procedure remains evident. Parsons accepts L.J. Henderson's definition of a fact as an 'empirically verifiable statement about phenomena in terms of a conceptual scheme', and adds that since

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[21]Parsons, Social Action, pp. 742-43.

> all scientific theories are made up of facts and of statements of relations between facts.....a system of scientific theory is generally abstract precisely because the facts it embodies do not constitute a complete description of the concrete phenomena involved but are stated 'in terms of a conceptual scheme', that is, they embody only the facts about the phenomena which are _important_ to the theoretical system that is being employed at the time[22].

Selection is thus inherent in the basic process of observation—whether used inductively or deductively. The scientific investigator observes, not phenomena in their totality, but those aspects of phenomena that have a bearing on the conceptual scheme, the frame of reference, the theoretical system that he is employing. The requirement that facts studied should be comparable with one another has given rise to relatively discrete systems of interrelated propositions, each associated with a field or discipline to which scientists of a particular kind confine themselves.

Even if this had not happened, scientists—especially social scientists—would probably have found it necessary to restrict the scope of their operations, for the reason that there is a limit to the number of variables that can be studied simultaneously. Merton reports that Henderson used to recommend 'as few variables as you dare, as many as you must'[23]. In this connection Merton adds :-

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[22]_Ibid._, p. 41 (italics in original).

[23]Robert K. Merton, 'Introduction' to Homans, _The Human Group_, p. xix.

> The student who is so often tempted to dealat once with '<u>all</u> the facts of the case' only to discover that his understanding is dimmed by an excess of facts will gain an instructive lesson in the virtues of the more modest and more productive procedure of successive approximation[24].

If a scientific investigator, either for the sake of the comparability of his facts or for reasons of expediency, decides to concentrate his attention on the relationships between a limited number of variables, what is the status of those variables that he deliberately neglects? They are termed 'extraneous variables', and they have to be prevented from affecting the variables upon which he concentrates his attention, and so from vitiating the results of his study. In the natural sciences, where the comparative method often takes the form of experiment, they may be physically excluded, as when an experiment is performed in a vacuum in order to eliminate the effects of air—or of one or other of its aspects, such as its pressure or its containing oxygen. In the social sciences, where the comparative method usually takes the form of naturalistic observation, in which the investigator, unlike the experimenter, is not in full control of the events he is observing, the physical exclusion of extraneous variables is impossible. However, even if it were possible, it would not be desirable; for the phenomena observed generally have highly significant emergent properties which disappear if the situation is simplified to any degree, as by the exclusion of any of the factors normally operating.

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[24] <u>Ibid.</u>, p. xx (italics in original).

Social scientists thus have to control extraneous variables in ways other than their physical exclusion. They may deliberately match them or randomize them between an experimental and a control group[25], or repeat their observations so many times as to make it possible that extraneous variables, by exhibiting the full range of their variability, will average out, i.e., be neutralized in their effects on the phenomenon observed.

An inescapable implication of limiting the number of variables during the processes of data-collecting and theory-building is that the resulting generalizations have limited explanatory power. Laws that are abstract, i.e., that do not take into account all the variables involved in a given class of phenomena, have an explanatory and predictive value only in regard to those aspects of the phenomena with which they deal. Consequently their explanations may become clouded, and their predictions upset, by the fact that laws belonging to some other system of theory may be interacting with them. Two quotations, the first from Pareto and the second from Parsons, make this point clear.

> Economic and social laws as well as the laws of the other sciences never suffer any genuine exception .....What is commonly called an exception to a law is really the superposition of the effect of another law upon its own normal effects[26].

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[25]For these techniques, see, for instance, Rose, Theory and Method, Chap. 16.

[26]Vilfredo Pareto, The Mind and Society, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935, Vol. 1, p. 53.

> .....The complete scientific explanation of [any given] concrete phenomenon can only be achieved by the synthetic application of all the theories involved[27].

The second quotation provides a bridge from this long, but necessary, digression into social-science methodology back to the subject in hand. We are on firm methodological ground when we deliberately aim at providing, not a 'complete scientific explanation' of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft, but, more modestly, a theoretical system whose reference is confined to their sociological aspects.

—And Not a Psychological One?

The application of the conclusions just reached to the question whether a psychological as well as a sociological analysis should be attempted raises the issue of the mutual reducibility of the concepts of psychological and sociological theory, a point on which opinions differ. I shall try to justify my view that psychology and sociology are distinct disciplines[28], and that, while inter-disciplinary co-operation between them in the field of applied science may sometimes be fruitful, the premature cross-fertilization of their incompatible conceptual systems is more likely to lead to sterile offspring than to the advancement of knowledge.

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[27]Parsons, Social Action, p. 184.

[28]I am grateful to Professor Max Gluckman for starting my thinking in this direction some years ago.

I feel that it is necessary to be explicit on this point because, as I have suggested (see above, p. 9), in the existing theories of magic, sorcery and witchcraft, psychological and sociological approaches are not always distinct. The same writer may invoke psychological explanations when sociological ones fail. In conflict with the methodological arguments we have cited, anthropologists seem to show too great a concern for providing 'complete scientific explanations' of the phenomena they have observed, instead of addressing themselves to the task of first advancing on specialized, limited, theoretical fronts. The former course can be maintained only on a speculative level. Although the latter may be extremely frustrating when, to return to Pareto, the effect of another law is superimposed on the normal effects of the law being tested, it is the only one likely to achieve a permanent advance.

The tendency for anthropologists to use, in attempting to explain the phenomena they have observed, sociological and psychological concepts and hypotheses simultaneously or in quick succession probably arises from the fact that, as Radcliffe-Brown points out[29], sociology and psychology deal with the same data, acts of human behaviour. Even if the data are the same, however, this does not mean that they must be conceptualized in the same way. The sociologist and the psychologist have developed distinct frames of reference. The sociologist conceives of social systems, i.e.,

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[29] A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, [A Natural Science of] Society, with a foreword by Fred Eggan, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957, p. 48.

he is concerned with relations between acts of behaviour of diverse individuals; whereas the psychologist conceives of mental systems, i.e., he is concerned with relations between acts of behaviour of one and the same individual[30]. Evans-Pritchard expresses a similar view when he says :-

> The psychologist and the social anthropologist may observe the same acts of raw behaviour but they study them at different levels of abstraction.....This essential difference between social anthropology and psychology is the pons asinorum in the learning of social anthropology. The two disciplines can only be of value—and they can be of great value—to each other if each pursues independently its own research into its own problems and by its own methods[31].

While it is relatively easy to define formally the respective fields of psychology and sociology (or social anthropology which is generally equated with comparative sociology), it is more difficult to settle some of the detailed boundary disputes between them. Social psychology, especially those branches of it dealing with the average or modal personality of a particular group, or the collective mental aspects of the individuals in it, is sometimes claimed by both psychology and sociology. Radcliffe-Brown relegates it to psychology since its focus of attention is the individual (though admittedly in his total, including his social, environment), and since 'what it will lead to is a statement of natural laws which will apply to mental systems and not to social systems'[32].

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[30] Ibid., p. 45.

[31] E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Social Anthropology, London: Cohen and West, 1951, pp. 45-46.

[32] Society, p. 50.

Many other writers, however, regard social psychology as a branch of sociology. Furthermore, sociologists do not consistently avoid using the 'individual' frame of reference, especially when they seek an understanding of subjective aspects of social life, such as group norms.

The main objection to the anthropologist's habit of slipping from one conceptual system to another is that it is expedient rather that systematic. It leads to a false identification of concepts for which the same term may be used in the two systems. 'Tension' is a good example. 'Tension', 'stress' or 'strain' are concepts implicit in the idea of system—any kind of system—, and we may conceive of physical, physiological, mental, social and other kinds of tension, according to the system we have in mind. If we slip from a mental to a social frame of reference, scarcely knowing we have done so, we equate mental with social tension, and regard the latter as conforming with the same principles as the former. This seems to have occurred in those instances where the psychoanalytical doctrine of the displacement of affect, developed in a mental frame of reference, has been invoked to explain phenomena, such as inter-group tension, that belong more properly to the social frame of reference[33].

One of the few systematic attempts to combine the concepts of psychology, sociology and (American) anthropology into a single frame of reference still keeps 'person-

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[33]Cf. the criticisms made by Jessie Bernard, 'The Sociological Study of Tension' in The Nature of Conflict, Paris: UNESCO for International Sociological Association, 1957, pp. 46-48, and Lewis A. Coser, [The Functions of] Social Conflict, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956, pp. 51-52.

ality', 'social system' and 'culture' relatively distinct; and, in any case, judging by its meagre effect on empirical research, it does not appear to have been very successful[34].

Since the field anthropologist tends to be a jack of all disciplines, his choice of a theoretical system for development in the light of his field data probably depends upon his personal interests, training and temperament. There seems to be no other explanation of why, for instance, much of Malinowski's contribution to theory lay in psycho-physiology[35]; and Radcliffe-Brown's, in sociology. My preference for sociology cannot be attributed to my training—which was in psychology. It sprang rather from my concern at the ineffectiveness, more especially the lack of objectivity, of the only techniques likely to be of use in the empirical checking of psychological hypotheses relating to beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft, a disadvantage not suffered in the same degree by sociological hypotheses.

Before proceeding to amplify this point, we should emphasize, at the risk of repetition, that every theoretical approach to empirical phenomena is incomplete because it

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[34] Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), Toward a General Theory of Action, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951.

[35] In both its general aspects (see especially his A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944, passim, and Max Gluckman, Malinowski's Sociological Theories, The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 16, Cape Town: Oxford University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1949, Part II) and his more specific theory of magic and sorcery (see his Magic, Science and Religion, pp. 50ff.).

deals with only certain aspects of such phenomena; and, similarly, every approach is justified because it will ultimately—in association with other approaches—contribute to a full understanding of them.

One of the essential characteristics of any scientific (as opposed to supernatural or mystical) hypothesis is its testability[36]. Even if it itself is non-instantial, it must have derivatives or implications that can be empirically checked. As a final, more practical justification for not attempting a psychological analysis of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft, let us turn to some of the psychological hypotheses concerning such beliefs, and consider whether they are testable, whether, that is, techniques exist for checking them or their logical derivations against empirical evidence.

As we have pointed out, psychological hypotheses regarding beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft have been put forward, not only by psychologists, but also by social anthropologists; and the latter often sandwich them indiscriminately between sociological hypotheses. For this reason we need to be clear about what we mean by psychological hypotheses. We shall adopt the following criterion, which, incidentally, serves to recapitulate our delineation of the fields of psychology and sociology. Some readers may justifiably look upon it as an arbitrary one. We shall regard any hypothesis as psychological if

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[36] See, for instance, Wisdom, Inference in Natural Science, Chap. 4.

it uses the individual personality as its frame of reference, if, that is, it seeks to explain acts of behaviour, whether overt or covert, in terms of the systems of apperceptions, reactions, motives and conflicts of human beings considered one at a time. It should be added that to say that the human being thus conceived of is typical of the society concerned or that he is shaped by his social environment is not to convert a psychological hypothesis into a sociological one; for this step does not change the frame of reference from that of psychology, in which acts of behaviour are studied in relation to one another at the level of the personality, to that of sociology, in which they are studied in reference to a system of social rôles whose interrelations are determined in part by their intrinsic properties (e.g. whether they are complementary or not) or those of the situations in which they are played, and in part by their integration in terms of values held in common by the actors[37].

Psychological hypotheses advanced to explain beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft can usually be recognized as derivatives of Freud's general theory regarding the displacement of affect, especially in the form developed by neo-Freudians such as Dollard, Horney and others[38]. According to this view, social conditions, more particularly those

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[37]This condensed definition of the sociological frame of reference implies in its last part the use of the individual, what we have termed the psychological, one; for, short of conceiving of a group mind, we cannot characterize common values except as the summation of certain individual ones. There will be a fuller discussion of the sociological frame of reference in the next section of this chapter.

[38]See above, p. 9, Footnote 13.

affecting early child-rearing, frustrate the individual and arouse in him aggressive feelings which,for reasons of close physical and emotional dependence on the potential objects of his aggression, he cannot express and has to repress. According to a fundamental Freudian principle, such repressed aggression must find an outlet. It is either displaced on to some object other than the one arousing it, or converted into neurotic anxiety, which may be 'free-floating' or may be experienced as fear of certain persons or objects whose intrinsic properties do not justify such fear. Another way of expressing the second of the alternatives just given is to say that the repressed aggression is projected in such a way that the aggressor becomes the believed victim of hostile agencies with which his imagination peoples the world.

The doctrine of the displacement of affect, especially in the form of the frustration-aggression-anxiety hypothesis, has been invoked for a variety of purposes. Sumner's making no reference to Freud suggests that he formulated his contrast between the we-group and the others-group (better known by his alternative terms, in-group and out-group) independently. Sumner asserted that

> The relationship of comradeship and peace in the we-group and that of hostility and war to the others-group are correlative to each other. The exigencies of war with outsiders are what make peace inside[39].

A convergence of Freud and Sumner is evident in the neo-psychoanalysts. For instance, Dollard, in his analysis

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[39] William Graham Sumner, Folkways, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906, p. 12.

of race prejudice in the American South, maintains, firstly, that 'the reasonless aggression manifested in race prejudice'[40] may be attributed to frustration resulting from 'cultural restrictions in childhood and the limitations of daily life in adulthood'[41], i.e., to a 'generalized or "free-floating" aggression which is derived from reactions to frustration and suppression within the "we-group"'[42]; secondly, that a permissive social pattern must lift the taboos on hostility if this is to be expressed as race prejudice; and, thirdly, that the object of aggression must be uniformly identifiable[43].

This is an instance of how modern psychology uses the frustration-aggression-anxiety hypothesis in attributing inter-group tensions to unconscious processes that hide a prejudiced person's real motives from him. Magic it explains in a similar manner. For instance, Willoughby starts his analysis by citing Ovsiankina's study, in which experimentally staged interruptions of assigned laboratory tasks produced symbolic gestures which may be regarded as the 'substitute activity' forming the raw material from which magical rites and spells are developed. Then, after reviewing Luria's experiments and Freud's speculations on the nature of anxiety, he cites an extensive literature in

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[40] John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New Haven: Yale University Press for the Institute of Human Relations, 1937, p. 442.

[41] Ibid., p. 443.

[42] Ibid., p. 444.

[43] Loc. cit.

support of his general conclusion that magic is a means of resolving anxiety[44].

This is reminiscent of what is probably the best known theory of magic in anthropological literature, Malinowski's. The difference between Willoughby's and Malinowski's theories is simply that the latter adds detail in two directions. Firstly, it identifies the anxiety resolved in magic as that due to frustration springing from the inadequacy of technology. Secondly, it gives due emphasis to the importance of the institutionalization of symbolic 'substitute activity' through the 'current mythology' that springs up around the successes of outstanding magicians[45].

Since both Willoughby and Malinowski make no distinction between sorcery and witchcraft, regarding both as

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[44]Willoughby, 'Magic', *passim*.

[45]*Magic, Science and Religion*, pp. 59-60 and 63. This theory has been criticized by Radcliffe-Brown (A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function [in Primitive Society]*, London: Cohen and West, 1952, pp. 148ff.) who contends that anxiety, far from being the source of ritual, is rather its product, in that ritual intensifies people's anxieties and thus moulds their sentiments towards the important values of their society. George Caspar Homans (*The Human Group*, pp. 321-30, and 'Anxiety and Ritual', *American Anthropologist*, 43, 1941, 164-72) has reconciled the two theories by showing—in accordance with the principle that relationships between variables in social science are more often circular than cause-effect (*The Human Group*, p. 98)—that 'both are incomplete because both are complementary' (*Ibid.*, p. 330).

the application of magic to anti-social ends[46], we have reached, by implication, what I shall call the psychological theory of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft.

Let us turn to more explicit formulations of it. In the following passage, J.D. Krige appears to be invoking the doctrine of the displacement of affect—in the specific form of the frustration-aggression-anxiety hypothesis—when he seeks to explain the psycho-dynamics of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft :-

> Witchcraft and sorcery provide avenues of vicarious achievement to those, who, because of their aggressive temperaments or disharmonious conditioning, find it impossible or extremely irksome to conform to the pattern of co-operativeness and reciprocity[47].

This passage is ambiguous. Either it attributes the activities of the witch or sorcerer (in so far as they occur) to his expressing on a mystical plane the aggression that he cannot express in everyday life; or it explains beliefs in specific attacks by witches and sorcerers by their giving expression to the believer's frustrated aggression. In either case, the explanation, in that it uses the 'individual' frame of reference, is psychological, and is very

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[46] Malinowski uses 'witchcraft' performed by a 'sorcerer' as his main illustration of his theory of magic (Magic, Science and Religion, p. 52). Willoughby is not explicit on the relationship between magic and sorcery apart from regarding them both as 'anxiety-controls' ('Magic', pp. 489ff.). Like Malinowski, he makes no fundamental distinction between sorcery and witchcraft; he says :- 'Witchcraft is essentially sorcery practised by females, usually old' (Ibid., p. 495). Evans-Pritchard, whose distinction (Witchcraft among the Azande, p. 21) we have adopted, would presumably regard sorcery, but not witchcraft, as magic applied to illegitimate ends.

[47] 'The Social Function of Witchcraft', p. 20.

similar to Kluckhohn's equally ambiguous statement that witch-beliefs provide 'a socially recognized channel for the expressing (in varying degrees of obliquity) of the culturally disallowed'[48].

Perhaps the most comprehensive application of the frustration-aggression-anxiety hypothesis specifically to the interpretation of witch-beliefs is to be found in the following passage from Kluckhohn's Navaho Witchcraft :-

> .....Witchcraft is a major Navaho instrument for dealing with aggression and anxiety. It permits some anxiety and some malicious destructiveness to be expressed directly with a minimum of punishment to the aggressor. Still more anxiety and aggression is displaced through the witchcraft pattern assemblage into channels where, at least, there are available patterns for adjusting the individuals to new problems created. Individual adjustment merges with group adaptation[49].

When we apply the criterion of testability (see above, p. 23), we find that this type of explanation of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft, however plausible it may be, cannot be regarded as a scientific hypothesis. As yet we have no measures of frustration, of aggression, whether expressed or repressed, or of anxiety—that could be used for establishing a relationship between these largely subjective conditions and their alleviation by the standardized delusions of a system of beliefs. It should not be forgotten that, outside the field of intelligence, aptitude and attitude measurement, psychologists have developed very few tests that meet accepted criteria of validity and objectivity, and that personal-

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[48]Kluckhohn, Navaho Witchcraft, p. 49.

[49]Ibid., p. 62.

ity tests are especially deficient. Thus, while the application of the Thematic Apperception and Rorschach tests to the problem of differentiating societies by their 'basic personality structure' or 'modal personality'[50] is a rich source of new hypotheses, no interpretative technique has yet been devised which is objective in the sense of yielding identical results (of any moment) if used by two independent investigators. Those who use projective tests seem to face the dilemma of either combining objectivity with meaningless superficiality, as in methods involving word-counts, or of abandoning objectivity in order to achieve meaningful depth. The interpretation of projective tests calls for a high degree of subjective intuition which can usually be developed only by prolonged experience in personality study. That this experience in its many forms has a differentiating rather than a standardizing effect is shown by the emergence of a great variety of interpretative systems[51]. Even W.E. Henry, who has applied himself particularly to the use of the Thematic Apperception Test in determining the 'general psychological characteristics' of different peoples, has to admit :-

> The single most outstanding limitation of a study of this sort is the unfortunate fact that the method of analysis for individual and for group use is so extremely difficult to document and delineate for other investigators.....The Thematic Apperception Technique is not a personality test in the old sense of the term where certain responses have meanings of

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[50] See, for instance, Abram Kardiner _et al._, _The Psychological Frontiers of Society_, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 24ff. and 240ff.

[51] A few of these are reviewed by F. Wyatt, 'The Scoring and Analysis of the Thematic Apperception Test', _Journal of Psychology_, 24, 1947, 319-30.

> their own assigned to them by the experimenter..... It is rather a method for securing a sample of the inner self of the individual, analysis of which must be made by a person trained in the psychodynamics of behaviour and aware of the manifestations and disguises of the inner self[52].

A further obstacle to the testing of the frustration-aggression-anxiety hypothesis is the fact that an important category of extraneous variables cannot be controlled. As we have seen, the hypothesis recognizes many possible ways of resolving anxiety—neurosis, group hostility, race prejudice and so on. It would therefore be impossible to test the relationship between anxiety and preoccupation with fantasies about sorcery and witchcraft (assuming for the moment that both could be measured), unless the amount of anxiety resolved by other means could also be determined.

Bearing in mind these two difficulties, that of measuring anxiety and hostility and that of knowing the extent to which anxiety is resolved by alternative means, we may conclude that, although Kluckhohn's interesting conjectures regarding the psycho-dynamics of Navaho witch-beliefs may represent a fruitful combination of study and insight, they constitute an undemonstrated, and probably undemonstrable, hypothesis. For want of measures of personality variables, Kluckhohn does not, and probably cannot, establish that the Navaho in fact have the peculiar kind and quantity of aggression and anxiety that he claims is being released or displaced through their system of witch-beliefs. In more general terms, we may suggest

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[52] William E. Henry, 'The Thematic Apperception Technique in the Study of Culture-Personality Relations', Genetic Psychology Monographs, 35, 1947, 3-135 at p. 127.

that the link between a person's aggression or anxiety, whether it be determined by childhood experiences or later situational circumstances, and his fear of the sorcery or witchcraft of, say, his mother's sister's son must remain, for the present at least, a matter of speculation rather than of scientific demonstration.

The Sociological Approach Sought and Defined

Like other empirical phenomena, behaviour-episodes related to beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft have various aspects each of which is of interest to a particular scientific discipline. As we have seen, the importance of such beliefs for psychology is that they provide expression for the tensions that arise from ineffective socialization. Let us touch briefly on their possible interest to ethnology and economics before seeking and defining their relevance to sociology.

To the ethnologist, beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft are part of the general currency of cultural diffusion, whose distribution, where the psychic unity of man is to be excluded, has to be accounted for in terms of some hypothesis of history or conjectural history. They seem to be of particular ethnological interest because, as Mayer puts it,

> Oneof the fascinations of these mystical embellishments is the recurrence of identical details in astonishingly different surroundings. Shakespeare writing in 17th century England about mediaeval Scottish witches makes them recite a list of creatures that would be just as appropriate to witches in primitive Africa. Or again : the Pueblo Indians in Mexico say that witches go round at night carrying lights that alternately flare up and die down; exactly

the same thing was said to me in Western Kenya by the Bantu tribe [Gusii] among whom I worked[53].

Clements, whose material, however, is obviously incomplete, has noted a widespread distribution of certain details relating to beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft[54]; and, partly on the basis of his findings, Kluckhohn has remarked :-

> The almost universal distribution of certain elements gives probability to Clements' intimation that a complex of certain witchcraft beliefs was part of a generalized Palaeolithic culture which, in some sense, forms the ultimate basis of all known cultures. Intrusive object witchcraft is familiar from every continent, and one finds the concept of the sacrifice of a near relative as far from Europe and America as, for example, in New Zealand and the Marquesas. Upon such general foundations the peoples of various regions have, of course, developed their own peculiar elaborations[55].

Criticisms that have been made of ethnology in general apply to its treatment of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft in particular. Without even raising the alternative theory of the psychic unity of man, we may point out that the absence for prehistoric or contemporary nonliterate societies of written records makes it impossible to subject many of its hypotheses to adequate tests; and a substitute criterion, such as that of the internal consistency of the evidence is seldom acceptable. Ethnological interpretations of the distribution of traits, including those relating to beliefs in sorcery and witch-

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[53] Mayer, Witches, pp. 4-5.

[54] Forrest E. Clements, 'Primitive Concepts of Disease', University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 32, 1932, 185-252, at pp. 202, 240 et passim.

[55] Navaho Witchcraft, p. 42.

craft, are more convincing when applied to comparatively recent diffusion in restricted areas that have been intensively studied[56] than to migration and diffusion at a remote period and covering wide areas[57].

The relationship between economic factors and beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft is sometimes noted; and it might be argued that an economics of them could be developed. For instance, Gluckman records the fact that the Lozi, before the advent of Europeans, practically never levelled accusations of sorcery outside the homestead group; and he attributes this to the (largely economic) conditions of land tenure on the mound occupied by the group[58]. Elsewhere he asserts that witch-beliefs are usually found in a society having a co-operative subsistence economy[59]. Some writers

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[56] As, for instance, E.C. Parsons's study, 'Witchcraft among the Pueblos : Indian or Spanish?', Man, 27, 1927, 106-112 and 125-28, which, while thorough, leaves doubt about her conclusions regarding the European or the American-Indian origin of some of the traits she examines. Another example, on a less intensive scale, and historical rather than ethnological, is to be found in C. L'E. Ewen's attributing changes in English witch-beliefs to the general spread to England of Continental ideas (Witchcraft and Demonianism, London: Heath Cranton Ltd., 1933, pp. 44-50).

[57] As, for instance, Clements's survey, referred to in Footnote 54, p. 33.

[58] Max Gluckman, [Economy of the] Central Barotse Plain, The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 7, Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1941, p. 29.

[59] Max Gluckman, '[The Logic of] African Science and Witchcraft', Human Problems in British Central Africa, 1, 1944, 61-71, at p. 70.

have suggested that those who are economically successful may be accused of sorcery[60], or may believe themselves to be its victims[61].

Most of these statements of economic reference can be assimilated to the sociological theory of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft. As we shall see later, the idea that a person will hold back from economic progress because he is afraid either of being accused of sorcery or witchcraft or of being a victim of it, is as relevant to sociology as it is to economics.

By a process of elimination we have arrived at the sociological approach, the one to be made in this study. The time has come to make explicit our interpretation of sociological relevance, so that we may proceed to the sociological theories relating to sorcery and witchcraft to be found in the literature.

Following Radcliffe-Brown in our distinction between sociology and psychology, we tentatively defined the field of sociology as the relations between the acts of behaviour of diverse individuals (see above, pp. 19-20). Such relations have two outstanding determinants. Firstly, the persons involved in them play rôles that are arranged in hierarchical systems or structures. Secondly, the participants in any social system are thoroughly trained in,

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[60] For instance, Monica Hunter (now Wilson), Reaction to Conquest, London: Oxford University Press for International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1936, p. 317.

[61] Max Gluckman, 'African Science and Witchcraft', p. 35.

and ultimately (with but few exceptions) subscribe to, certain principles or norms which relate to social conduct in general or which define in particular the rôle each plays as the incumbent of a position or status in the system. Sociology thus has two aspects, the structural and the normative. The former has to do with the complementary, reciprocal and hierarchical interrelations of social rôles[62]; and the latter, with the development and integration of norms of various kinds, together with the ways in which they are sanctioned by society.

If we examine the literature on sorcery and witchcraft, we find references to both these aspects of sociology. As to the first aspect, some writers imply that their informants believe that sorcerers or witches typically attack those with whom they are in a state of tension. As to the second, many writers imply, and a few state explicitly, that the function of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft is to reinforce social norms; and a few of them have applied this principle in the specific setting of rapid social change.

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[62]There is a distinction between an individual's personality and his social rôle. The latter, which is one of the analytical elements of a social system, comprises the social (i.e., group-determined or group-related) components of an individual's personality abstracted because of their relevance to the understanding of the system. For it, Radcliffe-Brown uses the term 'social personality' (Structure and Function, p. 193). The term 'status' has a wider currency (e.g. Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, Chap. 8, and Kingsley Davis, Human Society, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, Chap. 4); though in recent years its dynamic counterpart, 'rôle' seems to be displacing it (cf. Ronald Freedman et al., [Principles of] Sociology, New York: Henry Holt, revised ed., 1956, Chap. 6).

I have been unable to find in the literature any explicit formulation of the hypothesis that the believed actions of sorcerers or witches and the real actions of accusers are to be taken as symptoms of structural tension[63]. Fortes makes the following statement, but with reference to culture in general and not to the specific realm of sorcery and witchcraft :-

> As I am analysing Tale social structure.....I treat Tale culture primarily as the content of social relations and not in its own right. I discuss customs, beliefs, conventional usages, religious values and so forth as *indices of social relations*[64].

J.D. Krige comes perhaps nearest to an explicit statement of specific reference to beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft. He claims that witchcraft and sorcery

> occur only where you find stresses and strains in life, where, in other words, there are tensions, actual or potential, between people[65].

The following citations from other writers imply a good deal of the hypothesis we are considering, but are by no means explicit. Nadel beliefes that witchcraft-beliefs are

> causally as well as conspicuously related to specific anxieties and stresses arising in social life[66].

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[63]The most explicit unpublished formulation I have encountered is that of Professor J. Clyde Mitchell, who some years ago aroused my interest in the sociology of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft.

[64]Meyer Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship [among the Tallensi]*, London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1945, p. ix (italics added).

[65]'The Social Function of Witchcraft', p. 17.

[66]S.F. Nadel, 'Witchcraft in Four African Societies [: An Essay in Comparison]', *American Anthropologist*, 54, 1952, 18-29, at p. 28.

Kuper writes of the Swazi :-

> Witchcraft and sorcery.....are usually selective and take toll of people between whom bonds already exist[67].

E.J. and J.D. Krige state :-

> The Lovedu maintain that witches injure mainly those with whom they are in close contact—that is, relatives and neighbours—and that it is difficult to bewitch a stranger[68].

Wilson (née Hunter) considers that accusations of witchcraft and sorcery in Bantu society are the expressions of

> jealousies and jars and hatreds between persons in close contact with one another[69].

Her Pondo material indicates that accusations

> are almost invariably against some woman of the umzi [homestead] who is a wife, not a daughter, of that umzi.....or against a former lover or rival in love or a neighbour[70].

She and her collaborators in the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey write :-

> Intra-family conflict and tensions between neighbours, whether open or repressed, often appear in accusations of witchcraft[71].

Of the Nyakyusa Wilson states :-

> The categories of people suspected of practising witchcraft are, first and foremost, village neighbours—more than a third of the cases of witchcraft we collected were of this type—second, fellow workers in a mining camp, and, third, wives. Only very rarely is an accusation of witchcraft lodged against a kinsman[72].

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[67]Hilda Kuper, An African Aristocracy, London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1947, p. 175.

[68]Rain Queen, p. 263.

[69]Reaction to Conquest, p. 307.

[70]Loc. cit.

[71]Social Structure, p. 170.

[72]'Witch Beliefs', p. 309. See also Good Company, p. 103.

She attributes this incidence of accusations to the fact that the Nyakyusa live, not among kinsmen, but in age villages[73]. Schapera, in reference to the Tswana, writes :-

> In the vast majority of instances for which I have adequate data (ninety cases in a sample of 105), the sorcerer and his victims were usually very closely related. The most common types of relationships were those of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and brother; less common, but also fairly frequent, the parties involved were parent-in-law and child's spouse, master and servant, or doctor and client. It is extremely rare for people to be accused of bewitching either strangers or persons living away from their own part of the tribal territory[74].

Evans-Pritchard, in reference to the Azande, says :-

> It has been noted that witches only injure people in the vicinity, and that the closer they are to their victims the more serious are their attacks. We may suggest that the reason for this belief is that people living at a distance from one another have insufficient social contacts to produce mutual hatred, whereas there is ample opportunity for friction among those whose homesteads and cultivations are in close proximity[75].

Of all these citations, only those of Wilson's writings make it clear that <u>accusations</u> of witchcraft and sorcery rather than people's <u>beliefs</u> in instances of them are to be regarded as indices of social relations. All the authors quoted, however, seem to agree that their informants regard witchcraft and/or sorcery as operating between persons between whom close—and usually tense—social relationships already exist. Kluckhohn is the only writer I have come

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[73] 'Witch Beliefs', p. 310.

[74] 'Sorcery and Witchcraft', p. 49.

[75] <u>Witchcraft among the Azande</u>, pp. 105-106.

across who reports a tendency for distant and totally unrelated witches to be blamed for people's misfortunes[76]. After writing Navaho Witchcraft, however, he found that more recent data did not entirely confirm his earlier conclusions in this respect, and that gossip about local witches was commoner than his first impressions led him to believe[77].

Nadel, in his review of Malinowski's contribution to the study of magic and religion, considers that Malinowski failed to appreciate

> the fact that the belief in black magic poses sociological and ethical questions as much as psychological ones. For if a society acknowledges the presence of occult destructive powers in its midst, that is of agencies threatening its very norms and stability yet available to its members, this must indicate that the structure of society itself invites or even requires the presence of these agencies. Sociologically, this is a problem of social cleavages and perhaps balances, setting norm against anti-norm.....[78].

In this passage we have a statement—if a rather obscure one—of the social functions of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft. Nadel has not, however, abstracted structural and normative functions for separate treatment, as we propose to do in this study.

We may conveniently sum up the allusions in the literature to the structural hypothesis in Mayer's words,

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[76] Navaho Witchcraft, p. 55.

[77] This information was contained in a commentary that the late Professor Kluckhohn was kind enough to send me on my paper, '[The Social Context of] Cewa Witch Beliefs', Africa, 22, 1952, 120-35 and 215-33.

[78] S.F. Nadel, 'Malinowski on Magic [and Religion]', in Man and Culture, ed. by Raymond Firth, London: Kegan Paul, 1957, p. 194.

> Two general rules seem to emerge from the literature. The first is that witches and their accusers are nearly always people close together, belonging to one neighbourhood community or even to one household .....The second rule is that a witchcraft accusation nearly always grows out of some personal antipathy or hostile emotion[79].

When we turn to the hypothesis that beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft have a normative function, i.e., serve to reinforce social norms by dramatizing them, we find that it is put forward more often than the structural hypothesis; but that, once again, writers are not always explicit about it, and leave it as one of their unstated assumptions rather than put it forward as a clear principle. The aspect of this hypothesis about which writers are explicit is that beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft provide sanctions for moral conduct—through the fear either of being accused or of being attacked. Referring to the former, Wilson writes :-

> The danger of being 'smelt out' for witchcraft and sorcery is a sanction for social behaviour. Any who make themselves unpopular are liable to be 'smelt out'. The woman who is lazy and bad tempered will soon be accused of witchcraft by her co-wives. A man who is stingy and quarrelsome is accused by neighbours. Any who diverge widely from the social norm are in danger[80].

Kluckhohn divides the functions of witch-beliefs for the Navaho group as a whole (as opposed to the Navaho individual to whom he devotes more attention) into 'manifest' and 'latent'. Manifest functions include that of affirming group solidarity (a) by dramatically defining

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[79]*Witches*, pp. 11-12.

[80]Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, p. 317.

what is bad, i.e. all secret and malevolent activities directed against the health, property and lives of fellow tribesmen, and (b) by attributing to witches all the stigmata of evil : incest, nakedness, and other kinds of forbidden knowledge and acts. Latent functions include :- (a) preventing the undue accumulation of wealth and tempering too rapid a rise in social mobility; and (b) acting as a brake on the influence and power of ceremonial practitioners[81]. He adds that 'Witchcraft is an effective technique of social control'; the belief that old people are witches enforces social co-operation, and 'even the fear of going about at night has its social value' in that, for instance, it reduces opportunities for extra-marital sex relations[82].

A simple tally of the cases presented by Starkey in her readable and plausible reconstruction of the Salem witch scare in New England in 1692 shows that the thirty accused witches had an aggregate of thirty-nine traits, which, given the moral climate in which they were found, were in conflict with social norms. These included (in descending order of frequency of mention) being sceptical about the scare, having the reputation of being a witch, being bad-tempered and using threats; being slovenly, exotic, voluptuous or religiously unorthodox. In general, the persons accused either did not come up to the high moral standards of a theocratic society or were strong

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[81] Navaho Witchcraft, p. 63.

[82] Ibid., p. 64.

characters of independent outlook who would not submit to its narrow confines[83].

Nadel says of the Nupe and Mesakin :-

> The imputation of witchcraft serves to uphold the desired, if utopian, state of society by identifying the witch with the transgressor[84].

That the fear, not of being accused of sorcery, but of being attacked by sorcerers may be a sanction for moral conduct is illustrated for Melanesia by both Malinowski and Fortune[85], and, more recently, for a North American Indian tribe by Whiting[86]. Whiting asserts :-

> Retaliation is the essential mechanism for maintaining law and order and takes the form of direct physical violence or sorcery. When a person wrongs another he fears not only assault but sickness[87].

Prompted by this finding, she places fifty societies in a two-by-two table, based on the Yale Cross-Cultural Index (now the Human Relations Area Files), in accordance with whether (a) sorcery is an important or unimportant institution and (b) whether institutions of superordinate justice are present or not. She demonstrates an association between the importance of sorcery as a mechanism of social control and the absence of superordinate justice, the tetrachoric

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[83] The Devil in Massachusetts, passim. For some of Starkey's sources, see George Lincoln Burr (ed.), Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases, 1648-1706, New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1914.

[84] 'Witchcraft in Four African Societies', p. 28.

[85] Even allowing for their wider definition of sorcery. See Malinowski, Crime and Custom, pp. 86 and 93-94, and Fortune, Sorcerers of Dobu, pp. 175ff.

[86] Paiute Sorcery.

[87] Ibid., p. 84.

correlation coefficient, R, being 0.85 (with the numbers involved it would be reliable at 0.57)[88].

In the last few pages we have detected two variants of the normative hypothesis relating to beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft. According to the first, such beliefs buttress social norms by providing—in the person of the sorcerer or witch—a symbol of all that is defined as anti-social and evil, and thus a rallying point for the forces of morality and good. According to the second, they perform the same function by relating the misfortunes of the victim to his own, or to his close associates', misconduct. Looked at either way, beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft are thus of great moral import. It is not surprising that they are often taken up into a society's general cosmology, and that they play a prominent part when an established system of values is threatened by the intrusion of a competing one.

In regard to their cosmological importance, J.D. Krige has gone so far as to suggest that

> A system of witchcraft can obtain......only where a moral universe is postulated, as well as an eternal struggle between good and evil, and the source of some at least of the evil in the world is considered to be due to the machinations of malicious individuals[89].

Witch-beliefs have certainly played an important part in the cosmology of Western society. Witch-hunts, whether honestly dressed in seventeenth-century costume or deceptively

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[88]*Ibid.*, p. 85.

[89]J.D. Krige, unpublished lecture notes, quoted by kind permission of Professor E.J. Krige.

disguised in modern McCarthyism, have been associated with clear-cut religious or political issues, in which groups have sought to purge themselves of those whose loyalty to a narrowly defined cause has been suspect. Murray has argued that the witches of Western Europe were the lingering adherents of the indigenous religion whose horned god Christians identified with the Devil[90]. This identification served to stigmatize his followers as witches worshipping the Principle of Evil, 'though in reality they were merely following the cult of a non-Christian Deity'[91].

Whether one accepts Murray's interesting hypothesis or not, it seems reasonable to believe that the existence of witch-beliefs, both in the earlier phases of Christianity and later, at the time of the Reformation, served to reinforce Christian norms. As Hole puts it, 'the sins of the heretics were visited on the witches'[92]. Both early Christians and the leaders of the Reformation—whether in Old or New England or at Geneva—were able, by calling heretics witches, to rally to their side a pre-Christian moral indignation[93]. Thus the peculiar association in Europe of

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[90] Margaret A. Murray, The God of the Witches, London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co., Ltd., [1933], p. 11. This book recapitulates the hypothesis put forward in The Witch-Cult in Western Europe, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1921, and in 'Witchcraft' in the Fourteenth Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, 1929.

[91] The God of the Witches, p. 26.

[92] Christina Hole, Witchcraft in England, London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1945, p. 22.

[93] On this point see especially Burr, Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases, 1648-1706, p. 435 et passim, and R. Trevor Davies, Four Centuries of Witch-Belief, London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1947, p. 5.

witchcraft with satanism may be regarded as the Christian formulation of the more general principle that sorcerers and witches represent the antithesis of morality.

The moral order, or system of values, of a society receives its greatest shock when rapid social change occurs, especially that resulting from contact and interaction with other societies. It is therefore at a time such as this that the conservative, stabilizing function of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft is thrown into sharp relief. Malinowski recognized this when, writing of sorcery, he stated :-

> In whatever way it works, it is a way of emphasizing the <u>status quo</u>, a method of expressing the traditional inequalities and of counter-acting the formation of any new ones. Since conservatism is the most important trend in a primitive society, sorcery on the whole is a beneficient agency of enormous value for early culture[94].

As we have seen (above, p. 42), Kluckhohn maintains that witch-beliefs 'temper too rapid a rise in social mobility'. Wilson writes of the brake that such beliefs place on the adaptation of the Pondo to modern conditions :-

> .....These very forces which make for stability hamper initiative [i.e., in changing to the European mode of living]. Traits which make a man unpopular are often socially valuable [i.e., in the modern situation][95].

As an instance she records the Pondo belief that modern fertilizer is a medicine the use of which causes neighbouring fields to rot. Gluckman, discussing this function of witch-beliefs in his appreciation of Evans-Pritchard's

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[94]<u>Crime and Custom</u>, pp. 93-94.

[95]Hunter, <u>Reaction to Conquest</u>, p. 317.

book[96], considers it possible that one of the factors preventing Africans from developing what skill and capacity they possess, in their work for Europeans, is the fear of witchcraft.

Discussing witchcraft in relation to problems of administration and development, Brown and Hutt say that

> .....it tends to accentuate the conservatism of the Hehe. No man must be too much in advance of his neighbours, or there is a danger that a jealous warlock will kill him by witchcraft. Thus a man must not wear clothes which differ too markedly from those of his neighbours, nor must he seek methods of gaining wealth or social superiority which involve too great a departure from traditional tribal life[97].

Are These Sociological Hypotheses Testable?

In an earlier section of this chapter, we concluded that a common psychological hypothesis regarding beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft had the disadvantage, from the scientific viewpoint, of neither being testable itself nor having logically derived instances that were testable. We must close this chapter by considering whether the sociological hypotheses we have detected in the literature suffer from the same disadvantage or not.

If accusations of, and beliefs about, sorcery and witchcraft are to be regarded as indices of social tension, can it be established whether such accusations have been made or such beliefs entertained; and can the social re-

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[96]'African Science and Witchcraft', p. 70.

[97]G. Gordon Brown and A. McD. Bruce Hutt, Anthropology in Action, London: Oxford University Press for International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1935, p. 182.

lationship existing between the persons concerned be determined? The answer to both parts of the question is usually 'yes'; for both accusations and social relationships are matters of fact; and beliefs about the identity of a witch or sorcerer, though of a more subjective order, are usually specific enough to be determined within a reasonable degree of accuracy. Furthermore, though we may be unable to say in a specific case that an accusation is a manifestation of a tense social relationship, we can at least establish differences in the incidence of accusations which, in terms of modern statistical science, may indicate contingencies and correlations of greater or lesser degrees of probability. Apart from this general consideration, the structural hypothesis has a special place in this study because, as we shall see, Ceŵa doctrine holds, and actual accusations are in large measure consistent with this, that kinship, the most objective of anthropological dimensions, defines the directions in which accusations and suspicions typically lie.

Turning to the normative hypothesis, we may ask whether episodes in the drama of sorcery and witchcraft can be shown to buttress the social norms. Again the answer is 'yes', though this time with more qualifications. In describing misfortunes attributed to sorcery or witchcraft, informants usually make some reference to the events that actually preceded them or that they believe preceded them. If the general values and the more specific norms of the society concerned can be systematically investigated, then a great many (though certainly not all) cases of believed sorcery and witchcraft assume the character of

solemn reminders of the value of the values.

In general, it would appear that each of the two sociological hypotheses we have detected in the literature conforms with the minimum definition of a scientific hypothesis in that it is testable. A practical demonstration of this will be attempted in Part III. Before proceeding to this, however, or even to the sociological and ethnographical background against which it is to take place, it is necessary to do more than merely detect and formulate the hypotheses stated or implied in the literature, i.e., before we use them, we must subject them (in the next chapter) to closer scrutiny and, where possible, to logical extension.

CHAPTER TWO

DEVELOPMENT OF A DUAL SOCIOLOGICAL HYPOTHESIS

In the last chapter, having decided to confine this study to a sociological analysis, we pointed out that sociology has two aspects, structural and normative; and, in the literature on sorcery and witchcraft, we found—either expressed or implied—two corresponding types of hypothesis. According to the structural hypothesis, real behaviour-episodes, such as accusations of sorcery or witchcraft, or imagined ones, such as attacks by sorcerers or witches, may be taken as indices of social tension—either between believed victim, on the one hand, and sorcerer or witch, on the other, or, less commonly encountered but more sociologically relevant, between accuser, on the one hand, and sorcerer or witch, on the other. According to the normative hypothesis, such episodes dramatize and reinforce the social norms, in that anti-social behaviour is attributed retrospectively either to the accused sorcerer or witch or to his believed victim.

Both hypotheses are of a functionalist character, since both are based on the assumption that beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft prevail because they contribute to the continued operation and the ultimate survival of the social system in which they occur. The functionalist character of the normative hypothesis is, at this stage, more obvious than that of the structural one; for it is easier to under-

stand how societal solidarity and survival are promoted by the reinforcement of social norms than it is to appreciate that they are furthered by the existence of indices of social tension. However, a closer examination of the structural hypothesis will show that it implies that beliefs and practices relating to sorcery and witchcraft, as indices of tense relationships, provide the means of formulating these, and therefore of adjusting them.

We shall now turn to the examination and extension of the structural hypothesis, after which we shall try to refine, though more briefly, the normative one.

The Nature of Social Tension and Conflict

Our exercise in the comparative sociology of sorcery and witchcraft will take us into the general sociology of tension and conflict. The hypothesis that beliefs and overt behaviour relating to sorcery and witchcraft are indices of social tension may be regarded as a special instance of a more general theory. In reviewing the more general theory, we shall need to keep two questions in mind, viz., (a) What are the conditions in which tension and conflict tend to develop? and (b) What are their social functions? This selective emphasis will enable us later to examine the social context of Ceŵa beliefs in sorcery for conditions that, according to general sociological theory, would be productive of tension and conflict; and, similarly, to consider whether the social functions of such beliefs are similar to those of social conflict in general.

Coser, in his useful summary of, and commentary on, Simmel's classic study of conflict[1], remarks on the decline in interest in this subject from the time of the German systematic sociologists and of the first generation of American sociologists until only very recent times. The theme of conflict came to sociology in the form of social Darwinism, which sought to illustrate its function in the hypothesis that political organization resulted from conquest—the survival of the fittest. This theory—as with Marx's theory of class comflict—is not relevant to our present purposes because the conflicting units conceived of, viz., nations and social classes, are considerably larger than those that seem to be associated with the conflicts expressed in accusations of sorcery and witchcraft.

Sociologists at the turn of the century, German and American, still regarded conflict as a normal social process, serving to effect unity by resolving differences. As Simmel put it,

> Conflict is.....designed to resolve divergent dualisms; it is a way of achieving some kind of unity, even if it be through the anihilation of one of the conflicting parties[2].

Since that time, there has been a growing tendency to regard conflict as a pathological, dysfunctional process rather than a means of formulating and removing incompatibilities. Coser points out that modern pure sociologists such as Parsons have concerned themselves very largely with harmony in

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[1]Lewis A. Coser, [The Functions of] Social Conflict, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956, Chap. 1.

[2]Georg Simmel, Conflict, trans. by Kurt H. Wolff, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955 (published originally as 'Der Streit', Chap. 4 of his Soziologie, 1908), p. 13.

society—with the Hobbesian question, 'How is the social order possible?'; and modern applied sociologists such as Mayo have tended to conceive of their rôle as that of eliminating conflict in the adjustment of the individual to official or private bureaucracies[3]. Even post-war writers who have concerned themselves with tensions affecting international and intranational understanding have often neglected the real bases of social conflicts, and, correspondingly, have overemphasized the irrational, unwarranted and pathological prejudices 'in the minds of men', this bias being in some measure the result of their attempt to interpret group behaviour in terms of individual psychological mechanisms[4].

The decline of interest in the general sociology of conflict has coincided with social anthropology's maximum preoccupation with functionalism, a theoretical system which, sometimes, through building too neat, too static, and too harmonious a model of a society or social system, tends to soft-pedal the tensions and inconsistencies to be found within it. A notable exception to this tendency for anthropologists to let the rose-coloured glasses of functionalism blind them to the reality of social intrigues and conflicts has been Gluckman, who, starting in the mid-thirties, has sought the explanation of both social cohesion and social change in the fact that the groups constituting a society form criss-crossing systems of conflicting loyalties, as the

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[3]Coser, Social Conflict, pp. 20-24.

[4]Jessie Bernard, 'The Sociological Study of Tension' in The Nature of Conflict, Paris: UNESCO for International Sociological Association, 1957, p. 48; and Coser, Social Conflict, pp. 51-52.

following extracts show :-

> Customary forms for developing [social] relations .....first divide and then reunite men[5].
>
> Conflict [is] a mode of integrating groups.....and hostility between groups is a form of social balance[6].
>
> In any social system there tends to be co-operation across all lines of cleavage. Therefore in a changing social system, until the dominant cleavage is radically resolved in a new pattern, there is co-operation across that cleavage and every new cleavage tends to be compensated by a new form of co-operation[7].

In recent years there has been a revival of interest in the sociology of conflict, with, for instance, the first English translation in 1955 of Simmel's book[8], with Coser's commentary on it, and with Bernard's contribution to a recent UNESCO publication which she appears to have written as a corrective to the general trend of the 'Tensions Project' studies[9]. While these writings have brought the earlier ones into line with modern research, the great intrinsic value and present-day relevance of the work of the German systematic sociologists is striking, especially in regard to the two topics we have chosen for particular attention, viz., the causes and the social functions of conflict.

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[5]Max Gluckman, Custom and Conflict [in Africa], Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955, p. 1.

[6]Max Gluckman, Malinowski's Sociological Theories, The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 16, Cape Town: Oxford University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1949, p. 10.

[7]Max Gluckman, 'Some Processes of Social Change [Illustrated from Zululand], African Studies, 1, 1942, 243-60 at p. 254.

[8]Conflict.

[9]Coser, Social Conflict; Bernard, 'The Sociological Study of Tension'.

von Wiese, sometimes regarded as the writer who took the formalism of the German systematic school to its logical if sterile conclusion, has a good deal to say about conditions that culminate in conflict; and his predecessor, Simmel, is probably still the best source for the social functions of conflict. As we shall be following these two writers, it is necessary to compare and clarify their usage of terms. As one might expect, von Wiese's terminology is more detailed and differentiated than Simmel's. Whereas Simmel uses the term 'conflict' to cover a wide range of forms of interaction, von Wiese distinguishes three types or phases of dissociative interaction, viz., competition, contravention and conflict[10]. Competition, he believes, involves many associative processes. It is a non-violent form of interaction in which two or more rivals bid for the favour of a third party, and, in so doing, observe whatever rules that apply, and maintain a recognized relationship with one another. Contravention is the next step in a dissociative progression. It represents interaction at a stage when the relationship between the contending parties, while still in existence, is severely strained. Each suspects the other of violating the rules applicable to their interaction. von Wiese uses 'contravention' as 'a more precise term for opposition'[11], and it would seem reasonable to equate it with the more recent term 'social tension', which Angell has defined as 'first, a relation between per-

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[10]Howard Becker, _Systematic Sociology [: on the Basis of the_ Beziehungslehre _and_ Gebildelehre _of Leopold von Wiese]_, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932, Chaps. 18-20.

[11]_Ibid._, p. 246.

sons or groups that is taut, that threatens to rupture; and, second, attitudes on the part of the persons or groups related that are hostile'[12]. von Wiese's third term, conflict, stands for the extreme and most articulate phase of dissociation, in which interaction characteristically includes open accusation, violence or the threat of violence, and combat. An important distinction between conflict and the other two dissociative processes is that conflict involves an attempt to rupture or revise the social relationship between the interacting persons, whereas competition and contravention (or social tension) do not.

Provided we recognize that these terms, like all those taken from everyday speech for service in social science, are used in a special and somewhat arbitrary sense, we shall find them convenient general equivalents for the more particular phases of interaction culminating in accusations of witchcraft and sorcery. Thus we may regard an accusation, whether explicitly made or merely implied in village gossip, together with subsequent ordeals, trials, ostracism etc, as an instance of conflict as conceived of by von Wiese; for, since sorcery and witchcraft are beyond the pale in any society, a person who makes an accusation, or actively spreads gossip, is attempting to bring about a fundamental change in the social relationships centring on the sorcerer or witch. We may assume, further, that the social disturbances that have preceded this social drama, as Turner would call it[13],

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[12] Robert C. Angell, Unesco and Social Science Research, Paris: UNESCO, 1950, (roneo'd), p. 2.

[13] V.W. Turner, Schism and Continuity [in an African Society], Manchester: Manchester University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1957, pp. 161-62.

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[13] V.W. Turner, <u>Schism and Continuity [in an African Society]</u>, Manchester: Manchester University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1957, pp. 161-62.

such as the strained but hitherto unbroken relationships between accuser and sorcerer or witch, are instances of von Wiese's conception of contravention. Since von Wiese regards competition, contravention and conflict as progressively dissociative forms of social interaction, the remaining term, competition, will provide the key to the causes of contravention and conflict; for, according to his theory, some forms of competition, through being intense or inadequately controlled, develop into the more dissociative phases.

Before, in our search for the causes of tension and conflict, we enquire more fully into the nature of competition, we should note that Simmel's conception of conflict differs from von Wiese's in two respects. Firstly, it is wider, and embraces all three of von Wiese's phases of dissociation. Secondly, it is not conceived of—ultimately at least—as necessarily a dissociative process. So great is Simmel's emphasis on the functions—as opposed to the dysfunctions—of conflict that he describes it as 'a form of sociation (*vergesellschaftungsform*)'[14].

We have suggested that an analysis of competition will lay bare the causes of contravention (or tension) and conflict; for these more aggravated forms of dissociation are, according to von Wiese's theory, developed from competition. von Wiese's assumption that there is a close link between competition and conflict seems to be confirmed by the definition Coser gives of conflict at the beginning

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[14]*Conflict*, p. 13.

of his book, viz., 'a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals'[15]. This definition covers both von Wiese's concepts; 'competition' may be read into the first, general part; and 'conflict', into the final, qualifying part.

The definition gives us a starting point for the discussion of the causes of conflict. There appear to be two aspects of competition that have a bearing on whether it is likely to develop into more dissociative forms of interaction such as contravention and conflict. These are (a) the degree of valuation placed on the scarce status, power or resources competed for, or, to express it psychologically, the intensity with which the objects of competition are desired; and (b) the degree to which the social structure in which competition occurs sets limits to the forms the struggle can take. As to the first aspect, if the object or status competed for is highly valued, then social proscription will not be likely to succeed in confining the competition to conflict-free limits. The expression 'All's fair in love and war' is an acceptance of the great difficulty of controlling the intense competition that develops over highly valued objects. As to the second aspect, it may be noted that there are many cases in which competition _is_ controlled by social proscription. Since the survival of any society depends on the extent to which the co-operation of its members is assured, institutions for preventing friction, sinking differences, regu-

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[15]_Social Conflict_, p. 8.

lating oppositions and resolving conflicts have come into being. These institutions fall into two main categories :- (1) tension-evaders, which cut off tensions at source by limiting or prohibiting competition, e.g. the licensing system in Western society, avoidance relationships between Bantu affines of proximate generations and between the Swazi King and Queen Mother[16], and the possibility of voluntary changes of relationships which Godfrey and Monica Wilson have termed 'social separation'[17]; and (2) tension-relievers, which objectify competition and allow it to be played out according to strict rules, e.g. sport in Western society, institutionalized familiarity and licence (joking relationships) between Bantu affines of contemporary generation, and juridical procedures.

Tension-relievers may operate at any of the three phases of dissociative interaction. Since joking relationships encourage competitive interaction under the strict condition that neither partner may take offence at what the other does to, or says of, him, they either prevent tensions from building up or they discharge those that have developed. Radcliffe-Brown regards both joking and avoidance relationships as the means of organizing a stable system of behaviour in situations where affines or other categories of persons are opposed and where there is divergence of interests and

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[16] Hilda Kuper, An African Aristocracy, London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1947, pp. 55-56.

[17] Godfrey and Monica Wilson, The Analysis of Social Change, Cambridge: The University Press, 1945, pp. 60-61.

therefore the possibility of conflict and hostility[18]. Similarly, juridical procedures may come into operation at varying phases of the dissociative progression, and may be effective even when the stage of open conflict has been reached.

Some writers have suggested that witchcraft (and there is no reason why their remarks should not apply to sorcery, too) is resorted to when other tension-relievers are inoperative. Thus E.J. and J.D. Krige describe witchcraft as a reflection of 'tensions within the framework of cultural mechanisms for avoiding their being projected as witchcraft'[19]; and Kluckhohn contends that the general conditions of Navaho life make withdrawal, passivity, conciliation, narcotism, gossip and physical aggression inadequate or impossible as outlets for hostility, and that witchcraft is the only effective outlet[20]. To the general proposition that people accuse one another of witchcraft when they are prohibited from expressing their aggression in other ways, more particularly by litigation, Mayer adds the following rider, based on his experience among the Gusii :-

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[18]A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function [in Primitive Society], London: Cohen and West, 1952, Chaps. 4 and 5.

[19]E. Jensen Krige and J.D. Krige, [The Realm of a] Rain Queen, London: Oxford University Press for International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1943, p. 264.

[20]Clyde Kluckhohn, Navaho Witchcraft, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 22, 2, 1944, pp. 52-53.

> People who have both possibilities may still prefer to accuse each other of witchcraft, rather than to pick a legal quarrel, because the witchcraft case has a different objective. Legal cases among primitive people are usually meant to smooth out relationships by patching up quarrels over specific issues. However, among the Gusii and perhaps in most other societies the parties to a witchcraft case probably do not want to be reconciled. What they want is an excuse for rupture. In a witchcraft case the thing at stake is not a specific legal issue but the whole tone of the relationship[21].

Whether tension-evaders will be operative depends upon how status is determined in the relationship concerned. A person's status, i.e., his position in relation to others in a social system, is the resultant of certain factors that are intrinsic to the social situation being considered and of certain others that are extrinsic to it. Although both types of factors are represented in any given empirical situation, it is convenient for analysis to consider the ideal, or polar, positions, in which each type of factor operates unmodified by the other. To say that, in a given social situation, status is determined by intrinsic factors is to say that it is determined by competition. As von Wiese points out, competition has the function 'of assigning persons or [groups] their appropriate places in the social system as a whole'[22]. To say, on the other hand, that status is determined by extrinsic factors is to maintain that the social situation being considered forms part of a larger system and that factors in the latter determine

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[21]Philip Mayer, Witches (Inaugural Lecture), Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1954, p. 13, commenting on my paper, '[The Social Context of] Cewa Witch Beliefs', Africa, 22, 1952, 120-35 and 215-33.

[22]Becker, Systematic Sociology, p.252.

status in the former, and consequently circumscribe the types of interaction in it.

To make the distinction between self-regulative and circumscribed social relationships clearer, let us consider a small social system familiar in Southern Africa, the one formed by a white artisan and his African assistants, of whom we shall assume there are two. This social system of three persons comprises three relationships :- (a) that between the white artisan and the first African assistant; (b) that between the white artisan and the second African assistant; and (c) that between the two African assistants. It will be immediately apparent that, in the first two relationships, status is determined less by intrinsic, self-regulative, competitive factors than by extrinsic, 'circumscribing' ones. This little social system has, in respect of these two relationships, been torn from its context, and we can understand it only if we view it as a part of the larger structure of Southern African society. If we do this, we see that the status of the white artisan in relation to either of his African assistants is determined by the facts that he belongs to a superior social category[23] and that he is either the Africans' employer or a powerful representative of him. Turning to the third relationship, that between the two African assistants, we can readily appreciate that status in it will be determined more by competition between the participants than by factors extrinsic to the immediate situation.

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[23]Whether the social category is to be called a caste or a race is a moot point discussed by Leo Kuper in 'The South African Native : Caste, Proletariat or Race?', Social Forces, 28, 1949, 146-53.

(We are assuming their status in indigenous African society to be equal.) The uncertainty of their future status—for instance, the problems of who will be paid more, who will be put off work during the next slack period, and so on—throws them into competition, and tension is likely to develop between them. Each one vies with the other for the attention, recognition and favours of the white artisan.

It is generally in self-regulative rather than in circumscribed social relationships, i.e., in ones where status is achieved rather than ascribed[24], that tension is likely to arise and possibly develop into conflict. This applies particularly when the relationship is in a dynamic phase, i.e., before it has reached equilibrium. To take a sub-human example : if chickens are reared separately and then placed together, a dynamic phase of intense competition and tension —which usually develops into open conflict—follows, and lasts until some degree of stability is reached in the form of an established pecking order, in which A pecks B, B pecks C, and so on, without any retaliation from the pecked members of the system.

With the possible exception of hierarchies of boxing and wrestling champions and their runners-up, and of boys at school, human social relationships in which individual status is determined by recourse to physical violence are rare. Most human relationships may be placed on a scale between the two polar types we have set up, some being more self-regulative and competitive; and others, more circumscribed by

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[24]To use Ralph Linton's terms—The Study of Man, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, pp. 115ff.

external factors. The latter von Wiese subsumes under the heading of 'the Dharma principle'[25].

That self-regulative, competitive relationships are more often associated with tension and conflict than are those circumscribed by extrinsically determined status-differences is illustrated by the following citations :-

> Evans-Pritchard reports that Zande commoners refrain from accusing nobles of witchcraft, 'not merely because it would be inadvisable to insult them but also because their contact with these people is limited to situations in which their behaviour is determined by notions of status.....Offence is more easily taken at the words or actions of an equal than of a superior or inferior'[26].
>
> Gluckman reports that the Zulu favour sororal polygyny, saying, 'The love of sisters overcomes the jealousy of polygyny'; whereas the Lozi disapprove of it, saying, 'The jealousy of polygyny spoils the love of sisters. It will break up their family'. He relates this to differences between Zulu social structure, in which the inheritances and relative status of sisters are fixed, and that of the Lozi, in which this is not so. He implies that, among the Zulu, competition marked enough to develop into the tension and conflict that the Lozi associate with sororal polygyny is made impossible by a fixed order of social relationships[27].
>
> Myrdal points out that whites show prejudice towards Negroes roughly in proportion to the extent to which they are in economic competition with them. 'The Negro's friend.....is still rather the upper class of white people with economic and social security who are truly a non-competing group'. This statement implies that the ascription of the relative status of Negroes and upper-class whites eliminates the possibility of competition and prevents the development of tension; whereas this does not apply to the relationships be-

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[25] Becker, Systematic Sociology, pp. 253 and 258.

[26] E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft[, Oracles and Magic] among the Azande, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937, pp. 104-105.

[27] Max Gluckman, 'Kinship and Marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal' in African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, ed. by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1950, p. 180.

tween Negroes and lower-class whites in which competition is freer[28]. We must allow, however, for the fact that the relationship between these two variables, reduced social distance and competition, is circular, or, to use Myrdal's term, cumulative (see below, p. 74).

von Wiese maintains that 'doubt and contravention go hand in hand'[29], and that 'in general.....a highly accessible, secular structure will manifest much more competition than an isolated, sacred structure for in the former there are few traditional bonds whereas in the latter tradition so fortifies institutional barriers that freedom may be virtually non-existent'[30]. These two statements may be taken to mean that competition tends to occur when it is not limited by notions of traditionally predetermined status, and that it may develop into contravention (tension) either when there is doubt regarding the rules likely to limit it or when there is freedom from such rules.

Barnes, referring to succession among the Ngoni, writes :- 'The eldest son could be passed over if he were an obvious fool, and there was, therefore, the possibility of conflict between those who thought him a fool and those who did not. When the first wife married did not become the great wife, her eldest son was sometimes older than the great wife's son, and was sometimes his rival as heir. The contradiction between superordination by age and by status of mother among half brothers brought up in the same vicinity led to conflict.....'[31].

Writing more generally of the same problem, Davis points out that 'the history of many monarchies is red with the blood of brothers murdered by brothers, because the principle [of discriminating among the children of the defunct] was either not clear or not accepted'[32].

An important qualification should be made to the general conclusion emerging from these examples. If tradition-

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[28]Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944, p. 69.

[29]Becker, Systematic Sociology, p. 260.

[30]Ibid., p. 254.

[31]J.A. Barnes, Politics in a Changing Society, Cape Town: Oxford University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1954, p. 33.

[32]Kingsley Davis, Human Society, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, p. 413.

ally predetermined status-differences are to be effective in eliminating competition and thus preventing tension, they must, as in these cases, be legitimate—in the sense of corresponding with the primary values of the society concerned[33]. If disagreement on fundamental principles causes status-differences to be challenged, they are ineffective as tension-evaders. Thus the classical Hindu caste system was free of conflict because lower and higher castes accepted the distinctions between them; and it was only when the consensus regarding the legitimacy of the system was broken down by economic changes and by external influences that tensions between castes assumed major proportions[34].

A further necessary qualification has to do with closeness of relationship. In a close relationship, whether or not it involves a predetermined status-difference, the expression of conflict is kept under control—at least until it reaches explosive pressure. Coser suggests that this is because in such a relationship <u>any</u> conflict is a threat to its very foundations; for, since it involves total personalities rather than personality-segments or facets, conflict cannot be isolated and compartmentalized, but diffuses through the whole system. A somewhat similar situation exists in a totalitarian system, i.e., one whose legitimacy, being in doubt, is artificially maintained. In this case, total, unqualified involvement is demanded. Thus it is

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[33] Seymour Martin Lipset, 'Some Social Requirements of Democracy : Economic Development and Political Legitimacy', <u>American Political Science Review</u>, 53, 1959, 69-105, at p. 87.

[34] Cf. Coser, <u>Social Conflict</u>, p. 37; and Gardner Murphy, <u>In the Minds of Men</u>, New York: Basic Books, 1953, <u>passim</u>.

that, in both small, intimate groups and larger, totalitarian ones, conflicts, being threats to basic integrative principles, are suppressed and dammed up; and, when they finally break out, they are particularly intense[35]. Both types of group show a rigid intolerance of deviant members.

From this discussion, it would appear that structural controls, such as social distance between the participants in a relationship, will in the long run be effective in minimizing tension and conflict only if, firstly, they are regarded as legitimate, and, secondly, the relationship is such that the participants are segmentally rather than totally involved in it.

It may be possible to reduce these two qualifications to a single rider. In small-scale groups as well as in systems of questionable legitimacy, such as modern totalitarian states, norms tend to be repressive, and, demanding total personality involvement, disallow compartmentalized, and therefore controllable competition, this being expressed in an intolerance of but slight deviance and an insistence on conformity.

Coser suggests that, in rigid systems, such as contemporary totalitarian societies, hostile feelings are partly canalized through 'safety-valve institutions' such as permissive anti-Semitism and xenophobia[36]; and, following Kluckhohn, he regards witchcraft as 'a socially recognized

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[35] Coser, Social Conflict, pp. 79 and 76.

[36] Ibid., p. 79.

channel for the expression of the culturally disallowed[37]. As we have seen (above, Chapter 1, pp. 18ff.), the invocation made here of the principle of the displacement of affect raises serious methodological problems concerning the mutual reducibility of the concepts of psychological and sociological theory. Without becoming involved in these problems, we may, however, develop a proposition which is particularly relevant to the study of sorcery and witchcraft, i.e., that, in primary groups[38], total rather than segmental personality involvement renders even minor conflicts serious. It has often been noted that beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft are prominent in societies and situations where relationships are personal, i.e., where they involve total personalities rather than segments or facets of them. Accusations occur, and attacks of sorcery and witchcraft are believed to occur, only between persons of roughly equal status and in intimate contact, such as kinsmen and neighbours (see above, Chapter 1, p. 39). Remembering that we seek the explanation of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft in the general principles of tension and conflict, we find that Simmel's general proposition that the closer the relationship the more intense the conflict[39] accords with our more specific analysis of the sociology of sorcery and witchcraft.

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[37] Ibid., p. 43.

[38] In Charles H. Cooley's sense—Social Organization, New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1909, pp. 23-24.

[39] Coser, Social Conflict, Chap. 4. This proposition should, however, be taken as one of the two instances of the more general principle that the closer the relationship the greater the conflict or the co-operation between the participants (depending on circumstances). George C. Homans, The Human Group, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951, p. 111 et passim, has emphasized the second of these instances.

The Functions of Conflict

Although von Wiese classifies conflict as a dissociative form of interaction, he nevertheless recognizes its sociative features, especially when contrasted with contravention (which we have equated with social tension). Whereas combat is the extreme form of dissociation, it does not necessarily result in permanent dissociation—

> Indeed numberless instances attest to the fact that it may finally result in well-marked association. The more equivocal and latent dissociative processes, particularly contravention that never comes to the surface, may be greater barriers to future amalgamation than the most violent forms of open combat. Storms oftentimes clear the air; the slow escape of noxious gases continually contaminates it. Under certain circumstances combat is to be preferred, for although it 'ends in terror' it cannot generate 'terror without end'[40].

Simmel's central thesis is that :-

> No group can be entirely harmonious, for it would then be devoid of process and structure. Groups require disharmony as well as harmony, dissociation as well as association, and conflicts within them are by no means altogether disruptive factors. Group formation is the result of both types of process.....a certain degree of conflict is an essential element in group formation and the persistence of group life[41].

There is no need to explore all the corollaries of these two statements. For our purposes, it will be sufficient to consider those aspects of them that are relevant to the close relationships characteristic of situations in which conflicts are formulated in terms of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft.

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[40]Becker, Systematic Sociology, p. 272.

[41]Paraphrased by Coser, Social Conflict, p. 31.

As we have seen, close, 'primary' relationships involve total rather than segmental social interaction. Each of the participants does not expose this or that facet of his personality but the whole of it, with the result that his relationships with others assume an emotional value[42] of a positive or negative, or perhaps more often of an ambivalent, kind. While it is relatively easy to contract out of a 'secondary' relationship involving but a segment of one's personality, it is difficult—in the sense of involving fundamental readjustments and re-orientations—to bring a primary relationship to an end. Whereas a secondary relationship can be quietly dismantled, a primary one has to be blasted away.

Turner's recent study of Ndembu village life is an interesting demonstration of the part conflict plays in abolishing or fundamentally altering relationships that have become obsolete or insupportable. He asserts that 'a social system is in dynamic movement through space and time, in some ways analogous to an organic system in that it exhibits growth and decay'[43]. As it changes, tensions develop, and, when these reach breaking point, the system goes through a crisis—which, for want of a better term, Turner calls a 'social drama'—which he describes as follows :-

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[42]Emotional value is the criterion that Thomas Carson McCormick uses for distinguishing primary from secondary relationships—Sociology, New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950, p. 45.

[43]Schism and Continuity, pp. 161-62.

> In one aspect the social drama is a process which reveals realignments of social relations at critical points of structural maturation and decay; in another, it may be regarded as a trial of strength between conflicting interests in which persons or groups try to manipulate to their own advantage the actually existing network of social relations.....It may be either an index or a vehicle of change[44].
>
> The social drama is a limited area of transparency on the otherwise opaque surface of regular, uneventful social life[45].

Turner's work shows clearly the part played by the conflict arising in a crisis in the reshaping and the re-adjustment of tense social relationships. For our purposes it is significant that many of the social dramas he describes included accusations of witchcraft.

Norms Systematically Examined

According to the normative hypothesis detected in the literature reviewed in Chapter 1, beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft permit of the dramatization and therefore the reinforcement of the norms. Before we try to refine and extend this hypothesis, we should, as we did with the structural one, regard it as a particular instance of a more general sociological principle. In other words, we should examine the nature of social norms in general and consider their relationship to social solidarity, which, according to the normative hypothesis, they promote.

The normative category of sociological variables comprises conceptions human beings have of what is desir-

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[44] *Loc. cit.*

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

able. Modern sociology, in that it takes heed of such conceptions, clearly finds a purely behaviouristic approach untenable. In order to realize its aim of explaining group-related aspects of human behaviour, it inclines towards what Parsons has called a 'voluntaristic' theory of action'[46], according to which subjective factors, such as a person's conceiving of ends and being normatively orientated in his selection of means, must be taken fully into account.

Human conceptions of what is desirable lie at varying levels of consciousness and are held in varying degrees of explicitness. Their general function is to define behaviour that is expected of persons in particular social situations. They vary in a number of respects, including :-

(a) whether they take the positive form of precept or the negative form of taboo;

(b) whether they have a specifically moral reference or express aesthetic, logical or economic principles;

(c) whether they are cultural universals espoused by all members of the group or are cultural specialties supported by only the members of specific segments;

(d) whether the conduct they prescribe applies to all members, to members of specific segments, or to individuals;

(e) whether there is a large or small difference between the expected behaviour they define and the actual behaviour they are intended to influence;

(f) whether the group attaches much or little importance to them, this being indicated _inter alia_ by the sanctions it applies to those who violate them; and

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[46]Talcott Parsons, _[The Structure of] Social Action_, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937, _passim_.

LEVEL	INDIVIDUAL	GROUP	APPROPRIATE TECHNIQUE
Overt Behaviour Non-verbal	acts of atonement	application of sanctions (actual and implied) group rituals selective behaviour common ultimate ends	Observation of behaviour episodes Analysis of symbols 'Energy-disposal studies, e.g. budget surveys
Overt Behaviour Verbal	confessions and rationalizations	valuations	Public-opinion polling Content Analysis
Covert Behaviour Conscious	immediate ends self-valuations, shame, guilt personal norms and conscience	group norms ultimate ends	Ordinary interviewing
Covert Behaviour Unconscious	implicit values general value-orientation		Depth Analysis Projective Techniques
Investigators' Logical Constructs	personality; philosophy of life; general value-orientation; implicit values	culture; social structure; basic personality structure; modal personality national character; ethos; implicit common values	

Fig. 1—Elements of the Normative System and Techniques for Investigating Them

(g) whether they fall into an integrated, consistent system or show, usually as the result of rapid social change, inconsistency, conflict, almost random operation[47].

Fig. 1 represents an attempt to portray the variety of normative elements and to examine the possibility that they are sufficiently interrelated to warrant our referring to them collectively as a _system_. It would appear that even the line between investigators' logical constructs and the real elements confronting them is not always clear. The figure shows the normative system as containing elements that range from deep-lying, vaguely formulated dispositions, which some, though unfortunately not all, writers call 'values', to conscious, easily expressed rules to which, again without general agreement, the term 'norms' is applied. An added complication is that some of the elements of the normative system are, to borrow from Kluckhohn's definition, 'distinctive of an individual'; others, 'characteristic of a group'[48]. The decision we made in Chapter 1 regarding the types of variables to be taken account of in this study makes our present task easier; and we pay attention to those normative elements relevant to group rather than individual behaviour, those in the right-hand half of the central column.

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[47] For a fuller discussion of these variations, see Clyde Kluckhohn, 'Value and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action' in _Toward a General Theory of Action_, ed. by Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951, _passim_; and Ronald Freedman _et al._, _[Principles of] Sociology_, New York: Henry Holt, revised ed., 1956, Chaps. 6 and 6.

[48] Kluckhohn, _ibid._, p. 395.

What is the relationship between the structural and the normative variables falling within the sphere of the sociologist? Radcliffe-Brown once put the relationship concisely when he described values as the determinants of the social relations that comprise the social structure[49]. This statement does not, however, take sufficient account of the fact that most relationships between social phenomena are circular rather than cause-effect. Myrdal resorts to the 'principle of cumulation' in describing the 'general interdependence between all the factors in the Negro problem'[50]; and Homans shows how language tends to mould our hypotheses in causal terms :-

> Ordinary language, with its subjects and predicates, is geared to handling only one independent factor and one dependent factor at a time : someone is always doing something to somebody. Cause-and-effect thinking rather than mutual-dependence thinking is built into speech. Yet a situation that can accurately be described in cause-and-effect terms is just the kind that is encountered least often in sociology. Here the cause produces an effect, but the effect rests on the cause[51].

We should be aware of the fact that, when writers describe normative variables as determinants of structural ones, they sacrifice scientific precision to linguistic convenience; for, while norms may shape structure, structure sustains norms. The validity of the second semi-circle of this circular relationship is plausible when we remember that structural changes are followed—usually after a period of strain and conflict—by normative adjustments.

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[49]Structure and Function, p. 199.

[50]An American Dilemma, pp. 75-76.

[51]The Human Group, p. 98.

Be that as it may, the hypothesis that normative elements (or 'values' as they are sometimes called) sustain the social structure is widely accepted. Its most general use is in the identification of some of the factors underlying social solidarity. Although Aristotle was aware of the integrating effect of mutual dependence arising from the division of labour—of what Durkheim later called 'organic solidarity'—, it was Hobbes who first clearly posed the problem of social order. With an almost twentieth-century, Freudian conception of the anti-social character of man's original nature, he portrayed the 'state of nature' preceding ordered social life as a 'war of all against all' in which life was 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short'. He asserted that the state of nature had been superceded by a state of social order because men, for reasons of self-preservation, had been driven to surrender their individual liberty to a sovereign. To mention but one of its defects, this explanation credits human beings with far more rationality than present evidence would allow; and it is no longer seriously entertained. As Parsons insists, however, Hobbes must be given credit for having posed rather than having solved the problem of social order[52].

Durkheim's distinction between organic and mechanical solidarity[53] set the mould for the modern solution to the

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[52]Social Action, p. 93.

[53]George Simpson, Émile Durkheim on the Division of Labour in Society, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, p. 131 et passim.

problem. Sociologists now conceive of two types of social integration (but acting simultaneously), that resulting from the interdependence of differentiated rôles and that brought about by the existence of a body of common norms and values towards which the members of the society are orientated. Our concern is with normative, or mechanical, rather than with functional, or organic, integration.

The most systematic treatment of the problem of normative integration is to be found in Parsons's study of the common threads explicit or implicit in the writings of Marshall, Pareto, Durkheim and Weber[54]. He detects in them the independent development of what he calls the 'voluntaristic theory of action'. He asserts that the best explanation for their convergence upon a single theory is that this theory best fits the facts they independently observed[55]. A central hypothesis of the voluntaristic theory of action is that there is 'a single general emergent property of social action systems which may be called "common-value integration"'[56]—that social cohesion springs from a group's being orientated towards a system of common values. This hypothesis is unmistakably present in one of Mukerjee's passages :-

> The human community maintains its solidarity through participation of its members in certain common traditions, meanings and values. Such participation involves an integration of the activities of individuals

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[54] Social Action, passim.

[55] Ibid., pp. 722ff.

[56] Ibid., p. 768.

in the social structure in terms of some scheme or order of values or ends[57].

The hypothesis that a group's integration depends in part at least on its members' sharing a common normative system is often the unstated assumption underlying a particular sociological theory or approach. This applies to the recently devised theory of 'the reference group' which has proved to be of value in the analysis of stratified societies. According to this theory, whether an individual changes his station in a stratified society will in part depend on the extent to which he is orientated towards the values of the group (termed the reference group) to whose membership he aspires. Thus it has been demonstrated that successful soldiers tend to be those who conform, not with the norms and expectations of their immediate associates, but with the official military mores, i.e., to them the Army or the officer-group becomes a reference group[58]. It has also been shown that one of the factors in the lack of upward mobility of the lower classes in American society 'is a system of beliefs and values within the lower classes which.....reduces the very voluntary actions which would ameliorate their low position', and that exceptions to this general statement occur in those individuals who are orientated, not towards these beliefs and values, but

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[57] Radhakamal Mukerjee, The Social Structure of Values, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1950, p. 247.

[58] Robert K. Merton and A.S. Kitt, 'Reference Group Theory and Social Mobility' in Class, Status and Power, ed. by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953, passim.

towards those of a higher stratum[59]. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that, in a society devoted to the myth of the man of humble origin who 'makes good' (the best example being American society), the solidarity of the subordinate classes is broken by the fact that many of their number are orientated not towards their own class but towards the one to which they expect, with empirically unwarranted hope, to belong in the near future[60].

Other specific applications of the hypothesis of 'common-value integration' are to be found in Myrdal's statement that the '"American Creed" is the cement in the structure of this great and disparate nation'[61] and in Homans's assertion that the leader of a group is the one who comes closer to realizing all its norms than any other member[62].

Normative Functions of Beliefs in Sorcery and Witchcraft

These citations show that the hypothesis regarding normative or common-value integration is widely accepted. If we join the majority of social scientists and assume its fundamental validity, what are its implications in regard to the social functions of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft?

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[59]Herbert H. Hyman, 'The Value Systems of Different Classes', in Bendix and Lipset, *ibid.*, pp. 426-27 (italics in original).

[60]Robert M. MacIver, *Society*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937, p. 175.

[61]*An American Dilemma*, p. 3.

[62]*The Human Group*, pp. 180-81.

As we have seen, there are two ways in which such beliefs buttress the normative system. Firstly, they enable people to stigmatize any anti-social conduct by calling it, or associating it with, sorcery or witchcraft; and, secondly, such beliefs, along with beliefs in the mystical power of gods, spirits and elders, provide a medium by which death or misfortune may be attributed to a violation of the norms.

The material presented in the penultimate section of Chapter 1 (see above, pp. 32ff.) showed that illustrations of the first principle are not difficult to find. In all societies, the terms for witch and sorcerer, unless qualified by some such adjective as 'white' (as in Europe), are terms of negative value. Witches and sorcerers are by definition beyond the pale; and an association has sprung up between their specific activities and the more abhorrent forms of anti-social conduct, such as murder and incest. Given that these two stereotypes personify all that is repulsive to decent-living folk, they provide convenient epithets to bestow on transgressors of all types. The fact that the attitude towards them is one of disapproval rather than approval does not prevent them from playing rôles of great moral import. They provide the villains for a society's morality plays; and, by portraying its conception of unmitigated evil, bring into sharper relief its conception of good.

The second principle, that practices involving beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft make it possible to attribute some misfortunes to the violation of norms, turns our attention to

the victim rather than his believed attacker. Even in our society there is a tendency for people to explain away some misfortunes by attributing them to the imprudent or anti-social behaviour of their victims. We saw in Chapter 1 (pp. 46ff.) that some writers mention or imply that those who progress beyond the normative system of their society, espousing, perhaps, some intrusive, opposing system, are often believed to be in danger of attack by sorcerers and witches. Thus it is not only the sorcerer or witch but also the victim who dramatizes the unfortunate consequences of defying the norms.

The Dual Hypothesis Summarized and Qualified

We may now summarize the dual hypothesis to be tested in this study. In so far as its structural aspect is concerned, accusations of sorcery or witchcraft and expressed beliefs in attacks by sorcerers and witches will be regarded as forms of social conflict, and, as such, they will be assumed to have both causes and social functions. Their causes will be sought in competition for highly valued goals which is not checked by legitimate structural controls, such as those of social distance, and which is intensified by the unsegmented and ambivalent nature of intimate social relationships. This aspect of the hypothesis is summarized, in part pseudo-mathematically and in part symbolically, in Fig. 2. Their social function will be assumed to be the formulation and consequent discharge of social tensions.

In so far as the normative aspect of the hypothesis is concerned, beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft will be regarded as providing a medium for the dramatization of social

norms, in that sorcerers and witches, and sometimes their victims, portray the characters who through evil intent or stupidity fail to observe them.

PART II

CEWA SORCERY IN ITS SOCIAL SETTING

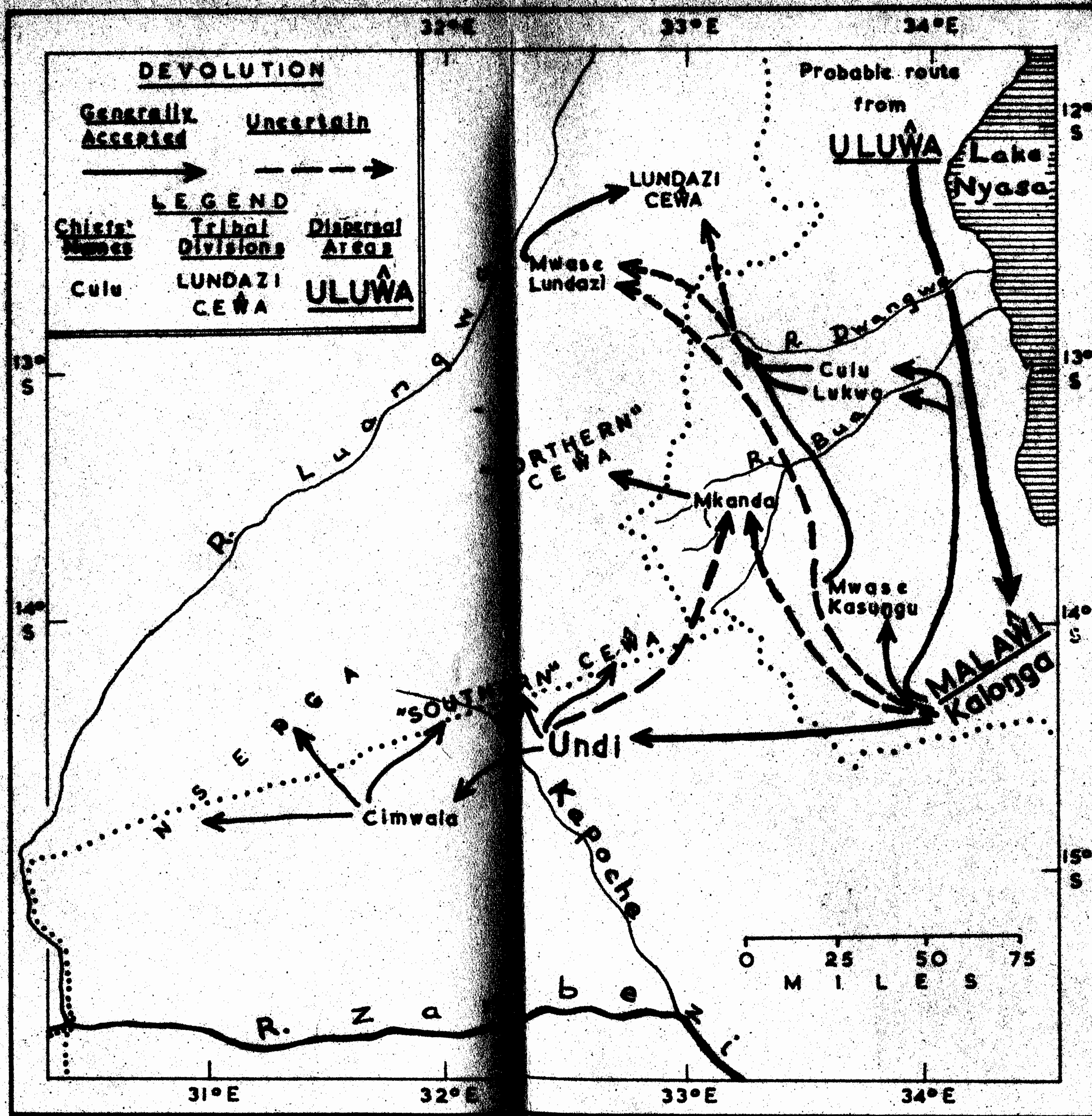
Map 1—Approximate Positions of the Maravi in the Seventeenth Century and of the 'Nyanja-Speaking Peoples' in the Twentieth

CHAPTER THREE

GENERAL CONDITIONS OF CEŴA LIFE

In Part III we shall test the hypotheses developed in Part I against case material collected among the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa. To make this application possible, it will be necessary to present in Part II a general account of Ceŵa life and to give special attention to those aspects of it that are relevant to the hypotheses, such as the social structure and normative system in which tension and conflict arise, and the content and everyday effects of Ceŵa beliefs about sorcery. This chapter and the following four will be devoted to these topics.

In this chapter I shall try to place the Ceŵa in preliminary focus by presenting such details of their history, environment and subsistence as will give an understanding of their present-day attitudes. The relevance to our analysis of history and earlier, conjectural history is not as easy to demonstrate as that of environment, subsistence and the division of labour. It is therefore perhaps necessary to record that I have included the first and the last sections of this chapter for a subjective reason, viz., because I feel that I can neither define the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa nor portray them as the people I knew without placing them in the perspectives of the past.



Map 2 — Devolution of N[illegible]ern Rhodesian Ceŵa Chieftainships

<u>Origin of the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa</u>

The material I present on the Ceŵa is based on observations made in the Cimbuna neighbourhood of Chief Kaŵaza's country in the south-west part of Fort Jameson district. For convenience I refer to the people I studied as 'Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa', especially since my few visits to areas outside Kaŵaza's chiefdom left me with the impression that the differences between his people and other Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa are not fundamental.

Chief Kaŵaza's people belong to a branch of the Ceŵa usually referred to as the 'Southern Ceŵa' of Fort Jameson district. There are two other branches of the tribe (using the term in the cultural rather than in the political sense) in Northern Rhodesia, the 'Northern Ceŵa' of the same district and the Ceŵa of Lundazi district, which lies north of Fort Jameson district. These three branches, though now under a common administration, that of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia, differ in origin, and consequently in present political disposition. In particular, they vary in the degree of loyalty they show to Paramount Chief Undi, those to the south, and nearer his traditional capital at Mano on the Kapoche river in Portuguese territory (see Map 1), being more closely affiliated to him than those to the north.

The three groups comprising the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa form a part—and only a small part—of a larger group. 'Nyanja-speaking' peoples calling themselves Ceŵa (<u>aCeŵa</u>) are found, not only in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia, but also in the Central Province of Nyasaland and

in the northern part of the _intendencia_ of Tete in the district of Manica and Sofala of Moçambique (see Map 1). In Nyasaland and Moçambique, some of them use the designation 'Cipeta'; and in Moçambique, 'Zimba'[1]. The Cipeta are widely recognized as a division of the Ceŵa[2]. In 1951-52, the _de jure_ Ceŵa-Cipeta-Zimba population of the three territories was probably between nine hundred thousand and a million, with about seventy-seven per cent in Nyasaland, fourteen per cent in Northern Rhodesia and nine per cent in Moçambique[3]. The Ceŵa, in turn, make up about two-thirds of the total 'Nyanja-speaking' population, the remainder of whom, comprising Nyasa, Nyanja, Maŋanja, Ntumba and Mbo, live in Nyasaland, in Moçambique and in the part of Tanganyika Territory along the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa.

All these peoples, including the Ceŵa, Cipeta and Zimba, speak dialects of the same language, the standard, written form of which has become known as Nyanja (_ci-Nyanja_). This designation, whose more specific reference is to the dialect spoken on the south-western shores of Lake Nyasa, has arisen fortuitously. Either 'Ceŵa' or

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[1] I am indebted to Mr A. Rita-Ferreira of the Portuguese Administration in Moçambique for providing me with information on the Zimba, and for helping me to increase the accuracy of Map 1 (facing p. 84) and of Map 7 (in Appendix B, facing p. 395).

[2] Cf. S.S. Murray, _A Handbook of Nyasaland_, London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1932, p. 68; A.G.O. Hodgson, 'Notes on the Achewa and Angoni [of the Dowa District of the Nyasaland Protectorate]', _Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute_, 63, 1933, 123-66, at p. 127; and R.S. Rattray, _Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja_, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1907, p. viii.

[3] For details and sources of these estimates, see Appendix A.

'Malaŵi' would have been more appropriate—'Ceŵa', because of the numerical preponderance of this division; or 'Malaŵi', because the so-called Nyanja-speakers are descendants of a tribe or federation of related tribes referred to in seventeenth-century and later Portuguese records as the Maravi (Maraves etc)[4]. The Nseŋga of Petauke district, Northern Rhodesia, and of the adjoining circunscricão of Zumbo in Moçambique are related to the Maravi, but, as a result of amalgamation with Lala-Lenje peoples west of the Luaŋgwa river[5], they speak a language generally regarded as distinct from Nyanja. The modern descendants of the Maravi have, not only a common language, but also a common basic culture.

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[4]The reason why Maravi was written with a v is probably because the ŵ in the modern rendering, Malaŵi, is a sound closely resembling a v and not unlike a b. L and r, both representing the same, flapped consonant, are used interchangeably in the present official orthography, and have been so used at least since the Monteiro expedition in 1831 (see A.C.P. Gamitto, O Muata Cazembe, Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1854, passim). For convenience I shall use the form Maravi for the people from whom the Nyanja-speakers are descended; and the form Malaŵi, for the dispersal area (see next paragraph of text).

[5]Cf. E.H. Lane Poole, Native Tribes [of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia], Lusaka: Government Printer, 3rd ed., 1949, pp. 39-40; J.M. Winterbottom, 'Outline Histories [of Two Northern Rhodesian Tribes]', Human Problems in British Central Africa, 9, 1950, 14-25 at p. 24; and J. Bruwer, 'Note on Maravi Origin and Migration', African Studies, 9, 1950, 32-34 at p. 33. Dr Raymond Apthorpe (private communication) does not agree with the view, originating in Lane Poole and expressed in the works just cited, that the Nseŋga are descended from the Maravi. Note: In the sections of this chapter dealing with traditional history, I rely, though not entirely, on secondary sources such as the ones cited—for two main reasons. Firstly, authors on whom I depend all preceded me in the field and most of them had contacts with the Ceŵa extending over many years. Secondly, with the spread of literacy and the popularity of Nthara's vernacular history (Samuel Yosia Nthara, Mbiri ya Acewa, Zomba: Nyasaland Education Department, 1945), it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain accounts of traditional history that are independent of what has been recorded.

The Ceŵa affirm that their ancestors came from the north—from the Luba country (uLuŵa) of the southern Congo basin. This statement conflicts, however, with an equally prevalent tradition that they were created in the hot lowlands immediately south-west of Lake Nyasa[6], an area they call Malaŵi, where, on a hill called Kaphilintiwa[7], the first men and animals are said to have left their footprints on the rocks. Hamilton, who has recently studied the history and tribal traditions of this region, resolves the conflict between these two accounts of the advent of the Ceŵa by suggesting that, though the story of the migration from the north is presented as if it were a movement of the whole people, it is more likely to have been the coming of chiefly invaders who gained control over long-established autochthones[8]. My own observations support this conclusion. For instance, Hamilton's hypothesis accords with the traditional division of function between the two main Ceŵa matriclans. The Phili, to whom the traditional chiefs belonged, have political power; and the Banda, who may be descended from the autochthones, have a close relationship with the land and are credited with the power of making rain.

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[6]This location, described to me by Chief Mkanda Mateyo, corresponds roughly with the one given by Nthara, Mbiri ya Acewa, p. 4 and W.H.J. Rangeley, 'Mbona—the Rain Maker', Nyasaland Journal, 6, 1953, 8-27, at p. 9.

[7]Referred to as Kaphiri-Ntiwa by W.H.J. Rangeley, 'Two Nyasaland Rain Shrines', Nyasaland Journal, 5, 1952, 31-50, at p. 50; as Kaphirinthiwa by J.J. Stegmann, 'Die Godsbegrip van die Acawa [sic]', Die Koningsbode, 44, 1933, 255-56 and 368-70, at p. 256; and as Kapirimbuja by A.C. Murray, Ons Nyasa-Akker, Stellenbosch: Pro-Ecclesia Drukkery, 1931, p. 49.

[8]R.A. Hamilton, 'Oral Tradition : Central Africa' in History and Archaeology in Africa, ed. by R.A. Hamilton, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1955, p. 21.

Ceŵa history, as opposed to conjecture based on tradition, begins with the records of the Portuguese[9], who established settlements on the Zambezi during the first half of the sixteenth century, and first came in contact with the Maravi about a century later. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century, as a result of expeditions into the interior, that they were able to record that the north-western limit of Maravi territory was the upper Luaŋgwa river. For our purposes the most notable expedition was that led by Major Monteiro in 1831-32. Its deputy commander and chronicler, Captain (later Major) Gamitto, who was a systematic, competent and painstaking ethnographer, made detailed notes[10] of the tribes through whose territories the expedition passed, including Undi's people, whom he called Maravi (Maraves), and Mkanda's and Mwase's, whom he called Ceŵa (Chévas). Although these three chiefs were at this time politically independent of one another, their subjects showed few cultural differences[11].

How and when the Ceŵa separated from the other Maravi is the subject of debate. It is possible that they broke away and moved northwards under a chief called

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[9]For a more detailed resumé of these records, see Appendix B.

[10]O Muata Cazembe, especially Chaps. 2 and 4.

[11]Ibid., especially p. 148. The opening sentence of Footnote 4 of this chapter (see above, p. 86) applies mutatis mutandis to 'Chévas'.

Kaloŋga[12] (though Kaloŋga is a title rather than a personal name[13]); or it may be that Undi, the predecessor of the paramount chief (of the same name[14]) of the Ceŵa now living on either side of the Northern Rhodesia-Moçambique boundary, may have been leader of all the Maravi[15].

According to the more orthodix tradition, a chief called Kaloŋga led the Ceŵa to the Malaŵi country south-west of Lake Nyasa. He then sent his 'younger brother' (which may mean any junior matrilineal kinsman—see Chapter 4, pp.169-70), Undi, to colonize the headwaters of the Kapoche (see Map 3, facing p. 94), the area in which Kaŵaza's chiefdom now falls. Undi was assisted by his 'younger brother', Cimwala, who is said to have cleared this part of the country of the 'little people without villages or gardens'

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[12]For details, see Hodgson, 'Notes on the Achewa and Angoni', p. 127; Nthara, Mbiri ya Acewa, p. 4; Winterbottom, 'Outline Histories', p. 21; and Bruwer, 'Note on Maravi Origin and Migration', p. 33.

[13]The title of 'Caronga' is bestowed even on Mkanda by the Pombeiros who travelled from Angola to Tete in 1811 ('Journey of the Pombeiros, P.J. Baptista and Amaro José', trans. by B.A. Beadle in Lands of Cazembe, London: John Murray for the Royal Geographical Society, 1873, p. 195).

[14]—since, among the Ceŵa, succession to headmanship and chieftainship involves name-inheritance as well—see Chapter 4, pp. 174-75.

[15]Cf. A.W.R. Duly, 'The Lower Shire District', Nyasaland Journal, 1, 1948, 11-44, at p. 17. de Lacerda e Almeida refers to 'Unde' as the 'Morave Emperor' ('Lacerda's Journey to Cazembe in 1798', trans. and annotated by R.F. Burton in Lands of Cazembe, p. 66).

known locally as aKafula[16]. Cimwala achieved a position second only to that of Undi, being sub-paramount in the area west of the Kapoche, while Undi's area of direct control lay east of it. As we shall see later, both the Cimwala and the Undi of a later period managed to resist the attacks of the Ŋgoni (see below, pp. 132-34).

Subsequent to his dispatching Undi to the Kapoche, Kaloŋga divided the country[17] stretching westward from Lake Nyasa over the Nyasa-Luaŋgwa divide among a large number of territorial chiefs, including Lukwa (and/or Culu in some accounts), who received territory now forming part of Kasungu district, Nyasaland; and possibly Mkanda[18], who received the watershed country immediately north of where the town of Fort Jameson is now situated.

The traditions we have been considering provide the best available explanation of the existence today of three distinct groups among the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa (see Map 2). The Ceŵa of Lundazi district are under chiefs whose predecessors derived the title to their land ultimately from one of Kaloŋga's designates in the Kasungu

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[16]For this information I am indebted to Chief Cimwala Catham'thumba, the present-day descendant of Undi's lieutenant, who, disliking Portuguese rule, relinquished his sub-paramountcy in Moçambique, and, in 1953 when I visited him, was living as an ordinary village headman in the country of his traditional subordinate, Kathumba (see Map 4, facing p. 100, and Map 5, facing p. 102). For a discussion of the Kafula, see J.D. Clark, 'A Note on the Pre-Bantu Inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland', The Northern Rhodesia Journal, 11, 1950, 42-52.

[17]Nthara, Mbiri ya Acewa, pp. 4-10.

[18]This is disputed—see Appendix C.

area of Nyasaland. In Fort Jameson district, the 'Northern' Ceŵa owe allegiance to Mkanda; and the 'Southern' Ceŵa, to Undi—either direct or through the sub-paramount, Cimwala. As our concern is mainly with the Southern Ceŵa, more detailed notes on the origin of the Northern and Lundazi Ceŵa have been relegated to Appendix C, which contains some of the data on which Map 2 is based.

The country of the Southern Ceŵa was cut in two by the Northern Rhodesia-Moçambique boundary. Both Undi and Cimwala remained in Portuguese territory, and their subordinate chiefs were about equally divided between Portuguese and British territory.

Of the six Southern Ceŵa territorial chiefs whose authority has been entrenched under Indirect Rule in Fort Jameson district, the most important in respect of size and population of territory and of influence among his peers is Kaŵaza. The incumbent who succeeded in 1922 and died in 1950 (Kaŵaza Soŋgani) was a man of outstanding personality, who, before his succession, was a Divisional Messenger of the early Administration. He proved to be a wise and efficient ruler, and in effect became, and was recognized by Government as, 'Paramount Chief of the Southern Chewa of Fort Jameson district'[19]. Mkanda Mateyo came to occupy a similar position among the Northern Ceŵa and was granted similar recognition by Government (for details, see Appendix C).

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[19]Recommendation from the District Commissioner, Fort Jameson, to the Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province, dated 4 July 1934, recording Kaŵaza's service in the named capacity from 1914 [sic] to 1934—on file at Fort Jameson.

Cimwala Catham'thumba

Kaŵaza Soŋgani

Mkanda Mateyo

Kaŵaza Maniŋu

PLATE II - CEŴA CHIEFS

The paramountcies of both Kaŵaza and Mkanda Mateyo turned out to be temporary. Their positions depended on the fact that the traditional paramount, Undi, being in Portuguese territory, could not be given a niche in the Northern Rhodesian hierarchy of Indirect Rule. As early as 1913, if not earlier, the British South Africa Company, which then administered the country under a Royal Charter, was aware of the fact that the Southern Ceŵa acknowledged Undi as their paramount[20]; and, when he paid a visit to Northern Rhodesia in 1921, his local subjects received him enthusiastically[21]. In the 1930's the Undi of the day (Cibvuŋga) got into trouble with the Portuguese Administration. The most plausible story is that he was imprisoned for two years for having wrongfully arrested a kinsman; but in 1952, when there was a movement 'to kill (kupha)' his paramountcy (see next paragraph), much more lurid tales of his misdemeanour and the length of his sentence were told. On his release from prison, he crossed the border, and from 1935 lived in Chief Kaŵaza's country. When the British Administration discovered him in their territory, they tried to unify all three groups of Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa under him. This was achieved in 1937[22], though by then Undi Cibvuŋga had died and Undi Cinphuŋgu had succeeded him.

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[20]Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa District, District Note Book, Vol. 1 (kept at Fort Jameson): Notes of a meeting between the Magistrate and Chiefs on 28 June 1913.

[21]Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa Province, Annual Report for Fort Jameson District, 1921-22, on file at Fort Jameson.

[22]Northern Rhodesia, Department of Native Affairs, Annual Report on African Affairs, 1937, p. 73.

For various reasons, personal and historical, Undi Cinphuŋgu failed to gain the support of the Lundazi Ceŵa, and in 1947 the Administration's attempt to unite all three branches of the tribe under him was abandoned[23]. He remained paramount chief of the Ceŵa of Fort Jameson district. Even here, owing largely to the power of his two senior subordinates, Mkanda Mateyo of the Northern Ceŵa and Kaŵaza of the Southern, he did not succeed in welding the two elements together. This became especially apparent after his death in 1952, when there was a strong movement aimed at 'killing' his paramountcy and reverting to the position prior to 1937. At first this movement received the support of the new Kaŵaza (Maniŋu) whose succession had been blocked for two years by Undi, and who would probably not have succeeded at all if Undi had not died in 1952. Mkanda's traditional independence and his claim to a status co-ordinate with, rather than subordinate to, that of Undi lent strength to the movement to abolish the Undi paramountcy. It did not succeed, however. The Administration suggested that the opinions of Ceŵa labour migrants should be canvassed; and, as the majority of them were opposed to abolishing the paramountcy, Undi's matrilineal heir, Obster Cibvuŋga, was installed as Paramount Chief of the Fort Jameson Ceŵa on 3 March 1953[24].

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[23]Northern Rhodesia, Department of Native Affairs, Annual Report on African Affairs, 1947, p. 42.

[24]I am grateful to Mr A. St.J. Sugg, District Commissioner of Fort Jameson district at the time of my third field trip, for letting me know the outcome of this movement.

The Cewa Homeland in General

The country in which the Ceŵa, Cipeta and Zimba live consists of a roughly triangular plateau lying between about 12° and 15½° South Latitude and between about 31° and 34½° East Longitude (see Map 3). This plateau forms the watershed between the Zambezi in the south and the Luaŋgwa and Lake Nyasa in the north-west and north-east respectively. Its general altitude varies from about 3,000 feet in Petauke district in the west to about 3,600 feet in Lundazi and Kasungu districts in the north-east and to about 3,300 feet in the circunscricões of Macanga and Angónia in the south-east. The Ceŵa, Cipeta and Zimba share this country with other tribes, notably the Seŋga, Kunda and Nseŋga in the west; the Ŋgoni in the centre, north-east and south-east; the Tumbuka in the north-east; and the Ntumba and Mbo in the south-east. Of these, only the last two are, like the Ceŵa and their associates, descendants of the Maravi.

The climate is of the savannah type with a single rainy season. The rains usually begin in November and may continue until April. Sometimes mid-season droughts occur in January or February. Rainfall on the plateau varies between thirty-one and thirty-nine inches per annum[25]. The dry season comprises a cooler period, which lasts from April to July, and a hotter one, which starts in August and

[25] C.G. Trapnell, [The Soils, Vegetation and Agriculture of] North-Eastern Rhodesia, Report of the Ecological Survey, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1943, p. 2; and Northern Rhodesia, Eastern Province, Annual Report : Department of Agriculture, 1951, on file at Fort Jameson.

TABLE I—MODIFICATION OF TEMPERATURE BY ALTITUDE

	Mean Annual Temperature
Valley Stations:	
Feira	80.5°F
Tete	80.2°F
Plateau Stations:	
*Petauke	76.3°F
Vila Coutinho	67.5°F

*This refers to the old site of Petauke some twenty miles north of the present one and very much lower than the rest of the plateau.

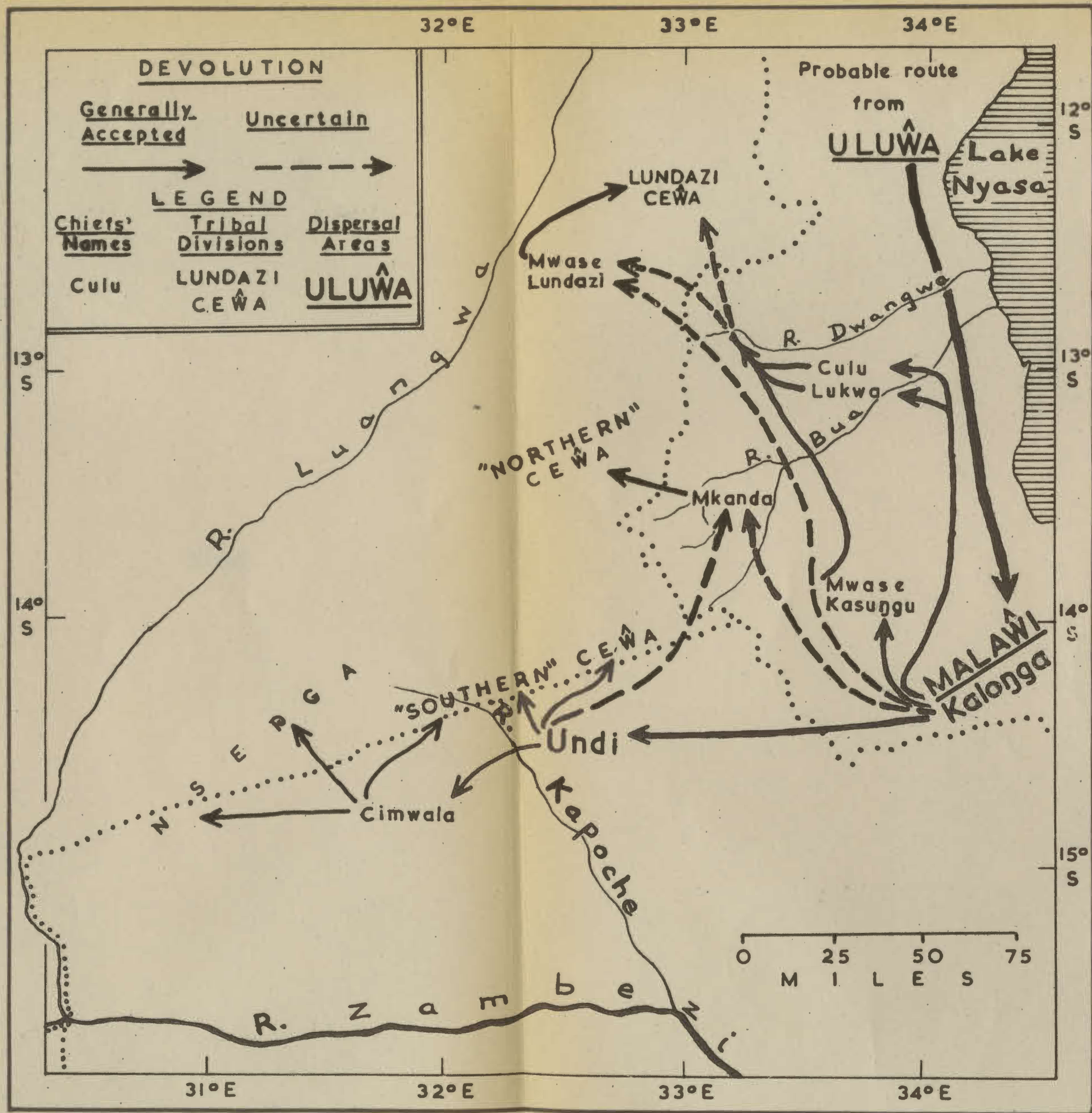
Sources: C.G. Trapnell, The Soils, Vegetation and Agriculture of North-Eastern Rhodesia, Report of the Ecological Survey, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1943, pp. 1-2; and J.R. Dos Santos Junior, Algumas Tribos do Distrito de Tete, Pôrto: República Portuguesa, Ministério das Colonias, 1944, p. 29.

reaches the time of highest temperatures in late October just before the rains begin. Temperatures are not as high as might be expected from the tropical latitude because they are modified by altitude (as Table I shows); because winds blow from the south-east during the hot season; and because clouds obscure the sun during the rainy season.

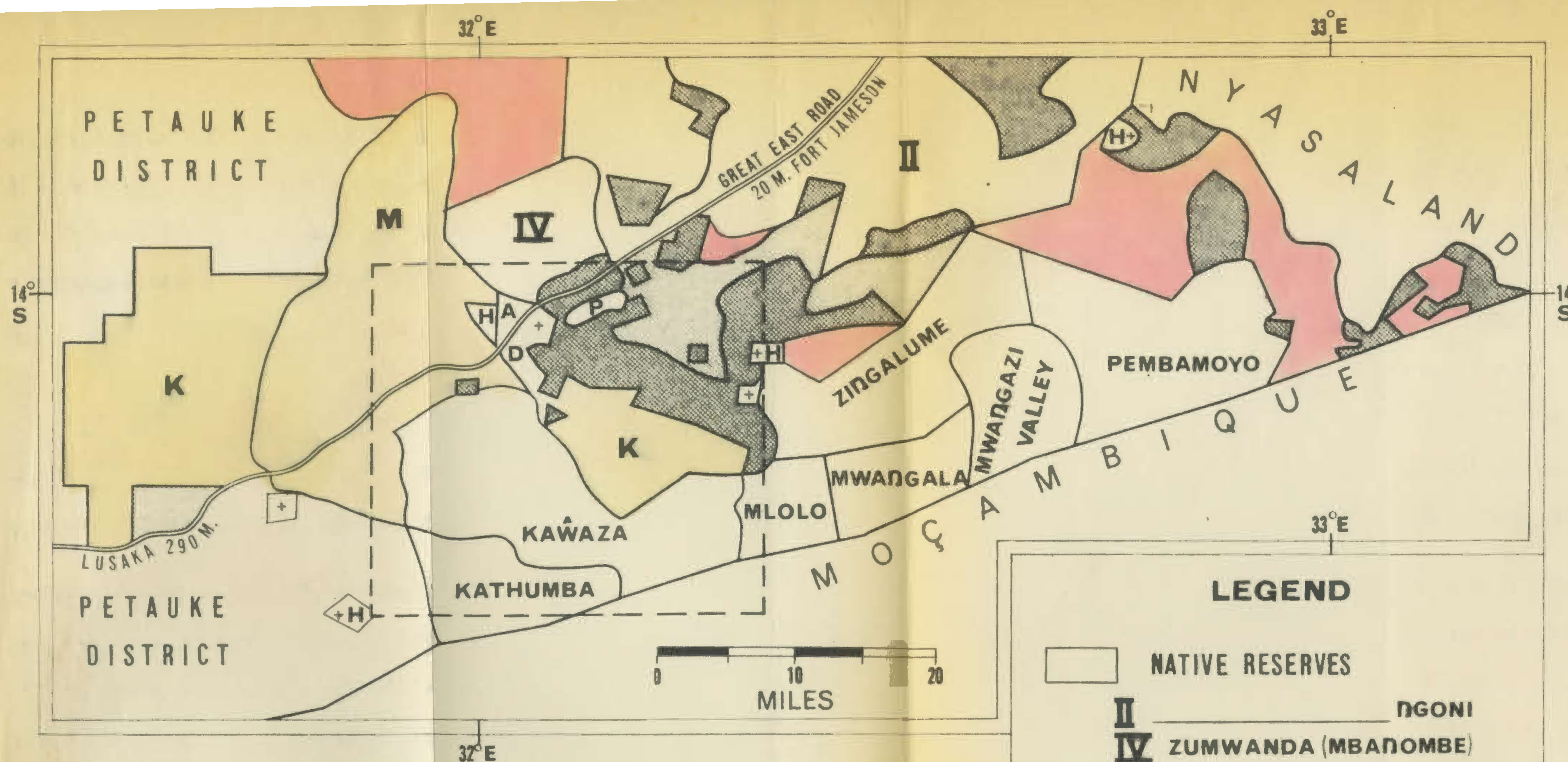
The predominant vegetation of the plateau consists of Brachystegia-Isoberlinia woodlands. These vary in density and type according to (a) the nature of the soil, which, owing to the variability of the rocks of the basement complex forming the plateau, is far from uniform; (b) altitude and topography, flat watershed and drier lower-altitude areas being less wooded than those elsewhere[26]; and (c) the extent to which human cultivation has proceeded without intervals long enough to allow the regeneration of the original type of woodland, deforestation of this kind being especially marked in the older Native Reserves of Fort Jameson district.

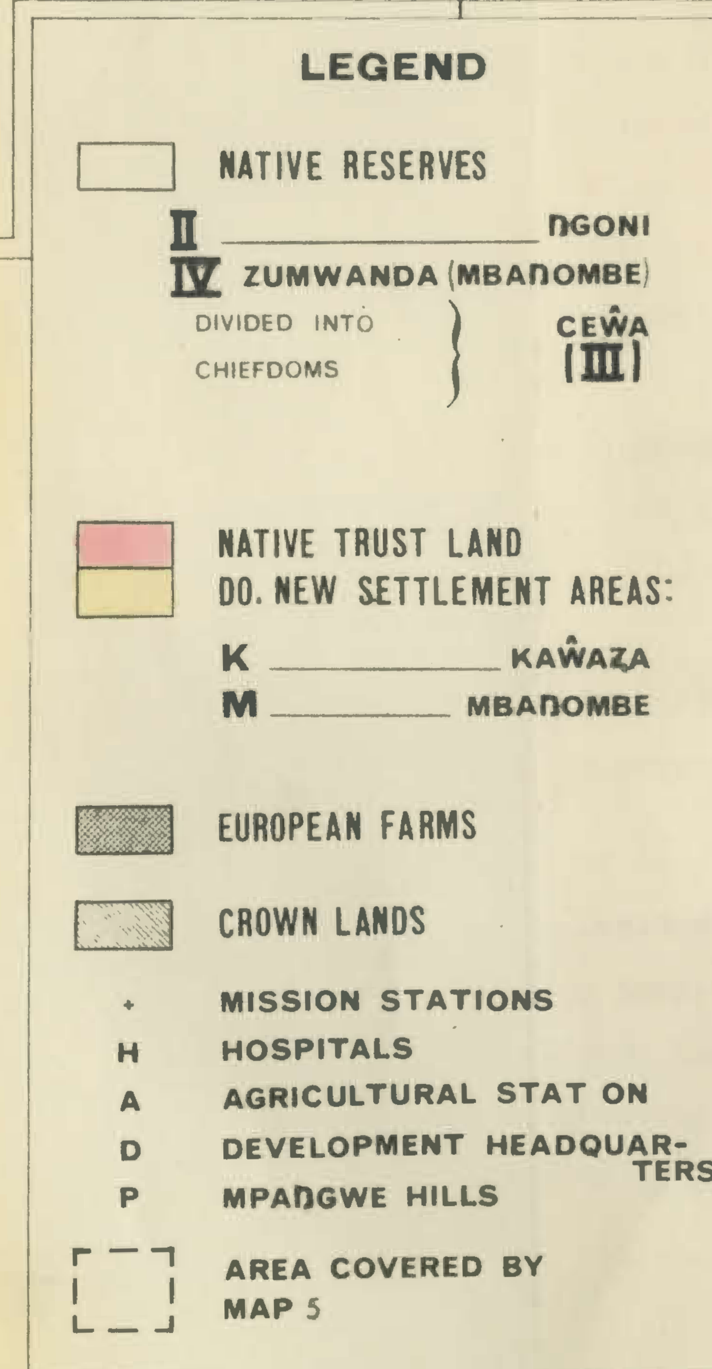
The woodlands are cut up into blocks by wide, shallow valleys known in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland by the Nyanja term _dambo_ (Nyanja plur., _malambo_; English plur., _dambos_). These _dambos_ are grass-covered, and in the wet season are waterlogged. Except in the larger ones, the courses of the streams draining them are usually indeterminate. In some parts of the Cewa-Cipeta-Zimba homeland the _dambos_ are numerous and large enough to provide excel-

[26] Trapnell, _ibid._, pp. 12-13.



Map 2 — Devolution of Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa Chieftainships





Map 4—The (Southern) Ceŵa Reserve (No. III): Its Divisions and Adjoining Areas

TABLE II—DE FACTO POPULATION AND POPULATION DENSITY OF THE DIVISIONS OF THE CEŴA RESERVE, FORT JAMESON DISTRICT, 1951

Division	Area (square miles)	Population (de facto)	Density (per sq. mile)
Chiefdoms:			
Kaŵaza's	120	13,320	111.0
Kathumba's	100	8,339	83.4
Mlolo's	60	6,077	101.3
Ziŋgalume's	184	5,626	30.6
Mwaŋgala's	112	6,634	59.2
Pembamoyo's	252	3,726	14.8
Mwaŋgazi Valley	100	(Unhabited: sleeping sickness)	
	928	43,722	47.1

Sources: Those given in Footnote 31.

lent grazing for cattle, which usually abound in localities free from tse-tse fly[27]. Dambo cultivation is confined to occasional enclosed vegetable gardens and patches of rice.

Kaŵaza's Country in Particular

Kaŵaza's country (dziko) is in the south-west of Fort Jameson district in the No. III (Ceŵa[28]) Native Reserve (see Map 4, facing p. 100). His traditional capital is on the Katete river a few miles above its confluence with the Kapoche near the Portuguese border. In recent times he has administered his country from Kagolo, about seven miles west-north-west of his old capital, a village which, through being only sixteen miles south of the Great East Road on a road that follows the divide between the Mzime and Katete rivers, is more accessible, especially in the rainy season (see Map 5, facing p. 102).

Kagolo is about seventy miles from Fort Jameson, to which town and its district we should pay brief attention before turning to the residents of the Ceŵa Reserve, whose lives are influenced by the conditions and opportunities existing there. Fort Jameson, pleasantly situated in the hilly country where Northern Rhodesia, Moçambique and Nyasaland meet, is 380 miles by road (the Great East Road) from the Rhodesia Railway at Lusaka, and 180 from the Nyasaland Railway at Salima near Lake Nyasa. Twice a

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[27]See below, pp. 113ff. and Appendix D.

[28]Spelt 'Chewa' in official documents.

week an aircraft of the Central African Airways comes[29] to Fort Jameson from Lusaka and returns the same day; and once a week there is a similar link with Salisbury via Nyasaland. There is considerable lorry traffic between Lusaka and Fort Jameson.

In the town itself live 500 non-Africans, of whom 304 are Europeans; 191, Indians; and five, Coloured. In servants' quarters and in the adjacent African compound, there live 5,239 gainfully employed Africans, some of whom have their dependants with them. Most of the gainfully employed Europeans are in Government service and commerce, Fort Jameson being the administrative and commercial capital of the Eastern Province, which, comprising the districts of Fort Jameson, Petauke and Lundazi, has a <u>de facto</u> population of about 310,000 (including about 2,000 non-Africans). Most of the gainfully employed Indians in the town are shopkeepers; and most of the Africans in employment are unskilled labourers; though here more than in the rural area is emerging a 'white-collar' class of African clerks, messengers, policemen, lorry-drivers, businessmen etc.

In the rural part of the district there are about 200 tobacco farms. In recent years the number of these that are operated has varied considerably with fluctuations in

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[29]The present tense in this and in subsequent paragraphs refers to 1951. The statistics that follow are based on the 1951 Census of non-Africans and Africans in employment (Northern Rhodesia, <u>Census, 1951</u>, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1951) and on the Administration's 1951 estimates of the African population (Northern Rhodesia, <u>Eastern Province, Annual Report on Native Affairs, 1951</u>, on file at Fort Jameson). Population statistics in this part of the text are <u>de facto</u>.

the price of tobacco. The farms are in a series of irregularly shaped blocks, the largest of which, with a radius of from ten to fifteen miles, is centred on Fort Jameson. A smaller one, of about thirty farms, lies south of the Great East Road about thirty miles west of the town, and another fifteen miles west of this block is a third cluster, surrounding the Mpaŋgwe Hills and comprising about twenty farms. The surnames on farm signboards along the Great East Road reveal that a large proportion of tobacco farmers are of Afrikaans-speaking, South African origin. Most of the other names are British, including those of a few Coloured descendants of some of the earlier settlers; and one or two are Indian.

Most of the 570 Europeans and 302 Coloureds in the rural part of Fort Jameson district are supported by the tobacco industry, though a considerable number of Europeans are to be found on small Government stations concerned with administration, agriculture, public works, development, and game and tse-tse control, and on mission stations. The rural Indian population, numbering 220, is dependent mainly on shopkeeping and is distributed on trading posts of varying sizes adjacent to European farm blocks and Native Reserves. The rural African population of the district, estimated at about 154,000, is concentrated in Native Reserves and a few new settlement areas established on Native Trust Land[30].

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[30] The Native Reserves have been established and defined by: United Kingdom, Statutory Rules and Orders, The Northern Rhodesia (Crown Lands and Native Reserves) Order in Council, 1928, amended by The Northern Rhodesia (Native Reserves) Amendment Order in Council, 1936. Native Trust Land has been established and defined by: United Kingdom, Statutory Rules and Orders, The Northern Rhodesia (Native Trust Land) Order in Council, 1947. For a brief history of land in the Eastern Province, see below, pp. 134ff.

Although the position of Fort Jameson district makes contact with the outside world difficult, its flatness and soil make local communication easy. Roadmaking is largely a matter of removing tree stumps. Consequently, most rural villages are situated near roads or bush tracks on which motor transport may be used. Furthermore, Africans have taken readily to the bicycle, and nowadays are usually able to count the owner of one among those of their kinsmen on whose services they have a call. The distribution of farms, Government stations, trading centres and mission stations, together with the ease of communication just mentioned, makes them readily accessible to reserve-dwellers, who often make their first contacts with non-Africans on them during periods of work—usually of short duration. These rural centres of non-African enterprise employ about 12,000 Africans.

As we have seen (above, p. 96), Kaŵaza's people occupy part of the No. III (Ceŵa) Reserve. Recently some of them have been resettled on certain areas of Native Trust Land to the north of it. The Reserve, varying in width from six to twenty miles, runs along the Portuguese border eastwards from the Petauke district boundary for about sixty miles. It is 928 square miles in area, has an estimated population[31] of 43,722, and is divided unequally into six territorial chiefdoms and an uninhabited area of about 100 square miles, the Mwaŋgazi valley, which was evacuated

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[31] The figures given in this and the next paragraph refer to de facto population estimates derived from tables appended to: Northern Rhodesia, Eastern Province, Annual Report on Native Affairs, 1951, on file at Fort Jameson. Areas given in the text or used in calculating densities are estimates included in a Memorandum dated 8 January 1953 at Chadiza.

in the 1920's on account of sleeping sickness (see Map 4 and Table II). Kaŵaza's chiefdom is the largest and most populous in the Reserve. It is separated from the most westerly chiefdom, that of Kathumba, by the Kapoche river which in the wet season is a formidable barrier. From many points in Kaŵaza's country, the salient features of Kathumba's are visible, notably Nchiŋgalizya hill where, during the Ŋgoni invasion, the Kathumba of the day and neighbouring chiefs took refuge with their following.

Kaŵaza's and Kathumba's chiefdoms have population densities of 111 and eighty-three persons to the square mile respectively, compared with the Reserve's average of forty-seven. In part at least this is a reflection of their higher soil fertility. The chiefdoms to the east of them, especially those of Mwaŋgala, Ziŋgalume and Pembamoyo have, generally speaking, light, sandy soils which quickly lose their fertility and require long periods of fallow. It is partly because of the degeneration of these areas that an administrative station, Chadiza, was established recently in their vicinity and is now the point from which the whole of the Ceŵa Reserve is controlled.

In addition to the rehabilitative programme administered from Chadiza, there is a resettlement scheme, of earlier date, aimed at relieving the pressure on the more fertile parts of the Reserve. To the north of the Great East Road are two adjacent areas of Native Trust Land which have been allotted to Kaŵaza[32] and to Mbaŋombe, a 'Northern'

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[32] When in the text I refer to 'Kaŵaza's chiefdom' I mean his area in the Reserve and do not include his new settlement area.

Discussion following a meeting of the Development Team at the Development Headquarters at Katete

New Buildings

New Welfare Hall at Kawaza's Capital at Kagolo

Rural Dispensary at Kankhomba Village

New Agricultural Organization

"Peasant farmer" in his farmyard (left); with his wife in his rice field (right)

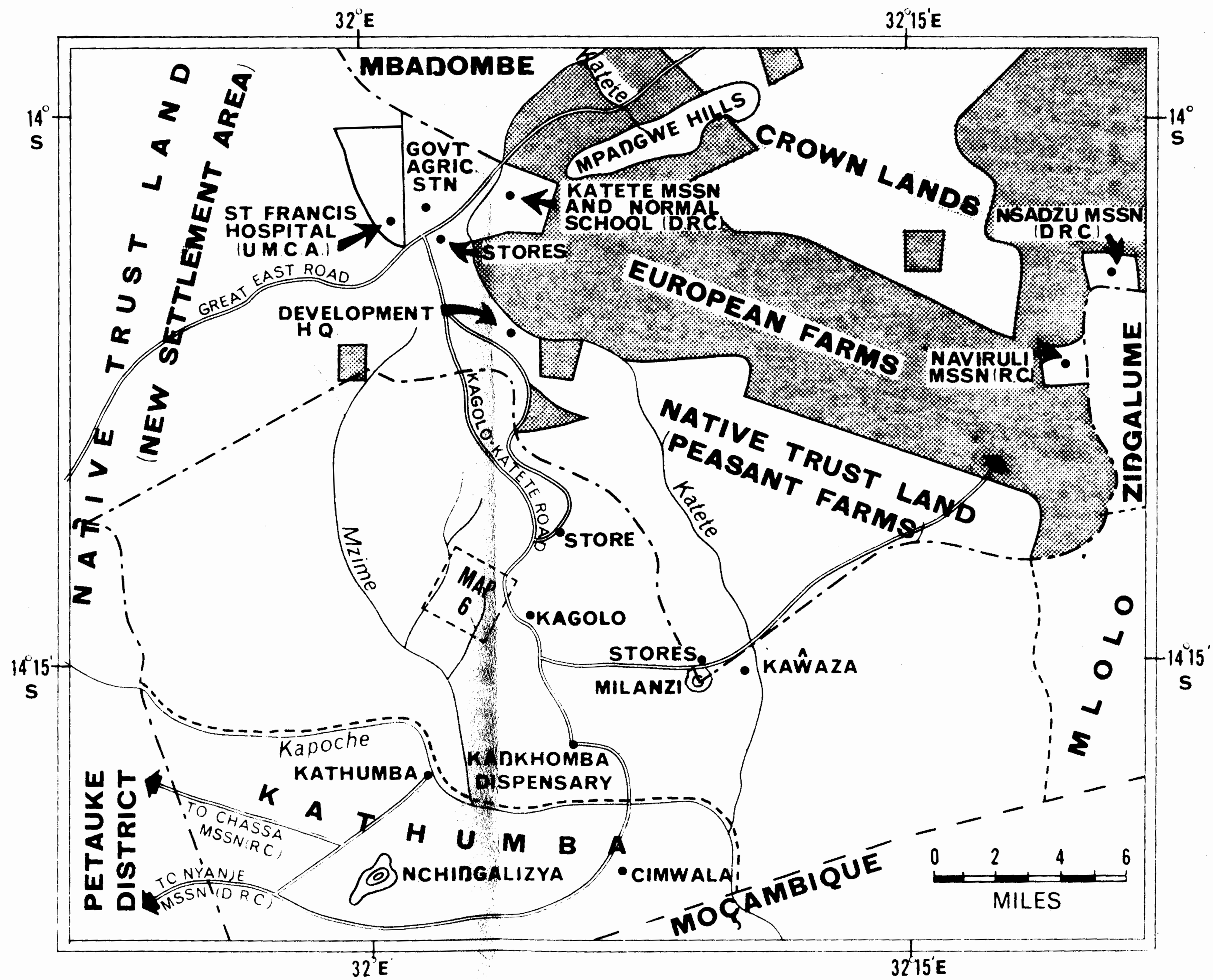
"Improved farmer" in his ground-nut field

PLATE III - DEVELOPMENT

Ceŵa chief most of whose country is in the No. IV (Zumwanda) Reserve. As the resettlement scheme had been preceded by an ecological survey, it was possible to divide the new areas into village blocks, their sizes being determined by the carrying capacity of the land under indigenous methods of cultivation and by the sizes of the village communities shifted from Kaŵaza's and Mbaŋombe's 'old' areas.

The resettlement scheme had been put into operation before increased expenditure under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act was approved in 1944. A conspicuous local effect of the increased funds available for development is the Eastern Province's development team with headquarters at Katete, near the junction of the Great East Road and the road leading south to Kaŵaza's new capital at Kagolo. The team, whose activities started in 1947, includes administrative and technical officers from the whole Province, but those based at Katete include two district officers, and technical officers in the fields of agriculture, public health, water development and education. The development programme, though directed to the Province as a whole, touches more closely the people relatively near Katete. It includes the setting up of peasant farms, the encouragement of 'improved farmers' under traditional tenure, the training of artisans, the improvement of health and of agricultural practices, and the development of fruit growing and vegetable gardening. The co-operative marketing of surplus crops, especially maize and ground-nuts, has made great strides in the last few years.

The Department of Agriculture built the road linking Kagolo with the Great East Road when the resettlement scheme



Map 5—Kawaza's Chiefdom and Its Environs

began in the early 1940's. The care with which it was made to follow the Katete-Mzime divide masks the fact that the Reserve is well watered. It is only at the end of the dry season that villagers sometimes have to walk far to water-holes dug in the larger dambos and stream beds. In respect of water supply the Reserve is better off than some of the new settlement areas to the north of the Great East Road where human habitation has been made possible only by the provision of wells and dams by the Department of Water Development and Irrigation. As many of the water resources of the Reserve consist of wide, shallow dambos, they are coupled with excellent grazing, with the result that the Reserve, Kaŵaza's part of it especially, contains some of the best cattle country in the Province.

Kagolo is the centre of a very densely populated locality. Within a radius of about two miles there are no fewer than fifteen villages, most of them having upwards of sixty huts each. The concentration may be accounted for by the fact that many of the low ridges in this area have the main features that the Ceŵa look for when choosing a village site, viz., effective drainage and proximity to water and good soil.

The general impression given by a Ceŵa village is one of restfulness and prosperity. Except when the demands of garden work lead to neglect, the site is free from grass, weeds and smaller shrubs. Larger trees have generally been left, and provide shade in which women can sing and gossip while they pound maize and perform other household tasks. Goats, pigs and fowls abound, and are a constant menace to the maize the women are shelling or the maize-flour they

Bicycles on a bush track

Testing the ford across the Kapoche River in the rainy season

Repairing a washed-out culvert on a reserve motor road

Cart used for bringing in maize harvest

A Co-operative Marketing Union lorry calls at a village to buy maize

PLATE IV - COMMUNICATIONS

are drying in the sun. Small, informal but influential groups of men gather under a favourite tree, some idly whittling as they converse; others busy at a productive hobby such as making baskets or reed-mats, or twisting bark rope against their thighs. Children play games, dance, tease one another, quarrel and scream. Little girls, and occasionally boys, look after their not-much-smaller siblings. Cattle low from their byres where an idle herd-boy has forgotten to let them out to graze on the dambo.

Except in villages where the Western obsession for straight lines has had influence, huts are dotted at irregular intervals all over the site. Maize stores, which are built of woven split bamboo on wooden stilts and roofed in thatch, are usually found on the edges of the village site, though they may sometimes be placed more centrally. The smaller size of the mud-plastered containers for groundnuts and beans accentuates the sharpness of their conical thatched roofs. Hut designs vary with the energy and initiative of their owners. They vary, too, with their genealogical positions and the beer-making ability of their wives; for in this society labour resources are a function of kinship ties and the ability to participate in the exchange of gifts, entertainment and services. The better type of hut consists of two concentric rings of posts, the inner one closely spaced and plastered with mud, the outer one lower and widely spaced, serving as verandah supports, the whole area being sheltered by a conical or a hemispherical thatched roof. The door is usually made of woven maize stalks and is kept in place by two posts immediately behind the door frame; when the owner is out, it is held closed

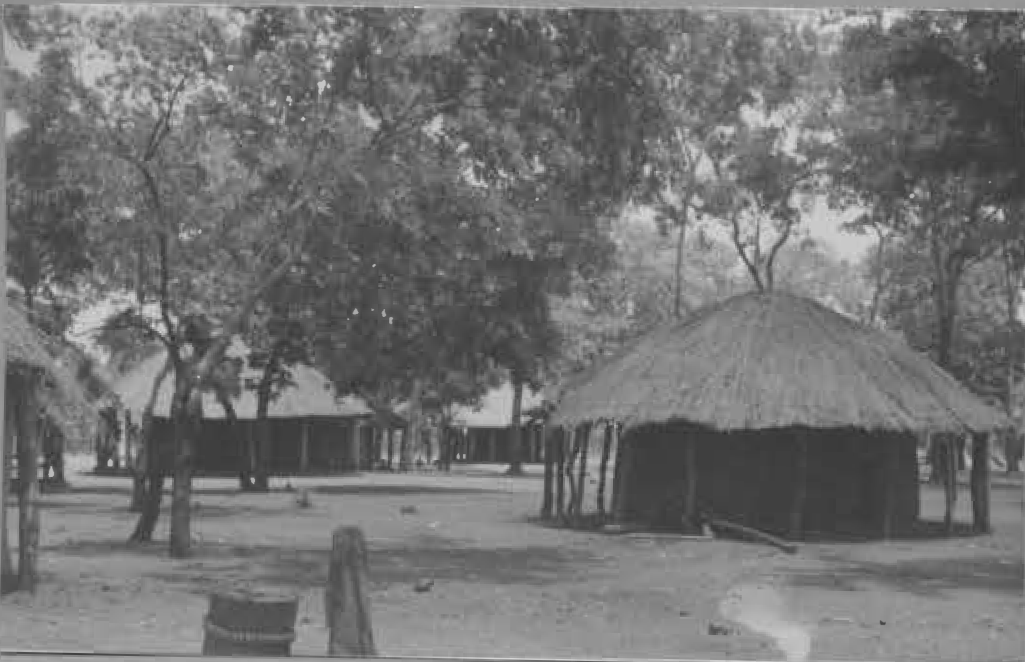


PLATE V - CEŴA VILLAGES

1. Looking north-west along the low ridge between the Kathawa and Kasambandola streams. Huts of villages are just visible.
2. The northern end of Jeremiah Village, which is situated in the right centre of the top photograph.
3. A village in the resettlement area.

by a loop of bark rope through which a pole is suspended across the outside of the doorway. The floor is raised about a foot above the ground, and it and the walls are finished in hard, black clay. Outer walls are often decorated in lighter-coloured clay. The designs include simple lines, birds and human beings, including pink, bespectacled Europeans. The smaller type of hut, such as that built by a group of young unmarried men, lacks the outer ring of posts and has eaves only long enough to protect the mud walls from storms and roof run-off. An old hut stands out because of the brownish-yellow smoke-stain on its roof and the untidy finish of its thatch, innumerable handfuls of which have been pulled out for lighting fires. A few huts are rectangular instead of circular in plan.

On the outskirts of the village are found the ash-heaps and places where rubbish is thrown. Sometimes holes that were dug in the middle of the village to provide plaster for hut walls are gradually filled with refuse. An occasional pit latrine may be found—more a monument to some enthusiastic district officer than an object of daily use; for to most villagers 'to go to the bush (kupita kuthengo)' is still both the literal and the polite equivalent of 'to defecate'. Cattle byres, made of high poles in order to keep out hyenas and leopards, are usually built at the edge of the village. The pole-protected enclosures for pigs, goats and fowls and the elevated crofts for pigeons are usually nearer the huts of their owners.

The generally favourable impression one gets of a Ceŵa village makes one overlook some of its health hazards. As Steytler has pointed out in reference to the Ceŵa of

JEREMIAH VILLAGE, 1952-53

South-eastern part: old hut site (left foreground); poles to divert motor traffic

Western margin: maize stores (left foreground); headman's house (left background); my camp (right, under trees)

Hut types

1. Solid family residence.
2. Old rectangular.
3. Boys' dormitory

Sudden shower: showing importance of drainage

1.

2.

3.

Cimbuna Village, 1952-53: maize-flour drying in the sun

PLATE VI - VILLAGE VIEWS

Central Nyasaland, huts are difficult to keep clean, badly ventilated and infested with rats and vermin; villages have no sanitary pits, and flies and mosquitoes are a constant threat to health; drinking water is never boiled and usually drawn from contaminated sources; and clothes are infrequently washed[33].

The limited knowledge of hygiene that these conditions reflect, when it occurs in an environment favourable to the vectors of serious diseases, can result only in poor standards of health. On the basis of a sample count of the African population of Northern Rhodesia carried out in 1950[34], the Central African Statistical Office estimated the crude death rate of the de jure Ceŵa and Ŋgoni population at 32.3 per 1,000 (cf. United Kingdom, 1950: 11.7 per 1,000); and the infant mortality rate of the de facto Ceŵa and Ŋgoni population at 266 per 1,000 live births (cf. United Kingdom, 1950: 31.4 per 1,000 live births[35]). Both local rates are near the respective averages for rural Northern Rhodesia as a whole. Statistics of admission to the Fort Jameson African Hospital (about seventy miles from Kaŵaza's capital but the only one in the district for which satisfactory statistics are available) reveal that malaria,

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[33] John George Steytler, Educational Adaptations with Reference to African Village Schools, London: Sheldon Press, 1939, pp. 123-24.

[34] Central African Statistical Office, Report on the 1950 Demographic Sample Survey of the African Population of Northern Rhodesia, Salisbury, 1952, Revised Table XI (supplied separately in typescript).

[35] The United Kingdom rates are taken from United Nations, Statistical Handbook, New York, 1951, pp. 49 and 55.

Pounding is a never ending task

Baby gets bath

Toddler gets breast

Children practise citelele at sundown

Making fish traps

Cattle byre in the rainy season

PLATE VII - VILLAGE LIFE

intestinal disorders, venereal diseases, bilharzia, hookworm and malnutrition are the chief causes of ill-health in the district[36].

Ceŵa diet[37] is undoubtedly a contributory cause of this ill-health. Judging by the prevalence of running noses, infected eyes and tropical ulcers, malnutrition is wide-spread. The staple food is a thick porridge (nsima) made from maize-flour (ufa) which is over-refined by pounding, soaking, pounding again, sifting and drying in the sun. Nsima is so stodgy that people would rather go hungry than eat it without a 'relish' (ndiwo). 'Relishes' are savoury dishes made from a great variety of substances, for instance, pumpkin leaves, pumpkin flowers, shrubs from the bush, flying-ants, beans, tomatoes, ground-nuts, edible fungi, caterpillars, and, most favoured though rather rare, meat. By modern nutritional standards most relishes are over-cooked. The commonest beverage is beer (moŵa) usually made from sprouted maize. From it in great secrecy a potent decoction called kacaso[38] is distilled.

The adverse health conditions described in this section constitute one of the factors conducive to the development of

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[36]Northern Rhodesia, Eastern Province, Annual Report of the Medical Department, 1951; do., 1952, on file at Fort Jameson.

[37]For an interesting, detailed account of the diet of the Nyasaland Ceŵa, see D.J. Steenkamp, 'Die Voedsel van die Acewa', Op die Horison, 7, 1945, 8-16, 59-69 and 107-115.

[38]From the Portuguese cachaca, 'rum; a spirit drawn from the sugar cane' (H. Michaelis, A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages, New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, [no date]).

Regular chores: water must be drawn, maize fetched - and pounded (hut mural)

Occasionally a hut and its verandah must be plastered with clay

Ceremonies bring work:

Cooking a funeral feast

Later: bringing out the mourning beer

PLATE VIII - WOMEN AT WORK

an elaborate system of beliefs in sorcery. The high incidence of disease and death provides raw material that is processed by standard explanations into a pervasive system of beliefs underlying the interpretation of everyday events.

Ceŵa Subsistence

In spite of its contribution to ill-health, the environment is, when considered in relation to Ceŵa technology, a bountiful one. The soil, when chosen wisely and not used too long, produces food crops. The bush provides :- building timber and firewood; bark for tying things together and for making rope and string; bamboo for making baskets; herbs and fungi used as 'relishes'; and the roots and leaves that people use in the treatment of illness and for the magical protection of themselves, their houses and their property. The dambos provide :- grass for thatching; reeds for making mats; clay for making pots; and, as we have seen, grazing for cattle. Traditionally the bush was the home of game, though hunters now have to roam far—often into Portuguese territory—to find any. Fishing is likewise a part of the 'know-how[39] of the ancestors', though most of the local streams are too small to give adequate returns. In the past the earth used to provide the iron ore from which Ceŵa hoes, axes, arrow-heads and knives were smelted and forged. Nowadays smelting is no longer practised, and smiths confine their activity very largely to forging axes and knives from broken lorry springs.

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[39] Nzelu, which has the implications of 'knowledge', 'plan' and 'technique'.

Twisting bark rope

Sewing together a reed mat

Setting field-mouse traps - usually children's work. To reach the bait the mouse has to put its head through a hidden noose and gnaw away the string holding the sapling spring which pulls the noose tight

Making a new roof for a maize store

Mixing gunpowder

PLATE IX - MEN AT WORK

As to negative aspects of the environment, Kaŵaza's people are not plagued by wild pigs and baboons which destroy crops elsewhere in the district. Nor do lions and leopards trouble them often; though hyenas take a considerable toll of their small stock. Droughts and other causes of crop failures are common enough for them to be taken up in the crude chronology of recent tribal 'history'.

By tradition the Ceŵa are shifting hoe-cultivators. It is only recently that they have owned cattle in large numbers[40]. Their methods of cultivation are by no means 'primitive'. Livingstone records Bishop Mackenzie's remark about those of the Maŋanja (to whom, as we have seen, the Ceŵa are closely related culturally):-

> When telling the people in England what were my objects in going out to Africa, I stated that among other things I meant to teach these people agriculture; but I now see that they know far more about it than I do[41].

The Ceŵa practise a form of mound cultivation which involves effective drainage, weed control and green manuring. Furthermore, scientific agriculturists commend their skilful soil selection, their practice of planting ground-nuts and other legumes simultaneously with maize, and their traditional methods of establishing an optimum plant population. At present many agricultural reforms are being carried out among the Ceŵa, but most of these relate to soil conservation; and the need for them springs from overpopulation rather than from any fundamental defect in the native system of cultivation.

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[40]See below, pp. 113ff. and Appendix D.

[41]David and Charles Livingstone, [Narrative of an Expedition to] the Zambesi and Its Tributaries, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1866, p. 524.

The staple crop is maize. Other cereals, such as rice, millet and sorghum, are grown, but are of minor significance. Next in importance to maize are ground-nuts; other subsidiary crops include beans of various kinds, sweet potatoes, cucumbers, pumpkins, ground-beans and sweet stem.

The Ceŵa have a very clear understanding of soil selection. The average villager knows, not only the potentialities of various soils and the respective forms of treatment they require, but also the types of trees that grow on them. Thus, while some Ceŵa have a detailed knowledge of the relationship between plant-life and soil-potentiality, the majority know at least that msuku, kasokoloŵe and mfendaluzi trees (Uapaca Kirkiana, U. Nitida and Brachystegia Stipulata) indicate a sandy soil which, though capable of producing a heavy crop, can seldom be cultivated for more than three seasons running; and that the presence of the shiny-leaved mtondo (Isoberlinia Paniculata) marks the transition from sand to loam, where a longer period of cultivation is possible; and that mkuti (Brachystegia Spiciformis), mmanga (Afromosia Angolensis) and mtsanya (probably an Acacia) are pointers to the more fertile loams (katondo) and black soils (ŋkhanda)[42]. In 1953 I was shown a garden on dark brown loam which the holder assured me had been continuously cultivated since 1930, drawing my attention to the fact that all the stumps (from the original clearing) had rotted away.

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[42] I am grateful to the Provincial Forestry Officer at Fort Jameson for lending me his Department's Check List for the purpose of identifying trees and shrubs.

If the Ceŵa want to cultivate virgin land, they first clear it of trees and undergrowth. They stack and burn the brushwood, but, unlike the Bemba[43], do not limit cultivation to the ash-beds. On them they grow special crops such as pumpkins, but they usually grow maize and other crops anywhere on the cleared ground. Gardens are slowly extended—or their sites gradually changed—by small lateral movements. The newly acquired parts of the gardens are usually broken in with a crop of ground-nuts on especially large mounds.

In Kaŵaza's overcrowded part of the Reserve the opening up of virgin land is the exception rather than the rule. Thus at the end of the hot season—when the ntyengo bird wakens people by singing 'Gwila mpini; kwaca! (Grasp a [hoe] handle; it's daybreak!)'—it is usually on previously cultivated land that one finds Ceŵa working. By the time of the first rains in November, gardens have usually been cleared of grass and weeds, which are burnt to provide small patches of ash here and there. In a recultivated garden, mounds remain from the previous season, and on the edges of these Ceŵa plant three or four maize seeds in a single hole—'one for the wild pig, one for the guinea fowl and one for ourselves'[44]. Some Ceŵa argue that the first rains should 'find the maize in the ground', since this will enable it to germinate before

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[43] Audrey I. Richards, Land, Labour and Diet [in Northern Rhodesia], London: Oxford University Press for International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1939, Chap. 15; and C.G.Trapnell, North-Eastern Rhodesia, p. 33.

[44] E.H. Lane Poole, Human Geography of the Fort Jameson District, unpublished MS., 1932, deposited at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, p. 28, quoted by kind permission of the author.

the field mice, smelling the wet grain, have time to dig it up. Others consider they are doing well if their gardens are planted by the time the rains really set in. In 1952 the Agricultural Supervisor of the area in which Kawaza's part of the Reserve falls estimated that about two acres of maize are planted per head of population and that the plant population for maize is about 7,000 to the acre[45].

Planting is by no means a major hurdle in the cultivator's race. More formidable is weeding. This starts in early December; and, if the weeds and grass are not beaten by the first or second week of January, the unweeded patches of garden will have to 'sleep'; for, by then, as the sickly yellow of the maize plants indicates, permanent damage has been done them, and their root systems are too extensively developed to permit of effective weeding.

Part of the burden of cultivation springs from a thoroughness that belies the notion that these Africans are improvident. Cleaning a garden would not be the difficult task it is if Ceŵa were less conscientious mound-cultivators. As they hoe the weeds, they bury them with soil from the existing mounds which thus change their positions slightly from one season to the next. This ensures good drainage of the maize, effective disposal of the weeds and a supply of plant food for the coming season.

January and February are months when, either satisfied with work done or philosophically resigned to the loss of part of the crop, Ceŵa are in a position to relax a

[45]Information placed at my disposal by the Agricultural Supervisor, Katete.

little. These, however, are the hunger months. Food from the previous season is running low in grain stores, and only pumpkin leaves, cucumbers and green-maize are available from the current one's crops. It is at this time of the year that livestock and other possessions may be bartered for grain.

If Ceŵa wish to extend their gardens, and virgin or long-unused land is available for clearing, this will occupy much of their time in February. Otherwise there is not much work to be done until May, when crops such as beans, pumpkins and ground-nuts are ready to be harvested, and the time for bringing in the maize is near enough to call for repairs to grain stores. During this time, however, people have to keep a constant watch on their gardens lest their neighbours' cattle eat up their crops. The irresponsibility of herd boys and the inadequacy of the crop-damage compensation awarded by the courts become common topics of conversation.

Human marauders are kept away from the crops by the fear of property-protecting medicines. Although these are of different kinds, Ceŵa believe them to be of uniform function and place them in a single category (_cambo_). _Cambo_ magic is believed to bring a wasting disease and ultimately death to anyone taking property of any kind (not only crops) that has been treated with it. It has the advantage, in Ceŵa eyes, of being able to discriminate between the thief, on the one hand, and the owner and his family, on the other, and of being able to operate even if applied after the theft has occurred—according to the principle that '_cambo_ follows up (_cambo cilondola_)'.

TABLE III—CATTLE OWNERSHIP AMONG THE CEŴA AND ŊGONI OF FORT JAMESON DISTRICT, 1914-15 AND 1951

Tribe	1914-15			1951		
	Population (de jure)	Cattle Number	Cattle Per 1,000 Popln.	Population (de jure)	Cattle Number	Cattle Per 1,000 Popln.
Ceŵa	48,101	987	21	84,524	33,607	398
Ŋgoni	40,321	6,891	171	66,589	25,623	385

Sources: Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa District, Annual Reports, Fort Jameson Division, 1914-15 and 1915-16; Northern Rhodesia, Eastern Province, Annual Report on Native Affairs, 1951 (all three on file at Fort Jameson); and information supplied by the Provincial Veterinary Officer, Fort Jameson (in a letter dated 4 April 1955).

After harvesting, which usually continues into July, huts are repaired and other odd jobs about the village are done. In the slack time that is characteristic of the cool season and the early part of the hot season, people go on journeys; and, if considerations of hygiene, convenience to gardens, or social tension should indicate it to be necessary, they may move their villages to new sites.

There is not much seasonal variation in the tending of livestock, though the wet season usually focuses attention on the need for new, well-drained cattle byres and, as we have seen, on the danger of crop damage. At the end of the dry season the need for new waterholes becomes apparent.

In the last thirty years considerable progress has been made in confining the tse-tse fly to hot lowlands such as the Luaŋgwa valley. Kaŵaza's country has now been free of it for many years, and cattle thrive on the rich pastures of the dambos. Many an owner of a large herd has told me that ten, twenty or thirty years ago he acquired his first beast from an Ŋgoni or a European with money earned on a labour journey to the south or, if an older man, when he was a porter in the East African campaign of the first World War.

Official records confirm these statements. Table III gives statistics for the two cattle-owning tribes of Fort Jameson district[46]. (Since details for each chiefdom are not available for the earlier years, the comparison has to be a tribal one.) These show an increase in Ceŵa cattle-ownership from twenty-one per 1,000 population in 1914-15 to 398

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[46] A fuller account of the increase in the number of cattle in Fort Jameson district will be found in Appendix D.

per 1,000 in 1951. During the same period the increase in Ngoni cattle-ownership was less marked, from 171 to 385 per 1,000 population. The special advantages of Kaŵaza's country are reflected in a cattle-ownership rate (543 per 1,000) nearly twice that of the Ceŵa as a whole and more than twice that of the Ngoni (see Table IV). Most of the cattle are of the humped variety (Zebu), though some show signs of admixture with European strains.

The novelty of cattle among the Ceŵa is reflected in an absence of traditional usages for herding them, for distributing their meat and milk, and, especially important, for owning and inheriting them. Like other Ceŵa possessions, they are inherited matrilineally, but whether they belong to the individuals whose earnings bought them or to their matrilineages is an ever-present, tension-producing problem. As we shall see later, many accusations of sorcery originate in quarrels over cattle—quarrels that would probably not occur in a society with more definite usages regarding their disposal.

Ceŵa regard cattle mainly as a 'bank (benki)', a means of investing money earned at work or accruing from the sale of surplus maize or ground-nuts. Cattle play no specific part in ritual observances or in marriage transactions. Admittedly they are useful means of providing mourners with funeral fare, but goats, fowls or pigs are equally appropriate. Little use is made of milk. Only herd boys drink it with any regularity or cook their porridge in it. The fact that Ceŵa regard cattle as reproducing rather than productive capital is shown by the poor support of the Native Authority ghee factory near Kagolo.

Small stock rather than cattle are used as ceremonial gifts and means of atonement. Bruwer has written entertainingly of the part that the fowl plays in Ceŵa ceremonial[47]. Goats are used for important presents and payments, as when a man takes his wife away from her home village to live at a place of his own choosing. In a juridical system geared to the righting of wrongs rather than the punishment of offenders[48], the judgment of the presiding headman, chief or court assessor is very often 'Catch a fowl! (Gwila ŋkhuku!)' or 'Tie up a goat! (Manga nbuzi!)', which may generally be taken to mean 'Pay the person you have wronged a shilling' or '.....five shillings', though neither amount is now equal to the market value of a fowl or a goat. Kaŵaza's people, again, as Table IV (facing p. 114) shows, have higher rates of ownership of small stock than have other African populations in Fort Jameson district.

In general, the Ceŵa have a remarkably full knowledge of their bountiful environment and a technology that is adequate for tapping its resources. Though occasional droughts threaten their subsistence, their main source of insecurity lies in the fact that, in common with other non-Western peoples living in the tropics, they do not have the technological resources for countering the diseases that are rife in their country.

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[47] J. Bruwer, 'By Ons Is 'n Haantjie', Die Huisgenoot, 14 May 1943, 39-41, and 'Huwelikagewoontes onder die Acewa', Die Basuin, 10, 1939, No. 1, p. 13; No. 2, pp. 12-14; No. 3, pp. 9-11; and No. 4, p. 10.

[48] The Ceŵa have much in common with the Lovedu in this respect. Cf. E. Jensen Krige and J.D. Krige, [The Realm of a] Rain Queen, London: Oxford University Press for International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1943, Chap. 11.

Labour : at Home and Abroad

In our description of the annual cycle of activity, we have not referred to the way in which work is divided among sex and age categories. This subject, to which we now turn, leads naturally to the modern phenomenon of migration from the Reserve to work for wages; for this, affecting men almost exclusively, is an aspect of the division of labour between the sexes.

The social basis of day-to-day living is a group consisting typically of a woman, her husband, her daughters, both single and married, her unmarried sons, and the husbands and children of her married daughters[49]. For convenience I shall refer to this group as a 'household', though this is not the equivalent of any Ceŵa term. The matrilineage-segment forming the core of the household is referred to as the 'breast' (bele) of its senior ancestress; and the whole group, i.e., including her daughters' husbands, as her 'family' (banja), a term which, however, shares the ambiguity of its English translation, ranging from a group as small as an elementary family to one as large as a village-section. In the course of time, owing to the segmentation of its matrilineal core (the 'breast'), the household splits into derivative households of the same structural form, the focus of each of which is one of the married daughters of the parent household.

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[49] This definition is based on Richards's one of the corresponding group among the Bemba. It has, however, been modified to accommodate what appears to be a slightly greater matrilineal emphasis among the Ceŵa. Cf. Richards, Land, Labour and Diet, p. 124, and her Bemba Marriage and Present Economic Conditions, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 4, Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1940, p. 30.

It is the household that jointly cultivates a garden and lives on its produce which is stored in a common set of receptacles (ŋkhokwe, sing., the same) in the village. The functional unity of the household has some influence on the grouping of huts in the village; but, as there are no compound-walls or similar divisions, it is often difficult to distinguish a household's huts on physical cues alone.

Within the household, there is division of labour by both sex and age. As in other human societies, daily chores devolve mainly upon the women. We should not forget that the Ceŵa have no grinding mills, circular saws, piped water or delivery vans; and that the tasks of preparing food, fetching wood and drawing water are burdensome and time-consuming. In garden work there is but little division of labour between the sexes. The only task not done by both sexes is tree-cutting, which is men's work. In the village, men are responsible for building huts, grain stores and livestock pens; but some of the operations involved, such as plastering hut walls and floors, are performed by women.

Children are inducted into economic life at an early age. Some tasks have an instant appeal to them; for instance, little girls may be found in most villages pounding maize—sometimes with their own miniature pestles and mortars—to the accompaniment of their breathless singing. Other tasks children find less attractive; for instance, herd boys seldom perform their duties properly without being constantly reprimanded; and, in the hoeing season, both boys and girls are sometimes starved into going to work in the gardens by being given their main meal there, and little or no food in the village. The garden work that is regarded

Men

Women

Clearing a new garden

Hoeing an established garden

At the beer party following the work shown on the left above

Waiting for the beer after repairing a cattle byre. Man in fez used to be a chief's messenger (kapaso)

PLATE XI - CO-OPERATIVE LABOUR

as the children's special duty is catching field-mice. This they do willingly because they enjoy roasting and eating them.

Some tasks may be beyond the labour resources of the household, e.g. hoeing a garden before weeds choke the maize, or building a new hut or a new cattle byre. There are two ways in which the household may augment its labour supply. Firstly, it may persuade kinsmen to help. For instance, it is the duty of a man to help his sisters if they are in need. In 1949 I came across A Develiase[50], the younger brother of Headman Jeremiah, building a hut for his widowed sister, A Mlelamanja. A man may call upon the young sons of his sister or of his sister's daughter to herd his cattle. He is more likely to succeed in inducing them to do this work than he is his own sons because, since inheritance is matrilineal, the former are potential heirs to the cattle and may therefore show more interest in them.

Secondly, the household may organize a working party. Whether it will attract labour depends on whether its members have enough maize and its women-folk the requisite skill for making good beer; for beer is the traditional entertainment given to helpers. This is reflected in the terms used to designate various types of working party, such as 'beer of hoeing (_moŵa wolima_)' or 'beer of hut-building (_moŵa womangila nyumba_)'. Working parties attract,

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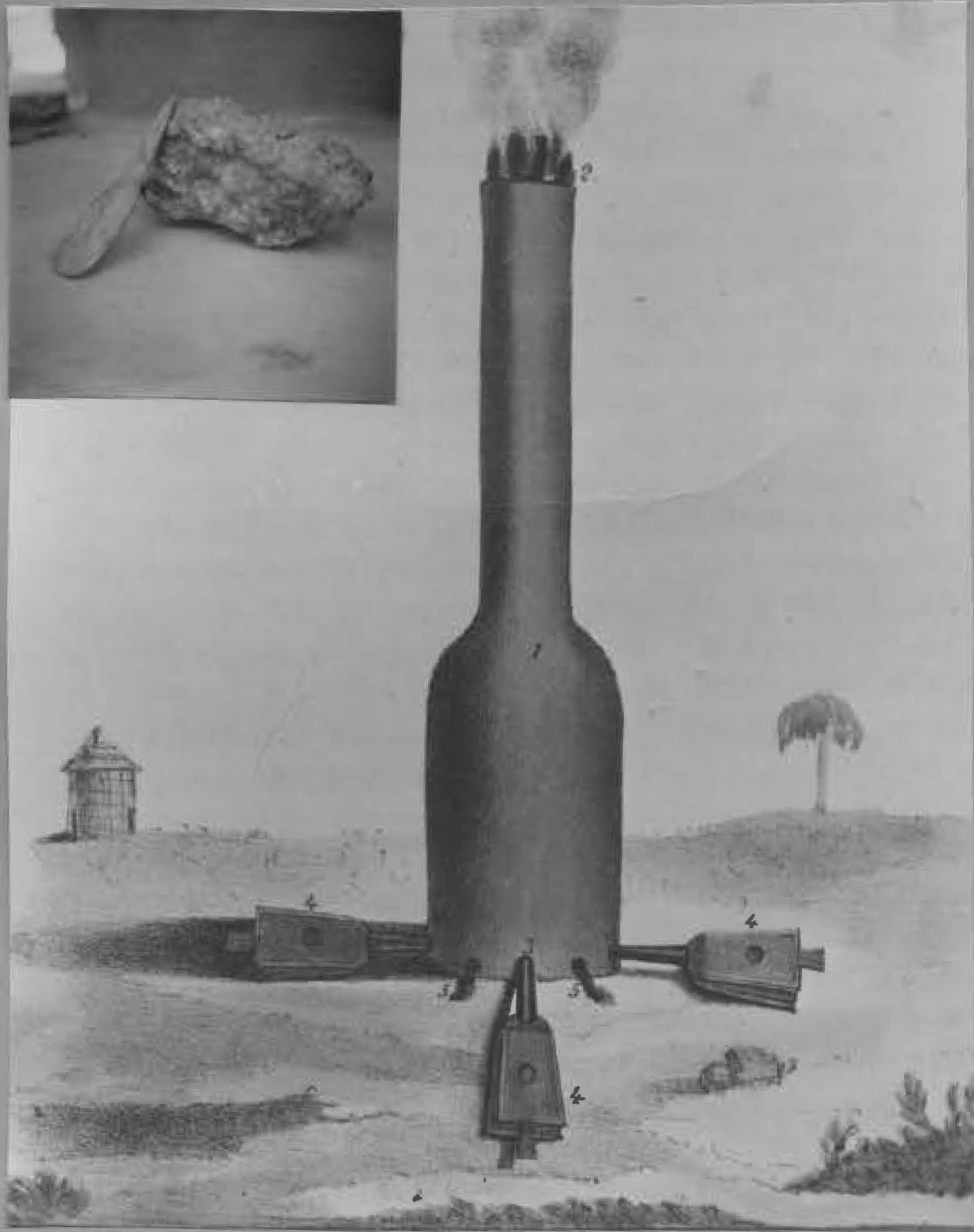
[50] I am following Atkins's suggestion that the honorific plural prefix of names should be shown by a separated capital _A_ (cf. Guy Atkins, '[Suggestions for an] Amended Spelling and Word Division of Nyanja', _Africa_, 20, 1950, 200-218, at p. 216n). This _A_ may be translated as 'Mr', 'Mrs', 'Miss' or 'Master', though it need not necessarily be appended to a clan-name (surname) rather than a personal name.



Smelting furnace (after Gamitto) as described in 1831. European-type bellows probably shown in error. Informants say furnaces were sited on hills to provide draught. Inset: axe-blade and iron ore from Ceŵa country

Working goat-skin bellows

Drilling side-plate of muzzle-loader with adapted fire-drill

PLATE XII - WORKING IN IRON

not only kinsmen, but also unrelated neighbours from other sections in the same village and from other villages in the neighbourhood.

In the sense that every Ceŵa works in a garden to produce his own food, and generally builds his own house, there is no specialization of labour from man to man or from family to family. There are, however, certain crafts practised by individuals in the time when they are not occupied with subsistence activities; and in some cases these may be lucrative enough to enable them to employ others (for beer, salt, soap or money) to carry out some of their garden work. But the difficulty one experiences in getting a 'specialist' of this kind to work for one in the hoeing season shows that he is still fundamentally involved in subsistence farming.

Some Ceŵa crafts have developed as a result of the advent of Europeans; and even those that are indigenous now show many European influences. Iron-smelting was practised by the Ceŵa before the Europeans came[51], and smiths used to forge native iron into hoes, axe-blades, adze-blades, arrowheads etc. Nowadays they use European scrap-iron, especially spring-steel which is plentiful in a country of rough roads and bush tracks. Some of the smith's products have been displaced by European-made articles (including native-style tanged hoes and flat axe blades). On the other hand, the advent of bicycles, guns and sewing machines has encouraged the smith to extend his craft to embrace the repair and production of intricate mechanisms, for which he forges

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[51]Gamitto, O Muata Cazembe, pp. 38-39 and Est. II, gives a description and coloured sketch of a Maravi smelter which he saw or (more likely) had described to him in 1831. His sketch is reproduced in Plate XII.

Woman finishing pot
preparatory to
firing it

Carpenter, skilled in
the use of European
tools, finds Ceŵa
adze more effective
than jack-plane

Ceŵa tailor at work on
verandah of Indian-
owned trading store

Ceŵa postal clerk
operating radio
telegraph in
Katete Post Office

PLATE XIII - OTHER SPECIALIST CRAFTS

small parts with great skill. He has become adept in the use of European tools such as hammers, hacksaws and files. A Mfukulu Banda, who lives in Chief Mlolo's country, is a traditional smith whose modern speciality is making muzzle-loaders. The only part he is unable to make himself is the barrel, for which he uses water-piping or, if he can get it, boiler-tubing. Every other part, including levers, small screws (threaded with a file), springs and clamps, he forges from scrap iron.

Other indigenous crafts, such as pottery and basket-making, have not changed greatly in technique, though improved communications and the interest of local Europeans have increased the market for them. The ritual 'specialist', the diviner (ŋaŋga or waula, '[he] of the divining apparatus'), has widened his techniques through contact with other tribes at labour centres; and his clientele has probably increased with the almost successful suppression of the poison ordeal (formerly used for detecting sorcerers) and the increase in social tensions characteristic of modern life.

Most of the indigenous crafts are inherited; but the line of their descent is irregular. A craftsman may teach his skill and magical trade-secrets to his son, younger brother, uterine nephew or some other relative, the choice depending mainly upon the aptitude and enthusiasm of the pupil. In the vernacular, 'skill' (nzelu, also implying 'wisdom', 'knowledge' or 'plan') is virtually a material noun; and attitudes towards it are essentially proprietary. In 1946, by curing his septic big toe, I demonstrated to Headman Mceleka the healing powers of unmedicated hot water.

ORIGINS

Indirect Rule (Court Assessor) | Education (Clerk) | Artisan Skill (Carpenter)

HOUSES

Village Headman's brick house | Ex-labour migrant's mansion

BEVERAGES

Taking tea (hut mural) | Distilling kacaso from beer

PLATE XIV - THE MIDDLE CLASS

I therefore suggested that he might tell other people about this simple remedy. 'Oh, no!', he replied, 'It's my life (Ndimoyo wanga)', implying that, since I had given him this new technique, it was now his personal property.

Of the specialists whose emergence is the result of the advent of the Europeans, those found in the Reserve include brick-makers, brick-layers, sawyers, carpenters, Native Authority clerks and messengers and teacher-evangelists. On European farms, on Government stations and camps, at Indian trading posts, on mission stations and in the more remote labour centres, this list may be extended to include clerks, messengers, policemen, shop-assistants, tailors, lorry-drivers and veterinary and agricultural assistants. Even in introduced specialist occupations, the old and the new are effectively combined. For instance, A Jim Phili, the deputy headman of Bezaliele village, is a carpenter who uses a Ceŵa adze and axe as skilfully as he does a European saw, plane and chisel.

From this new specialization and from the general differentiation resulting from the introduction of a money economy, a Ceŵa middle class is emerging. It consists of the specialists mentioned in the last paragraph together with younger headmen, village shopkeepers and farmers producing surplus crops. Middle-class Ceŵa may be recognized by their European-style dress and their more substantial houses furnished with chairs, tables and beds and decorated inside with magazine pictures and calendars. They are usually literate and subscribe to vernacular newspapers. They have some European items in their diet, especially tea. They have a dawning political consciousness and a consequent sense of

Tobacco barns
on farm on
edge of Reserve

African labour recruiter
displays cloth which
may be bought with
wages

Priming young
tobacco plants on
an Mpaŋgwe farm

Contour ridge: symbol
of unpopular agricultural
reform in the Reserve

PLATE XV - MODERN INFLUENCES

frustration and insecurity. This sometimes manifests itself in their falling easy prey to wild rumours, which, owing to their strategic position in African lines of communication, they spread with great facility. The 'sugar rumour' of 1952-53 (see below, p. 140) is an example. Their feelings of strain and discontent probably contribute—along with universal middle-class 'conspicuous consumption'—to the greater addiction to kacaso-drinking and dagga-smoking[52] of which their unsophisticated compatriots accuse them and which they readily admit.

No account of labour among the Ceŵa would be complete without a reference to their migration from their villages to work for wages. As one drives towards the Ceŵa Reserve along the Great East Road, the sight of human cargo perched precariously on lorries loaded with goods, or packed tightly into an occasional passenger bus, reminds one of the two-way stream of migration between the Eastern Province and the distant labour centres—on the Northern Rhodesian line of rail, on the Copperbelt, in Southern Rhodesia and in the Union of South Africa. Not all migrants follow this modern route in and out of the Province. Many still walk or cycle across the Zambezi valley direct to and from Southern Rhodesia. Most of the migrants are men, though an increasing proportion of women among them shows that the rural conservatism that nick-named the Great East Road the 'conveyor

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[52]Pronounced daxa (I.A.I. script), this term—probably of Hottentot origin—is current in Southern Africa for Cannabis Sativa, a kind of narcotic hemp. (I am grateful to Professor D.T. Cole for this information.) To the Ceŵa it is known as camba.

Civilization!

Indian Traders:
inscription reads
'Mataya Mota,
[the] Indian'

PLATE XVI - MODERN INFLUENCES
DEPICTED IN HUT MURALS

of prostitutes (mtengamahule)'[53] is breaking down. Its strength is still shown, however, by the fact that, to comply with a Native Authority order, women passengers unaccompanied by their husbands have to produce marriage certificates before passing westward out of the Province.

Labour migration dates from the first contacts with whites, who have always regarded African labour as one of the important resources of the country[54]. Increasing gradually during the first decade of this century, labour migration reached its first peak in 1917, when the combined demands of the local tobacco industry, Southern Rhodesian mining and agriculture and East African military transport induced about two-thirds of the taxable men of what is now the Fort Jameson district to leave their homes and work for wages.

Except for a decline during the depression of the early 1930's, the absolute number of labour migrants has steadily increased. Population growth has, however, kept pace with it, with the result that the proportion of Fort Jameson district's taxable males at work for wages was much the same in 1951 as it had been in 1917 (see Table V and Appendix E).

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[53] Hule (plur. mahule), 'prostitute', is the only word I have encountered in Cewa having an h as an independent consonant (rather than a sign of aspiration). The fact that this h is voiced makes it virtually certain that the word is derived from the Afrikaans hoer, in which the h is also voiced. It need not necessarily be concluded from this that prostitution was introduced by the missionaries!

[54] For a resumé of the development of labour migration in what is now the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia, see Appendix E, Part 1.

TABLE V—ADMINISTRATION'S ESTIMATES FOR CERTAIN FORT JAMESON AFRICAN POPULATIONS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF TAXABLE MALES AT WORK FOR WAGES, AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE OF WORK, 1951

Population	Percentage of Taxable Males at Work for Wages	Percentage Distribution by Place of Work				
		Northern Rhodesia		Southern Rhodesia	Elsewhere	Total
		Eastern Province	Elsewhere			
Fort Jameson Ŋgoni, Ceŵa and Kunda*	62.5	39.1	29.4	25.1	6.4	100
Ŋgoni	65.2	42.2	29.9	24.4	3.4	100
Kunda	69.3	30.0	43.9	22.3	3.7	100
Ceŵa:						
Total for district	58.5	38.4	25.1	26.5	10.0	100
S. Ceŵa Reserve	55.4	37.4	19.8	28.9	13.9	100
Kaŵaza's in Reserve	54.6	37.4	24.5	29.8	8.3	100
Kaŵaza's in new settlement area	46.8	41.5	30.0	22.8	5.7	100

*The Kunda live in the Luaŋgwa valley north-west of Fort Jameson.

Source: Northern Rhodesia, Eastern Province, Annual Report on Native Affairs, 1951, on file at Fort Jameson.

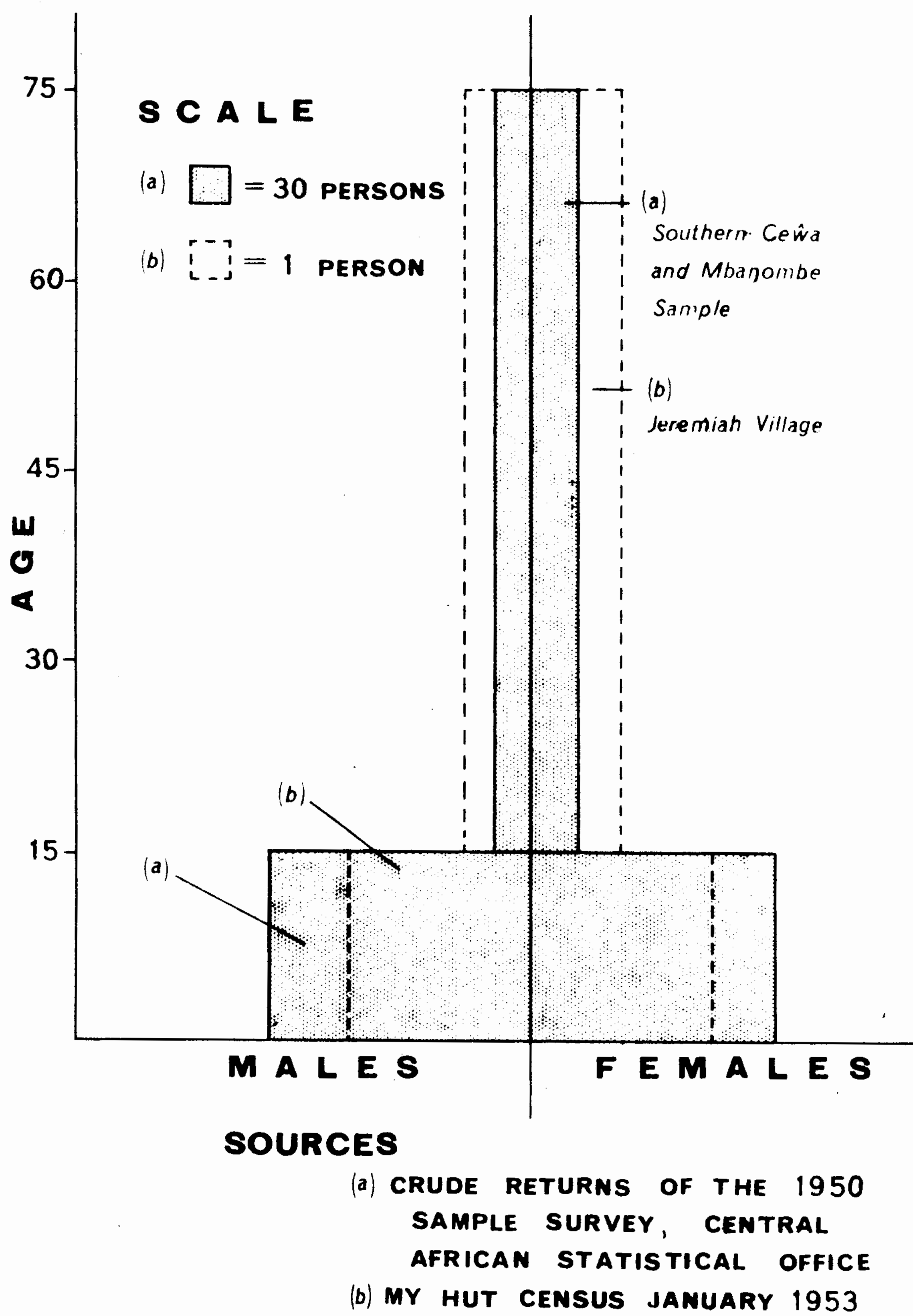

Fig. 3—Simple Age-Sex Structure of (a) a Population Sample Drawn from Southern Ceŵa and Mbaŋombe Chiefdoms, 1950, Superimposed on That of (b) the Population of Jeremiah Village, 1953

Table V shows that, of every twenty taxpayers (i.e., able-bodied men over the age of eighteen) leaving Kaŵaza's country to enter paid employment, about eight work within the Eastern Province and the remaining twelve go to the distant labour centres; of these, five go to other parts of Northern Rhodesia, e.g. Lusaka and the Copperbelt; about five, to Southern Rhodesia; and about two, elsewhere, usually the Union of South Africa.

The Administration's estimates of the proportion of taxable males at work for wages usually falls between a half and two-thirds. My estimates based on limited genealogical information do not differ reliably from this range. Boys under taxable age and women, neither of whom are included in Table V, are involved to a considerable extent in short-term work on tobacco farms adjoining the Reserve.

ig. 3

Elsewhere[55] I have suggested that Ceŵa society, on account of its extreme consanguineal organization, is well adapted to a high labour migration rate. The consanguine matrilineage, consisting typically of a man, his sisters and his sisters' uterine descendants, is the basic social group among the Ceŵa; and it is a group which remains functional under a disturbed sex ratio. This contention appears to be in conflict with Read's assertion that 'Ngoni patrilineal society stands the strain of the absence of many men from the villages much better than the Chewa matrilineal society'[56]. In fact it is not; for, as Turner points out[57],

[55] M.G. Marwick, 'The Kinship Basis of Cewa Social Structure', South African Journal of Science, 48, 1952, 258-62, at pp. 261-62.

[56] Margaret Read, 'Migrant Labour [in Africa and Its Effect on Tribal Life]', International Labour Review, 45, 1942, 605-631, at p. 624.

[57] Dr V.W. Turner (private communication).

the contrast we are concerned with is not patrilineal v. matrilineal but consanguineal v. conjugal. Within the consanguineal category, Read may have established a difference between the North Nyasaland Ngoni and the Kasungu Ceŵa in their resilience to the effects of labour migration, though some of her evidence is questionable. Her conclusion, which we have quoted, is based on her discovery that, among the six groups included in her survey, the Kasungu Ceŵa had the highest rate of divorce and adultery cases; and the Northern Ngoni, the lowest[58]. Clearly this involves the assumption that divorce and adultery rates are to be taken as indices of social disorganization. While this is true of adultery in both societies, it is questionable whether it is true of divorce among the Ceŵa. I shall try to demonstrate in a subsequent chapter that the high divorce rate among the Ceŵa is deeply rooted in tradition and may well be an inescapable condition of their highly effective, consanguineal social organization; and it is a phenomenon which has been increased rather than created by modern social changes (see Chapter 5, pp. 213ff.).

To say that Ceŵa consanguineal social organization is better adapted to a high rate of labour migration is not to argue that labour migration is not socially disruptive. The abnormally low masculinity of the adult Reserve population (see Fig. 3), which is mainly the result of labour migration, is conducive to social problems such as adultery, prostitution and the excessive dependence of married women on their matrilineal male relatives as a result of their husbands' being away at work. It may have led, too, to an

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[58]Read, 'Migrant Labour', pp. 624-25.

increase in polygyny, which, though rooted in tradition, is in serious conflict with Christian norms which, as we shall see later, are respected by a wider circle than those who have been formally converted (see Chapter 6, pp. 280ff.).

These ill-effects of labour migration are in some measure balanced by its enriching Reserve life both economically and culturally. It is the main source of the money needed for paying tax, for buying new essentials such as cloth, salt and soap and for making traditional payments that now have cash equivalents, e.g. a man's payment (citengwa) for the right to take his wife from uxorilocal to virilocal residence, formerly a goat, now five shillings. Among the invisible assets accruing to labour migration are its cultural effects. Undertaking a journey to a distant labour centre is a test of manhood which fills in one of the gaps left by the decay of tribal initiation. The experience the migrant gains does much to adjust him to the money-conscious, faster-moving, individualistic modern world. The stories told by migrants on their return give some idea of the trials, the excitements and the rewards of a 'journey to work' (see, for instance, Appendix, E, Parts?2, 3 and 4).

It is precisely because labour migration accelerates the adaptation of the African to the culture of the modern world that it becomes relevant to our main purpose; for, by being the chief cause of economic differentiation and by throwing together African values such as reciprocal co-operation and European ones such as competitive individualism, it imposes strains that sometimes find expression in beliefs in, and accusations of, sorcery.

Ceŵa Attitudes and Their Determinants

Our glimpses of tribal origin, environment, subsistence and labour may have left us with too serene a picture of Ceŵa life. The past has had its storms as well as its calms, and the peace of the present is not without its tensions. Let us try to sharpen the relief of the picture by shading in some of the details. Our most convenient procedure is to examine Ceŵa attitudes; for in these are precipitated both the main themes of the past and the outstanding conflicts of the present. Among these, the attitude towards the European occupies a cardinal position.

'If it were possible', I asked in a public-opinion survey among the Ceŵa in 1947, 'would you chase the Europeans from this country or allow them to remain in it?' Informants were asked this question three times, once for each of the three local types of Europeans, the administrator, the farmer and the missionary. Of the combined responses of the 268 persons interviewed, twenty-six per cent were in the 'hostile', affirmative category; and seventy-two per cent, in the 'favourable', negative category. (Two per cent failed to respond.) Many of those who were in favour of allowing the Europeans to remain in the country added spontaneously the reasons for their choice. Of administrators they said, 'They keep peace amongst us'; and 'There was nothing but mutual killing (kuphana) before they came'; of farmers, 'They give us work and we get clothes [with the wages]'; and 'Where would we work?' And of missionaries, 'They help people to know things'; and 'They made us see'.

Responses such as these indicate that the Ceŵa attitude towards the European cannot without distortion and oversimpli-

fication be scored on a simple 'favourable-hostile' scale. Though hostility may be present, it is often tempered by a sense of dependence and by some appreciation of the advantages accruing from the introduction of the European way of life with its cultural equipment. In short the attitude is complex and ambivalent[59].

The attitude becomes more comprehensible if we isolate some of its historical determinants—if, that is, we review the events that made the Ceŵa regard the coming of the European as a mixed blessing. The European has sometimes been the hero, sometimes the villain, in the drama of the last hundred years during which Ceŵa prestige and self-respect have been assailed and, on balance, diminished.

The prestige of the Ceŵa devolved from their relationship to the land; and their self-respect, from their ability to live the good life as defined by tribal morality. Both these foundations of their security have been shaken, and informants' statements reflect feelings of inadequacy, helplessness and hostility.

Although the Ngoni conquest of a century ago and more has blotted out many links with the past, the Ceŵa recall with nostalgic pride the days when they were the owners and dividers of the country and when their way of life, especially in its moral aspects, was uncontaminated by the evils of the present. The first aspect of this golden age, the relationship to the land, Ceŵa preserve by affectionately

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[59] I am grateful to Professor Max Gluckman for drawing my attention some years ago to the complexity of African attitudes towards the European.

referring to the country they inhabit as 'this country of ours (dziko lathu lino)' and by bestowing on Paramount Chief Undi the praise-name of Gawa (loosely, 'the Divider'), since he is the descendant of Kaloŋga and the first Undi who parcelled out the country among a vast array of petty chiefs, and whose lieutenants, such as Cimwala and Mkanda, cleared it of its only inhabitants, the Kafula (see above, pp. 89-90). The second aspect, traditional morality, they memorialize by depicting the 'good old days' when harsh punishments kept sorcery, theft, adultery and disobedience at a minimum.

Their golden age, no doubt as overdrawn as any other, serves as a reference point for their present degradation. And it is when they are assessing their decline and accounting for it that their attitudes are forcibly expressed. For the loss of their land they apportion the blame about equally between the Ŋgoni and the Europeans. This is not unreasonable as we shall see when we outline what happened. But, for the decline in their morality, they hold the Europeans mainly responsible. Was it not the Europeans, they ask, who forbade the poison ordeal, their only effective means of detecting sorcerers? Was it not they, too, who prevented them from executing sorcerers and adulterers, or selling them into slavery, and from cutting off the hands of thieves and the ears of the disobedient? And have not the Europeans frowned on their 'great drum' society, the nyau, which prepared youths for decent, effective manhood?

When they ask some of these questions, the Ceŵa betray what appears to be a contradiction in values; for the brutality of the punishments they hark back to is in sharp contrast to their veneration of the 'meek in heart (ofatsa mtima)',

those who never lose their tempers nor let their 'hearts burn [with anger] (-pya mtima)'.

This apparent inconsistency has its parallel in tribal history. Tradition asserts that the Ceŵa have always been peace-loving and unaggressive. There is almost a touch of pride in their admission that 'when it comes to war, we are as if women'; and this characteristic is confirmed by the impressions made by the Nyanja-speaking peoples on the Europeans who came into contact with them at the end of the nineteenth century[60]. Yet the Portuguese writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries regarded their ancestors, the Maravi, as formidably warlike (see Appendix B), an impression that is consonant with another tradition, viz., that they were inveterate wanderers.

There are various possible explanations for this contradiction. Firstly, it may spring from the fact that the impressions gained by the two groups of Europeans were relative to their own military strength. The militarily weak eighteenth-century Portuguese expeditions had greater reason to fear the Maravi than the late nineteenth-century British had to fear their descendants, whom, in any case, they inevitably contrasted with the powerful Ŋgoni.

Secondly, it is possible that there always has been a contradiction in Ceŵa values between those of war and

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[60]See, for instance, Sir Harry H. Johnston, British Central Africa, London: Methuen and Co., 1897, p. 62; L.T. Moggridge, 'The Nyasaland Tribes : Their Customs and Their Ordeal Poison', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 32, 1902, 467-72, at p. 467; and Hugo Genthe, 'A Trip to Mpeseni's', British Central Africa Gazette, 4, 13, 1 August 1897.

peace. Perhaps the toning down of aggression in everyday life, which is a conspicuous Ceŵa characteristic, can be achieved only by releasing it on certain occasions. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that an orgy of violence traditionally accompanied the production of the nyau mimes (see Chapter 6, pp. 274ff.).

Finally, perhaps the eighteenth-century Maravi were actually more aggressive than their descendants. Even before the Ŋgoni invasion, Gamitto contrasted the Ceŵa with their neighbours, the Maravi, suggesting that the former had greater moderation, sobriety and industry[61]. This difference, if it actually existed, must have been accentuated, by the time the British arrived, by more than a generation of Ŋgoni raiding if not actual bondage. Ceŵa may have found that their very existence depended on their being meek and compliant.

Whatever the explanation happens to be, the following description by a European hunter and trader of the effects of an Ŋgoni raid on a Ceŵa village in 1897 recaptures some of the hopelessness and despondency of a conquered people :-

> On my arrival I found the male population all under arms, and the women crying. A raiding party of Mpezeni's [Ŋgoni] people had attacked them suddenly that morning. Ten women were killed in the gardens and twenty-two were taken away as prisoners. An old man and one of the headman's children had been severely wounded. Their entrails hung out of frightfully torn wounds, inflicted most likely by barbed spears. It was a pitiful sight—the groans of the wounded, the women crying over their dead, whose bodies were brought from the gardens, the men standing about helpless and depressed. As the raiding party could not have been far

[61] O Muata Cazembe, p. 148.

> off, I proposed to the men to follow them up at once, and try to release the prisoners, but they were disheartened by the misfortune that so suddenly had overtaken them[62].

This account was written about sixty years after the Ŋgoni first went through Ceŵa country. Led by Zwangendaba, this offshoot of the Natal Nguni (or, loosely, the Zulu) crossed the Zambezi in November 1835[63]. After sojourning a few years among the Nseŋga, to the west of the Ceŵa, the Ŋgoni passed through Ceŵa country about 1840 on the start of their invasion of East Central Africa, the effects of which are well summarized by Lane Poole as follows :-

> Geographically, this migration extended as far north as the Victoria Nyanza; ethnologically it introduced into that part of Central Africa which they finally occupied a tribe of patrilineal descent and pastoral customs among peoples matrilineal and agricultural by occupation; historically it led to the extermination or reduction to servitude of a population computed to be a million in number[64].

Many Ceŵa were among those exterminated or reduced to serfdom. Some succeeded in defending themselves by climbing natural fortresses such as Nchiŋgalizya hill, in Kathumba's country near the present Northern Rhodesia-Moçam-

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[62]Genthe, 'A Trip to Mpezeni's' (1897).

[63]On the basis of Ŋgoni traditions, notably that they waded across and that there was an eclipse of the sun on the day of the crossing, Lane Poole established that this occurred in November 1835, giving the date as 19th. Barnes corrected it to 20th. Cf. E.H. Lane Poole, 'The Date of the Crossing of the Zambezi by the Ngoni', Journal of the African Society, 29, 1929-30, 290-92; and J.A. Barnes, Politics in a Changing Society, Cape Town: Oxford University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1954, p. 3.

[64]Lane Poole, ibid., p. 290, quoted by kind permission of the Editor of the Journal of the Royal African Society.

bique boundary, and Mount Mbazi, at Undi's capital, or by constructing mud forts, the ruins of which are still to be found in parts of Central Nyasaland[65].

They had useful weapons of defence in bows and arrows, some of them tipped with a 'virulent poison decocted from the strophanthus plant'[66]; in poisoned spikes which were left in paths; and in muzzle-loaders obtained from the Portuguese to the south and the Arabs to the north-east. Mwase Kasuŋgu is famous for the resistance he put up[67]; and Codrington records that Maseŋgela's people of Mkhoma mountain were not subject to the Ŋgoni, having successfully beaten off three separate groups of them[68]. Other Ceŵa lay too far from the paths of the various groups into which the Ŋgoni split to be greatly affected. Thus among Kaŵaza's people today there are many immigrants from the south, where their ancestors, apart from occasional raids, were free from the depredations of the

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[65]See Édouard Foà, Du Cap au Lac Nyassa, Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 2nd ed., 1901, pp. 277ff.; W.H.J. Rangeley, 'Some Old Cewa Fortresses in the Kotakota District', Nyasaland Journal, 4, 1951, 54-57; 'W.H.M.', 'The Achewa', British Central Africa Gazette, 3, 23, 15 December 1896; 'W.D.L.', 'Machemba—Primitive Citadels', Nyasaland Journal, 3, 2, July 1950, 34-37; and R. Codrington, 'The Central Angoniland District [of the British Central African Protectorate]', Geographical Journal, 11, 1898, 502-522, at p. 518.

[66]Codrington, ibid., p. 518.

[67]Cf. C.H. Stigand, 'Notes on the Tribes in the Neighbourhood of Fort Manning, Nyasaland', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 34, 1909, 35-43, at pp. 35-37; and T.D. Thomson, Preliminary Notes on the Constitution of Mwase's Chewa (unpublished MS. cited by kind permission of the author).

[68]R. Codrington, 'Central Angoniland (Extracts from a Report)', British Central Africa Gazette, 3, 17, 15 September 1896.

Ŋgoni; and where Undi and Cimwala, though repeatedly raided[69], were never defeated[70].

The ancestors of the rest of Kaŵaza's people, including the Kaŵaza of the day himself, did not escape. In the 1860's, a section of the Ŋgoni under one of Zwangendaba's sons, Mpezeni, returned to the western part of the plateau between the Luaŋgwa and Lake Nyasa; and, some ten years later, settled not far from where the town of Fort Jameson now stands[71]. A large proportion of the Ceŵa in what are now the districts of Fort Jameson, Northern Rhodesia, and Fort Manning, Nyasaland—including the Northern Ceŵa of Mkanda after their chief had been killed—became members of a subordinate class in Mpezeni's kingdom, and remained in this position until the Ŋgoni power was broken by the British forces in 1898.

Ever since the Ceŵa were conquered by the Ŋgoni, the whole basis of their claim to 'their' country has been threatened. Under the Ŋgoni, political power became dissociated from the reciprocal rights and duties of persons involved in a system of land tenure, and was more dependent upon size of human following and disposition of tribal

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[69]Foà (Du Cap au Lac Nyassa, pp. 277ff.) arrived at Undi's while an Ŋgoni raid on Mount Mbazi was in progress.

[70]George Russell Deare ('A Durban Man'), 'Eighteen Months with the Last of the Slave Raiders' and other titles, [Natal] Week-End Advertiser (Durban), 6 April to 11 May 1929, describes (in the instalment of 4 May) how he visited Undi and Cimwala in 1897, finding them independent of the Ŋgoni, which is in accordance with present Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa traditions.

[71]Lane Poole, Native Tribes, Chap. 1 and Appendix I.

cattle[72]. And, under the Europeans, though the political power of the Ceŵa has greatly advanced, there have been times when they have had to assert their claims strenuously. During the period when the country was administered by the British South Africa Company, the Ŋgoni objected strongly to the assignment of land to the Ceŵa, and asked that the Southern Ceŵa be made definitely subject to them under a proposed native reserve scheme. The Administration refused to recognize the subjection of the Ceŵa to the Ŋgoni, but took no active steps to separate those Ceŵa whom they found living among the Ŋgoni[73]. It would appear, however, that, during the first two decades of this century, many Ceŵa took advantage of the eclipse of Ŋgoni power, and moved off to the areas where they are now found living on their own, where they were subsequently joined by fellow tribesmen who had come from Portuguese territory[74].

Though the advent of the whites freed the Ceŵa from the Ŋgoni, it brought threats of a new kind to their claim to the land. A grant of land and mineral rights over an area of nearly 10,000 square miles (the greater part of what are now the districts of Fort Jameson and Petauke) was made to a company in lieu of certain concessions it had bought from an early white trader who claimed he had obtained

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[72]Cf. Barnes, Politics in a Changing Society, p. 30.

[73]Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa District, District Note Book, Vol. 1 (kept at Fort Jameson): Notes of a meeting between the Magistrate and Chiefs on 28 June 1913.

[74]Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa District, Annual Report, 1912-13, on file at Fort Jameson.

them from Mpezeni. This became known as the North Charterland Concession[75].

A rider to the Concession, that it was subject to the possessory rights of the native inhabitants, was incorporated in the revision of the British South Africa Company's Royal Charter in 1900[76], and retained when North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesian were amalgamated in 1911[77] and when the Northern Rhodesia so formed was transferred to the Crown in 1924[78]. This rider has provided the legal authority for creating the present Native Reserves which came into being in 1928[79]. Subsequently, Government bought the unalienated portion of the Concession, amounting to nearly sixty per cent of its original area, and had almost all of it scheduled as Native Trust Land in 1947[80].

As we have seen (above, pp. 100-101), it was on this Native Trust Land that, after an ecological survey, people

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[75]For a detailed account of the origin of the North Charterland Concession, see Barnes, Politics in a Changing Society, pp. 73-78, and R.H. Fraser, 'Land Settlement in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia', Human Problems in British Central Africa, 3, 1945, 45-49.

[76]United Kingdom, Statutory Rules and Orders, The North-Eastern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1900,

[77]United Kingdom, Statutory Rules and Orders, The Northern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1911.

[78]United Kingdom, Statutory Rules and Orders, The Northern Rhodesia (Crown Lands and Native Reserves) Order in Council, 1928, preamble.

[79]Ibid.

[80]United Kingdom, Statutory Rules and Orders, The Northern Rhodesia (Native Trust Land) Order in Council, 1947.

were settled in an attempt to relieve pressure on the overcrowded reserves. Villages were assigned to blocks of land, the size of each having been determined by its carrying capacity under indigenous methods of cultivation.

The Ceŵa regard this land history as an incomprehensible series of arbitrary European actions. Having found themselves land south-west of their Ngoni captors, they were displaced into what is now the Ceŵa Reserve by the advent of European farmers. Having lived there for two or three decades, many of them were then sent forty or fifty miles to the new settlement areas. My public-opinion survey of 1947 included the question, 'Why are the Europeans sending African people to the new settlement areas?' Only thirty per cent of informants[81] gave answers that reflected the intentions of the Government, e.g. 'There was hunger in the Reserve; in the new areas there is plenty'. Eight per cent gave answers not seriously in conflict with official intention, considering especially that the resettlement policy was coupled with a rigorous programme of soil conservation; they said that people were being sent to the new areas to learn agricultural methods. A large proportion (forty-two per cent) gave vague or accommodating

[81] The effective sample for this item of the schedule was 156, since the responses recorded by one of my three African assistants had to be eliminated because they showed statistically significant differences from those of other interviewers (he probably used supplementary questions that had the effect of suggesting answers to his informants); and those of another assistant have been excluded because he interviewed only nine informants in only one area. The remaining 156 is made up of responses to me (sixty) and to my third assistant (ninety-six) between whose records there were no differences falling outside the range of normal sampling fluctuations. For a discussion of the technical aspects of this survey, see M.G. Marwick, 'An Experiment in Public Opinion Polling among Preliterate People', Africa, 26, 1956, 149-59.

answers, indicating either that they really didn't know or that they felt their function was 'not to reason why'. Examples from this category were :- 'I am unable to tell what lies in the chests [minds] of the Europeans'; 'They gave us no reasons when they ordered us to move'; 'The Europeans are the owners of this country and do as they please'. The majority of the remainder (eighteen per cent) were openly suspicious or hostile, expressing, for instance, the belief that Africans were being sent to clear the country of lions and tse-tse flies for European settlement, or that they were being sent there to enable Europeans to settle in the old Reserve.

I can best sum up Ceŵa feelings of insecurity in relation to their land in the words of an old woman who was living in the new settlement area in 1947 and who had experienced many moves. She said: 'In this country the Europeans are the people; we are the birds!' Had the public-relations programmes of the various land policies been as efficacious as the application of the ecological survey to the recent resettlement scheme, it is probable that Ceŵa attitudes might not have been at such variance with the constitutional security of their land rights.

Although land history has been the most outstanding cause of Ceŵa hostility towards whites, it is not the only one. There are other friction-points in the application of European administration. Some of these arise from misunderstanding on the part of the governed of the process of government; others spring from more substantial causes, past or present.

Taxation is one of these friction-points. It was introduced at the turn of the century, when the rate was three shillings per annum per hut. It was later changed to a head tax, and by 1952 amounted to ten shillings per annum, being payable by males over the age of eighteen who had not been exempted on grounds of old age or infirmity. This amount included a Native Treasury local levy of half-a-crown. While there are grounds for believing that the main function of taxation in the early years of European administration was to force Africans to work for wages, there is less cause for attributing this motive to the Administration nowadays, since as much as ninety per cent of the money paid in tax and levy returns directly or indirectly to the Native Treasury. In spite of this, the Ceŵa man-in-the-village still believes that most of the tax money is 'eaten' by successive categories of Europeans, ranging from the District Officer to the British Sovereign.

Cross-examining a witness in 1949, one of Kaŵaza's court assessors asked: 'Would you be able to recognize the beast [involved in the case], or are cattle just like Europeans, their faces all alike?' It is not only on this simple, physical level that Ceŵa tend to regard the whites as a uniform, undifferentiated group. They fail, also, to distinguish between European groups of different function and consequently of different political alignment in relation to them. This fact, coupled with ineffective communication, leads to misunderstandings about the origin and rationale of instructions, both real and imaginary. It is not surprising that, in a society where communication is almost entirely by word of mouth and where the exchange of news is

an important form of entertainment and a means of expressing goodwill, rumours, both endemic and epidemic, come into being. These rumours, furthermore, concern the activities and intentions of 'the Europeans' in general—not the Administration, or the missionaries or the farmers. Examples of outstanding epidemic rumours are the 'sugar story' of 1952-53, according to which the Europeans had 'doctored' supplies of sugar for African consumption in such a way that Africans would become impotent and sterile, and the complex of rumours, rife in 1947-48, about Bwanali and Mpulumutsi who were to save the country from the ravages of sorcerers[82].

The endemic rumours consist of myths whose function is to rationalize firmly rooted, but not necessarily true, beliefs regarding the intentions or characteristics of Europeans. An instance is the belief that the cinamwali dance, the one performed at girls' initiation, is illegal. This misconception springs from two causes. Firstly, until very recently the nyau, the esoteric mime-production involving boys' initiation and associated with the mortuary rituals of important persons, was banned by the Europeans—at first by the direct action of the Administration, and, after the introduction of Indirect Rule, by persuading the Native Authorities to pass an order prohibiting it. Secondly, the cinamwali dance, while not illegal, is strongly disapproved of by European missionaries. Thus to say that 'the Europeans forbid it' is in a sense correct.

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[82]See Chapter 7, pp. 320ff., and M.G. Marwick, 'Another Anti-Witchcraft Movement in East Central Africa', Africa, 20, 1950, 100-112.

1831
(After Gamitto)

1953

PLATE XVII - GIRLS' DRESS, 1831 and 1953

The reasons given by my informants for not favouring the hypothetical policy of chasing away European farmers lead us to some of the positive components in the Ceŵa attitude towards the European. 'They give us work and we get clothes [with the wages]', they said. Although they dislike many aspects of European contact, they look upon Europeans as a necessary evil. Before Europeans came to their country, Ceŵa had had experience of trade goods such as cloth and guns which came to them from the Arabs in return for ivory and slaves. The scale of this trade was, however, very small by modern standards, and hardly involved persons other than chiefs and headmen. The prestige value that cloth acquired by this scarcity may account for the phenomenal demand for it by the Ceŵa and for the fact that it still forms one of the chief items in their trade with the outside world. In any event, there have been remarkable changes since early European residents and visitors commented on the scanty bark-cloth and goatskin covering of the Ceŵa[83]. Nowadays Ceŵa look upon cloth as essential, and by comparison with other African peoples, e.g. the Natal Nguni, are rather prudish in the way they cover themselves with it (see Plate XVII).

Apart from cloth, other trade goods of strong appeal to Ceŵa are salt, soap, enamel basins and hoes

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[83] Codrington, 'The Central Angoniland District', 1898, p. 518; H.A. Byatt, 'Chewaland', British Central Africa Gazette, 7, 6, 30 June 1900; 'W.H.M.', 'The Achewa', 1896; A.C. Murray, Nyasaland en Mijne Ondervindingen Aldaar, Amsterdam: Dusseau, 1897, pp. 1§1 and 167; and J. du Plessis, A Thousand Miles in the Heart of Africa, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1905, p. 68.

(European made, but still of the traditional, tanged design). We have seen how salt and soap are sometimes used for rewarding people who have helped with hoeing or hut-building.

All these goods cost money. Furthermore, services, ceremonial presents and compensation-awards are to an increasing degree being changed into money payments. For instance, we have noted that 'Tie up a goat' means 'Pay five shillings'; and 'Catch a fowl', 'Pay a shilling'. Ever since money was introduced to the Ceŵa, its chief source has been the sale of labour. From the time that Europeans first came, Ceŵa men have worked for them both locally and in more distant areas such as Southern Rhodesia. The local labour market—on tobacco farms, in Government departments, in Fort Jameson township and on smaller European and Indian settlements—is convenient but not lucrative. Southern Rhodesia (Walale) has a great attraction to Ceŵa; and going there has almost become a substitute for tribal initiation. Most men have been on a labour journey to one of the distant urban areas such as Salisbury, Gwelo, Bulawayo, Lusaka or the Copperbelt; and most women have had experience of work on nearby tobacco farms[84].

As we have seen, my public-opinion survey differentiated between three types of Europeans : farmers, administrators and missionaries. When informants were thus forced to separate categories that they generally lump together, results showed more favourable attitudes towards missionaries than towards farmers and administrators, the attitude towards

[84] For a more detailed account of working for wages, see above, pp. 122ff., and Appendix E.

the last two being ambivalent. The farmer is regarded as the one who has displaced the Ceŵa from their land and who, by comparison with the Southern Rhodesian employer, pays a niggardly wage; and yet he is often a considerate employer and is conveniently situated. The administrator is, in Ceŵa eyes, in league with his fellow Europeans, and an arbitrary ruler; yet his presence preserves peace. The Ceŵa attitude towards the missionary, apart from being more favourable on balance, shows less ambivalence. Though his intolerance of native customs such as polygyny and, depending on denomination, drinking beer and cousin-marriage, is resented, his cordiality (cipfundo) and his primary desire to help and enlighten are appreciated by Christian and pagan alike.

It should be remembered that the relative lack of ambivalence in the attitude towards the European missionary is exceptional. Marked ambivalence is characteristic of the Ceŵa attitude towards the European in general, and it is intensified when the Ŋgoni enters the picture. Traditionally, the Ŋgoni is the ruthless conqueror from whose tutelage the European set the Ceŵa free; and yet he is a fellow African subjected to the same deprivations and into whose arms the Ceŵa is driven by the new racially defined nationalism emerging from the structural oppositions of the modern administrative system.

African nationalism has not yet made the Ceŵa a prejudiced anti-white. Though he has mixed feelings about the European and thus about his general position in the modern world, this does not prevent him from sorting out

the ingredients in the mixture with remarkable insight and objectivity. This is illustrated by an informant's statement, which will serve to conclude this chapter :-

> We used to be the owners of this country, but now we are as if cattle which the herdsman drives to wherever there is grass. When the grass is finished, he drives you elsewhere. Europeans are of some good; for without them we Africans would be left to our own ways. The Europeans came with seeds of various kinds and clothes of various kinds. Each type of European who has come to this country has come with something good.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL STRUCTURE I : THE MATRILINEAGE FROM WITHIN

Our glimpse in the last chapter of the Ceŵa and their homeland was a very general one. We now have some idea of who they are, where they live, how they subsist and how the events of the past have conditioned their attitudes. This is not enough background for the demonstration of hypotheses concerning the sociology of sorcery; and in this and the next two chapters we make a closer examination of Ceŵa society in order to discover the chief factors in its stability and its motion. This chapter and the next deal with the structural aspects of the Ceŵa social order—with the system of social relationships which, shaped by the experience of countless generations, defines the reciprocal rights and duties among the persons it enmeshes. Chapter 4 deals with the normative aspects of the social order—with the principles to which all properly brought up Ceŵa subscribe and to which they appeal, explicitly or implicitly, when they evaluate the details of everyday conduct.

It might be argued that the chapter dealing with values and their derivative norms should come before the one dealing with social structure; for in a sense the details of social structure are the means by which the values are put into effect. Against this it may be contended, however, that the values are 'rationalizations'—principles that justify rather than shape the social structure. In fact the relationship is circular, where, as Homans puts

it, 'the cause produces an effect, but the effect rests on the cause'[1]. It is not on theoretical grounds that I have decided on the order of these chapters. Evading the problem of the logical priority of values or structure, I have decided that structure should come first because it provides the concrete social situations in which values cease to be nebulous and thus become more comprehensible.

As we have seen in the first two chapters, both structure and values are relevant to our main purpose. The social structure of any group, though it achieves harmony and reciprocity in human relationships, inevitably generates tensions and conflicts. Along with actual misfortunes, such as those associated with the health hazards described in the last chapter, and with traditions about sorcery, to which we shall turn in Chapter 7, these tensions and conflicts are essential ingredients in an operative system of beliefs and practices relating to sorcery. Values are relevant because beliefs in sorcery generally reinforce them, especially in situations where the normative systems of differing societies are juxtaposed. For this reason, Chapter 6 will deal with the Ceŵa system of values, not in isolation, but in relation to that of the modern world, by which it is threatened.

In Ceŵa society, kinship is the main influence defining the modes of interaction and the reciprocal rights and duties that make social life possible and rewarding.

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[1]George C. Homans, <u>The Human Group</u>, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1951, p. 98.

This chapter and part of the next will therefore deal with the Ceŵa system of kinship and marriage. This description will be relevant to our main purpose; for the kinship system is very largely the locus of social tensions, and Ceŵa doctrine asserts that, with few exceptions, sorcerers confine their attacks to their own matrikin. Furthermore, recorded cases show a dearth of accusations of sorcery between unrelated persons. It would not be true, however, to say that all Ceŵa social relationships are based on kinship; and for this reason the following chapter will deal with aspects of social organization that are less dependent on it. This distribution of our attention will not only prevent our account from being biased but will help us to understand those cases, admittedly rare, in which accusations and believed instances of sorcery, owing to great tension in social relationships between non-kinsmen, fail to conform to the doctrine that limits the operation of sorcery to the kinship system.

Residence and Kinship

The fundamental social group among the Ceŵa is the matrilineage[2]. We may demonstrate this fact by examining, firstly, the social composition of the Ceŵa residential group, and, secondly, the patterns of prescribed behaviour among kinsmen. The last chapter left us with both feet on the ground. Without altering the level of our description,

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[2]For convenience I use 'matrilineage' for what, strictly speaking, should be called a 'matrilineage-remnant' (adapting the terminology of Monica Wilson et al., Social Structure, Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, Vol. 3, Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1952, p. 47). I use 'matrilineage-fragment' for a group too small to be regarded as the portion remaining behind when the others dispersed.

let us enter one of the villages of which we have had glimpses from the road, and see who lives there.

For this purpose I have chosen Jeremiah village, not only because I know it well, having many times enjoyed its hospitality, but also because my investigations elsewhere have shown that its social composition is typical of villages in Kaŵaza's chiefdom. Its size is larger than average. In 1952 there were 203 people domiciled in it (but only 183 present at the end of the year when I made my census) at a time when the average _de jure_ population of the 132 villages in the section of the chiefdom falling within the Reserve was 122[3].

Jeremiah village is situated on a flat-topped ridge running roughly north and south between the Kathawa and Kasambandola streams, both of which are tributaries of the Mzime, which flows into the Kapoche (see Map 5, facing p. 102, and Map 6, facing p. 151). It lies west of Chief Kaŵaza's capital at Kagolo, just over a mile by bush path, but longer by the motor track round the head of the Kasambandola stream. From the shade of its spreading trees, three landmarks are visible and help to stave off the feeling of oppressive isolation that sometimes descends on one in the flatter parts of the Rhodesian bush. The Mpaŋgwe hills to the north remind one of the proximity of the Great East Road, the link with the outside world. Nchiŋgalizya hill, to the south-west across the Mzime and the Kapoche, takes one back to the days of the Ŋgoni invasion when it was the

[3]Northern Rhodesia, _Eastern Province_, Chadiza Tour Report No 2 of 1952, on file at Fort Jameson. These figures refer to 'administrative villages' (see below, p. 152).

refuge of the Chief Kathumba of the day. And the compact bulk of Milanzi to the south-east, beyond Kagolo, locates Kaŵaza's traditional capital on the lower Katete.

A _dambo_ lying a quarter of a mile to the east provides the village with its water supply and much of its grazing. The gardens spread in all directions from the village, but especially to the north, along the Kagolo-Katete road, where there is a belt of rich red loam which changes westwards towards the Kathawa into an equally fertile black soil. Nearer the village, on the south-western slope of the ridge, is the old site of Cimbuna village from which Jeremiah village was derived; and, beyond it, the burial ground that has served this and the neighbouring villages of Matope, Cimbuna, Mceleka, Mazala and Bisalomi ever since 1929, when, having been displaced from land that is now a European tobacco estate, they came to this locality from near the Katuule stream about seventeen miles to the east.

They came as a single large village called Cimbuna, and joined Cipaŋgula village which, six years previously, had established itself on what is now referred to as 'the ruins' (_matoŋgwe_, _mainja_). Whereas Cipaŋgula has greatly decreased in size, Cimbuna has expanded and split into the six villages that have been mentioned. Increase in population is one of the factors in the emergence of the new villages. I have no information about the size of Cimbuna when it was established at 'the ruins' in 1929, but the Administration's estimates[4] show that, between then and 1951,

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[4]Northern Rhodesia, _Report on Native Affairs for the Year 1929_, Livingstone: Government Printer; Northern Rhodesia, _Eastern Province_, Annual Report on Native Affairs, 1951, on file at Fort Jameson.

the population of the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa as a whole has increased by sixty-eight per cent. Judging by local soil fertility, higher stock-ownership rates (see above, Table IV, facing p. 114) and the presence of many recent immigrants from Portuguese territory, there is reason to suppose that the local human population has increased by at least as much as the tribe as a whole.

Though population increase may be the ultimate cause of village fragmentation, the more immediate one—and the one of which people are more aware—is social tension. Barely two years after Cimbuna had been established in the neighbourhood, an accusation of sorcery led to the expulsion of one of its sections (the name of which I deliberately omit). This section was too small to satisfy the Administration's rule regarding the minimum size of a village[5], and it was joined by five other sections, whose members, none of them tied to Headman Cimbuna by kinship, were glad of the opportunity of a change. The largest of these was that of Jeremiah, who, with the consent of Chief Kaŵaza Soŋgani, became headman of this assorted band.

We shall return in the next chapter to the relationships between village-sections. It is sufficient to say

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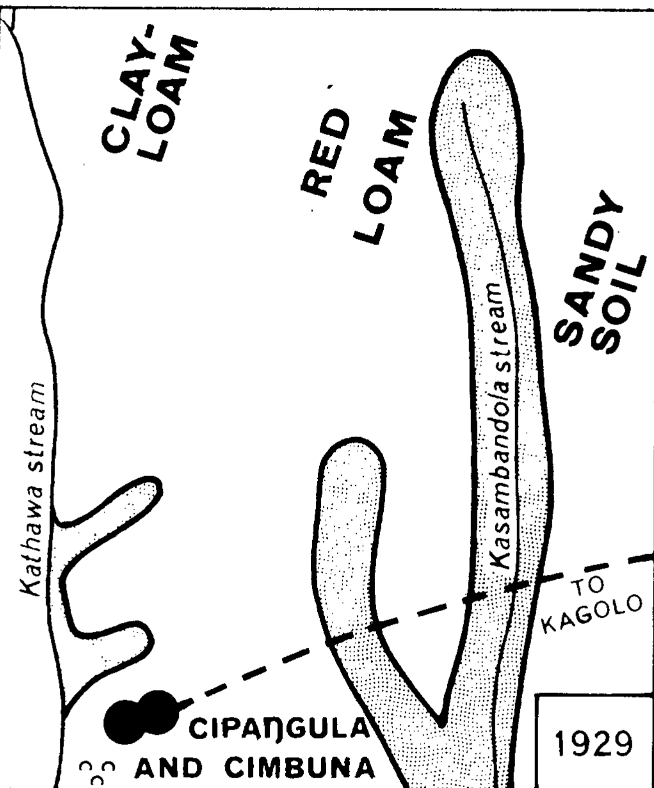
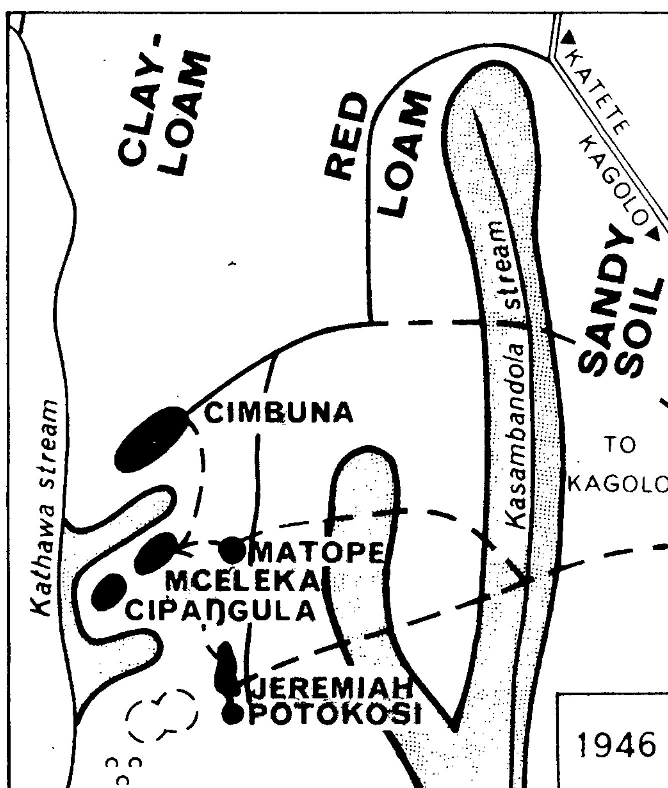
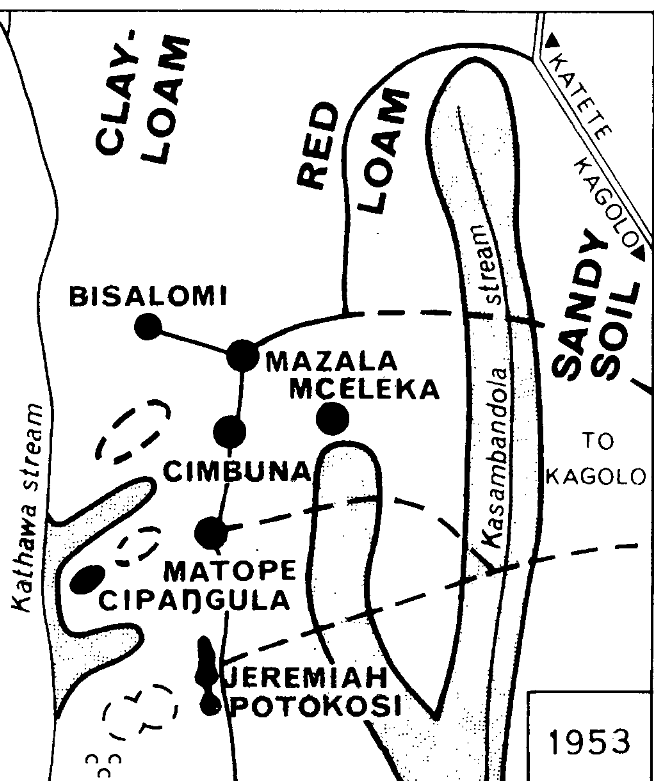
[5]The Administration has at various times stipulated the minimum size of villages. In the days of the British South Africa Company, it was from twenty to thirty huts in 1908 and forty huts in 1912-13 (Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa District, District Note Book, and Annual Report, 1912-13, both kept at Fort Jameson). By the time the Colonial Office took over in 1924, it had been fixed at fifteen taxpayers, and was later reduced to ten taxpayers, which is the minimum now applied by the Native Authority (information supplied verbally by the Native Courts Adviser, Lusaka, November 1952). It is not clear whether the fifteen- or the ten-taxpayer rule was operative at the time we are considering.



Map 6—Development of the Cimbuna Neighbourhood, 1929-53





LEGEND

- BURIAL GROUNDS
- DAMBOS
- STREAMS
- KAGOLO-KATETE ROAD
- MOTOR TRACKS
- FOOTPATHS
- EXISTING VILLAGES
- ABANDONED VILLAGE SITES

here that what brought together the ones that founded Jeremiah village in the early 1930's was not kinship but expediency. Jeremiah's and Jombo's matrilineages were both of the Phili matriclan, and therefore referred to one another by sibling terms and their extensions. Jombo, in turn, was the cross-cousin of Kabvinde. But the other three section-leaders, Matope, Kaŋkhanoŋgo and Cimseleti were related neither to one another nor to the first three.

Since it was founded, Jeremiah village has changed in composition by both losses and gains. The headman of one of its six sections was suspected of sorcery, and, when he died, people believed that their vengeance magic has at last found its mark. After his death, his matrilineage left for another village, though his widow stayed on because, having been captured by her husband far away in Portuguese territory, she had no nearby relatives to turn to, and her daughter had married into a neighbouring village-section. Later, another matrilineage was disrupted by a quarrel involving mutual accusations of sorcery, and one faction moved elsewhere, leaving the other one in the charge of an old woman, Mniŋga. A third section rejoined Cimbuna village—for reasons I failed to ascertain. Finally, in 1945, Matope hived off from Jeremiah after a quarrel over the punishment of some children who had fouled the village water-hole by diving in it after fish. Matope succeeded in having his village registered as independent, and built on a lower part of the ridge about a quarter of a mile to the north (see Map 6).

Of the gains, the numerically larger one was Potokosi's section, which came from Portuguese territory. Poto-

kosi claimed to be Jeremiah's mother's brother; though my investigations showed this to be nothing more than a putative relationship. Not without foundation, Jeremiah suspected him of being after his village headmanship, and it was only the formality expected between mother's brother and sister's son that prevented an open breach between them. Potokosi retained a measure of independence by building what was virtually a separate village just to the south of Jeremiah's (see Map 6, facing p. 151, and Fig. 4, facing p. 154). He tried without success to 'have his own book', i.e., to be registered as a separate village. His case illustrates the distinction, which Mitchell makes for the Yao[6], between an 'administrative' village and a discrete cluster of huts that people recognize as a village. From the viewpoint of Chief Kaŵaza, and more so from that of the District Commissioner, Potokosi's section comprises a part of Jeremiah village; whereas in fact it is functionally separate, though not entirely independent. The same applies to the now depleted Cipaŋgula village, which, though having a separate site and a virtually independent headman, is 'written with' Mceleka village, one of the derivatives of Cimbuna,because its size has fallen below the limit set by the ten-taxpayer rule.

The smaller of the gains was the matrilineage-fragment of Mwaiŋga, a woman related to Jeremiah, though not matrilineally. Having no male head, this group settled at the northern end of the village, close to Jeremiah's section (see Fig. 4, facing p. 154).

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[6] J. Clyde Mitchell, The Yao Village, Manchester: Manchester University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1956, pp. 3 and 84ff.

While Jeremiah village was sustaining these losses and gains, the people remaining on the old site were regrouping (see Map 6, facing p. 151). In 1938, Cipaŋgula moved about half a mile to the north. The following year, when the Administration suggested that the old site should be abandoned altogether, Mceleka, the leader of a senior segment of the matrilineage to which Headman Cimbuna belonged, having been disappointed at the Chief's not recognizing him as headman of the village, led his followers away to form a new village just east of Cipaŋgula. It was soon after this that Cipaŋgula, now containing only six taxpayers, was absorbed administratively by Mceleka. At the same time Cimbuna abandoned the old site, which, by the time of my arrival in 1946, had become a flourishing maize garden, and settled a stone's throw from Mceleka on a spur pointing towards the Kathawa. By the end of 1952, both Cimbuna and Mceleka had moved again. Mceleka found a new site north-east of Matope; and Cimbuna split into three groups all of which moved to new sites. Cimbuna built north of Matope; Mazala, the leader of a section unrelated to Cimbuna, moved about a quarter of a mile to the north; and Bisalomi, a cross-cousin of Cimbuna III and IV, settled north-west of Mazala. We shall return to some of these villages when we discuss lineage-segmentation (see below, pp. 189ff.).

From what we have related about Jeremiah village, it is apparent that kinship does not necessarily play a part in linking sections together. For this reason, if we are to study the relationship between kinship and residence, we must turn our attention to a single village-section rather than to a whole village or a neighbourhood of villages such

as we have been exploring. Let us take the senior section of Jeremiah village, that of the headman, as it was at the time of my third field-trip (1952-53). Its genealogy (Fig. 4) shows that it comprises :-

1. A Matrilineal Core, consisting of the following matrikinsfolk of the recently deceased headman, Jeremiah[7] (Generation C, No. 14) :-
   (a) his mother's mother's sister's son (classificatory mother's brother), Kabuula (B.10);
   (b) his four living sisters, Loda (C.6), Tuŋgase (C.8), Loŵase (C.18) and Mlelamanja (C.21);
   (c) his younger own brother, Develiase (C.23), who was acting headman, and his two classificatory brothers (both mother's mother's sister's daughter's sons), Kenala (C.35) and Galantia (C.37), both of whom are away at work;
   (d) his sisters' children, including those of his late sister, Mailesi (C.32),—all of whom are in Generation D;
   (e) his sisters' daughters' children, only one of whom, Violeti (E.16), is married (all in Generation E); and
   (f) his sister's daughter's daughter, Ailesi (F.1).

2. The Spouses of Matrilineage Members: there are six wives and ten husbands of matrilineage members domiciled in the village, though some of them, e.g. Kenala's wife, Zelesi (C.34), and Violeti's husband, Makadani (E.15), are away at work.

3. The Children of Male Matrilineage Members, who belong to the respective matrilineages of their mothers, e.g. Jeremiah's daughter, Ezelia (E.26), and the two children of his sister's son, Yelesani (E.22) and Esita (E.23).

4. Others, such as Ezelia's husband, Simon (E.27), and the daughter's daughter, Besi (D.33), of Kabuula's wife, Msalota (B.9) (the issue of her first marriage).

This genealogy illustrates most of the outstanding features of the kinship structure of the Ceŵa residential group. Firstly, as to general composition, the matrilineage forming the core of the section-group consists of the headman,

[7] For convenience, in reference to genealogies, I drop the honorific plural indicated elsewhere by a separated capital A (cf. Chapter 3, p. 118, Footnote 50).

TABLE VI—SUMMARY OF THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE HEADMAN'S SECTION OF JEREMIAH VILLAGE, JANUARY 1953 (EXCLUDING MWAILGA'S SECTION)

Relationship to (Deceased) Headman and Sex		Domiciled and Present		Domiciled and Absent		Total Domiciled	Percentage
		Un-Married	Married	Un-Married	Married		
Headman's Matrilineage:							
1st ascending generation	male	-	1	-	-	1	1.54
Contemporary gen.	male	-	1	-	2	3	4.62
Contemporary gen.	female	-	4[w]	-	-	4	6.15
1st descending gen.	male	4	-[d]	4	1	9	13.85
1st descend. gen.	female	3	5[d]	-	2	10	15.38
2nd descend. gen.	male	4	-	-	-	4	6.15
2nd descend. gen.	female	5	1	-	-	6	9.23
3rd descend. gen.	female	1	-	-	-	1	1.54
Total		17	12	4	5	38	58.46
Others:							
Spouses of matrilineage members	male	-	7	-	3	10	15.38
	female	-	5[w]	-	1	6	9.23
Children of male matrilineage members	male	3	-	1	-	4	6.15
	female	1	1	-	-	2	3.08
	unknown	-	-	1	-	1	1.54
Others—see text for examples	male	1	1	-	-	2	3.08
	female	2	-	-	-	2	3.08
Total for Section:		24	26	6	9	65	100.00

[w] This figure includes one widowed person.

[d] This figure includes one divorced person.

Source: Fig. 4.

who is married virilocally, and his sisters, who are married uxorilocally, together with the uterine descendants of the latter. Table VI shows that this core makes up nearly sixty per cent of the members of the section. This general pattern is repeated in Cimseleti's section and in Tenje's of Matope village (see Appendix F, Nos. 4 and 1 respectively). Sometimes it is modified by a larger-than-usual proportion of virilocal marriages. This occurs in Headman Matope's section, of which an abridged genealogy is given in Appendix F, No. 2, and in Potokosi's (Appendix F, No. 5); but the latter is further complicated by the intertwining of long-associated matrilineages and the effects of having recently migrated from Portuguese territory, where fragments of the section have been left behind.

Secondly, as to succession it should be noted that the line of headmen of this matrilineage is :- Kabuula I (A.3), Mgwinda (B.2), Ziyambe (B.4) and Jeremiah (C.14). After Jeremiah's death in 1952, Develiase (C.23) acted as headman, but Ciŋgaipe (D.26), then away at work, was regarded as the most likely permanent successor. This illustrates both the general form and the elasticity of Ceŵa succession. The general rules are that a man is succeeded by his younger own brothers and then by the eldest son of his eldest sister; and that, as the matrilineage expands and differentiates, the headmanship should remain in the senior segment (<u>bele lalikulu</u>, 'big breast'), i.e., the group comprising the descendants of the eldest sister in every generation remembered. Thus Kabuula II (B.10) has been passed over because, as the son of a younger sister of Kabuula I (A.3), he belongs to a junior segment (<u>bele lalinono</u>, 'little breast'). The elasticity with which Ceŵa apply these

rules springs from their appreciation of the fact that headmanship demands personal qualities not found in every candidate. Thus Ciŋgaipe (D.26) on personal grounds is looked upon as a better candidate than either of Loda's sons (D.13 and D.14), and he may succeed in spite of his belonging to a junior segment of the matrilineage. It is not without significance that the formula for rejoicing at the birth of a boy is 'A headman is born! (*Kwabadwa nfumu!*)'; for every boy is a potential headman. As we shall see later, the uncertainty, in succession issues, created by the weight Ceŵa attach to 'character' (*makalidwe*) is an important source of accusations of sorcery; for, in a society with a well-developed system of beliefs in sorcery, calling a rival candidate a sorcerer is perhaps the most effective way of blackening his character and eliminating his competition.

This genealogy is atypical in regard to one aspect of succession. Each of the succeeding headmen has not inherited his predecessor's name; and one of the names, Kabuula, has been given to a man who, as we have seen, has been passed over. Usually the headman takes his predecessor's name, which thus becomes perpetual.

The third feature illustrated by this genealogy is the intertwining of matrilineages that have been associated in adjoining village-sections over many years. The matrilineage-fragment now presided over by Tasokalelo (C.19) has supplied spouses for Kuliale I (B.7), Loda (C.6), Jeremiah (C.14), Loŵase (C.18), Develiase (C.23), Mlelamanja (C.21) and Solopia II (D.17). Similar intertwining may be expected between Jeremiah's matrilineage and those in adjoining sections if they continue to live in the same village; for its beginnings are to be seen

in the marriages of Mlelamanja (C.21) to Obistala of Cimseleti's and of Develiase (C.23) to Sodonia of Mniŋga's. An advanced and complicated phase of this process is, as we have noted (above, p. 155), illustrated by the genealogy of Potokosi's section (Appendix F, No. 5).

Although this intertwining is intricate, it is not, in one sense, inextricable. This is because of a fourth feature of the Ceŵa system of kinship and marriage, viz., a high divorce rate. In addition to Develiase's four divorces and one separation (C.23-28), there are other instances shown on the genealogy, e.g. those of Serenia (D.50) and Ezelia (E.26); and some have been omitted because, not being material to either the kinship links shown or the social composition of the section, they would have complicated it unnecessarily. Some of (though not all) these divorces may be attributed to modern conditions. For instance, Ezelia (E.26) divorced Vinileŋkoni when, by long absence in Southern Rhodesia, he became regarded as a 'lost one' (<u>mcona</u>[8]).

A fifth feature of Ceŵa kinship that is illustrated by this genealogy is a decline in the frequency of marriages between persons and their cross-cousins or their cross-cousins' children. In Generation C, both Loda (C.6) and Loŵase (C.18) married their father's sisters' sons. Develiase (C.23) married his father's sister's daughter.

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[8]Probably from the Zulu <u>ukushona</u>, 'to descend, to set (of the sun)', sometimes a euphemism for 'to die'. There are many Zulu words in the <u>Fanakalo</u> (Kitchen-Kaffir) that Ceŵa learn at the distant labour centres and to which they give the expressive name of <u>ciLapalapa</u> because <u>lapa</u> ('here' or 'there', 'in' or 'on') is one of its commonest words.

Jeremiah (C.14) married his father's sister's daughter's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin's daughter), Emelia (D.32); and Mlelamanja (C.21) married her father's sister's son. These five marriages make up a considerable proportion of those involving locally domiciled matrilineage members of Generation C. In the next generation, only one marriage, that of Solopia II (D.17), to her mother's father's sister's daughter's son (son of mother's patrilateral cross-cousin) belongs to the type we are considering. It is worth noting that, of the six marriages mentioned, four were, from the bridegroom's point of view, matrilateral; and two, patrilateral. One cannot, of course, present this as evidence for, rather than in illustration of, either the slight predominance, from the viewpoint of the male ego, of matrilateral over patrilateral cross-cousin marriage or the decline in the frequency of marriages between cross-cousins and relatives of similar type. Apart from the smallness of the sample involved, there is the fact that Headman Jeremiah once told me that his father, Kaliza (B.15), encouraged his children to contract marriages of this kind, and, where possible, provided them with spouses from his own matrilineage. There is, however, some other support, albeit slight, for the two trends illustrated. As we shall see below (p. 164), there is some evidence from kinship terminology to suggest that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is the more common type; and informants' statements give the impression that the appeal of cross-cousin marriage in general is declining, one of them going so far as to state :-

> In these days, young people don't like marrying their cross-cousins because, they say, this is like marrying your sister, since she [your cross-cousin]

> is the child of your maternal uncle. Some refuse, saying, 'Marrying a cross-cousin creates confusion and is a bad omen (malodza)'. There are others who favour marrying their cross-cousins, but, even if they do this, their marriage does not remain one of strength because they scorn each other, saying, 'You married me; did you see no unrelated people [to marry]?' and the woman doesn't work well. That's why they've given up marrying cross-cousins.

One factor in the decline is Roman Catholicism. As we shall see in Chapter 6 (pp. 280ff.), Christianity, whether Catholic or Protestant, has influenced a wider circle than those who have been formally converted.

A feature that the Jeremiah genealogy does not exemplify, but which should be mentioned, is the tendency, noted by Mitchell among the Yao[9], for groups to arise in the village-section that are related patrilaterally to its matrilineal core. These groups originate in the virilocal marriages of male members of the matrilineage, typically those of the headman and his predecessors. The headman's children belong to his wife's matrilineage, which is domiciled elsewhere. They do not necessarily return to their mother's village of origin, and, in the course of time, may form a local branch of their matrilineage led by the headman's son. As this group grows, it may form a separate section of the village or may move to another village. When the original section headman is succeeded by his sister's son, he and the headman of the patrilaterally linked group are cross-cousins. An example of a group of this kind is Bisalomi's following, which grew large enough to separate from Cimbuna and form an independent village (see above, p. 153). As reference to Fig. 6 (facing p. 190) will show, Bisalomi (E.4) is the son of a male member,

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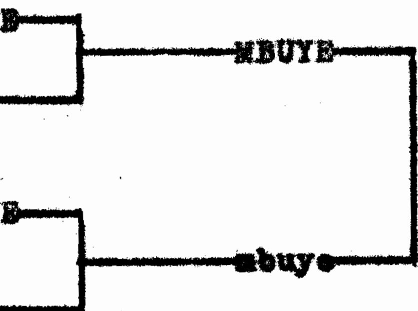
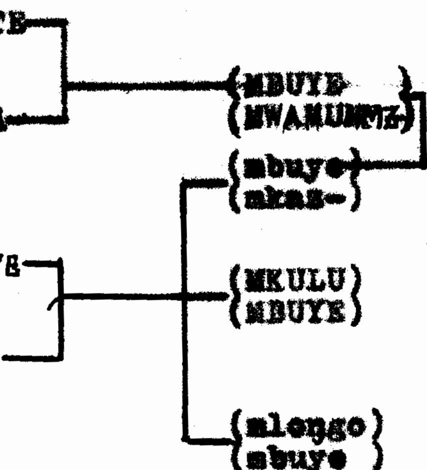
[9] The Yao Village, Chap. 7.



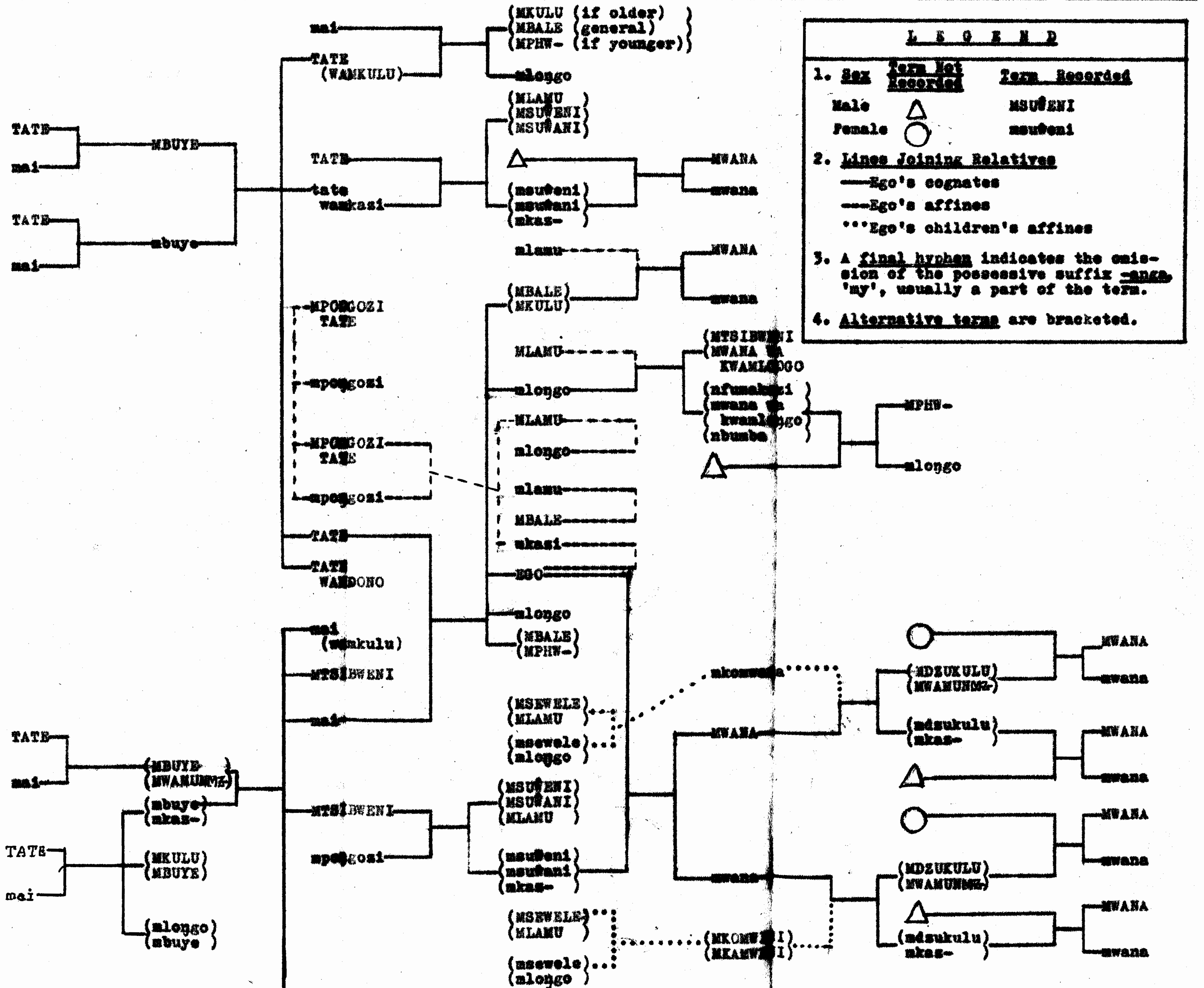
Catuluka (D.5), of the junior primary segment of the Mceleka-Cimbuna matrilineage. His following consists of the matrilineage-fragment centring on his mother. He is a cross-cousin of Cimbuna III and IV (E.9 and E.8). We shall refer to him when we discuss perpetual relationships (see below, pp. 174ff.).

The Kinship[10] System

Perhaps our examination of the pattern of residential grouping has not yet convinced the reader of the validity of the opening statement of the last section, viz., that the fundamental social group among the Ceŵa is the matrilineage. Residential customs need to be taken in conjunction with the pattern of reciprocal rights and duties existing among kin. We have, in fact, already introduced this second line of evidence; for we have made the headman the focus of our description. By referring to him as headman, we have implicitly assumed that mutual obligations, involving responsibility and dependence, authority and obedience, exist between him and the members of his matrilineage and, to a lesser degree, the other residents of his section. It will be necessary for us now to make explicit these and other aspects of the system of reciprocal rights and duties among kinsmen. As a preliminary to this, let us become familiar with the main reference points of the Ceŵa kinship system.



[10] Here I follow Radcliffe-Brown in including affinity in the concept of kinship (cf. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function [in Primitive Society], London: Cohen and West, 1952, p. 51.


G E N E R A T I O N S
3rd Ascending
2nd Ascending
1st Ascending
Contemporary
1st Descending
2nd Descending
3rd Descending
L E G E N D
1. Sex
Term Not Recorded
Term Recorded
Male
MSUWENI
Female
msuweni
2. Lines Joining Relatives
Ego's cognates
Ego's affines
Ego's children's affines
3. A final hyphen indicates the omission of the possessive suffix -anga, 'my', usually a part of the term.
4. Alternative terms are bracketed.
mai
TATE (WAMKULU)
(MKULU (if older) MBALE (general) MPHW- (if younger))
mlongo
TATE
mai
MBUYE
TATE
mai
mbuye
(MLAMU MSUWENI MSUWANI)
TATE
tate wamkasi
(msuweni msuwani mkas-)
MWANA
mwana
mlamu
MWANA
mwana
(MBALE MKULU)
MPONGOZI TATE
mpongozi
MLAMU
mlongo
(MTSIBWENI MWANA WA KWAMLONGO)
(nfumakazi mwana wa kwamlongo nbumba)
MPHW-
mlongo
MLAMU
mlongo
MPONGOZI TATE
mpongozi
mlamu
MBALE
mkasi
TATE
TATE WANDONO
EGO
mlongo
(MBALE MPHW-)
mai (wamkulu)
MTSIBWENI
mai
mkomwana
(MSEWELE MLAMU)
(msewele mlongo)
MWANA
(MDZUKULU MWAMUNMZ-)
(mdzukulu mkas-)
MWANA
mwana
MWANA
mwana
TATE
mai
(MBUYE MWAMUNMZ-)
(mbuye mkas-)
MTSIBWENI
mpongozi
(MSUWENI MSUWANI MLAMU)
(msuweni msuwani mkas-)
mwana
MWANA
mwana
TATE
mai
(MKULU MBUYE)
(mlongo mbuye)
(MDZUKULU MWAMUNMZ-)
(mdzukulu mkas-)
MWANA
mwana
(MSEWELE MLAMU)
(msewele mlongo)
(MKOMWENI MKAMWENI)

This system (summarized in Fig. 5) is a kind of phenomenon that is highly satisfying to the scientific observer. In spite of its apparent complexity and its wide range of terms, it may, with a little study, be brought within the compass of but a few general principles; and to these it conforms with symmetry and consistency. Let us consider six principles altogether. The first three sketch the main outlines of the system, and the others fill in some of the details. The first three are :-

(a) what Radcliffe-Brown calls 'the unity of the sibling group'[11], which underlies the classificatory kinship system widespread among Bantu-speaking Africans;

(b) the assumption that the preferred form of marriage, that between cross-cousins, has taken place; and

(c) what Radcliffe-Brown calls 'the combination of alternate generations'[12].

In accordance with the first of these principles, Ego uses the same term, tate[13], for his father's brothers and his mother's sisters' husbands as he does for his father; and he uses the same term, mai, for his mother's sisters and his father's brothers' wives as he does for his mother. His father's sister is his 'female father' (tate wamkazi); and, though the term of reference applied to his mother's brother, mtsibweni, does not, as far as I know, mean 'male mother',

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[11]Ibid., pp. 54ff.

[12]Ibid., pp. 69ff.

[13]At this stage, except where the context indicates otherwise, the vernacular terms given are in the singular of the form in which they are used in reference, not address. The terms of address will be dealt with under Principle (d) (see below, pp. 167ff.). In both reference and address, the honorific plural is used where appropriate. Thus a child both refers to and addresses his father (own or classificatory) as A Tate).

the corresponding term of address is 'mother' (mai); and the term, malume, 'male mother', current among the South African Bantu, is known to the Ceŵa. Parallel cousins are referred to by sibling terms—'sibling-of-the-same-sex' (mbale) and 'sibling-of-the-opposite-sex' (mlongo)[14]. In reference to both own and classificatory siblings, 'sibling-of-the-same-sex' is sometimes displaced by a pair of terms involving seniority—'senior sibling-of-the-same-sex' (mkulu) and '(my) junior sibling-of-the-same-sex' (mphw(anga)). All the terms we have so far considered are subject to wide extension. The terms for father, mother, mother's brother and father's sister are applied, not only to Ego's parents' own siblings, but also to their classificatory siblings. Similarly, sibling terms in their wider reference are not confined to first parallel cousins but include distant matrilateral and patrilateral ones as well. The logical extreme is reached in the application of sibling terms (or parental terms and their reciprocals, according to relative generation) to fellow matriclansmen who are regarded as uterine descendants of the same distant ancestress.

Although Ego's own parents and siblings are, in his own mind, clearly differentiated from classificatory ones to whom the same terms apply, the relationships that these terms define are fundamentally uniform. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that one pair of Ego's matrilateral classificatory

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[14]These translations, though clumsy, cover both possible instances, i.e., (a) when the speaker is male, mbale means 'brother' and mlongo, 'sister'; and (b) when the speaker is female, mbale means 'sister' and mlongo means 'brother'.

parents, i.e., one of his mother's sisters and her husband, become his foster parents if his mother dies and his father goes back to his home village.

'Why do you call A Akiele your brother (mbale)?', I asked A Develiase in 1953. His reply was rhetorical, 'Did we not marry into the same family [matrilineage]?' The use of sibling terms between persons marrying into the same matrilineage applies whether they are of the same or of opposite sex and whether they marry into the same generation or into different generations. It is covered by a tradition of dual clan organization and the logically extreme application of the principle we are considering, i.e., the use of sibling terms among fellow clansmen. Ceŵa say that originally there were only two matriclans (mafuko, sing., pfuko), Banda and Phili, and that between these there has always been a relationship of 'cross-cousinship' (cisuŵeni, cisuŵani), i.e., a potential marriage relationship. On the assumption that this dual organization still holds (in fact it does not; for other matriclans have emerged by differentiation), people who marry into the same matrilineage must belong to the clan (note singular) other than that of their spouses' matrilineage. They are therefore clan-siblings and refer to each other accordingly. This has an importand social function; for typically they are representatives of the 'outsider' spouse group in the village community, and their classificatory siblingship establishes a bond between them.

Some interesting effects spring from Principle (b). Cross-cousin marriage is the enjoined, traditional form of union, and kinship terms and associated behaviour patterns

are based on the assumption that it has occurred. There is slightly greater emphasis on a man's marrying his mother's brother's daughter than his father's sister's daughter, but both types of marriages are, traditionally at least, considered desirable. In addition to calling his mother's brother's or father's sister's child of either sex 'cross-cousin' (msuŵeni, msuŵani) a male Ego may call a female cross-cousin 'my wife' (mkazaŋga), she calling him 'my husband' (mwamunaŋga). A joking relationship exists between cross-cousins regardless of sex. Perhaps more interesting is the fact that not only this pair of terms but the whole system with its attendant behaviour patterns is adapted to expected cross-cousin marriage. Thus cross-cousins of the same sex, whether male or female, call each other 'sibling-in-law' (mlamu) as well as 'cross-cousin'; and a man, whether he has married his cross-cousin or not, refers to his mother's brother's wife as 'avoidance relative' (mpoŋgozi), and avoids her as he would his actual mother-in-law. Similarly, a man avoids his sister's daughter (nfumakazi) because she is his potential daughter-in-law. These two facts, anticipating in particular the matrilateral cross-cousin marriage of a male Ego, constitute, with informants' statements, the slender evidence for a slightly greater emphasis on this type as against patrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

The secondary terms used for one another by the parents of a married couple would fit either the matrilateral or the patrilateral form of cross-cousin marriage. These terms are 'sibling-of-the-opposite-sex' (mloŋgo) between the father of one of the married couple and the mother of the

other, and 'sibling-in-law' (mlamu) between a married couple's parents of the same sex. The primary term they use in both same-sex and opposite-sex relationships is msewele, for which there is no equivalent in English. This term is derived from kusewela, 'to play', and implies a free-and-easy relationship.

A final illustration of the ramifications of assumed cross-cousin marriage (as well as the logical consistency of the kinship system) is to be found in the fact that the children of cross-cousins, who are second cousins of a particular kind, call each other 'sibling', the Ceŵa term depending on whether they are of the same or of opposite sex. The case of Solopia II (D.17 in Fig. 4, facing p. 154 above) indicates that marriage between them is not barred; and that of Jeremiah (C.14) to Emelia (D.32) shows that marriage between a person and his cross-cousin's child is possible. Marriages such as these, which depart from the normal preferred pattern, may, however, involve adjustments in patterns of enjoined behaviour. Thus Jeremiah, when he married Emelia, had to substitute an avoidance for a joking relationship with her mother, his cross-cousin, Cikweni (C.13).

Principle (c), the combination of alternate generations, accounts, not only for joking relationships between children and the parents of both their father and their mother (the latter being more commonly encountered in a predominantly uxorilocal society), but also for a general equivalence of grandparents and grandchildren. There is, however, interaction between this principle and the principle of the unity of the sibling group ((a) above). Ego may sometimes refer to his mother's mother's brother, who in

English would be a great-uncle of a particular kind, as 'grandparent' (mbuye)—according to Principle (a). Very often, however, he refers to him as '(my) senior sibling-of-the-same-sex' (mkulu (wanga)), which is a logical consequence of Ego's membership (according to Principle (c)) of his mother's mother's generation. An interesting implication of the reciprocal of this relationship, but with a female Ego, is the fact that, though a man refers to his daughter's daughter as his 'grandchild' (mdzukulu) or 'my wife' (mkazanga), and, though his marriage to her is possible (though unlikely), he refers to his sister's daughter's daughter, in English a grand-niece of a particular kind, as 'sibling-of-the-opposite-sex' (mlongo). This usage is in conformity with the fact that she is a member of his matrilineage, and the matrilineage is a strictly exogamous group.

Because grandparents and grandchildren are identified, there are in effect only two generations at a given time. Ego, his grandchildren and his grandparents belong to one; and his children, parents and great-grandparents belong to the other. With characteristic consistency he refers to his great-grandparents as 'father' (tate) and 'mother' (mai)[15]; and to his great-grandchild as 'child' (mwana). The relationship between the two sets of combined generations is formal and restrained.

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[15] J. Bruwer, 'Kinship Terminology [among the Cewa of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia]', African Studies, 7, 1948, 185-87, at pp. 185-86, and J.L. Pretorius, 'The Terms of Relationship [of the Cewa]', Nyasaland Journal, 2, 1949, 44-52, at p. 48, record that a person calls his great-grandchild cidzukulu cotukwanitsa or cidzukulu cacimbuye, a point on which I unfortunately have no information. Judging by the meanings attributed to them by these writers, these terms would appear to refer primarily to the great age of the person employing them.

The three principles that we have considered, viz., (a) the unity of the sibling group, (b) the assumption of cross-cousin marriage and (c) the combination of alternate generations, are sufficient to determine the general framework of the Ceŵa kinship system. We turn now to three supplementary principles which will make our kinship reference points clearer, and thus prepare us for our examination of patterns of interaction and of reciprocal rights and duties among kinsmen. These supplementary principles are :-

(d) the distinction between terms of reference and terms of address;

(e) greater differentiation of the matrilineage with internal than with external orientation; and

(f) succession to genealogical position.

There is a distinction between terms of reference, the ones thus far given, and terms of address[16]. For instance, Ego refers to his daughter's husband as 'son-in-law' (mkamwini, mkomweni) but addresses him as 'father' (A Tate[17]). He refers to his mother's brother as A Tsibweni but addresses him as 'mother' (A Mai) or as Ŵaŵa[18]. He refers to his sister's daughter as nfumakazi or mwana wa kwamloŋgo (lit., 'child of at sibling-of-the-opposite-sex'); but, because she is potentially his daughter-in-law, he respectfully addresses her as 'mother' (A Mai). Although this is a term of address, I have heard its use given as the reason why a man

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[16] Pretorius, ibid., p. 49, is explicit on this point, but not Bruwer, ibid.

[17] From this point onwards, I give terms in the forms in which they would actually be used, i.e., in the honorific plural where appropriate.

[18] I suspected that Ŵaŵa was of Ŋgoni origin (cf. Zulu: ubaba, 'father'; vocative, baba) until I found that Gamitto recorded in 1831—before the Ŋgoni invasion—that Bába was the title of the village headman (Muéne muzi, now written mwini mudzi)—cf. A.C.P. Gamitto, O Muata Cazembe, Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1854, p. 83.

refers to his sister's daughter's daughter as 'sibling-of-the-opposite-sex' (mlongo) (noted above, p. 166). 'Her mother is my mother', said the informant. Furthermore, it identifies the women of the first ascending generation of the matrilineage (mothers) with those of the first descending generation (sister's daughters). The males of these two generations are similarly identified because the term of reference for mother's brother (mtsibweni, hon. plur., A Tsibweni), being a self-reciprocal, is used for sister's son as well.

The examples we have given of terms of address show that 'father' and 'mother' are widely used. In addition to their normal uses, for referring to and addressing Ego's own and classificatory parents, they serve as polite titles to bestow on any persons to whom respect is due, something in conformity with the rather formal relationship existing between parents and children. They are applied to unrelated persons as well as to respected kinsmen and affinal avoidance partners. An alternative to A Tate is Bambo, which in my experience is commoner in Nyasaland than in Northern Rhodesia. Its honorific plural, Mambo, is reserved for important chiefs and certain types of diviners. Bwana ('master') is a term used for chiefs and for non-African men in authority. Dona (or more often its honorific plural, A Dona) is used for non-African women.

One reason why 'father' and 'mother' are ubiquitous in Ceŵa speech is that there is an equivalence of the males of a matrilineage which increases enormously the number of affinal avoidance relationships that are observed. Ego avoids his wife's mother and treats his wife's father with

marked respect. Because he is identified with his own and his classificatory brothers, mother's brothers and mother's mother's brothers, all these join with him in avoiding his wife's parents, formally addressing them as 'father' and 'mother'.

This is actually an instance of Principle (e). The Ceŵa matrilineage, like any other social group, is more differentiated to its own members than it is to outsiders (including affines). If one remembers to distinguish between the internal and the external view of the matrilineage, then one will revise one's almost inevitable first impression that Ceŵa are slapdash in their use of terminology. From within, the generations of male matrilineage members are distinct, and terms acquire specific meanings. The younger brothers of the headman are referred to as 'his junior siblings-of-the-same-sex' (aziphwaŵo[19]). His sisters' sons are referred to as his azitsibweni or ŵana ŵa kwamlongo, the first term meaning specifically 'sisters' sons' (and, since it is self-reciprocal, 'mother's brothers'); and the second, 'sisters' children'. Because of the identification of his generation with the second descending one, his sisters' daughters' sons are referred to as 'his younger siblings-of-the-same-sex' (aziphwaŵo)[20]. To an outsider, these dis-

[19]The prefix azi- is often used for forming an ordinary plural when the more regular prefix a- or ŵa- is used for the honorific plural. Aziphwaŵo means literally 'their junior siblings-of-the-same-sex', the possessive suffix -ŵo being in the honorific plural in deference to the headman.

[20]My investigations confirm neither Pretorius ('The Terms of Relationship', p. 47) nor Bruwer ('Kinship Terminology', p. 186), who both give the term for 'sister's son' as mupwa. This difference may, of course, be the result of our having made our investigations among different groups of Ceŵa.

tinctions between generations are of no concern, and all matrilineage males junior to the headman are lumped together in the category of 'his junior siblings-of-the-same sex' (aziphwaŵo).

This lumping together is not surprising when one remembers that, in regard to succession (see above, p. 155), a man stands in the same relationship to his mother's brother as he does to his elder brother; and in the same relationship to his sister's son as he does to his younger brother.

There is a similar link between orientation and degree of precision in regard to the term mbale ('sibling-of-the-same-sex'—without age differentiation). If Ego is orientated within the matrilineage, azibale (ŵ)anga means 'my siblings-of-the-same-sex', i.e., his own and his classificatory siblings of the same sex. If, on the other hand, he is considering his matrilineage in relation to another matrilineage, or if an outsider is referring to Ego's azibale, then the term may be translated as 'kin', or, more precisely, 'matrikin'.

Perhaps the most interesting and important application of this principle is to the female members of the matrilineage; for, to designate them, the headman uses a term, nbumba, which, if he is orientated externally, may sometimes include the whole matrilineage except himself. Within the matrilineage, any man, not necessarily the headman, refers to his sisters as his 'siblings-of-the-opposite-sex' (azilongo); to his sisters' daughters as his 'female dependants' (nbumba, sing., the same); and, as a result of the combination of alternate generations, to his sisters' daughters' daughters as his 'siblings-of-the-opposite-sex' (azilongo). If this man is a headman, he will normally have inherited a name and succeeded to its associated

genealogical position, in which case these two terms (azi-longo and nbumba) will be used to designate the sisters and sisters' daughters of his predecessors. Now, an outsider, or the headman himself when orientated towards other matrilineages, will drop the distinctions between generations and simply refer to all females of the matrilineage as his (the headman's) 'female dependents' (nbumba). A distinction that Mitchell discovered among the Yao[21] applies also to the Ceŵa : whereas the headman refers to the women members of his matrilineage as 'my nbumba', his male juniors refer to them as 'our nbumba'.

Provided that orientation remains external, the term nbumba may be stretched on occasion to refer to all the headman's dependants, male and female. There are thus three meanings of nbumba. The most precise is the one understood when the speaker is orientated within his matrilineage, i.e., 'sister's daughter'. Then there is the one of wider reference when the speaker is orientated externally, i.e., 'female dependant'. Finally, there is the one of widest reference, again applying when the speaker is orientated externally, i.e., 'dependant' (male or female).

The fact that the headman has succeeded to the genealogical position of his predecessor is an instance of our final principle, (f), succession to genealogical position as a result of nominal reincarnation[22]. Before exploring other

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[21] J.C. Mitchell, 'The Yao of Southern Nyasaland', in Seven Tribes of British Central Africa, ed. by Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman, London: Oxford University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1951, p. 320.

[22] As B. Stefaniszyn appropriately calls it ('African Reincarnation Re-examined', African Studies, 13, 1954, 131-46).

implications of it, let us repeat that, in accordance with it, a headman's nbumba, whether the term be used in the wider or the widest sense, includes, not only matrilineage members of his own generation and descending ones, but also those of ascending generations who were the nbumba of one or other of his predecessors. This makes comprehensible an informant's statement that, if a sorcerer's lodge-fellows urge her to provide them with flesh by killing one of her relatives, she will if possible avoid killing her son because, when he has grown up, he will be 'as if a brother to her (ngati mlongo wace)'.

Let us now follow up another instance of the final principle. When a male name, with its attendant genealogical position, is handed on, it follows (though not always closely) the usual matrilineal principle, i.e., it goes to younger brothers and then to the eldest son of the eldest sister. A female name, on the other hand, usually skips a generation, i.e., it goes from a woman to her daughter's daughter (usually own, but sometimes classificatory). These facts are amply illustrated in the genealogies. Take for instance the inheritance of the male name, Cimbuna (C.5, D.7, E.9, E.8 and F.3), and the female name, Citondola (C.7 and E.13), in the skeleton genealogy of the Mceleka-Cimbuna matrilineage (Fig. 6, facing p. 190). The case of the female name, Solopia (A.10 and D.17), in the Jeremiah genealogy is exceptional (Fig. 4, facing p. 154). This different behaviour of male and female names has the effect of minimizing the disturbance brought about by succession to genealogical position. The relationship between a man and his sister's daughter affords the best illustration of

this. He normally addresses her as 'mother' because she is his potential daughter-in-law. Now it is to her that his mother's name typically goes, and this brings about no change in his term of address. Although she now calls him 'my child', the relationship between them is still marked by the formality and restraint existing between persons of proximate generations. Since our immediate task is to show how the kinship system works, we shall leave the discussion of the possible structural implications of this phenomenon until later (see below, p. 199).

Ceŵa are punctilious about the etiquette springing from name-inheritance. This was forcibly brought home to me by the case of A Kanyama and A Ŋguzi,

> both of whom I met soon after I first arrived in the Ceŵa Reserve in 1946. I went to see some dancing at the village of which A Kanyama was headman, and happened to take his photograph, afterwards supplying him with a print of it. A Ŋguzi was an old woman living in Mceleka village. During the period before I had learnt the language well enough to dispense with an interpreter, I once sat on the verandah of her hut and had a friendly chat with her. An elder of the village came by, and, seeing me, asked me whether I was visiting the village. I said: 'Yes, I'm visiting my old friend here' (indicating A Ŋguzi). Since Ceŵa knows no Platonic friendship, my interpreter translated 'old friend' as 'mistress', much to the amusement of the elder, who asked whether they should go ahead with marriage negotiations. Henceforth, to put the joke on a decent basis, I became A Ŋguzi's putative grandchild.
>
> Soon after my return to the Reserve in 1952, I was sorry to hear that Ŋguzi was seriously ill. I decided to visit her the next day with a present of tinned soup. That evening I had a visit from Headman Kanyama, whom I had not seen since 1946 but whom I recognized because of the photograph. After a pleasant reunion with this jovial, middle-aged headman, now a peasant farmer, I heard him telling people in the village that he was on his way to visit a sick child. Next day when I went to see A Ŋguzi, I found that she had aged a great deal since I had last seen her (four years previously), and that her mind was wandering. Because of this, I was not surprised to hear her say that her father had come to see her the previous night. Then, on the point of dismissing

this statement as a symptom of senile dementia, I suddenly remembered that, in 1946 when I had drawn up the genealogy of Mceleka village, I had recorded her father's name as Kanyama. I do not know how many holders of the name had intervened between A Nguzi's father and my middle-aged acquaintance. The casualness with which they both used the appropriate terms —in spite of a reversed age difference—was remarkable. So was the persistence of the 'father's' obligation to visit his sick 'child'.

The consequences of a headman's succeeding to the genealogical position of his predecessor are not confined to the readjustment of relationships within his matrilineage. They also have the effect of linking him, and thus the group he leads, with other similar groups. Most important among these external links are the 'perpetual relationships'[23] that grow out of patrilateral links. We have seen how the headman's son may become the leader of the local fragment of the matrilineage to which he belongs (see above, p. 159). Sometimes he is referred to as the 'child' of his father's successors. Thus Bisalomi, the headman of an off-shoot of Cimbuna village, is referred to as the 'child' of Cimbuna although the present incumbent (A Lazalo, Cimbuna V) is a generation junior to him (see Fig. 6, facing p. 190). More often the perpetual relationship that emerges is one of 'cross-cousinship' (<u>cisuŵeni</u>)—presumably because the first leader of the new group is a contemporary of his father's first successor, i.e., his father's sister's son. Many of the links between Ceŵa chiefs are of this kind. It would appear that, though succession to Ceŵa chieftainship is invariably matrilineal,

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[23]To borrow Cunnison's term (Cf. I. Cunnison, <u>Kinship and Local Organization on the Luapula</u>, Communications from the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, No. 5, Livingstone, 1950, pp. 14-15.

there are occasions when a chief, wanting to expand or reorganize his chiefdom, may, especially if he is caught by conflicting loyalties to son and sister's son, award his son a tract of land. The case of Chief Mkanda Mateyo is recent enough to provide a clear illustration of the effects of this. Reference to Appendix C will show that the traditional territory of Mkanda, extending over the Nyasa-Luaŋgwa watershed, was bisected by the Nyasaland-Northern Rhodesia border. At this time the Mkanda chieftainship, owing to the Ŋgoni conquest, was virtually defunct. After about twenty years of British occupation, it began, like other Ceŵa chieftainships, e.g. Kaŵaza's, to show signs of recovery from the effects of bondage; and the problems arising from its falling under two separate systems of European administration took on a semblance of reality. In 1917, therefore, on the death of his perpetual sister's son, who had been in charge of the Nyasaland section, Mkanda Kamwendo decided to take charge of it himself. He assigned the section falling in Northern Rhodesia to his son, Mkanda Mateyo. When he died in 1922, he was succeeded (in Nyasaland) by his sister's son, Mkanda Gudu. The two Mkandas are thus cross-cousins, and their successors will perpetually be 'in cross-cousinship (_paci-suŵeni_)'.

Dating from earlier times, and thus subject to varied explanations, are the relationships between other Ceŵa chieftainships. The Mkanda matriclan is Mbeŵe; whereas that of Undi is Phili. Mkanda (Gudu, not Mateyo) is described as the cross-cousin of Undi. The links between Mkanda and his subordinates include some perpetual 'cross-cousinships', e.g. that with Mbaŋombe whose matri-

clan is Sakala. Similarly, among the Southern Ceŵa, there are some chiefs not belonging to Undi's matriclan (Phili), who are his perpetual cross-cousins or those of his perpetual younger brother, Cimwala. For instance, Undi's subordinate, Mwaŋgala, is of the Mbeŵe matriclan; and Cimwala's subordinate, the Nseŋga Paramount Chief, Kalindawalo, is of the Mwanza matriclan. When, in 1952, Chief Cimwala gave me a rather random list of thirteen of his and Undi's subordinates among the Southern Ceŵa of Fort Jameson and of neighbouring Portuguese territory, he included only five who were of his and Undi's matriclan, Phili. He stated that the 'cross-cousinships' with the eight non-Phili chiefs had arisen from the habit chiefs have of giving chiefdoms to their children when the expansion of their territory warrants a reorganization.

Prescribed Behaviour among Kin

Now being in a better position to feel our way round the kinship system, let us examine the patterns of enjoined behaviour between kinsmen.

One criterion according to which relationships between kinsmen may be classified is the degree of intimacy that is expected of them. According to this criterion, Ceŵa prescribed behaviour patterns range from boisterous familiarity through friendly intimacy and reserved formality to precipitate avoidance. Let us examine these four categories, which represent the extremes and, roughly, the quartiles of the range we are considering.

The 'joking relationships' of anthropological literature are best represented among the Ceŵa by the licensed

familiarity between persons calling each other 'cross-cousin' (msuŵeni) or 'sibling-in-law' (mlamu). Between Ego and his cross-cousins of the opposite sex there exists a relationship known as 'cross-cousinship' (cisuŵeni); and between him and his cross-cousins of the same sex, brothers' wives, sisters' husbands, wife's brothers and wife's sisters there is a relationship known as 'sibling-in-law-ship' (cilamu). Cross-cousinship, a potential marriage relationship, is slightly freer than 'sibling-in-law-ship'. A man can fondle his female cross-cousin's breasts in public; for, as one informant put it, he is the 'proprietor of them' (mwini wao). He can have sexual intercourse with her, and this will not lead to serious trouble even if she is married; though it may cause quarrels between her and her husband because the latter will abuse her as an 'adulterous woman' (mkazi wa vigololo).

Ego's joking relationship with his wife's sister or his brother's wife does not go quite as far as this. Though he may fondle her breasts, he is deterred from having intercourse with her for fear of trouble with her husband or, if she is unmarried, her mother's brother. A man who kept a diary for me recorded with indignation the improper conduct of his sister-in-law, who sat on the verandah of his hut instead of entering it. 'I asked her, "Wherefore, since you are the proprietor of this hut....!" And I was greatly troubled. And I poured much scorn on her because she is a bad sister-in-law'.

Between cross-cousins and between these affines of the same generation, social relationships are characteristically tense. Cross-cousins belong to opposed patri-

laterally linked matrilineages (see above, p. 159) and are involved, at the receiving end, in a man's conflicting loyalties towards his children and his sisters' children. Tensions between affines have been so well documented that it is unnecessary to say more than that in this respect the Ceŵa conform with the world-wide pattern. Joking relationships have, in addition to this tension-relieving function, another function of considerable moral importance. They provide a means for effectively censuring a miscreant's conduct. His joking partners may jeer at him in public with impunity; and, though their words are assumed to be in jest, there may be more than a grain of truth in some of the things they say. Their taunts, which may condemn bad temper or petty meanness, or expose clandestine affairs, are effective sanctions, since among the Ceŵa there is a highly developed sense of shame (manyazi).

It is not a far step from the almost aggressive familiarity we have been considering to the more affectionate, playful goodwill existing between members of alternate generations. The closeness of these two categories is indicated by the tendency Ceŵa have of using the terms 'cross-cousinship' (cisuŵeni) and 'grandchildship' (cidzukulu) synonymously. More precisely, however, 'grandchildship' designates the relationship between Ego and the parents of both his father and his mother. The latter are more often near him in a predominantly uxorilocal society, and are of greater social significance since his mother's mother is one of the important elders of his matrilineage. The relationship is given full scope in Ceŵa society; for, from the time of weaning (at the age of two or three), the child goes to live in the hut of his mother's parents (see, for

instance, Fig. 4, facing p. 154, where Mwesanji and Salavia (E.19 and 20) are shown as living in the hut of their mother's mother, Tungase (C.8); and he remains there until he is 'clever enough' to realize that his grandparents are in the habit of having sexual intercourse, at which stage he joins some of his age-mates (not all necessarily from his own village-section) in a 'dormitory' (nphala). During the time he is with his grandparents, the child comes very much under their spell. It is they who tell him bed-time stories about Hare, Baboon, Lion and Hyena and who teach him proverbs and riddles. So conducive to learning is the atmosphere of 'Granny's nursery school' that a missionary friend of mine confessed that he regarded the grandmother as his chief rival. She is the repository of tradition, and has the advantage of being on very intimate terms with her 'pupils', both male and female. The joking relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is in keeping with the spirit of this period in the child's life. In addition to the terms 'grandparent' (mbuye) and its reciprocal, 'grandchild' (mdzukulu), there are others used by persons of alternate generations; and these are constant reminders of their friendly, sometimes hilarious, relationship. Grandsons call grandmothers 'my wife' (mkazanga); and grandfathers 'my co-husband' (mwamunmzanga). Granddaughters call grandfathers 'my husband' (mwamunanga); and grandmothers 'my co-wife' (mkazimzanga). Typical of the friendly banter that goes on is Pretorius's example of the boy who, when his demands for food from 'his wife' (i.e., his mother's mother) are refused, turns to his 'co-husband' (i.e., his mother's father) and suggests that they divorce

their wife[24]. This relationship has lasting effects; for later in life it is their grandparents rather than their parents to whom a young married couple turn if tribal initiation has left them incompletely equipped with 'the facts of life' or if they need arbitrators in their minor quarrels.

This leads to the next point along the scale from familiarity to formality. It is because of the socially prescribed behaviour between proximate generations that a young couple cannot consult their parents on the intimate details of marital adjustment. There are other situations, too, from which the members of the parental generation are excluded. If a person is undergoing the instruction associated with any rite de passage, such as that at puberty, marriage or name-inheritance, he is supported by a joking partner. And in the physically intimate process of childbirth a woman is assisted by her grandmothers, sisters-in-law and cross-cousins—not by her mother. This slight formality colours Ego's relationships with all the members of the first ascending generation—with his fathers and mothers, both own and classificatory, and with his 'male mother' (mother's brother, mtsibweni) and his 'female father' (father's sister, tate wamkazi); though in their case the formality is even greater since they are potential parents-in-law.

This brings us to the fourth point on the scale, the formal extreme. Here we find the avoidance behaviour that exists between affines of proximate generations. This is

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[24] 'The Terms of Relationship', p. 47.

most marked in cross-sex relationships, i.e., between a man and his son's wife or his sister's son's wife; and between a woman and her daughter's husband. Since among the Ceŵa the members of the last of these pairs encounter each other more often than do the others, discussions of the avoidance relationship (cipongozi) implicitly refer to a woman and her daughter's husband. These two observe a very strict etiquette, the nature of which is revealed by the two verbs commonly used to describe it, 'to fear each other' (kuopana) and 'to flee from each other' (kuthawana). They may not mention each other's names (as I soon discovered in my early attempts to draw up genealogies); and, if they should meet on the path, they give each other a wide berth, leaving, as one informant expressed it, 'the path by itself in the middle' (njila iyokha pakati). It should be remembered (see above, pp. 168ff.) that, owing to the equivalence of the male members of the same matrilineage, these avoidance relationships are widely extended.

In the course of time, on the initiative of the mother-in-law, the avoidance taboos observed by her and her son-in-law may be removed by the exchange of gifts (usually a fowl and a shilling) and the ritual of eating together. Henceforth the partners treat each other in much the same way as mother and son. Some mothers-in-law delay this step for many years, and these cases illustrate the important function of the avoidance relationship. One woman I knew had still done nothing to remove the taboos after at least seven years. She explained that she knew her son-in-law to be hot-tempered and quarrelsome and believed that any closer contact with him would inevitably lead to an unpleasant clash of wills.

None of these behaviour patterns are rigidly immutable. Occasions arise when they have to be changed. We have seen how generally the inheritance of a name, with its associated genealogical position, causes a minimum of disturbance to the system of kinship terminology. Sometimes, however, it necessitates changes in behaviour patterns. Thus, when Headman Matope III inherited the name associated with the headmanship (ultimately) from his mother's brother, Matope I, he had to drop his joking relationship with his cross-cousin, A Cawo, who became his 'child'.

Another type of change occurs when, for reasons of relative age, a person marries into a generation other than his own. When Headman Jeremiah (C.14 in Fig. 4, facing p. 154) grew up, his father, Kaliza (B.15), sought a bride for him from his own matrilineage. Kaliza's sister's daughter's daughter, Emelia (D.32), was of a suitable age. On marrying her, Jeremiah changed from a joking to an avoidance relationship with her mother, Cikweni (C.13), who was his cross-cousin. Generally, if two kinship links determine conflicting relationships, such as those in the instance just cited, avoidance suppresses joking. Another example of this is the fact that, though Tasokalelo (C.19 on the same genealogy) is the 'sibling-in-law' of Develiase (C.23) because he married the latter's sister, Lowase (C.18), Develiase treats him with great respect because he is the mother's brother of Emelia (D.32), the widow of his brother, Jeremiah.

Behaviour patterns such as those we have been examining may form the basis of interaction between groups lacking actual kinship bonds. Thus the Banda and Phili matri-

clans are in a relationship of 'cross-cousinship' (cisuŵeni) with each other, with all that this implies regarding joking and preferential marriage. Another instance is a ritual alliance called 'grandchildship' (cidzukulu) that exists between a particular matrilineage and individual members of other matrilineages in the same village or neighbourhood. Stefaniszyn has referred to this alliance as 'funeral friendship'[25], a term which, though possibly too specific, is satisfactory, since a funeral is the occasion par excellence on which it is operative. These ritual friends, who are not kinsmen at all[26], are designated as 'grandchildren' (adzukulu, sing., mdzukulu), and have an asymmetrical joking relationship with the matrilineage they have served.

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[25] B. Stefaniszyn, 'Funeral Friendship in Central Africa', Africa, 20, 1950, 290-306, at p. 290. See also Mary Tew, 'A Further Note on Funeral Friendship', Africa, 21, 1951, 122-24. Elizabeth Colson, 'Clans and the Joking-Relationship among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia', Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, Nos. 8 and 9, 45-60, has expressed dissatisfaction with the translation 'funeral friendship' and has reverted to the older term 'clan joking relationship'. This is not, however, satisfactory for the Ceŵa; for, though this may have been a clan joking relationship in the past, it is nowadays essentially a relationship between a particular matrilineage and individual members of other matrilineages in the vicinity.

[26] Neither Pretorius nor Bruwer distinguishes 'ritual friends' from grandchildren. Pretorius, 'The Terms of Relationship', p. 47, says: 'Mdzukulu means gravedigger: A man thus regards grandchildren as those who will dig his grave'. J. Bruwer, 'Korswelverhoudings en die Belangrikheid Daarvan by Begrafnisgebruike', Op die Horison, 13, 24-33, at p.27, refers to the grandchildren as the actual eni maliro [proprietors of the funeral] whose functions he details as those of undertakers; and in 'Kinship Terminology', p. 186, he states that it is the grandchildren's sole responsibility to provide their grandparents with a proper burial. Similarly, Cullen Young (Headman's Enterprise by S.Y. Nthara, trans. and ed. and with a preface by T. Cullen Young, London: Lutterworth Press, 1949, p. 191, Footnote 2) writes: 'Mdzukulu : a relationship implying "one of those upon whom falls the duty of burying", and specially applicable to grandsons'. In contrast to these statements, my informants made a clear distinction between grandchildren who are related (pacibale) and ritual friends who are not; and at funerals I attended those who performed the functions of undertakers were not members of the deceased's matrilineage.

Stannus in his thorough study of the Nyanja[27] states that the relatives of the deceased 'ask some friends [my italics] to act as adzukulu'; and he adds :-

> For ever after having acted as a Mdzukulu a man is expected to behave as a funny man. He may swear, use obscene language, insult people, commit adultery, make obscene overtures to women, pull off their clothes etc., take chickens, take beer and drink it when he sees it being made in the village where he acted[28].

This relationship, as applying to funerals rather than in its more general form, did not escape that acute observer, Gamitto, who in 1831 noted that, among the Maravi, those helping when another dies acquire in relation to his family a mutual term of address, sabuhira (a term I did not come across among the Ceŵa), and are henceforth entitled to say and do to them whatever they wish, even to take their possessions without fear of a court case[29]. Gamitto's describing the relationship as mutual conflicts with my finding (and, in a sense, with his own implication) that it is asymmetrical. It is clear from his statement that funeral friends do not belong to the family of the deceased.

My informants among the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa gave me descriptions of this institution very similar to those of Stannus and Gamitto. They added, however, that nowadays people were less tolerant of the depredations of

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[27]H.S. Stannus, 'Notes on Some Tribes [in British East Africa]', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 40, 1910, 285-335, at p. 315.

[28]Loc. cit.

[29]O Muata Cazembe, p. 120 (my précis of a translation from the Portuguese by Mr José Cotta).

Avoidance behaviour - posed but realistic

Old woman (note lip-plug, <u>phelete</u>) with a sick grandchild

An <u>mnkhoswe's</u> duty towards his <u>nbumba</u>: A Develiase Mvula builds a hut for his widowed sister

On the day following a funeral a ritual friend ties a mourning band (<u>mlaza</u>) on the head of a mourner

PLATE XIX - BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS

ritual friends, and tried to attract their services more by entertaining them to good funeral fare than by permitting them such extravagant liberties. During my stay among the Ceŵa, I certainly saw no incidents conforming with the traditional account of the behaviour of ritual friends.

I am translating mdzukulu in this context as 'ritual friend' rather than 'funeral friend' because the service rendered is not confined to funerals. A headman who is being installed is supported by a ritual friend, just as a more junior person receiving a name is supported by an actual grandchild or cross-cousin. When offerings are made to the shades[30], ritual friends of the matrilineage concerned are entitled to consume these the day after they have been offered. A ritual friend may even participate in a libation, saying to the shades of the matrilineage to which he is linked: 'I am only a ritual friend (mdzukulu), but remember me when I come looking in your village for a marriageable woman (nbeta)'. When Ceŵa refer to someone as a 'hyena' (fisi) who comes in to complete some ritual for them, such as the defloration of a girl who has reached puberty, they generally mean a ritual friend.

Ceŵa show great ingenuity in exploiting situations provided by kinship links. A good example is the quarrel

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[30]At Professor Monica Wilson's suggestion, I am translating mizimu as 'shades' (sing., mzimu). The more usual translation, 'spirits', is too general for these matrilineage deities; and, as Professor J. Clyde Mitchell has pointed out (private communication), the compound, 'ancestor-spirits', though more specific, is misleading when applied in the context of matrilineal descent, where many of the more important lineage deities are not lineal ancestors but collaterals such as mother's brothers or mother's mother's brothers.

that occurred in 1947 between Msaŋkhulana of Matope village and Samba of Jeremiah village.

> At a beer drink, Samba was given a gourdful of beer, and Msaŋkhulana drank some of it before Samba had tasted it. 'Hey, you', said Samba, and slapped Msaŋkhulana on the knee. Msaŋkhulana took offence, and the quarrel eventually went before Headmen Matope and Jeremiah. Discussion of the case had gone on for some time when Cuzu, an elderly, highly respected 'son-in-law' of Cimseleti's matrilineage pointed out that, since (a) Msaŋkhulana was his wife's sister and (b) Samba was a member of his own matriclan, a joking relationship must exist between these two women, and it had therefore been improper for Msaŋkhulana to take offence. Cuzu's argument was accepted, and Msaŋkhulana's complaint was dismissed as groundless.

Structure of the Matrilineage

The familiarity-formality scale, along which we have found it convenient to place joking, avoidance and other, less spectacular patterns of enjoined behaviour, represents but one of the dimensions of human interaction. Another important dimension has to do with mutual dependence. Kinsmen are enmeshed in a series of relationships involving reciprocal rights and duties. Most conspicuous are those between a leader and his following. The leader has the privilege, with its attendant prestige, of directing the affairs of his followers, who, enjoying a freedom from responsibility, are obliged to obey his orders. In return for the privilege and prestige that he enjoys, the leader is obliged to place his worldly wisdom, ritual power and economic strength at the disposal of his followers.

The relationship between leader and followers, better than any other aspect of its structure, throws light on the organization and the integration of the Ceŵa matrilineage. The group comprises, as we have seen, the headman (nfumu) and his dependants (nbumba, in the widest sense). Like

other human leaders, the headman has lieutenants, both male and female. For convenience we shall consider the female lieutenants first. In every generation each woman is the source, and in a sense the president, of her own group of uterine descendants—her children, her daughters' children, her daughters' daughters' children, and so on. She is the 'ancestress' (kholo) of this group, which, since she has metaphorically suckled them, is referred to as her 'breast' (bele). The status that her 'breast' or segment occupies in the matrilineage as a whole has several determinants. Firstly, the generation to which she belongs determines the depth of her segment and consequently its span[31]. Thus, in Fig. 4 (facing p. 154), the segment of the late Kuliale I (B.7) has a depth of five generations and so wide a span that it includes all local matrilineage members except Kabuula II (B.10), Kenala (C.35) and Galantia (C.37); whereas that of her daughter, Lowase (C.18), has a depth of three generations and includes only her seven children and one daughter's child.

Secondly, an ancestress's order of birth will make her segment senior or junior to that of her own sister; and the order of birth of her mother, mother's mother, and so on, will determine the status of her segment in relation to the segments of her female collaterals of the same generation. Thus the segment of Kuliale II (D.15 in Fig. 4) is senior (a) to that of her younger sister, Solopia II (D.17) and (b) to that of her mother's younger sister's daughter, Eledia (D.24). This type of seniority, depend-

[31]Cf. Meyer Fortes, The Dynamics of Clanship [among the Tallensi], London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1945, p. 30.

ent on the birth-order of the ancestress herself or of her lineal ancestresses, is designated by saying that a segment is a 'big breast' (<u>bele lalikulu</u>) or a 'little breast' (<u>bele laliŋono</u>) in relation to any other segment of the same order with which it may be compared. As we have seen (above, p. 155), headmanship is supposed, in theory at least, to remain in the 'big breast' of the matrilineage as a whole ('biggest' would be more precise, but I am following the Cewa expression). In other words, a headman should be succeeded by his own (as opposed to his classificatory) brothers; then by his own eldest sister's sons, in their order of birth; then by his own eldest sister's eldest daughter's sons, in their order of birth—and so on.

Thirdly, the random distribution of fecundity and mortality, of opportunity and accident, makes some segments prosper and multiply; others, decline and die out. Similarly, the ordinary fluctuations in heredity and environment produce sub-strains that are intellectually bright or dull, emotionally serene or irascible. From our point of view, these variations are random—due to chance. From the Cewa point of view, many, though not all, of them are due to personal intervention—the inscrutable works of Providence (Mulungu, Ciuta etc., traditionally the creator, now used—especially Mulungu—for the God of the Christians), the essentially human reactions of the shades, or the evil machinations of sorcerers. And the Cewa tend, as do certain classes in our own society, to over-emphasize the influence of sheer heredity. Such-and-such a woman's sons, they say, will never make good headmen because their

father, the man who placed them in her womb, was a knave (mambala[32]) or a fool (wopusa).

These factors of random incidence must be taken into account; for, without them, there can be no explanation for the decline and disappearance of a segment which may have had great depth and potential span, and whose ancestress and her lineal ancestresses were the first-born among sisters with issue. They account also for the decline of whole segments and ultimately of whole villages. We have seen how, when Cimbuna village expanded and proliferated, Cipaŋgula village contracted until it lost its independence as an administrative unit (see above, p. 153).

Even if we take a prosperous group such as the matrilineage from which the kinship-nucleus of the headman's section of Cimbuna village derived, we find that growth within it may be uneven. Fig. 6, to which we shall return shortly when we discuss matrilineage-segmentation, presents its skeleton genealogy. This shows how the junior primary segment[33], the 'breast' of Mnbwalila (B.3), has proliferated far more than the senior one, the 'breast' of Makalila (B.2) from which the kinship-nucleus of the headman's section of Mceleka village has derived.

The process of matrilineage-segmentation, which this diagram serves to illustrate, is basic to an understanding,

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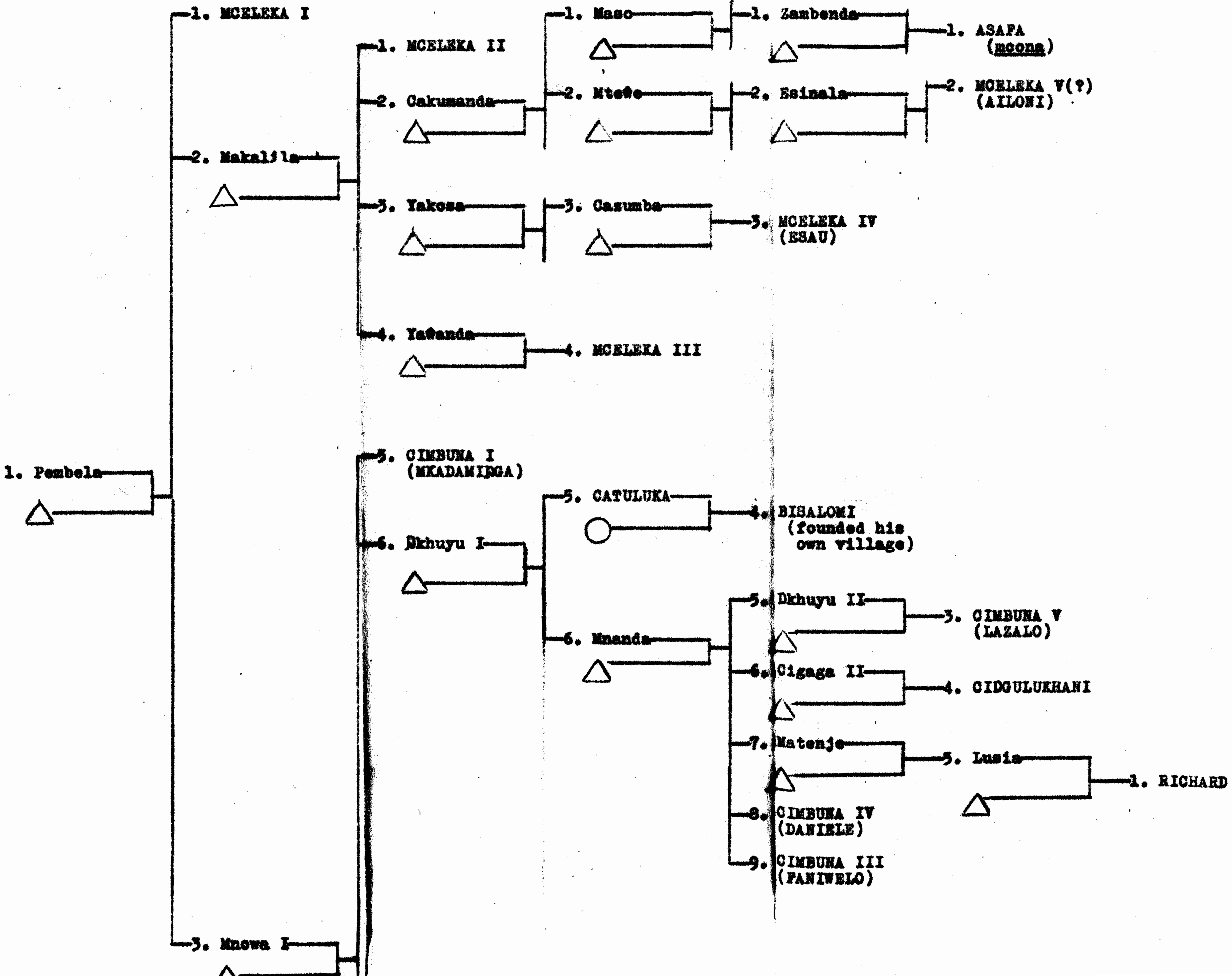
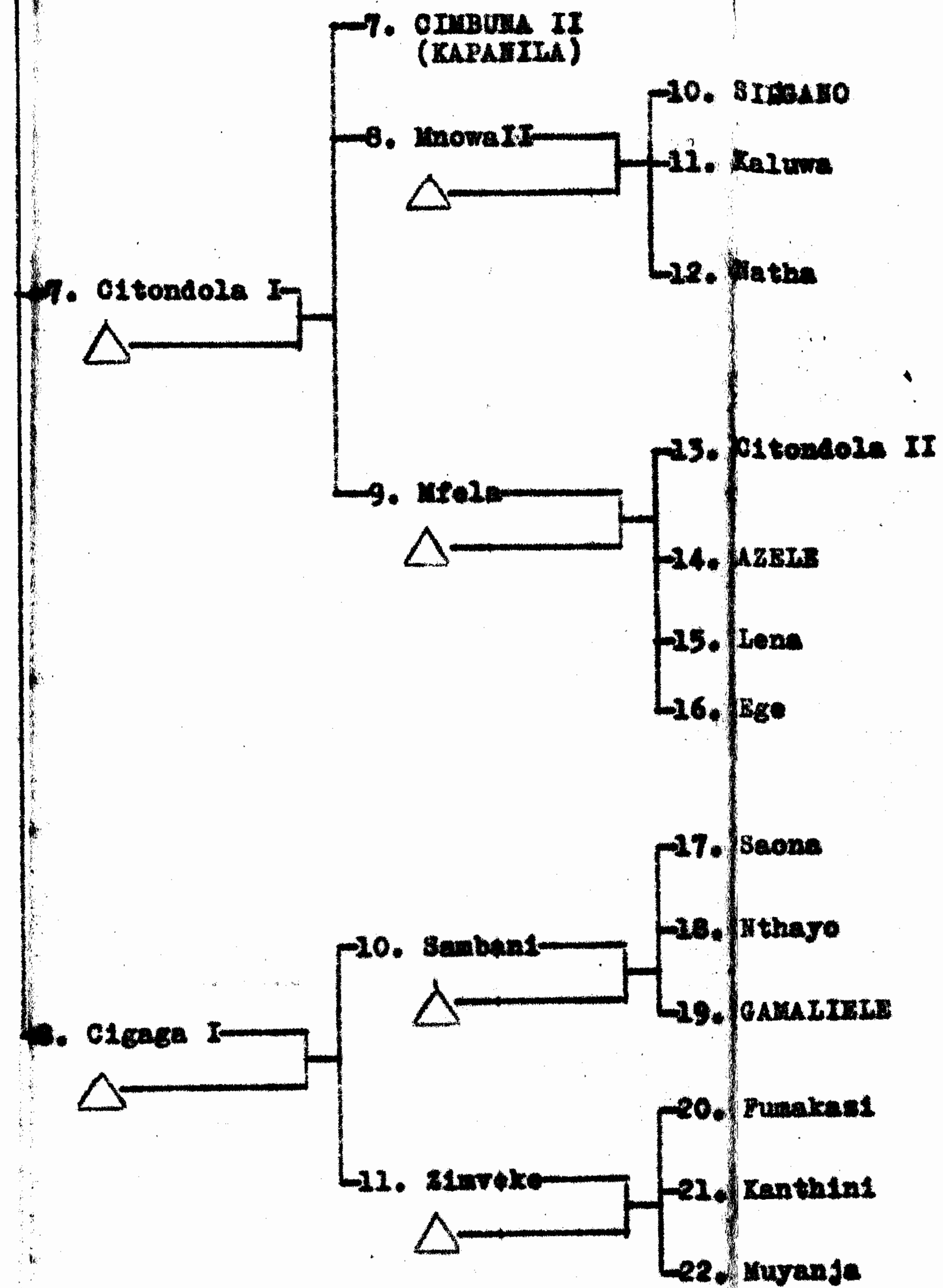
[32]In South Africa, where this word is current in the form mompara, its meaning is nearer to 'fool' than it is to 'knave'. Dr N.J. van Warmelo has suggested (private communication) that it is derived from the Afrikaans adjective baar, meaning 'raw' or 'crude', converted into a noun by the use of the Bantu (Sotho) personal prefix, mo-.

[33]Cf. Fortes, The Dynamics of Clanship, p. 35.


G E N E R A T I O N S
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
1. Pembela
1. MCELEKA I
2. Makalila
3. Mnowa I
1. MCELEKA II
2. Cakumanda
3. Yakosa
4. Yaŵanda
5. CIMBUNA I
(MKADAMIDGA)
6. Dkhuyu I
1. Maso
2. Mteŵe
3. Casumba
4. MCELEKA III
5. CATULUKA
6. Mnanda
1. Zambenda
2. Esinala
3. MCELEKA IV
(ESAU)
4. BISALOMI
(founded his
own village)
5. Dkhuyu II
6. Cigaga II
7. Matenje
8. CIMBUNA IV
(DANIELE)
9. CIMBUNA III
(PANIWELO)
1. ASAFA
(moona)
2. MCELEKA V(?)
(AILONI)
3. CIMBUNA V
(LAZALO)
4. CIDGULUKHANI
5. Lusia
1. RICHARD



LEGEND: As for Fig. 4.

Fig. 6—Skeleton Genealogy of the Mceleka-Cimbuna Matrilineage

not only of Ceŵa social structure in general, but also of some of the specific problems with which this study is concerned. Segmentation is intimately related to the long-distance migrations of the past; for instance, Kaloŋga, Undi and Cimwala were probably the leaders of their respective mothers' matrilineage-segments. And it plays an important part in the less memorable village fragmentation of the present, whether this occurs naturally in the Reserve or is induced artificially (though easily) by the resettlement scheme. In this study, matrilineage-segmentation becomes relevant as an important source of tension that is expressed in accusations of sorcery and projected into beliefs regarding the social limits in which sorcery operates.

For these reasons it will be worth our while to examine this process with reference to the Mceleka-Cimbuna skeleton genealogy (Fig. 6). The group it shows may be designated as the 'breast' of Pembela (A.1), the earliest ancestress remembered. Either she had no sisters or her sisters have been forgotten. This group divided into two primary segments, those of Makalila (B.2), the 'big breast', and of Mnowa I (B.3), the 'little breast'. At an early stage, long before the village came to its present locality in 1929, these two segments occupied distinct sections within it. But it was the junior segment that achieved effective domination by having its headman, Cimbuna III (E.9), recognized by the Chief as headman of the whole village. Failing in its efforts to gain the recognition due to a senior segment, Makalila's descendants, under their headman, Mceleka III (D.4), hived off to form a village of their own.

Village headman : A Mceleka Luŋgu

'Senior son-in-law' (mkwekulu) of Jeremiah Village: A Tasokalelo Phili and his wife, A Loŵase Mvula, Headman Jeremiah's sister

PLATE XX - VILLAGE PERSONALITIES

The success of the junior segment in always producing a candidate whom the Chief considered capable of taking charge of the whole village may have been due to its superiority in numbers. I did not investigate this hypothesis specifically, but it is supported by the fact that there is a difference between the two segments in the form followed by succession to the headmanship. The Makalila primary segment (headed by Mceleka) divided (in Generation C) into three segments of secondary order. Since the death of Mceleka II (C.1), the headmen have been recruited from all three of these (assuming that Ailoni (F.2) has been confirmed as Mceleka V, which was not certain when I left the field in February 1953). The first of these secondary segments, that of Cakumanda (C.2), divided (in Generation D) into two segments of tertiary order, those of Maso (D.1), 'big breast', and Mteŵe (D.2), 'little breast'. The male heir, Asafa (F.1), of the senior of these two tertiary segments did not succeed because he became a 'lost one' (mcona) in Southern Rhodesia.

In the junior primary segment, on the other hand, succession to the headmanship has been closer to the orthodox pattern. After the death of Cimbuna I (C.5), the headmanship passed only once to a junior segment, the 'breast' of Citondola I (C.7), returning and remaining in the senior secondary segment, that of Ŋkhuyu I (C.6), and, within it, going to the senior fourth-order segment, that of Ŋkhuyu II (E.5).

The difference between the two primary segments, which I have tentatively attributed to a difference of population with a corresponding difference in the field

of candidates from whom to choose the headman, may, however, be fortuitous; for the almost perfect regularity of the succession to the Cimbuna headmanship (i.e., within the junior primary segment of Mnowa I (B.3)) has not occurred without opposition. Firstly, there were uncertainties regarding who would succeed Cimbuna IV (E.8). In 1946-47, when Cimbuna IV was headman, Ciŋgulukhani (F.4), the son of the second sister in his generation, Cigaga II (E.6), was his chief assistant and his most likely successor. At the end of 1948, after Ciŋgulukhani's death, Richard (G.1), the duaghter's son of another junior sister of Cimbuna IV's generation, occupied this position and had similar prospects. In 1952, however, after the death of Cimbuna IV, Lazalo (F.3), of the segment senior among those of the fourth order, returned from work in the south and succeeded to the headmanship, becoming Cimbuna V. Incidentally, the reason why Cimbuna III (Faniwelo, E.9) preceded his elder brother, Cimbuna IV (Daniele, E.8), was that the latter was away at work when Cimbuna II died.

Secondly, just as the primary segmentation of the whole matrilineage ended in the emergence of two villages, Mceleka and Cimbuna, where formerly there had been one, so did secondary segmentation within Cimbuna itself nearly split it asunder. At the end of 1948, Gamaliele (E.19), an elder of the 'breast' of Cigaga I (C.8), one junior to the other secondary segments, succeeded in leaving what was then Cimbuna village and starting an independent settlement, to which he attracted, not only the tertiary segment of which he was a member, that of his mother, Sambani (D.10), but also the (secondary) segment of his mother's mother's sister, Citondolo I (C.7), and the (tertiary) segment of his mother's

sister, Zimveke (D.11). This movement was foiled when the rest of the village abandoned the site from which he had moved with his following, and joined him at the new one, where he again became subject to Cimbuna IV, the leader of the senior secondary segment, that of Ikhuyu I (C.6).

Our discussion of segmentation is only an apparent digression from the subject of the female sub-leaders of the matrilineage. To borrow a metaphor from Fortes, these women are the growing points[34] of the matrilineage and thus the origin of new segments. This is an appropriate moment to remark that the Ceŵa matrilineage is free from complications corresponding to those arising among patrilineal peoples from polygyny[35]. Though, as we shall see in the next chapter, the importance of a child's having an established paternity is reflected in both doctrine and mystical belief, his having a particular paternity has no effect on his status in the segment of his mother or in the matrilineage at large.

I referred earlier to the ancestress as the president of her segment. She is a president in the pre-De Gaulle French, rather than the American, sense. Ceŵa matriliny is not matriarchy. Although she is an important figurehead and a person whose opinion has influence, she is not one of the executive officers or the matrilineage unless the absence of a suitable male heir necessitates her becoming the head (<u>nfumu</u>) of it. Gamitto re-

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[34] <u>The Dynamics of Clanship</u>, p. 32.

[35] For instance, the segmentation of the Tale patrilineal units into matrilateral sub-units (<u>ibid.</u>, pp. 198ff.).

cords a few instances of women chiefs among the Maravi and Ceŵa[36]. During my first and second field trips, Kagolo village had a woman nfumu. But generally Ceŵa assert that women 'lack strength (alije nphamvu)', implying social as much as physical strength. It is the men of the matrilineage who normally perform executive functions.

This brings us to the headman's male lieutenants. They form a hierarchy with the headman at its apex. The form of the hierarchy is defined by the institution of 'guardianship' (uŋkhoswe[37]). In discussing the kinship system, we saw (above, pp. 170ff.) that any man, not necessarily the headman, has female matrilineal dependants known to outsiders as his nbumba. These are his sisters, sisters' daughters, sisters' daughters' daughters—and so on. He also has male matrilineal dependants known to outsiders as 'his younger brothers' (aziphwaŵo), though they include members of both his own and descending generations. The term nbumba may sometimes be stretched to include these male dependants[38].

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[36] O Muata Cazembe, pp. 416, 425 et passim.

[37] From mŋkhoswe, which, with some hesitation, I translate as 'guardian'. It also connotes 'representative', 'advocate' and 'surety'. As a reminder of my hesitation, I shall continue to write 'guardian' between quotation marks. Mitchell has translated the corresponding Yao term as 'warden' ('The Yao of Southern Nyasaland', p. 317). For an excellent account of 'guardianship' among the South Nyanja, which closely resembles that of the Ceŵa, see Bennett E. Malekebu, Uŋkhoswe waaNyanja, Annotated African Texts: I: Maŋanja, ed. by Guy Atkins, Cape Town: Oxford University Press for School of Oriental and African Studies, 1952.

[38] In a neighbouring society, it has been stretched even further to include a large matrilineally extended family and the homestead it occupies. Cf. Audrey Lawson, 'An Outline of the Relationship System of the Nyanja and Yao Tribes in South Nyasaland', African Studies, 7, 1949, 180-98, at p. 181.

The relationship between any man and his dependants is expressed by saying that he is their 'guardian' (_mŋkhoswe_[39]) or, if they are of his own rather than of descending generations, their 'junior guardian' (_mŋkhoswe wamŋono_). _Mŋkhoswe_ is thus the reciprocal of _nbumba_. The relationship between a dependant and his or her 'junior guardian' becomes clearest in the context of marriage. The 'junior guardian' represents his matrilineage in the handing over of the marriage-token (see Chapter 5, p. 206), and, having played this part, is charged with the future supervision of the marriage partners. He has to reconcile them when they quarrel, and, if he should fail in this, to arrange for their divorce. Typically the 'junior guardian' is responsible for the marriages of his own sisters and brothers. I have, however, recorded instances in which a man has acted as marriage 'guardian' of his classificatory siblings where these have lacked a brother of their own.

The 'junior guardian's' duties are not confined to acting as a marriage negotiator. He also sees to the general welfare of his dependants. If one of them should fall ill, it is his duty to take whatever steps appear to be necessary, e.g. arrange for members of the segment to consult a diviner and pay the diviner's fee, procure medicines or arrange for the propitiation of a shade or the prosecution of a sorcerer. And he must settle those of their quarrels that he can, and support them in those that he cannot, whether in the more intimate atmosphere of the

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[39] I am writing this term and the next few in the singular. In use they are more often in the honorific plural, e.g. _A ŋkhoswe_, _A ŋkhoswe ŵaŋono_.

matrilineage or village meeting (kabungwe) or in the harsh-er glare of the Chief's court.

Among all the 'junior guardians' of a matrilineage, one stands out. He is the 'junior guardian' in the most senior segment (the 'big breast') a generation below the headman. Typically he is the headman's eldest sister's eldest son, though this general rule may be upset by considerations of character (makalidwe) or by the absence at work or in uxorilocal marriage of the most likely candidate. Generally regarded as the headman's successor, this man is referred to as the 'junior headman' (nfumu yaiŋono) or the 'headman of the Administration' (nfumu yaboma), the latter designation arising from the fact that he is young enough to undertake journeys to Chadiza or Fort Jameson if the need should arise.

We now come back to the person whose female and male lieutenants we have been considering at some length, i.e., the matrilineage headman (nfumu). He is usually the 'senior guardian' (mŋkhoswe wamkulu) with whom 'junior guardians' are in continual consultation and to whom they defer, especially in matters in which their dependants are involved with members of other matrilineages. Sometimes, if the matrilineage is large and highly proliferated, the hierarchy may include 'guardians' of intermediate status. Thus, in Cimbuna village, Gamaliele (E.19 in Fig. 6, facing p. 190) is referred to as the 'guardian' of the segments he succeeded in leading away to the new village site (see above, pp. 192-93). He is senior to the 'junior guardians' of these segments, but junior to Headman Cimbuna, who is 'senior guardian' of the (primary) segment of Mnowa I, now domiciled in Cimbuna village.

The headman, or 'senior guardian', has a larger group of dependants than any of his male lieutenants either because he is actually of the same generation as the ancestresses of the primary segments or because he has succeeded to this, or an even more ascendant, genealogical position. Like his lieutenants, he takes an interest in the marriages, divorces and illnesses of his dependants; settles quarrels among them; supports them when they sue or are sued in the Chief's court; takes responsibility for their conduct, e.g. pays compensation awarded against them in the Chief's court; and helps them when they are in need, e.g. clothes a female dependant neglected by a labour-migrant husband, and helps a male dependant to pay his tax. His range of contacts is wider than that of any of his lieutenants (except, possibly, his deputy, the junior headman) because, firstly, each segment within the group he leads looks ultimately to him; and, secondly, he interacts with the 'guardians' of other matrilineages, with chiefs and with administrators.

There are several reasons why the headman does not always attend in person to the affairs of the matrilineage, but delegates his authority to a 'junior guardian' or the junior headman. Firstly, he may be too old to undertake frequent journeys to the Chief's court or farther afield. Secondly, there are certain of his dependants, notably his sisters' daughters, about whom it would be improper for him to learn at first hand intimate details of marital adjustment or of bodily condition. Thirdly, there is the general principle, which applies here, that a leader's best way of securing the loyalty of his lieutenants is to maintain their prestige by working through them[40].

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[40] Homans, The Human Group, pp. 429-31.

Since we have given considerable attention in the last few pages to the process of matrilineage-segmentation, with its consequences in village-fragmentation, it becomes necessary, lest our account be biased, to enumerate the influences that unify the matrilineage, this highly segmented group falling under the actual or putative senior male of its senior segment. Segmentation cannot, of course, be stopped; but its disruptive effects can be postponed by astute headmanship.

The influences that delay the fragmentation of the matrilineage along its natural planes of cleavage fall into two categories. The first contains those relating to the headman; and the second, those having to do with the corporate activities of the matrilineage in Ceŵa society at large.

The importance of influences relating to the headman derives from the fact that he, like his Tale counterpart, is the keystone of the arch[41]. This has two aspects. Firstly, positional inheritance not only increases the span of his effective dominance but also ties him more tightly to his followers. Secondly, his social, economic and mystical power gives him effective sanctions for controlling his followers.

The headman's span of effective dominance is increased by positional inheritance because this elevates him ultimately to a point on the genealogy near which the descent lines of his followers converge—'near which', and

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[41]Cf. Fortes, The Dynamics of Clanship, p. 224.

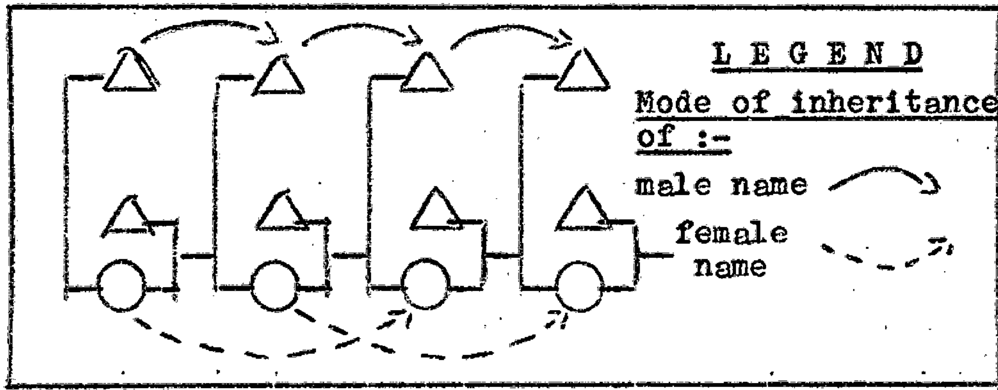

Fig. 7—The Structural Implications of Sex Differences in Name-Inheritance

not 'at which', because the point of convergence is a woman, the ancestress in the most ascendant generation remembered; and positional inheritance makes him her son or her brother.

To understand how positional inheritance ties the headman more closely to his followers, we should remind ourselves (see above, p. 172) that, usually, whereas male names pass from their holders to their sisters' sons, female ones go from their holders to their daughters' daughters. As Fig. 7 shows, the effect of this sex difference in name-inheritance (and positional inheritance follows it) is to tie the headman to all his female dependants either by a brother-sister or a son-mother bond (own or classificatory). In particular, it converts to a son-mother link the avuncular one between him and his sisters' daughters, who are perhaps the most important buds of segmentation[42]. This may have the effect of integrating the segments of the matrilineage he leads by making him a member of each one of the newly developing ones.

The headman has both secular and mystical sanctions for controlling his dependants. To understand the strength of the secular ones, we shall assume for the moment (this will be demonstrated below) that the matrilineage functions as a corporate group in Ceŵa society; and that its members therefore derive benefits from their association and enjoy the satisfaction, in terms of the Ceŵa normative system, of belonging to a large group.

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[42]I am grateful to Professor J. Clyde Mitchell for suggesting that I should consider the possible structural consequences of the differing modes of inheritance of male and female names, a phenomenon which he has observed among the Yao, and which Dr Raymond Apthorpe has observed among the Nsenga (private communications).

Given this, it is obvious that the headman's task of controlling and uniting the group is greatly facilitated; for in his hands lie a powerful series of sanctions. If his dependants are troublesome, he can threaten to chase them away from his village or to withhold his protection and support. Ceŵa say that long ago he could sell them into slavery. Any of these forms of expulsion would have serious consequences for them.

There are, however, limitations to his taking any of these steps. Apart from the fact that it is no longer possible for him to sell his dependants into slavery, there are many social pressures opposing any step he might take towards expelling or disowning them. The pressure of public opinion is represented in an informant's dictum that a man who fails to care for (-sunga, -samala) his dependants and leaves them to their own devices 'is not a person (si-munthu yai)'. Another informant says that if a man complains to the Chief that his dependants have run away from him, and the Chief questions them, they will in all probability reply that their 'guardian' is addicted to sorcery or to beating them. An instance that occurred in 1949 shows that he may be deterred by the fear of their killing him with sorcery.

> A section headman's death was attributed to the sorcery of one of his classificatory sisters because he and she had hated each other as a result of his once having castigated her with the words, 'Thou, female dependant, thou hast no ears [art disobedient] (Iwe nbumba ulije matu)'.

The limitations to a headman's threatening to withhold his protection and support are well illustrated by the case of Gombe and Kazingachile (both pseudonyms for obvious reasons) :-

In 1949, Kazingachile came from Nyasaland and claimed membership of Headman Gombe's matrilineage. Although he was unknown to any of the local members (he claimed closest affiliation with the Headman's classificatory brother, Taulo, who was at work in Lusaka), he was accepted as a member, and in the course of time was sent to contract a leviratic union (kulowa cokolo) with the widow of a classificatory brother in a village a few miles away. After a while, Kazingachile showed seriously anti-social characteristics. Firstly, he cut bark from a tree in the buiral ground (something only a sorcerer would do). Secondly, he was caught in the act of collecting soil soaked in his wife's urine; and, though he protested that he was trying to regain her lost affection by making a love potion with it, people suspected him further of sorcery.

At this stage, Headman Gombe decided to disown him, and informed the Chief's court accordingly. This did not, however, absolve him (or his matrilineage) from responsibility for Kazingachile's further misdeeds; for, when Kazingachile stole one of Taulo's cattle and sold it in a neighbouring village, and Gombe, acting on behalf of Taulo, sued the buyer for its return, the Court refused to grant this, finding that the fact that Gombe had chosen Kazingachile to contract a leviratic union on behalf of his matrilineage was sufficient proof of his being a relative; and that from this it followed that, although Gombe had later disowned him, he was in fact still responsible for his actions.

Most of the supernatural sanctions for failure to obey the headman depend on the fact that he is an elder with believed mystical powers. When the cult of the shades was more vigorous, it was believed that they overheard him as he complained (-dandaula) to himself about his dependants' misdeeds, and proceeded to punish the transgressors by making them or their children ill. The headman was not the only person credited with mystical power over junior kin. All the elders were, and still are to some extent, believed to exercise supernatural influence of this kind. Women are said to have the power of cursing their children by expressing milk from their breasts (kufinyila mawele pansi) to the accompaniment of a statement such as, 'If I did not suckle this child, then no matter; but, if I did suckle him, may he die'. And even today pregnant women are warned not to quarrel with the elders lest their labour be difficult.

With the decline of the cult of the shades, these beliefs in the mystical power of senior relatives are now often formulated in terms of sorcery. Young men who, verbally at least, echo the missionary dogma that it is nonsence to believe in the shades, and who apparently have no fear of their intervention, nevertheless express a lively fear of the sorcery of their mothers' brothers. The mother's curse is now so rare that one of my most reliable informants, a man in his late sixties, said that he had only once observed it, and that it had then attracted such a large crowd that he could not get near enough to see properly. On that occasion, he said, the woman he observed was cursing her son, in his early twenties, who was a thief. The details of how the elders interfere with parturition are not always specified; but kalamatila, a kind of sorcery, is often believed to be the cause of difficult labour or death in childbirth.

Was our assumption correct that the matrilineage functions as a corporate group, and that its members derive material and psychological benefits from belonging to it? There are four parts to the answer to this question :- firstly, the effect of matrilineage membership on prestige; secondly, the extent to which the matrilineage is economically corporate; thirdly, the extent to which its solidarity is enhanced by ritual; and, fourthly, taking us into the next chapter, the extent to which it has a jural identity.

I could quote many instances of the prestige that is gained in Ceŵa eyes from belonging to a large group, particularly a large matrilineal kin-group. Cimbuna, which, until it broke up in 1949, was one of the largest villages

in the part of the chiefdom immediately adjoining the Chief's capital, was proudly referred to by its inhabitants as 'our town', the English word being used in contradistinction to the Ceŵa term, <u>mudzi</u> ('village'), applied to smaller neighbouring villages. So great is the importance of belonging to a kin-group, preferably a large one, that people who lack relatives and who have to resort to the device of fictitiously claiming kinship with one another (<u>kukumbana</u>) are objects of pity and scorn. Their opposites, those who are 'in the middle' (which in Ceŵa, in contrast with modern slang, means being in a fortunate position, that of having many matrikin, especially economically and socially powerful male matrikin) are objects of envy. Ceŵa believe that the envy of sorcerers is sometimes aroused by the large size of matrilineage segments (or occasionally matrilineages) other than their own, and is satisfied by their killing off their members until some semblance of equality is reached.

Economic functions undoubtedly unite matrilineal relatives, but it is uncertain whether any of the groups that emerge from economic co-operation correspond with what we have been referring to as the matrilineage (a term standing for matrilineage-remnant). When a woman's husband dies, or goes away to work for a long time, she looks to her brother for goods, such as clothes, which her husband would normally provide, and services, such as hut-building, which he would normally perform. Whether, however, the group performing these economic functions is the matrilineage as a whole or one of its segments depends on circumstances such as the depth and span of the matrilineage and on the presence or absence of competition between 'junior guardians'.

As we saw in the last chapter (see above, pp. 116ff.), the social basis of day-to-day living is the household whose matrilineal core is a segment usually three generations in depth. This group, which is a matrilocally extended family, jointly works a common garden and lives on its produce. In contrast, the non-routine form of economic organization, the working party (see Chapter 3, pp. 118ff.) is recruited from a wider field. By the promise of entertainment, and on the assumption of future reciprocity, the host matrilineage-segment induces, not only members of other segments of its own matrilineage, but also unrelated friends and neighbours to co-operate in tackling one of its major hurdles such as weeding, starting a new garden or building a hut or cattle byre.

It would appear that, on balance, economic co-operation, by involving groups both below and above the level of the matrilineage, does not contribute directly to its unity.

What of the greatest unifying influence of all, ritual? Are there any distinct ritual occasions involving a single matrilineage? And, if so, do these contribute to its solidarity? The second of these three questions has to be answered in the negative. If one makes a list of rituals affecting the daily life of the Ceŵa—name-inheritance, mortuary rituals, female initiation, induction into the nyau lodge (involving as it does many aspects of male initiation)—one is struck by the fact that these are notable mainly for their effects on neighbourhood and village organization. In none of them, not even in the propitiation of the shades, does the matrilineage emerge as an exclusive group with peculiar modes of ritual expression.

This does not mean that the third question must be answered in the negative, too. For, though the village and neighbourhood participate, the matrilineage most concerned is often of distinct ritual status. This applies especially to mortuary rituals in which the ritual friends (adzukulu, see above, pp. 183ff.) play their most important part. The bereaved matrilineage, weakened by its sorrow, is inactive, leaving its ritual friends to do whatever has to be done. Thus it does not lose its identity in a situation more notable for its effects on the solidarity of village and neighbourhood than on that of the matrilineage.

There are several possible explanations for the fact that, though it is often the focal point of village and neighbourhood rituals, the matrilineage lacks any that are distinctly its own. One is that the traditional Cewa village may have been smaller than the present one, and may have consisted of a single kinship unit, in which case village rituals would have been, very largely, matrilineage rituals. Another explanation is that the decline of the cult of the shades has affected rituals that unify at the matrilineage level of organization rather than at any other. And a third possibility is that, in the predominance of higher-order integrative functions among those of Cewa public rituals, we find reflected what is essentially an egalitarian society in which no kin-group, not even a chief's, has a status so inherently different from that of other similar groups that it needs ritual reinforcement.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL STRUCTURE II : THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE MATRILINEAGE

The solidarity of the matrilineage emerges most clearly in its relations with other matrilineages. These external relations stem from two main sources, marriage and neighbourship; and they are expressed in co-operation and conflict. Let us consider the sources first. These are, of course, overlapping, since marriages between persons from the same village or the same neighbourhood are common.

Marriage

Because the matrilineage is a strictly exogamous group, marriage inevitably involves it in external relations. The matriclan (pfuko, plur., mafuko), of which it is a part, is exogamous in theory, but I have recorded several instances of marriage between members of the same matriclan—usually followed by a change in clan name by one of the partners.

As in other societies, marriage among the Ceŵa is a clearly formalized link between two social groups; but it has neither great promise of durability nor much actual staying power. The two essential steps that put it into effect are, firstly, the passage of a token (nsambo[1]) from

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[1] A few informants state that there is an exchange of tokens. J. Bruwer, 'By Ons Is 'n Haantjie', Die Huisgenoot, 14 May 1943, 39-41, refers to this payment as cimalo and states that it is a fowl. My informants used cimalo inconsistently, sometimes equating it with nsambo and sometimes with nthakula (see below, p. 207).

the 'junior guardian' of the bridegroom to that of the bride; and, secondly, the couple's spending the night together in a hut (kulowana). The token was traditionally an ivory bead; later, a string of imported beads; and is now a money payment, 6d being the most popular amount (see Section 4 of Table VII, facing p. 209). If the preferred form of marriage—with a cross-cousin or similar relative—takes place, the token is sometimes dispensed with.

As one might expect from the difference in value between this token and the bridewealth of the patrilineal Bantu, their functions are distinct. Gluckman has shown the importance of distinguishing between various types of marriage payments[2]. Some merely secure the husband's sexual, economic and other personal rights over his wife, and ensure inter alia that he will be able to sue in the event of her adultery. Others, such as bridewealth, go further, and transfer the woman's child-bearing capacity to her husband or his kin-group. Ceŵa marriage payments and the labour service associated with traditional uxorilocal marriage are exclusively of the former type. They secure a man's rights over his wife's person and services, but do not give him rights over the children born of the union, who remain members of their mother's matrilineage.

This remains true even if other marriage payments have been made. An indigenous payment, known as nthakula or conyamulila, the latter implying 'of carrying [away]',

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[2]Max Gluckman, 'Kinship and Marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal', in African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, ed. by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1950, pp. 199ff.

is made when a man, having satisfied his wife's matrilineage that he is capable of looking after her, takes her from uxorilocal residence to a place of his own choice. Traditionally it was a goat (some say a hoe), and is now usually five shillings. By making this payment, he gains no rights over the children, who very often return to their mother's home village. Nor is he absolved from compensating his wife's matrilineage if any of them—or his wife herself—should die.

In recent years, the Native Authorities of Fort Jameson district, presumably with the intention of 'securely binding marriage (kumangitsa cikwati)', have encouraged a payment known to the Ceŵa by the Ŋgoni term, mcato, and to the Ŋgoni by the Ceŵa term, cimalo[3]. As yet, the proportion of Ceŵa making this payment, which has been fixed at thirty shillings, is very small. Even if it is made, it does not alter the nature of the rights secured by the token, but merely increases their monetary value. Its chief effect has been to increase the amounts of compensation payable in cases of adultery. Thus, if a man has 'securely bound' his marriage by handing over mcato, and his wife commits adultery, he may expect to be awarded compensation of £3 each from his wife and her lover; and, in addition, they will have to pay a court fee of five shillings each. If he has not, the award will probably be thirty shillings each; and the court fee, half-a-crown each.

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[3]J.A. Barnes, Marriage in a Changing Society, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 20, Cape Town: Oxford University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1951, p. 37. Barnes translates cimalo as 'legalization payment', and its function among the Ŋgoni is clearly the same as that of the nsambo among Kaŵaza's Ceŵa.

Mcato has acquired an administrative function, too. If a woman wishes to leave the Eastern Province to join her husband at his place of work, she should be in possession of a marriage certificate. This she obtains (at the cost of half-a-crown) on having her marriage registered with the Native Authority. The South Ceŵa Native Authorities, before they issue a marriage certificate, generally insist that the thirty shillings' *mcato* should have been handed over by the husband's matrilineage to the wife's. This association of registration with the payment of *mcato* rests on convention rather than on legal provision.

Table VII presents an analysis of the marriages of persons domiciled in Jeremiah village in January 1953. Section 4 of this table, to which we have already referred, shows that in this sample payments made in addition to the token (*nsambo*, usually 6d) were rare.

Section 1 of the table shows that, of the twenty-seven married men fully or partly domiciled in the village, nine were polygynists (though none had more than two wives). Of these, six alternated between Jeremiah village and the villages in which their other wives were resident; and two had deserted their other wives without having formally divorced them. The remaining one had both wives living in Jeremiah village but had built their huts at opposite ends of the village to try to keep peace between them. I gained the impression that the proportion of polygynous marriages may have been higher in Jeremiah village than elsewhere.

Sixty-one per cent of the respondents to my public opinion survey believed that polygyny is commoner nowadays

than it was long ago. It is impossible to judge whether this is a true reflection of the actual trend or merely one of the ways of harking back to the golden age. In any event, Ceŵa have full insight into the tensions that polygyny generates. They tell this fable which indicates that it takes the wisdom of a Solomon for a man to keep the peace between his wives, and that his only hope is to emphasize their sole common interest—that in himself :-

> There was once a man who had two wives who hated each other very much. He made a new garden, and divided it equally between them. Now the senior wife had a pot, and this she put on the boundary. The junior wife planted a pumpkin in her garden, and, when it grew, it bore fruit in the pot of her co-wife. It grew inside it. When the time for harvesting pumpkins came, the owner of the pumpkin said: 'I want to pick my pumpkin'; but the owner of the pot retorted: 'How can you pick it? It won't come out of my pot, and I don't want my pot broken'. And, from speaking thus, they troubled each other exceedingly. So, their husband thought of a plan for reconciling his wives. He said to them: 'I am ill and I want pumpkin. Go and get that pumpkin that is in the pot'; and the two women went and broke the pot, took the pumpkin, cooked it and gave it to their husband. And he said: 'Now may you be reconciled, senior wife and junior wife'.

Pathetic is the plight of the man who cannot keep the peace between his wives. Such a man complains :-

> I keep telling them to live happily together, but they won't listen. [Before I placed them in huts farther apart] I was constantly catching fowls to appease the one or the other. [Even now] I run from the one to the other, and I am just like a slave between them.

As we shall see in subsequent chapters, accusations of sorcery involving the co-wives of polygynists are believed to be common. This is in spite of the fact that such cases violate, in some instances, the Ceŵa dogma that sorcerers attack only their own matrikin. For, although Ceŵa allow the sororate (called, like the levirate, <u>cokolo</u>), they do not allow sororal polygyny; and co-wives

are necessarily of different matrilineages. As we have seen (Chapter 4, p. 163), their having married into the same matrilineago does, however, make them putative clan-sisters, although they may actually belong to different matriclans.

Ceŵa divorce is easy and frequent. Divorce in our sense of the term, the dissolution of an existing marriage, is formalized by handing a token to the partner not taking the initiative. If he is the husband, this is in effect the same as returning the marriage token, and is often referred to thus.

Traditionally this ceremony was performed in the village by the 'guardians' concerned; and this still happens when a man whose conduct has not come up to the standards required by his wife's matrilineage is sent home by them. The Chief's court, however, is beginning to play a more prominent rôle in the granting of divorces—apparently for two reasons. Firstly, the Native Authorities have modernized a custom recorded by Coxhead in 1914[4], whereby a divorced woman was given a string of beads to wear around her temple as a symbol of her status. Nowadays the Native Court, after making an investigation, will, if satisfied, issue a certificate, which costs the applicant a shilling, stating that she is a marriageable woman (nbeta). This is believed to have closed a loophole formerly resorted to by a man sued for the only kind

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[4]J.C.C. Coxhead, The Native Tribes [of North-Eastern Rhodesia], Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Papers, No. 5, 1914, pp. 29-30.

of adultery that Ceŵa recognize, that involving a married woman. He can no longer, the Ceŵa say, use the excuse that he did not know that the woman he was dallying with was married. The prudent man, they assume, will demand a woman's certificate of marriageability before he makes any advances.

Secondly, there has emerged a new ground on which a woman may seek to have her marriage dissolved—her husband's being 'lost' to the distant labour centres. Since most marriages are between members of different villages (see, for instance, Section 2 of Table VII, facing p. 209), his disappearance needs to be established in a wider forum than the 'meeting' (kabungwe) of a single village.

At any rate, a good deal of the Court's time is taken up by hearings in connection with applications for certificates of marriageability. Table IX (facing p. 245) shows that about thirty-five per cent of a sample of recorded court cases relate to these applications, which may involve the wives of both labour migrants (as the scanty records sometimes specify) and men living at home. The standard ground recorded in each case is the husband's failure to support ('clothe' and/or 'hoe for') his wife. This is, however, misleading; for, judging by what people say, many of these women applicants have probably been divorced by their husbands on grounds such as repeated adultery, barrenness, disobedience or culinary ineptitude; and many others are probably getting rid of their husbands because their matrilineages have found that they fall short of their particular ideals for sons-in-law.

A truer, though by no means absolutely true, picture of Ceŵa grounds for divorce is given by those advanced by people with experience of divorce in Jeremiah village in 1953 (see Section 6 of Table VII, facing p. 209). Here informants gave reasons for the dissolution of past marriages. In doing so they seldom advanced ones that placed the blame on themselves; but, as the sample happens to be fairly evenly divided between the sexes, it gives a more plausible representation of what actually occurs than do the court records.

Occasionally a divorce may be granted in the absence of a socially acceptable ground. In this case the person wanting the divorce has to compensate his or her spouse. Thus a man may pay the shilling for his wife's certificate of marriageability, and add, say, five shillings 'for clothes', or, if she has a child, say, ten shillings. A woman cannot obtain a groundless divorce as easily as this. She will be required to compensate her husband for her 'unreasonable' disinclination to continue living with him by paying him £1. Adultery cases, the records of which make up about an eighth of the sample in Table IX (facing p. 245), do not inevitably lead to divorce. Since Ceŵa marriage is not founded on romantic love, a woman's adultery is often condoned once compensation has been made. Repeated adultery or general moral looseness is, however, frequently cited as a reason for a husband's seeking divorce.

That the Ceŵa divorce rate has been swelled by modern conditions, labour migration in particular, must be admitted. On the other hand, there are many indications

that easy and frequent divorce is a long-standing Ceŵa institution[5]. These are :- the absence of bride-wealth, the simplicity of both marriage and divorce rituals, the tenuous position, both traditionally and currently, of the son-in-law group in the village community, and the observations of early European residents[6].

To the Ceŵa, 'to divorce' (kusudzula when the subject is the husband; the passive, kusudzulidwa, when the subject is the wife) has a wider meaning than it has to us. As with us, it implies the formal dissolution of a marriage; but it has a wider application. Even a marriage that has ended because of the death of one of the spouses must be formally dissolved unless a leviratic or sororatic union is to be arranged. The formal dissolution takes place about a month after the burial of the deceased spouse, at the ceremonial shaving of the heads of those who have mourned by 'keeping hair' (kusunga tsitsi). Traditionally a deceased man's heir either formed a leviratic union with the widow or went 'to fetch his bow' (kutenga uta), i.e., to sleep one night with her and collect the property coming to him (symbolized by the bow).

The day before a shaving ceremony I attended in 1947, two of a deceased headman's widows were 'divorced'

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[5]I labour this point because it has been disputed by J. Bruwer, 'The Kinship Basis of Cewa Social Structure' (Correspondence in the South African Journal of Science, 49, 1952, 17-20).

[6]A.L. Hofmeyr, Het Land langs het Meer, Stellenbosch: De Christen Studenten Vereniging van Zuid Afrika, 1910, p. 39, wrote: 'Echtscheiding vindt heel gemakkelik plaats'. Coxhead, The Native Tribes (1914), p. 29, wrote: '.....Divorce.....has always been very common among the Achewa'.

by being handed sixpence each; and the remaining two were kept on pending the return from Southern Rhodesia of the heir presumptive, one of the deceased's sisters' sons. I have no record of a man's being formally divorced after the death of his wife. This may be because I did not make specific enquiries on this point; and all the accounts I recorded of a husband's surviving his wife were dominated by descriptions of his obligation to provide her matrilineage with a payment called 'of the shade' (camzimu) or 'of at-the-heads' (cakumitu—a reference to the shrine in the sleeping hut at the 'head' end opposite the doorway). This payment is aimed at quietening her shade. Actually, it is payable only if the husband is believed to have broken a taboo and thus caused the death of his wife (see Chapter 6, pp. 268ff.). Judging by the regularity with which a man hands over camzimu, whether for a deceased wife or for deceased children, he seldom succeeds in establishing his innocence. If no blame attaches to him, he may be offered a sororatic union with one of his wife's matrikin, usually her sister, though possibly her sister's daughter. An acquaintance of mine was offered and accepted this honour; and he did not have to get his 'junior guardian' to hand over a token for his second wife because the one handed over when he married her elder sister had united him with the matrilineage.

The fact that a widow's marriage must be formally dissolved suggests a right, however tenuous, of the deceased husband's matrilineage to continue the relationship sealed by the passage of the original marriage token. But this should not be taken to mean that by marriage a woman becomes in any sense a member of her husband's lineage as

she would in a Bantu society practising _lobolo_, or, for that matter, among the Coorgs of South India, where the _sammanda_ ritual has a function similar to the passage of bride-wealth[7]. The right secured by the payment of the Ceŵa token (_nsambo_) is one over a woman's person and services. It does not transfer her to her husband's kin-group.

This fact is brought out by a comparison of Ceŵa and Makhanya kinship terminology. Reader has shown that Makhanya terminology reflects a woman's assimilation to the agnatic lineage of her husband. Whereas she, the daughter-in-law, becomes for purposes of terminology a cognate, her male counterpart, the son-in-law, remains distinctly an affinal. For instance, she is 'sister' to her husband's siblings and 'child' to his parents; whereas the son-in-law is designated by affinal terms in all contexts[8]. Ceŵa kinship terminology, on the other hand, shows no trace of assimilation of either husband to wife's matrilineage or _vice versa_. Son-in-law and daughter-in-law are both referred to by affinal terms and treated symmetrically.

The lack of assimilation in either direction points to the solidarity of the two matrilineages concerned in the marriage and to the potential weakness of conjugal links. The actual weakness is illustrated by Section 7 of Table VII (facing p. 209), which, for the residents of Jeremiah village in 1953, shows the percentage of all completed mar-

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[7]M.N. Srinivas, _Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India_, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952, pp. 126ff.

[8]D.H. Reader, _Makhanya Kinship Rights and Obligations_, Communications from the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town, New Series, No. 28, Cape Town, 1954, p. 28 _et passim_.

riages ended in divorce (in our sense of legal dissolution before death) to be 73.4% (cf. England and Wales, 1938-39: 2.6%[9]; United States, 1926: 26%[10]; and Union of South Africa, Europeans, 1938-44: 14%[11]). It is also illustrated by the following summary of the position prevailing in Cipaŋgula village in 1949 :-

> Of the thirty-seven persons who had married, thirteen, or thirty-eight per cent, had been divorced at least once. This group included four who had been divorced twice; and two who had been divorced three times. Taking these much-divorced persons into account, there was an average of .57 of a divorce per person who had married.

The Ceŵa husband never secures rights to his children (unless he follows, as in a few cases coming to my notice, the almost extinct[12] Ŋgoni custom of lobolo). This fact is amply illustrated in the genealogies, which show that the children of divorced parents almost invariably stay with their mother or with her matrilineage (see, for instance, the children of Develiase (C.23) and Vinileŋkoni (E.25) in Fig. 4, facing p. 154, and those of the section headman (Tenje, b.11) in No. 1 of Appendix F; the only exception in my records was D.16 in No. 4 of Appendix F); and that children whose parents live virilocally very often go to live at their mother's village of origin after they have been weaned (note the cases of one of the three children of Kuliale II

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[9]J.A. Barnes, 'Measures of Divorce Frequency in Simple Societies', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 24, 1949, 27-62, Table III, citing Hajnal.

[10]Loc. cit., citing Willcox.

[11]Union of South Africa, Office of Census and Statistics, Report on Divorces, 1913 to 1944, p. 8.

[12]Barnes, Marriage in a Changing Society, pp. 35-36, estimates that bride-wealth is tendered in only four per cent of Fort Jameson Ŋgoni marriages.

(D.15 in Fig. 4, facing p. 154) and of two of the three children of the present marriage of Tenje (b.11 in Section 1 of Appendix F)). Other indications that children belong to their mother's matrilineage are (a) their belonging to her matriclan (pfuko, sometimes mtundu, the latter also meaning 'tribe', 'strain' or 'kind'); and (b) the fact that, if one of them should die, their father is assumed to have broken a taboo and thus 'cut him [the child] in the chest' (-mdula m'cifuwa), and has to compensate his wife's matrilineage by a payment of camzimu to settle the child's shade (cf. above, p. 215).

There is something essentially humane about the Ceŵa attitude towards divorce. One man, contrasting Ceŵa marriage with the traditional, but now exceptional lobolo marriage of the Ngoni, says :-

> Having invested cattle in a wife, you may find that she is no good, and then all you can do is beat her, just as you would beat a slave. The Ceŵa way is better; for, if you find that your wife is useless, you do not beat her or kill her : you simply leave her.

The looseness of the Ceŵa marriage tie is probably a necessary condition for the high degree of integration of the matrilineage. Radcliffe-Brown points out that, in an extreme matrilineal society, where rights over children remain with the mother and her relatives, the close bond between brother and sister is emphasized and maintained at the expense of the bond between husband and wife[13]. Linton maintains that in societies organized on the conjugal basis

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[13] A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function [in Primitive Society], London: Cohen and West, 1952, p. 42

the authentic functional family consists of a nucleus of spouses and their offspring surrounded by a fringe of comparatively unimportant blood relatives; whereas in those organized on the consanguine basis the authentic functional family consists of a nucleus of blood relatives surrounded by a fringe of comparatively unimportant spouses[14]. These two related general propositions throw light on the relationship between the high divorce rate among the Ceŵa and their marked matrilineage solidarity. We should remember that the structural type Radcliffe-Brown is considering, which happens to fit the Ceŵa closely, is a sub-type of Linton's second category, societies organized on the consanguine basis.

Western society belongs to Linton's first category. It is a society organized on the conjugal principle. This is indicated _inter alia_ by its multilineal, symmetrical kinship system which has as its focus the 'inner circle' formed by Ego's family of orientation and his family of procreation[15]. In a society of this kind, a high divorce rate is justifiably regarded as an index of social disorganization, since it threatens the group about which the whole system articulates.

Ceŵa society, on the other hand, belongs to Linton's second category, being organized on the consanguineal principle; and, within this general category, it belongs to the matrilineal sub-type designated in the quotation from Radcliffe-Brown. It is a society in which no device

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[14] Ralph Linton, _The Study of Man_, New York: D. Appleton Century Company, 1936, p. 159.

[15] Cf. Talcott Parsons, 'The Social Structure of the Family', in _The Family_, ed. by Ruth Nanda Anshen, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949, pp. 176, 182 _et passim_.

such as either bride-wealth or dowry is available for re-inforcing the conjugal link by assimilating one of the marriage partners to the consanguineal group of the other. Consequently, the high divorce rate among the Ceŵa, far from being an index of social pathology, may well be an inescapable condition of effective consanguineal social organization.

Among the Ceŵa, the tendency for the conjugal link frequently to be sacrificed on the altar of the consanguineal matrilineage is reflected in the position of the father. His place in the village community is tenuous, if not temporary. As the Ceŵa put it, 'To be a son-in-law is to say, "I am a stranger here; this is not my home village (Ndinemlendo pano; simudzi kwathu yai)"'; or 'The work of a son-in-law is only to beget children', 'to plant seeds only (kubyala nbeu cabe)'. Similarly, his authority vis-à-vis his wife's brother over the children he has begotten is strictly limited, as various observers have remarked[16]. The following extract from an informant's text sums up his position well :-

> According to Ceŵa custom, the maternal uncle is the one with authority over the child; and his authority surpasses that of the child's father. True, his father has [some] authority, but it does not compare with that of the maternal uncle. Suppose that you[17] have married at a village of unrelated people and that you have begotten children. Those children you cannot really

[16] See, for instance, G.F. Hugo, 'Die Jeugprobleem in Ons Nyasasendingveld, Veral met Betrekking tot die Achewa', Op die Horison, 2, 1940, 38-43, at p. 42; and J.H. Eybers, Volksgewoontes en Bygelowe in Niassaland, Stellenbosch: the Author and C.S.V.-Boekhandel, 1942, p. 78.

[17] Literally 'thou'. This 'hypothetical you' is one of the rare cases where the singular forms, iwe, u- and -ako, are used even if the information is being given to someone normally addressed in the honorific plural.

> control. If you beat your child, its maternal uncle asks you: 'Now, you, have you come here to beat children? You are a son-in-law who followed your wife [here]. Now, why do you beat children? If the child has done wrong, you should come to me, and I would compensate you for its action'. You (the son-in-law) can say nothing [to this] because he is the proprietor of the child. There is a saying of the elders, 'Here there is an aloe with its roots meeting underground', which means that your wife's people can meet secretly with your wife and agree, 'Let us chase him away to his home village and let him stay there now'. Thus you become ashamed and go home.

The emphasis on control and punishment in this statement obscures the fact that the father is proud of 'his' children and tied to them by bonds of affection. If we adjust our view of the situation accordingly, we can appreciate that any man is torn by conflicting loyalties towards his children and his sisters' children. His conflict is a recurring theme in Ceŵa society, and is often cited as the reason why cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Ceŵa point out that a man looks for spouses for his children among his matrilineal dependants (particularly his sisters' children), thereby ensuring that, though his son will never succeed him, then at least his son's son (i.e., his sister's daughter's son) may do so eventually.

When a male member of a matrilineage happens to be living virilocally, his wife, a daughter-in-law (mkomwana) of his matrilineage, is, like her male counterpart, in a tenuous position.

> When I first met Johani, a polygynist living virilocally with both his wives, his second wife, Etelina, was in disgrace through having committed adultery and having quarrelled violently with her husband after a beer-drink. Johani's sisters ostracized her almost to the point of avoiding her as they would a mother-in-law rather than joking with her as they should with a sister-in-law.
>
> A year later, all signs of strain and disapproval had vanished. Etelina's contacts with her sisters-in-law were close and friendly. Johani told me that, as

> a result of his having taken her to Court, her behaviour had greatly improved, and his sisters were giving recognition to this improvement in their more friendly treatment of her.

We should not over-paint our picture of the insecurity of the spouses of matrilineage members. Some marriages are stable, and the 'foreign' spouse achieves an important status in the village community. Notable here is the position of the son-in-law who has lived in the village for a very long time and has gained the approval and affection of the matrilineage into which he has married. He has been so long in the village that 'his home is here; he does not remember about (or long for) his [original] home (pawo n'pompano; sakumbikila zakwawo yai)'. The senior among sons-in-law of this category becomes a deputy headman, and is referred to by the Ngoni term, mkwekulu (lit., 'senior affine'). He is charged with important duties, such as dispensing hospitality to travellers seeking shelter in the village, and assisting the headman in the choice of a new village site and in the distribution of land for new gardens.

Another point to be remembered is that, however insecure the social position of a particular father in Ceŵa society may be, fatherhood in general is given full recognition. Though it is a matter of small account who in particular one's father is, it is important that one should have a father.

There are indications of this in both speech and ritual. Ceŵa say that a father's work is to beget children, i.e., 'to place' (kuyika) them in their mother's womb. They are assumed to be parts of his substance, his 'seeds' (nbeu). The ritual of the sneeze, which Young and Banda

regard as distinguishing Ceŵa from other descendants of the Maravi[18], is a constant reminder of the importance of paternity. Suppose that a person's matriclan is Banda; and that the matriclan of his father is Phili. Whenever he sneezes, he will identify himself by saying: 'A child of Mr Phili suckled by Mrs Banda (Mwana waA Phili kuyamwitsa kwaA Banda)'.

The wide dispersal of this ritual would suggest that it were indigenous. There is less evidence for believing that the same applies to the custom found among Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa today of a person's adopting as his personal praise-name (ciŵongo) the matriclan (pfuko) of his father. Mitchell points out that this custom occurs in this area only among tribes who have had close contacts with patrilineal peoples. It is absent, for instance, from the Yao[19]. I have been unable to decide whether this custom, the Tonga version of which Colson has picturesquely described as a man's having 'honorary life membership' in the clan and matrilineal group of his father[20], is to be regarded as indigenous to the Ceŵa or the result of Ŋgoni influence. If it has come from the Ŋgoni, it has certainly fallen on fertile Ceŵa soil.

During the Ceŵa life-cycle, there are many rituals in which the husband-father has an important, sometimes in-

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[18] Cullen Young and Hastings Banda (editors and translators), Our African Way of Life, London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1946, p. 10.

[19] Professor J. Clyde Mitchell, private communication.

[20] Elizabeth Colson, 'The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia', in Seven Tribes of British Central Africa, ed. by Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman, London: Oxford University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1951, p. 143.

dispensable, part to play. Ideally it is he, rather than a ritual friend, 'hyena' (*fisi*), who should deflower his virgin wife at the end of her puberty ceremony[21]. And it is he who should be with her during many of the periods of instruction associated with initiation, marriage and name-inheritance; and who plays an indispensable part in the ritual ('to take the child', *kutenga mwana*) that formally introduces the neonatal child to the vital but dangerous ('hot') forces involved in human reproduction. By this ritual, the child's 'coldness', i.e., its susceptibility to their destructive aspects, is brought to an end. Part of this ritual consists of *coitus interruptus* with his wife; and the degree of self-control that he exercises in this is believed to be directly related to the child's future strength of character. To the extent that the father 'makes firm [his] heart' (*-limbika mtima*) so will the child be able to show courage and integrity.

Perhaps most indicative of the indispensability of fatherhood among the Ceŵa is the complex of beliefs surrounding difficult labour. When a woman has a difficult labour, it is assumed, firstly, that her husband has been unfaithful to her during her pregnancy and has thus 'cut her unborn child in the chest'. He is urged to make a full confession in order to remove the effects of his misdemeanour. If his confession fails to bring his wife's labour to an end, it is assumed, secondly, that she herself has committed adultery; and those present urge her to con-

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[21] On this point, my investigations do not confirm Lucy P. Mair, 'Marriage and Family in the Dedza District of Nyasaland', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 81, 1951, 103-119, at p. 107, who states that 'the girl must be deflowered by a man other than her husband, known as the *fisi* (hyena)'.

fess and reveal the paternity of her child. Ceŵa believe that the moment his progenitor's name is mentioned, the child comes forth.

Relationships between Village-Sections

So much for the external relations of the matrilineage brought about by marriage. Now for those connected with neighbourship. In this section, let us consider its origins in the circumstances bringing village sections together; and, in subsequent ones, let us examine the patterns of co-operation and conflict that develop between neighbours, and, since this is important for our special purpose, the machinery that exists for dealing with conflict.

The headman of a Ceŵa village is the headman of its founding section, the one to which the other sections have become attached. The bonds that tie these subsidiary sections to the founding one are of various kinds. Kinship sometimes plays a part. If lineage-segmentation has taken place without an explosion violent enough to break up the village, the derivative segments may, for a while at least, occupy distinct sections. This, the reader will remember, was what happened in Cimbuna village up till 1939. In this case, actual matrilineal kinship existed between the section of Headman Cimbuna and that of Headman Mceleka, his senior relative (see Chapter 4, p. 153).

Some sections may be bound together not by actual but by putative matrilineal kinship. Potokosi came from Portuguese territory and claimed to be Jeremiah's mother's brother (see Chapter 4, pp. 151-52). Although he and Jeremiah were unable to explain the actual link between

them, they assumed that this link existed, i.e., that their two sections belonged to the same matrilineage. I remember how, whenever Potokosi joined Jeremiah and me on Jeremiah's verandah, he took great pains not to come into contact with the sleeping mats of Jeremiah's wives, whom, as a putative senior male member of their husband's matrilineage, he had to avoid. This exaggerated caution served to reinforce a link of questionable validity.

Putative matrilineal kinship pushed to its logical extreme is common matriclanship. This is sometimes advanced as the reason why a subsidiary section has joined the founding one. In 1946, in Mceleka village, the people of Tenje's matrilineage (who afterwards moved to Matope village) gave as their reason for having joined the village the fact that they belonged to the same matriclan as Headman Mceleka.

Of other types of kinship bonds uniting village-sections, the most notable is the patrilateral link between the founding matrilineage and the matrilineage-fragments developing from the virilocal marriages of its male members, typically those of the headman and his predecessors (see Chapter 4, pp. 159-60 and 174). The children of these virilocal marriages belong to their mothers' matrilineages, which are usually domiciled elsewhere. In the early stages of a marriage of this kind, the children often move to their mother's village of origin where they are cared for by her mother or sisters. As the marriage becomes stable, so do they tend more and more to remain living in their father's village. The headman's eldest son (in the typical case) is a 'junior guardian' in charge of the local matrilineage-

fragment. He keeps constantly in touch with their 'senior guardian' in their mother's village. As time goes on, the headman's son becomes an independent headman of the local matrilineage-fragment and thus of the section that develops around it.

Even kinship ties that Ceŵa regard as unimportant may form links between village-sections. One instance is Ŋguzi's section which joined Mceleka village because Ŋguzi was the half-sister (father's daughter) of Tomu, one of the elders of Mceleka's matrilineage. Another is Mwaiŋga's section, which has been included with Jeremiah's in Fig. 4 (facing p. 154). Mwaiŋga is Jeremiah's father's brother's daughter and the widow of his mother's mother's brother's son, Dauti (C.2).

According to some informants, the traditional Ceŵa village was a small kinship unit. Its present large size and complex composition may be in some part due to the insecurity of the recent past and the administrative policy of the present. There is, however, some reason for believing that its large size, and presumably its complexity, is of more remote origin. In 1831, before the Ŋgoni invasion, Gamitto remarked on the large size of two Ceŵa chiefs' villages, that of Fumo (territorial chief) Mugurura, which had 'over a thousand huts', and that of Mambo (paramount chief) Mucanda, which was 'extremely large both in huts and in the number of its inhabitants'[22]. Perhaps more useful for our purposes is the fact that he describes

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[22] A.C.P. Gamitto, O Muata Cazembe, Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1854, pp. 111 and 113.

as 'small' a Maravi village which consisted of twenty huts and contained sixty to eighty inhabitants[23]. Today, in Kaŵaza's part of the Reserve, such a village would also be regarded as small. It would be between a third and two-thirds of the size of the average 'administrative' village[24]—depending on whether the comparison is in terms of huts or of inhabitants. Gamitto also records that there was a continual state of civil war among the Maravi arising from succession disputes and petty quarrels between territorial chiefs[25]. This may have led to the association in the same village of unrelated matrilineages even before the turmoil of the Ngoni invasion.

However remote its origin, the tendency for matrilineages to cluster for reasons of external relations is a feature of the modern Ceŵa village. For ease of control, the Administration has from time to time laid down various minima for village size[26]. So it is that we now find links based on expediency, whether on account of the need for security long ago or because of the requirements of the Administration more recently. As an instance we have the link between the two largest sections of Jeremiah village, Jeremiah's and Cimseleti's (see Chapter 4, pp. 150-51).

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[23] Ibid., p. 30.

[24] Cf. Chapter 4, pp. 148 and 152.

[25] O Muata Cazembe, pp. 52-54.

[26] For instance, the present ten-taxpayer rule. For further details, see Chapter 4, p. 150, Footnote 5.

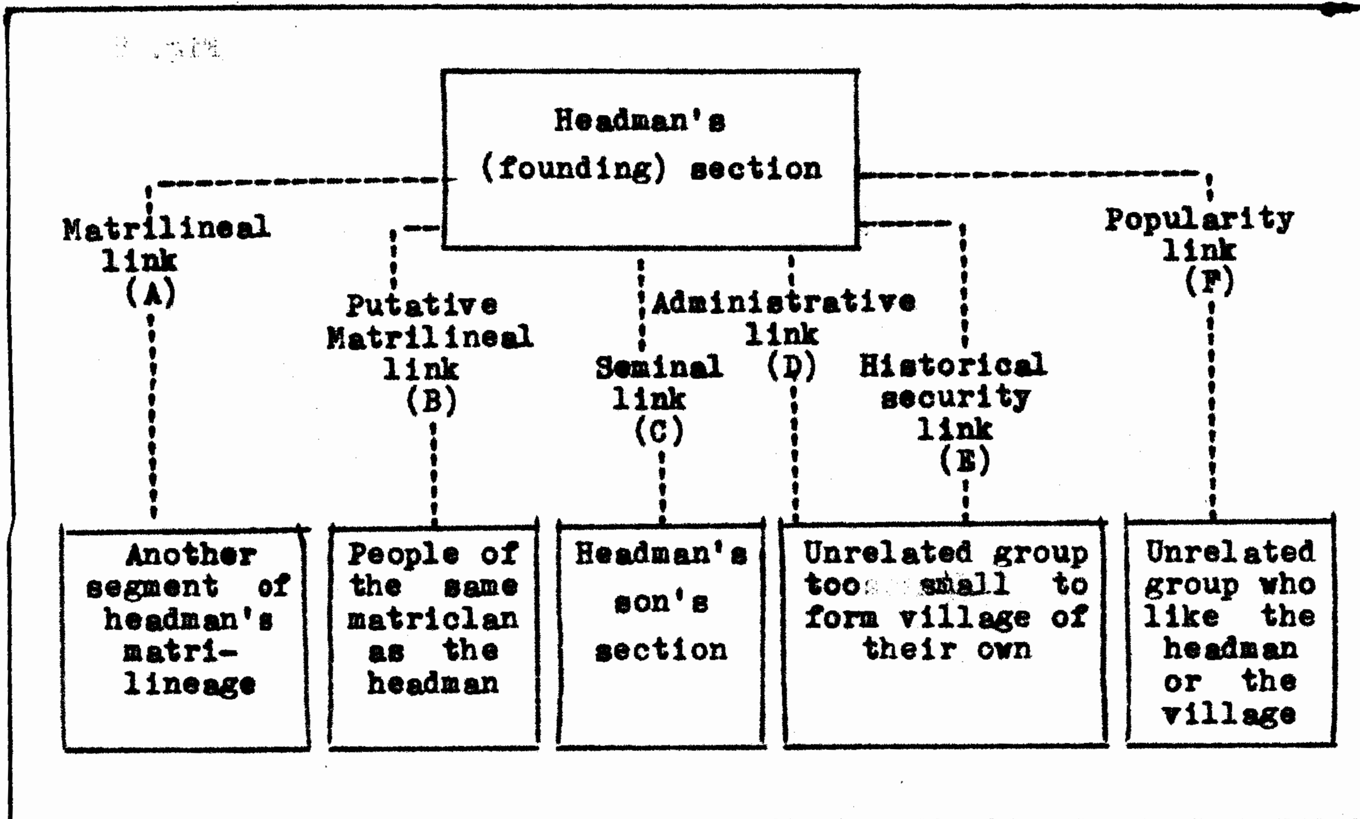

Fig. 8—Types of Links between Ceŵa Village-Sections

The links we have thus far mentioned are summarized in Fig. 8 (A to E). One type of link, (F), remains to be discussed. Many Ceŵa villages are well in excess of the minimum size laid down by the ten-taxpayer rule; and the importance of belonging to a large social group has already been mentioned. Our list of links between village-sections would therefore be incomplete without some reference to the fact that some of them come together and remain united as a result of sheer sociability and a feeling of congeniality towards fellow villagers.

That this sociability is subject to individual variation and is stimulated or extinguished by a particular headman's personality or by the attractions of a particular village is shown by the fact that Ceŵa opinions are divided on whether it is preferable to live in a large or a small village. My public-opinion survey in 1947 showed that sixty-four per cent of informants[27] preferred living in small villages; and twenty-six per cent, in large ones; ten per cent showed no preference. Those who favoured living in small villages maintained that they had the following types of advantages (in descending order of frequency of mention) :-

(a) Quarrels, noise, arson and adultery are rare.

(b) The inhabitants reach agreement quickly, especially since they are likely to be kinsmen.

(c) There is less mutual killing (<u>kuphana</u>) and less sorcery (<u>ufiti</u>).

Those who favoured living in large villages claimed these advantages for them :-

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[27]The effective sample for this item was 156—for the reasons given in Chapter 3, p. 137, Footnote 81.

(a) their richer social life; and

(b) their providing a better basis for co-operation in ritual and subsistence activities.

Noting these advantages leads us to the next section. Before proceeding to it, we should note that the second reason cited for living in small villages, the rapidity in reaching agreement between kinsmen, conflicts with a prevalent opinion that kinsmen are more prone to practise sorcery against one another because their quarrels are not subject to the legal arbitration that is applied to quarrels between unrelated persons (see Chapter 7, pp. 322-23).

Inter-Matrilineage Co-operation

Under this heading let us bring together a few points we have made in earlier chapters. Between the matrilineages forming the cores of different village-sections, and between those belonging to geographically adjacent or historically associated villages, patterns of co-operation and reciprocity exist.

The most formal co-operation has to do with ritual. When a matrilineage is weakened by being in a ritually dangerous state resulting from a crisis of life, especially bereavement, members of other matrilineages come to its assistance as 'ritual friends' (adzukulu, see Chapter 4, pp. 183ff.). This co-operation may have been traditionally on the basis of paired matriclans as it is among neighbouring tribes[28]. Nowadays, however, the dis-

[28]See, for instance, Elizabeth Colson, 'Clans and the Joking-Relationship among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia', Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, 1953, Nos. 8 and 9, 45-60.

tinction between matriclans is less important in ritual contexts than that between the weakened matrilineage, on the one hand, and non-members of it, on the other.

Less formal co-operation between one matrilineage and another or, even more specifically, between a segment of one matrilineage and the members of another, occurs in working parties organized for various purposes such as weeding a garden, building a hut or starting a new patch of cultivation. Participants in these are usually drawn from the same neighbourhood (see Chapter 3, pp. 118ff.). The host matrilineage-segment recruits helpers from neighbours not only in its own village but also in adjacent ones, especially those of long association, such as the derivatives of Cimbuna village.

Inter-Matrilineage Conflict and the Position of the Chief

Our references to Ceŵa attitudes regarding the desirability of large or small villages point to some of the conflicts that occur between neighbours. When people live cheek-by-jowl in huts that lack clearly defined courtyards, and when over-population brings their gardens uncomfortably close to one another, it is not surprising that friction should sometimes arise between them.

As we saw in the last chapter (see above, pp. 195ff.), the duties of a 'guardian', whether senior or junior, include settling quarrels among his dependants, and supporting them when they are in conflict with the members of other matrilineages. There is ample juridical machinery for resolving conflict, especially if the opponents belong to different matrilineages. If they belong to different matri-

lineages within the same village, e.g. to different village-sections, their respective 'junior guardians' refer their quarrel to their 'senior guardians', who are usually their respective section headmen. These headmen then take the matter up with the village headman (if, that is, he is not one of them, as he may be). One of the most onerous duties of the village headman is to receive petty complaints and resolve differences. Ceŵa recognize this when they say, 'The headman is the rubbish heap (Nfumu ndi kudzala)'. One village headman I knew well told me that, if people came to his hut during the night to have a quarrel settled, he always pretended to be sound asleep; and his wife's standing instructions were, when they wakened her, to get up and put them off until morning. Often, he said, people had forgotten about their quarrel by morning, and he heard no more about it.

If a quarrel is serious enough to persist, and if the village headman considers its settlement to be within his competence, he calls a meeting (kabungwe) at which to discuss it. Ceŵa say that long ago practically all cases were settled at this level. It would not be accurate to describe this as a village headman's court; for many villagers, especially elders, participate; and the headman's main function is to formulate the collective opinion of the participants. The most active participants are men; though the women, sitting in a segregated group, may join in if they feel strongly on a particular point.

The village 'meeting', like any other part of the Ceŵa juridical machine, has as its primary aim the removal of hatred from human hearts. It is concerned, not so much with the interpretation and application of traditional law,

as with the search for a solution that is acceptable to the contesting parties.

This emphasis on compromise and, incidentally, the part that women may play during a case are well illustrated by a village meeting that I attended in 1952.

> The meeting had been called to settle what was primarily a quarrel between Daniel and his wife, Elizabeth. They had become estranged because Elizabeth had had a difficult labour followed by the death of her baby. It had been established (in Ceŵa opinion) that Daniel's adultery when his wife had been pregnant had been the cause of this misfortune, and he had been made to compensate his wife's matrilineage by paying camzimu (see above, p. 215). Soon after this, Daniel built a new hut midway between the two sections to which he and Elizabeth belonged, and tried to induce his wife to live in it. She refused, and this led to an impasse from which divorce seemed to be the only escape. It was at this stage that Elizabeth, on retiring one night, found that her sleeping mat and the sack on which her smallest child slept had been removed from her hut. She reported this to her brother, the section headman, who told her to sleep in another hut, and promised that he would investigate the matter in the morning.
>
> Meanwhile, early the following morning, Tabeta, an elderly widow living in an adjoining section of the village, discovered the mat and sack on the verandah of her married daughter's hut. Suspecting sorcery, she started complaining (kudandaula) loudly so that all could hear of the threat to her daughter's safety. In this way, Elizabeth heard of the whereabouts of her property and collected it. She then sought out her husband, and swore at him for having taken her property, whereupon he assaulted her and destroyed her winnowing basket and enamel basin with a hoe.
>
> The enquiry into these events could not be held that day because the headman of Daniel's section could not be found. Early the following morning, practically all the adult men and women of the village assembled, and interested elders from neighbouring villages joined them. Taxed with having placed Elizabeth's property on Tabeta's daughter's verandah, Daniel pleaded an alibi. He and two friends, he said, had gone to drink beer at a nearby village; and, since the beer was good, had stayed there all night. Unfortunately for him, his two friends could only confirm that the beer was good—so good that it had rendered them incapable of knowing whether Daniel had been with them throughout the night or not.
>
> Seeing his case collapse, Daniel said that he would admit the charge against him, but 'with a sore head (mutu uŵaŵa), i.e., under protest. The immediate and

> unanimous rejoinder of the meeting was, '[To say] "I admit it with a sore head" is no admission at all (Nadzomela mutu uŵaŵa nikudzomela liti)'. It was only during an adjournment, when it was easier for Daniel to climb down, that a small group of elders induced him to make an unqualified admission and to agree to offer his wife a 'pardon fowl' (ŋkhuku yopepeza).
>
> Throughout the discussion of this case, old Tabeta clung tenaciously to two 'exhibits', the sleeping mat and the sack, and called out from time to time in this vein, 'And what about these? Only sorcerers spread mats on people's verandahs without permission. For a long time we have been wondering about the deaths that have occurred in this village; now we are learning who the sorcerers are. To spread mats is to kill by sorcery'—and so on.

If the village meeting is unable to arrive at a satisfactory solution, the case is taken to the Chief's court. Informants assured me that there was an increasing tendency to take to the Chief what formerly would have been settled in the village at a meeting such as the one just described. We shall return to this point presently.

If the contestants belong to different villages, the case may be tried by what amounts to a neighbourhood meeting. All the important local village and section headmen are present. No one in particular presides, though the two headmen of the village-sections most directly concerned play the most conspicuous rôles. Again, however, the tendency seems to be to take a case of this degree of complexity direct to the Chief's court.

At the village or neighbourhood 'meeting', the contestants' 'senior guardians' (or their deputies) are automatically present; for these are the section or village headmen. It is when a case goes to the Chief's court that the principle that litigants should be supported by their 'guardians' is occasionally forgotten, and the Chief or his court assessors have to remind people of its importance.

In those few instances in which a person tries to approach the Court as an independent individual, the ridicule that is showered upon him is a forcible reminder that all Ceŵa juridical contests are between matrilineages, not between individuals. The following case illustrates this principle :-

> Some years previous to 1947, Chief Kaŵaza Soŋgani's court found that Headman Johani's younger brother had committed adultery, and ordered him to compensate the cuckold. As his younger brother had neither cattle nor money, the court ordered Johani to make the payment on his behalf. Johani refused, saying that the court should imprison his younger brother, whereupon the court seized his bicycle as security against the payment, which he eventually made.

This one does, too, but also reiterates the importance of acknowledging a wrong without qualification :-

> In 1952, Chief Kaŵaza Maniŋu turned a man out of his court because he had admitted the charge against him, not because he freely acknowledged being in the wrong, but 'because the Chief says so'. As the man left, the Chief remarked to me and to his assessors that the difficulty had arisen because the man was accompanied by his father and not by his mother's brother.

The Chief's court is becoming more and more involved in the minutiae of village life. In part this may be the result of overcrowding and the predominance of links other than kinship between neighbouring village-sections. Driven more by circumstances than by inclination to live with their neighbours, members of one section may not necessarily respect the opinion of the headman of another who happens also to be headman of the village as a whole. Another factor is the political ambitions of chiefs. Village headmen are sometimes charged with contempt of a chief's court because they have tried to settle cases that a chief considers beyond their competence. On the other hand, I once heard the late Chief Kaŵaza Soŋgani tell the contestants in a case, both of whom were from the same village, one with an Nseŋga-

speaking headman, to 'go home and speak Nseŋga', by which he meant go home and settle the case out of court, since it was one that needed a less formal approach.

Before we review the types of cases nowadays dealt with by the Chief's court, we should say something of the bases of its authority. These are both constitutional and traditional.

The modern form of Northern Rhodesian Indirect Rule was cast in Ordinances passed in 1929 and 1936[29]; but the general policy of delegating administrative and judicial functions to native chiefs dates back to the early days of administration by the British South Africa Company[30]. As we have seen (Chapter 3, p. 91), Chief Kaŵaza Soŋgani started his career as a Divisional Messenger of the B.S.A. Company's Administration. Later, after he had succeeded to the chieftainship, and as Northern Rhodesian chiefs' authority was made legally effective, he was gradually taken up into the extensive hierarchy of Indirect Rule.

Thus today his successor, A Kaŵaza Maniŋu, has a legally established position which enables him to participate in the legislative, executive and judicial processes of local government. He is a member of the Ceŵa Native Authority Council, which comprises Paramount Chief Undi, the twelve Fort Jameson Ceŵa territorial chiefs, and

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[29] Northern Rhodesia, Laws, Native Authorities Ordinance, No. 32 of 1929; Native Authority Ordinance, No. 9 of 1936; and Native Courts Ordinance, No. 10 of 1936.

[30] For details, see J.A. Barnes, Politics in a Changing Society, Cape Town: Oxford University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1954, pp. 111ff.

'Departmental' Councillors (akin to Ministers) for Administration, Education, Public Works, Agriculture, Health and Water, and Forestry. This body has the power to promulgate orders and rules on a wide range of specified subjects, including, for instance, the control of liquor brewing and consumption; the prevention of soil erosion, deforestation and the pollution of water; and the suppression of prostitution[31]. It has set up a Native Treasury, the 1953 estimates of which (summarized in Table VIII) give some idea of the scope of its administrative functions.

As to Chief Kaŵaza's judicial function, he constitutes, with three paid assessors, the Kaŵaza Native Court, which has the power to impose a sentence of up to a £20 fine, six months' imprisonment, ten strokes with a cane, or a combination of these punishments; and to try civil cases involving not more than £100 except in cases concerning inheritance and marriage in which the limit is higher. In keeping with A Kaŵaza Soŋgani's having been Paramount Chief of the Southern Ceŵa (see Chapter 3, p. 91), the powers of this court are greater than those of other Ceŵa territorial chiefs except Chief Mkanda Mateyo, who, having been Paramount Chief of the Northern Ceŵa, has been granted equal recognition. Appeals lie from the Kaŵaza Native Court to the Ceŵa Appeal Court, which comprises Paramount Chief Undi, two paid assessors, the 'Departmental' Councillors and unpaid tribal elders; and from this court to the subordinate courts (of District Commissioner and

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[31]For details, see Native Authority Ordinance, Sections 8 and 17 and Government Notices sanctioning new categories of orders made under Section 8(x).

TABLE VIII—SUMMARY OF THE ESTIMATES OF THE CEŴA NATIVE TREASURY, 1953

Estimated Revenue	£	Estimated Expenditure	£
Share of Native Tax	7,800	Administration:	
Court Revenue	1,500	Personal Emoluments	4,059
Licence Fees (e.g. arms, dog, beer, store)	1,860	Other Expenditure	2,169
Local Fees and Dues:		Education	3,827
Local Levy	1,500	Public Works	1,173
Others	1,959	Water Development	1,462
Grant from Provincial Native Treasury Fund*	1,625	Agriculture	1,008
		Postal Services	114
		Health	1,618
		Miscellaneous	441
		Forests	102
	£16,244		£15,973

*This fund, from which expenditure on various purposes, e.g. welfare, may be made on the authority of the Provincial Commissioner, is derived from a share of the Native Tax (twenty per cent in Fort Jameson district).

Source: Northern Rhodesia, Eastern Province, Chewa Native Treasury Estimates, 1953, Fort Jameson, on file at Fort Jameson.

Provincial Commissioner) and the High Court of Northern Rhodesia. The decisions of the native courts are subject to revision by the subordinate courts.

The jurisdiction of a native court such as A Kaŵaza's is wide and flexible; though, in addition to the limits that have been mentioned, there is the usual restriction to a geographical area as well as the specific exclusion from its competence of three types of cases, viz., (a) those in which a person is charged with an offence leading to someone's death or an offence punishable with death or imprisonment for life; (b) those relating to witchcraft (including sorcery); and (c) those involving non-natives[32].

More positively, the Ordinance specifies that native courts shall administer (a) 'the native law and custom prevailing in the area of the jurisdiction of the court, so far as it is not repugnant to justice and morality' or inconsistent with the provisions of other laws in force in Northern Rhodesia; (b) rules and orders made under the Native Authority Ordinance (see above, p. 237); and (c) the provisions of Ordinances and laws which the court has been authorized to administer[33]. Since the Administration often makes suggestions to Native Authority Councils regarding orders they should consider making, there is a good deal of uniformity in the legislation administered by native courts throughout Fort Jameson district, whether Ceŵa, Ngoni or Kunda.

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[32] Native Courts Ordinance, Section 11.

[33] Ibid., Section 12.

To the Ceŵa the distinction between civil and criminal law is not as crucial as it is to us. A native court, finding someone guilty of assault or theft, will order him—in the same hearing—both to pay a fine and to compensate the person whom he has wronged; provision has been made for this in the Native Courts Ordinance[34]. Similarly, wrongs such as adultery and damage to property are righted by the payment, not only of compensation, but also of a court fee. For this reason, the distinction between civil and criminal cases has been disregarded in Table IX (facing p. 245).

It would be a mistake to confine our search for Kaŵaza's authority to the modern legislative provisions under which he and his associates have been taken up into the administrative and judicial machine. As the descendant of a woman chief, Manyika, to whom Undi five or six generations ago assigned the Milanzi area on the north-eastern side of the Kapoche, Kaŵaza's authority rests on tradition as well as its formal recognition by the present-day Administration.

Ceŵa use the term 'chief' (<u>nfumu</u>) for a village-section 'chief', a village 'chief' (both of whom I call headmen), a 'chief of country' (whom I call a territorial chief) and the paramount chief. When he passed through Undi's country in 1831, Gamitto recorded that it was divided into provinces governed by chiefs whom he designated as 'Mambos'[35], and that these were subdivided into districts

[34]Native Courts Ordinance, Section 14(1).

[35]We saw (Chapter 4, p. 168) that <u>mambo</u> is a term of address reserved for important chiefs and certain types of diviners.

governed by 'Fumos'[36]. Elsewhere, in reference to Undi's people (whom he called Maraves), he makes a distinction between the village headman 'Muéne-muzi' (now written mwini mudzi) and the territorial chief, 'Muěne-zico' (mwini dziko)[37], who presumably had the status of Fumo.

This hierarchy of 'chiefs' contains three basic categories, the paramount chief, the territorial chief and the village headman. It is true that territorial chieftainships are not all of the same order of devolution from the paramountcy, but this is a matter of historical accident and does not necessarily determine their present relative status. Thus, among Southern Ceŵa chiefs, Kaŵaza and Mwaŋgala, whose chieftainships devolved from Undi direct, do not on this account enjoy a status superior to that of Kathumba and Ziŋgalume, who obtained theirs through Cimwala and Mwaŋgala respectively. All four are territorial chiefs; and such differences as exist between them are the result of other factors, such as present size of territory and population and (in Kaŵaza's case) the fact that a recent incumbent was a man whose ability and industry were early recognized by the Administration. In some cases, however, priority of devolution does determine status. Thus Cimwala and Citikwele, having received their chieftainships from Undi direct, play an important part in his installation.

It should be added that village headmen are not all of the same status. Certain of them rank as the 'lieuten-

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[36] O Muata Cazembe, pp. 53-54.

[37] Ibid., p. 83.

ants' (ambili, sing., mbili) of the territorial chief. They are distinguished from their peers by having the right (known as thambwe) to organize female initiation ceremonies and the nyau mimes. The council of ambili helped the chief in the administration of his country, and, in particular, were charged with calming him when he was angry.

As a territorial chief, A Kaŵaza belongs to the category most often mentioned in traditional accounts of relationships between matrilineages and between villages. '[He] of the country' (adziko, the territorial chief), as the dispenser of land, was someone to whom and to whose successors headmen and villagers were under a perpetual obligation. This they discharged by paying him tribute (mitulo). Tribute consisted of ivory; food for the tribal granaries from which visitors and the destitute were fed; the skins of certain animals and the feathers of certain birds; and people—men for war; men and women as slaves for the chief's service or for trading to the Arabs for cloth and guns. People found guilty of sorcery—or rather those of them who were not killed by the poison ordeal itself or executed following it—were an important source of these slaves. Gamitto mentions another source, captives made during the incessant civil war arising from succession disputes and petty quarrels between 'Fumos'[38]. The special relationship between 'lieutenants' (ambili) and the territorial chief was expressed by their having to pass on to him the lion's share of the 'fees' (mainly fowls, hoes and reed mats) paid in connection with girls' initiation and boys' entry into the nyau society.

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[38]See above, p. 228.

The position of the territorial chief is entrenched in traditional rituals, especially those relating to the land. If accidents occurred in the human reproductive cycle, e.g. the pregnancy of an incompletely initiated girl, the death of a pregnant woman or the birth of a still-born child, these were taken to be threats to the chief, his people and his land. If a girl became pregnant before the end of her first puberty ceremony, the 'little maidenhood' (cinamwali cacinono), which might extend over four or five months, her condition, known as cimbwilimbwinda, was said to have blinded the chief (-doola m'maso, 'make holes in [his] eyes'). A special ceremony had to be performed, and the chief had to be suitably compensated. Similarly, the corpse of a woman dying in childbirth was regarded as a threat to the fecundity of other women and to the fertility of the land. It therefore had to be cut open to relieve the dangerous tension (nphamvu = 'strength') that it harboured; and it could not be buried, but was either thrown into a deep pool or tied in the branches of a tree. To repair the mystical damage done to the chief, the woman's matrilineage had to send him her sister or some other girl to be his slave, or, if they were fortunate, make him a gift of a large goat.

The ceremony that reflects most clearly the traditional authority of the territorial chief is the installation of a village headman. This is important because it is still regularly performed and because in it are expressed the principles that the village headman is subordinate to the chief and that he has a definite mandate for good government from the people of his village and neighbourhood. This ceremony is an instance of the handing on of

Early Stages:

A Village Meeting

The men - Village Headman in deck chair; other section headmen on chairs

The women - sit separately

Chief Kaŵaza's Courthouse:

Northern Rhodesia Regiment recruiting meeting in progress outside it

Inside it (on another occasion) a case being tried by Court Assessor Adani Kamphodza (head against light from window)

Chief Kaŵaza at the nsolo board

PLATE XXII - SETTLING DISPUTES

a name, and has certain features common to ceremonies of its kind. Those of special significance for our purposes are brought out in the following abridged description :-

> The ritual starts at a mourning ceremony held in connection with the death of the previous headman. The ceremony may be the shaving that occurs about a month after the funeral when beer, known as mowa wabona, is brewed; or, especially if there is doubt about the succession, at a feast held roughly a year later (called caka, 'year'). At whichever it happens to be, when the beer is a day off maturing (cale), a libation of it and an offering of maize-flour are made to the shade of the deceased headman; and a final decision is taken about who is to succeed him. The following morning, when the beer has matured (wakupya), the neophyte headman is led by a ritual friend to the chief's capital where the crucial part of the installation takes place. The chief presents the neophyte with a piece of cloth which is placed over his head. He then instructs someone present, e.g. his son or one of his councillors, to remove the cloth suddenly as he shouts, 'Mr So-and-so here! Mr So-and-so has returned!', using the deceased headman's name, which the neophyte has now formally inherited. The neophyte is now led back to his village, placed on a mat and instructed by his villagers and neighbours on how to be a successful and acceptable headman. Anyone, male or female, old or young, may instruct him—and perhaps his wife—provided he or she hands over a small gift while doing so.

The point that is relevant at present is the fact that the crucial part of the installation is performed at the chief's capital and at the chief's behest. Every time a village headman is installed, the people of his village and its neighbourhood are reminded that the territorial chief has the right to veto their choice by failing to present the piece of cloth and have the name called.

The Chief's court, with its both traditional and modern foundations, is a place towards which local interest and sentiment are directed. During my stay in the Reserve, A Kaŵaza's court used to sit twice a week; and on court days large crowds gathered at Kagolo. These included, not only litigants and their supporting 'guardians' and headmen, but also those who came to see how the affairs

of state were conducted. 'Why are you at court today?', I once asked of a young man whom I knew well. His reply would have delighted Durkheim: 'I attend court to gain wisdom. Wisdom does not come from one person [me] but from your fellow men. If you see someone else doing wrong, you know what not to do'. The headman who had accompanied me to court intervened: 'What about those who do wrong knowingly and even admit it?' The young man could not reply. He was gaining wisdom outside as well as inside the court.

The crowd usually assembled long before the court would be likely to open. There was an animated exchange of news between those from different parts of the chiefdom or from neighbouring chiefdoms. One could always find a group of people tightly packed round the nsolo board—a stout plank with four long lines of holes cut in it on which a game resembling draughts is played with pebbles. The elder Kaŵaza was an expert player. Seated at the nsolo board in such close contact with his subjects that one had to distinguish him by his white beard and his unusual flowing white robes, he gave a curiously blended impression of autocrat and democrat, one that is not far wrong of either the Ceŵa chief of tradition or his modern counterpart, the president of a native court. Sometimes it would be time for court to begin before the game had finished; and some of the most incisive comments on evidence and the most astute judgments I heard Chief Kaŵaza Soŋgani make were irregularly punctuated by the grunts and jargon peculiar to the nsolo player.

What types of disputes are taken to the Chief's court? Table IX is an analysis of 333 cases entered in

TABLE IX—ANALYSIS OF 333 CASES COMING BEFORE THE KAWAZA NATIVE COURT, ENTERED IN CASE RECORD BOOKS COVERING THE PERIODS, 5.4.47 TO 5.6.47; 24.6.48 TO 15.9.48; AND 22.12.48 TO 29.1.49

	%	%
1. Offences under Legislation Administered by the Native Authority		
Agriculture, e.g. failing to make contour ridges	6.0	
Hygiene, e.g. failing to keep village sites cleared	6.0	
Education : failure, once having entered a child for a school course, to send it to school	7.5	
Control, e.g. failure to carry out a lawful instruction of the Native Authority; contempt of court	2.7	
		22.2
2. Disputes between Matrilineages		
Applications for divorce and the issue of a certificate of marriageability	35.4	
Adultery	13.2	
Damage to crops	10.2	
Assault, verbal abuse and slander . . .	9.3	
Sundry damages, including theft and infection with venereal disease .	9.7	
		77.8
		100.0

three case record books which I borrowed from Chief Kaŵaza's court clerk in 1949. The records were made during the periods, April to June 1947, June to September 1948 and December 1948 to January 1949, and thus cover different seasons of the year. The cases fall into two main categories. The first includes those involving offences under Native Authority rules and orders and under laws administered by the native courts. The second consists of disputes between the members of different matrilineages. In the first category typical fines were :- 2s. 6d. for not keeping a child at school once he had been entered for a course; 10s. for failing to keep a village site clear of weeds and grass; 10s. for failing to make contour ridges in a garden; and £1 for dancing <u>nyau</u> (this was before the ban on <u>nyau</u> was lifted). In the second category typical awards and court fees were :- 10s. damages and 3s. court fee for assault; 8s. damages and 1s. court fee for the destruction of crops by cattle; 7s. damages and 2s. court fee for killing someone's pig; and 30s. each damages and 2s. 6d. each court fee for adultery (wife and lover).

There were a few minor seasonal variations revealed by these records. It was not surprising to find, for instance, that there were more actions for damages to crops in the April-to-June period than in the two others covered; and that women tended to put their divorces in order more in the slack season (June to September in this case) than in the other, busier ones.

The general atmosphere of the court and the nature of Ceŵa juridical processes are brought out in the following cases :-

<u>The Fixing of Compensation</u>: Lawrence gave Robert a beast to look after on the understanding that he would give him a present in return for caring for it. Robert now refuses to return the beast unless Lawrence pays him 25s. Lawrence affirms that this is too much because Robert has had milk from it which he has sold to the Ghee factory, and asks the Court to order the return of his beast. The Court finds that 25s is too much, and orders the return of the beast provided Lawrence pays Robert 10s., which sum he hands over in court. In addition Lawrence pays a court fee of 2s. 6d.

<u>Division of Property on Divorce</u>: A divorced couple place 2s. 6d. each before the Court as a deposit against court fees. The ex-husband asks for an order permitting him to take ground-nut seed from their joint nut-store. The ex-wife objects that, though he is entitled to a share of their maize, he is not entitled to any ground-nuts because she bought them with money she made from making pots. The Court persuades her to agree to his taking a small quantity of ground-nuts for seed. No fees are charged.

<u>A Claim for Damages Postponed</u>: A man with a swollen eye complains that he was assaulted during a quarrel arising from the sale of some ground-nuts for which he was paid short. The Court orders him to come back in a week, by which time it will be possible to assess the extent of the damage to his eye. It would be fruitless, says the presiding assessor, to make a judgment until this is known.

<u>Egenesi's Pig</u>: A girl, Egenesi, complains that her pig has been killed by some boys. Asked who they are, she says, 'Many boys'. An assessor jokingly calls out, 'Many boys!', but there is no response from the boys waiting outside. The court messenger goes out and brings in nine boys, six of them aged about five or six and three of them about ten or eleven. One of the smaller ones acts as spokesman and gives a long description of how they decided to eat the pig, how their first attempts to catch it failed, but how they eventually caught it, killed it and ate it. Egenesi and the spokesman agree about the size of the pig. Members of the Court obviously enjoy the story, and everyone in court thinks it highly amusing. There is a general straightening of faces, however, and the presiding assessor says that the boys should be heavily punished because they are also in the habit of stealing fowls. A shilling is collected from each of the nine boys' 'guardians'; 7s. is handed to Egenesi's grandmother and 2s. is taken as a court fee.

<u>A Difficult Divorce Case</u>: Malina applies to the Court for a divorce because, she says, her husband 'does not hoe and does not come to her house', i.e., does not support her or live with her. The presiding assessor reminds her that she came once before, complaining that her husband had a venereal disease and that she did not want to sleep with him, and that the Court then ordered her to do so because her husband had stated that, if he

infected her, he would stand the consequences. Malina replies that her present application has nothing to do with the previous case. She claims that her husband took her to his village and left her there pregnant when he went to work in Southern Rhodesia. After her child was born, her husband's relatives sent her home.

The Court asks her husband whether what she says is true. He says it is and adds that he did not bring her back to his home village again because she refused to go with him, saying that his relatives had chased her away. The Court then investigated the reasons for their having chased her away, and discovers that it was because they were afraid of being held responsible if she or her child had died while they were with them. The presiding assessor suggests that the husband is being unfair to Malina because he has recently contracted a bride-wealth marriage with an Ngoni woman and has not the same degree of control over Malina as he has over his Ngoni wife. This hypothesis is not developed further, and the Court tries to patch up the marriage by suggesting that the husband should build Malina a hut in her home village and let her live there. Asked if she would agree to such a plan, Malina replies that she will have nothing to do with him in any case. The Court rules that she has no reasonable ground for divorce and must therefore pay her husband £1 compensation and a court fee of 1s. The husband agrees to divorce her on this condition.

The presiding assessor advises Malina not to get married again for six months and tells her that he is tired of having her come to Court. This, he says, is the fifth time. He urges her if she is pregnant to say so now so that there will not be another case later on. She says she is not pregnant. He asks her whether her husband has left a hoe in her house, by which he means any property. She laughs and says her husband does not know how to use a hoe.

The couple and their 'guardians' leave the Court. The presiding assessor reminds his colleagues that they forgot to ask whether this was a marriage in which _mcato_ (see above, pp. 208ff.) was handed over. If so, he says, the husband is entitled to its return. The assessors and others present decide that, if the husband had paid _mcato_, he would have applied for its return.

Estranged Newlyweds: Olipa complains that her husband Sindikani, has infected her with a venereal disease. Before their marriage they had had a liaison as a result of which she became pregnant. When her relatives said that Sindikani had made her pregnant, he denied this, but, because his own brother told him that he could not deny it since he had slept with her, he agreed to admit responsibility and to marry her. They were married. Three days later Sindikani went away to work. When he came home for short holidays from work, he did not go to his wife at all.

Questioned by the Court, Sindikani admits that he does not live with his wife, and adds that he has no intention of going back to her. He affirms that he is not dis-

> eased and therefore could not have infected Olipa. He states that his reason for not going back to her is that, on the very night of their marriage, two young men banged on the door of her hut, wanting to come in. When he asked who was there, one of them gave his name as D.C. Paŋgaŵanthu. His wife later admitted to him that D.C. Paŋgaŵanthu had come to the village in order to meet her.
>
> The Court makes an interim order that the couple should go to the hospital to be tested for venereal disease. The presiding assessor adds that, if Sindikani is proved free of disease, Olipa will have a very serious charge to answer, since she will have accused him falsely when she has actually been infected by someone else.

Even this cursory examination of the functioning of a Ceŵa native court leaves the impression that well-developed juridical machinery exists for handling most of the clashes that arise between persons belonging to different matrilineages. Furthermore, this machinery works because under Indirect Rule the people are operating institutions that they regard as their own. Although they may complain that, by traditional standards, adulterers, sorcerers and thieves are too lightly dealt with, there is no doubt but that by and large they are willing participants in this institution of social control. Their position in this respect contrasts sharply with that of urban Africans in South Africa, who are subjected to a host of laws and regulations that are alien to the normative order that they implicitly or explicitly cherish, and to whom punishment brings little or no disgrace. The Ceŵa, on the other hand, are so enmeshed in the principles underlying their juridical institutions that to get involved in a case (<u>kutenga mlandu</u>) is a matter of serious social consequence.

In conclusion, we should note a defect in Ceŵa juridical machinery that is especially relevant to our main purpose. Although it is geared to resolve conflict between persons belonging to different matrilineages, it cannot ef-

fectively dispose of disputes between members of the same matrilineage. The 'guardians', both senior and junior, are charged with this function, but they are probably too closely involved in the issues before them to be impartial. Since personal qualifications are important in succession to headmanship, a 'guardian' may have his own ambitions at the back of his mind when he tries to settle an issue involving a potential supporter. At any rate Ceŵa are fully aware of the fact that it is within the matrilineage that the juridical machinery most often breaks down—in the Ceŵa sense of failing to effect a settlement satisfactory to the two contestants; and that this has repercussions in accusations and believed instances of sorcery. It is matrikin, they say, who tend to practise sorcery against one another because, when they quarrel, they are likely 'to leave [unspoken] words of speech with one another (kusiana mau oyankhula)'. These words have to remain unspoken largely because the opportunities for speaking them formally are limited, with the result, according to Ceŵa neo-Freudian reasoning, that they find an outlet in sorcery.

CHAPTER SIX

THE NORMATIVE SYSTEM

We turn in this chpater from the structural to the normative aspects of Ceŵa social organization—to the conceptions people have, at varying levels of consciousness and in varying degrees of explicitness, of how people in association should behave towards one another. This step is necessary for two reasons. Firstly, for general purposes we need to have a well rounded picture of Ceŵa social organization, and must therefore supplement our knowledge of the social machine with details of how people think it should be operated. Secondly, for our specific purpose of testing the second part of the dual hypothesis developed in Chapter 2 we need an account of Ceŵa norms and values if we are to examine the proposition that beliefs in sorcery play a part in sustaining them.

These two aims are not entirely compatible, and the first will to some extent be sacrificed to the second. If we are later to test the hypothesis that Ceŵa beliefs in sorcery serve to make the group more morally homogenious and more conscious of its objectives, our account of the normative system must not depend on evidence coming from episodes involving such beliefs. Because of this requirement of normal scientific procedure, this chapter will present an account of the Ceŵa normative system based on all available data <u>except</u> cases involving beliefs in sorcery.

Discovering Norms

There are various methods that may be employed for arriving at people's conceptions of the socially desirable. The more direct ones probably produce over-idealized descriptions; and the more subtle ones are apt to lack objectivity. The most direct method of all is to ask people to describe their conceptions of proper conduct under a given set of circumstances, or, in a more general way, to depict the ideal person, e.g. the ideal headman, maternal uncle, grandmother—and so on. More likely to yield operating, as opposed to merely asserted, norms is the study of people's opinions of those whom they would have conform to socially accepted standards of behaviour, i.e., children being inducted into the society, other persons being prepared for a new status or office, and deviant individuals being subjected to the sanctions imposed on transgressors. A less direct means of getting at social norms consists of ascertaining the reasons that are advanced for misfortunes that befall people; for many of these imply that the victim of misfortune in some measure deserved his fate through having disregarded a social norm[1].

The most indirect method of all is the analysis of standardized utterances such as folk-lore and of standardized behaviour such as ritual and ceremonial. Although, since Radcliffe-Brown's pioneering study[2], this has become

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[1] I am grateful to Professor Monica Wilson for drawing my attention to the importance of this type of evidence.

[2] A.R. Brown, The Andaman Islanders, Cambridge: The University Press, 1922, especially Chaps. 5 and 6.

the commonest method used by anthropologists for reaching a society's values, it is one fraught with danger and difficulty. Its chief advantage lies in the fact that folk-lore themes and ritual episodes unquestionably have to do with the group's shared sentiments rather than with an individual informant's eccentricities; and its chief weakness, in the fact that the phenomena studied are not of simple determination. One cannot always be sure when they reflect social values and when they are disguised, phantasy-like outpourings of the very energy that the normative system serves to keep in check; or, putting it in a slightly different way, one cannot be sure when a folk-lore theme or a ritual episode is 'held up for emulation' or for 'detestation'[3].

For convenience, the first two methods, i.e., verbal descriptions of desirable conduct and the evaluation of informally sanctioned conduct, will be taken together under the heading of 'precept and example in everyday life'. Then will follow a brief reference to the norm of 'the reasonable man' that is at the backs of the minds of those who adjudicate in Ceŵa disputes; and, after that, sections on the lessons of misfortune and the moral implications of folk-lore and of ritual. In the closing section, an attempt will be made to synthesize the material into a logically interrelated picture of the Ceŵa normative system, and to discuss some of the influences that have given rise to present value-conflicts.

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[3]Cf. Edwin W. Smith, African Symbolism, Henry Myers Lecture, London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1952, p. 13.

(a) Precept and Example in Everyday Life

I collected a considerable amount of material on conduct that Ceŵa commend and personality traits that they admire by asking informants to speak or write about 'a good person' (munthu wabwino). Sometimes I asked them to describe more specifically their conception of a good man, a good woman, a good headman or chief (nfumu), or a good teacher. Realizing that these descriptions would be idealized, I tried to supplement them by observing everyday behaviour and by recording people's evaluations of the actual conduct of others. One method of obtaining such evaluations was to ask a few semi-literate people living in different villages to keep diaries for me. What they wrote threw much light on their conceptions of conduct worthy of praise or blame; for they often showed that their enjoyment of the company of the good or their shocked amazement at the conduct of the bad was of sufficient interest to warrant the arduous task of recording it.

The statements about ideal character show that the Ceŵa have a keen appreciation of the intrinsic and instrumental value of harmonious human relationships. The good man is the meek one who pleases all, gives offence to none and is wise, generous and sociable. The good woman and the good child, in accordance with their inferior status, have two important qualities in common, obedience and a willingness to be of service in their respective spheres of housekeeping and errand-running. Both pay respect to elders— for reasons that will be mentioned presently.

Esteemed people are depicted as being conscientious in fulfilling their obligations, whether these be defined by

An old woman
chats to a guest
near her ground-
nut store

Children at play (near the
entrance of my tent)

Boys playing a
gambling card
game (on a path
between two
villages)

PLATE XXIV - RELAXATION

kinship bonds or by wider social links. Good men help their dependants, and take pains to entertain visiting friends or even passing strangers; and their wives, children and sisters' children support them in these duties.

'To converse congenially' (kuceza) is valued for its own sake; and Ceŵa obviously enjoy the company of others. At the same time they are fully aware of the rewards for being sociable and pleasing to others. Sometimes these expected rewards are cited in support of a recommended norm. A child is enjoined to be willing to run errands in order that he may be clothed or helped in some other way by those who wish to send him. A woman is told that her best way of achieving the security of a stable marriage is for her to cook well and be both faithful and sexually responsive to her husband; and she is warned that, if she offends the elders when she is pregnant, she cannot expect to bear her child without trouble.

There is considerable agreement between theory and practice in the sense that conduct conspicuous enough to bring praise or blame in everyday life usually exemplifies or violates the norms just described. The good man of verbal description is meek; and the bad man of everyday rebuke and gossip is aggressive and short-tempered. Similarly, the bad woman is headstrong, impudent, lazy, domestically incompetent or promiscuous; the bad child, disobedient. The sociable, hospitable person, constantly recommended in theory, enjoys in practice great popularity and is therefore in an enviable position. His opposite, the recluse who avoids the company of others or spends too much time in the company of his wife instead of that of his

men-friends, is the subject of disapproval and derision.

The conventions of polite social intercourse are adjusted to the smooth running of the wheels of interaction. I realized this through having to learn and practise them. I had to seek permission to join company (a formal request never refused); and I had to sit down as soon as possible and on as low a seat as I could find lest people should think I was expecting the honour of being given a chair. I had to be properly settled before expecting a greeting, had to acknowledge all greetings individually, and had to repeat, for each one who asked me, my answers to questions about my health and whence I had come and whither I was going. I had to ask such questions of others and to assist those who spoke to me by punctuating their remarks with interjections that showed my interest in what they told me, such as '<u>Kodi?</u> (Really?)', '<u>Inde</u> (Yes)', '<u>A-a!</u> (Now you don't say!)', '<u>Basi!</u> (Enough said!)' and '<u>Cabwino</u> (Good)'. I had to seek permission before leaving, and felt ashamed on being told by my language teacher that both the way I had clapped my hands on approaching the group and the intonation of my farewell had been effeminate.

The intensely social orientation of the Ceŵa is reflected in the sanctions they apply to transgressors. Underlying all those that they deliberately mete out (as opposed to those that we may infer to be operating indirectly through mystical belief) is a marked sense of shame (<u>manyazi</u>). People are deterred from immoral conduct, not so much by the punishment that a court imposes, nor by the damages it may award, but rather by the associated derision of other people and the consequent feeling

of shame. Shame is said to make grown men weep and to drive impetuous transgressors to suicide. If a person who has been insane 'feels shame again' at his nakedness, this is taken to be a sign of his recovery.

When someone is warned that his conduct will lead to the personal disaster of feeling ashamed, the 'reference group', those among whom he should not lose face, may be designated as 'other people', or, more specifically, as his age-mates, the people of another village, his affines—present or future—or, as we saw in Chapter 4 (p. 178), his joking partners, who may, in jest, speak many a true word.

An implicit reference <u>point</u> (rather than group) is the headman. 'A headman is born!' is the joyful cry attending the birth of every boy; and rightly so, since (as we saw in Chapter 4, p. 156) the merits of a man's personality often take him further than would his genealogical position alone. As one might expect, the ideal headman, to whose position most men secretly aspire, is the epitome of approved conduct. He is a meek person, serenely self-controlled, who is generous to his dependants and hospitable to strangers. He has the knack of readjusting disturbed human relationships and of persuading people of the wisdom of his decisions rather than forcing them to accept them. Some of the norms defining the ideal headman's rôle probably spring from an appreciation of its great difficulty. He is a person who should refrain from gambling; who should drink only in moderation, if at all; who should remain at a beer-drink only a short time lest violence occur and he be called upon to give evidence before the chief and have to admit that he was drunk; and who should not leave his village or section except for work in his garden or duty at the chief's capital.

Many of the norms prescribing the teacher's rôle are of a similarly preventive character, and point to the difficulties brought about by Western differentiation and the new distribution of power. The teacher should not take advantage of his comparative wealth and prestige by seducing other men's wives or his senior pupils; nor should he punish children without due permission; nor show disrespect towards the headman.

The high degree of social orientation, which we have remarked on, is found in the Ceŵa definition of insanity, a condition attributed, incidentally, either to seizure by an angered shade (in this state referred to as a <u>ciwanda</u> rather than an <u>mzimu</u>)—angered because the sufferer or an associate has failed to perform a ritual such as purification after a bereavement—or to sorcery. In descriptions of 'mad people' (<u>ŵanthu ŵamisala</u>) given by my informants and by witnesses at Lunacy Inquiries[4], socially disruptive symptoms are emphasized, rather than—as in our society—the patient's loss of self-identification and orientation. The traits of mad people that are noted are that they burn down huts, destroy crops and livestock, assault people, talk to themselves, undress in company without shame, and wander into and stay in the bush, where they behave like wild animals. The last symptom, incidentally, is related to an interesting though rather obscure negative value. Just as the night is a 'lonely time' to the Irish[5], so is the bush a 'lonely place',

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[4]I made notes on those concerning Ceŵa in Fort Jameson from a file entitled 'Lunacy Inquiry from 1939-1944'.

[5]Conrad M. Arensberg, <u>The Irish Countryman</u>, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937, p. 187.

a 'wilderness' (cipululu), to the Ceŵa. It is the antithesis of normal living, and the attitude towards it represents the obverse of the emphasis on sociability.

We have seen that violent and aggressive behaviour is strongly disapproved. There are constant reminders of this in everyday life. I have often seen adults separate children who have started fighting 'lest their quarrel be the cause of enmity between their parents'. Verbal abuse (kutukwana) is regarded in almost as serious a light as actual physical violence (ndeu). Anyone who loses his temper (-pya mtima, lit., 'burns [in his] heart') is the subject of strong condemnation. If a case is being heard at a village meeting (kabungwe) or before a chief, and one of the litigants loses his temper, the action goes against him, no matter how strong his position in other respects. This is in keeping with the principle already noted (Chapter 5, pp. 232-33) that the function of Ceŵa juridical institutions is the removal of hatred from human hearts rather than the inhuman application of legal precedents and canons. To lose one's temper during a trial is to defy this principle.

To comply with it is difficult by Ceŵa standards; for this involves experiencing the shame of admitting that one has done wrong. Perhaps this is why Ceŵa emphasize the desirability of freely acknowledging when one is in the wrong, and why courts take such pains to induce the loser of an action to say, 'I admit [it] (Nabvomela)', 'I was at fault (Nalakwa)' or 'I have been foolish (Napusa)'. As we shall see when we come to the moral implications of ritual, Ceŵa believe that confessing (kuulula) a wrong is an effective means of staving off its normal mystical consequences.

(b) The Lessons of Misfortune

During the course of field-work—especially on my second and third trips—I kept systematic records of all cases of misfortune that came to my notice or that, at my request, informants related to me. These will be analyzed in Part III. Table X (see Chapter 8, facing p. 331) shows that, in 117 of these, either the victim of misfortune or someone closely connected to him, e.g. a kinsman or friend, had been guilty of some misdemeanour. And in Table XXXII (see Chapter 10, facing p. 373) these cases with moral implications have been separated into those involving beliefs in sorcery, of which there are seventy-one, and those not involving beliefs in sorcery, of which there are forty-six. For the reasons given at the opening of this chapter, we shall use only the latter cases in our present task of depicting the Cewa normative system.

The forty-six cases entered in the second column of Table XXXII are analyzed according to the misdemeanour of which the victim or his associate was believed to have been guilty. The following—in descending order of frequency—are the more important of the traits or actions attributed to the victims (or their associates) of misfortunes unconnected with sorcery :- sexual promiscuity; failure to perform a ritual or to observe a taboo; failure to discharge a traditional obligation; and dishonesty, theft etc. Examples of case summaries from these categories are :-

> Sexual Promiscuity (of the victim's husband): Leonora, a young woman who had had one child, began to suffer from swellings in the groin. These became worse, and she died. People said that her death was the result of a venereal disease, known as 'the disease of Songea' (nthenda yaSongea), which she had contracted ('taken', -tenga) from her husband who had been infected with it by prostitutes in Southern Rhodesia. Her relatives

sued her husband in Chief Mlolo's court and were awarded damages of £6, the court fee being 5s.

Failure to Observe a Taboo (by victim's wife): Mkanjo went to work in a mine in Southern Rhodesia, taking his wife with him. One day, as he was operating a pneumatic drill, a loose piece of rock came away and killed him. His wife argued that his death was the result of the hatred of the African foreman (kapitao) who, she said, must have deliberately marked the position of the hole on a loose piece of rock. Mkanjo's relatives refused to believe this, saying that his wife must have committed adultery and thus broken the strict sexual taboo imposed on the wives of all those engaged in dangerous or delicate operations, such as mining, iron smelting and kacaso distilling.

Failure to Perform a Ritual (by victim and later her relatives): Otina, a young married woman without children yet, was preparing food when a rooster approached, and began to eat it. She tried to chase it away, but it turned on her and pecked her on the eyebrow. Her relatives considered this such an unusual occurrence that they consulted a diviner, who found that the shade of Otina's mother's mother was angry because Otina 'is eating alone without preparing anything for us'. Otina's relatives were Christians, and told the diviner that they could not make beer to appease a shade. Otina died three weeks after the rooster's attack.

Failure to Discharge Traditional Obligations (by victim's lover): Sitelia, an unmarried girl, became pregnant and died in childbirth. This, people said, resulted from the fact that the baby's father was not present to make a traditional confession of his adulteries committed while Sitelia was pregnant (cf. Chapter 5, pp. 224-25) because there was no prospect of his marrying her, since, although he was her cross-cousin, his relatives were Catholics and could not allow him to marry a cross-cousin.

Theft (by victim): Mcele, a middle-aged man, stole a coat. Its owner procured property-protective magic (cambo) which followed up (-londola) the thief, killing him and two of his relatives.

It is interesting to note the frequency with which modern influences crop up in these examples, which were taken at random from my records. Labour migration, prostitution, greater differentiation of work, loyalty to Christian principles—all these are features of modern life which directly or indirectly increase the difficulty of conforming to traditional norms, and probably multiply the cases in which punishment is believed to befall those who defy them.

(c) The Reasonable Man

Had Gluckman's searching analysis of the implicit assumptions of Lozi judges[6] been available when I carried out my field-work, I might have gathered better balanced material having reference to social norms. I might have recorded less of people's expressed and relatively unreal descriptions of desirable conduct and more of the down-to-earth though stringent norms implied in the judgments of village meetings and chiefs' courts. Although my material is woefully deficient when the high standards Gluckman has set up are applied to it, I must make as best use as I can of what I have.

A re-examination of the cases presented in Chapter 5 (pp. 233-35 and 246-48) does not give instances of how the conception of the reasonable man may be used as a 'weapon in attacking evidence'[7]. It does, however, lend support to the view that this conception includes generosity, the opposite of which, meanness, the Chief's court found it necessary to temper in 'The Fixing of Compensation' and the 'Division of Property on Divorce'; and a readiness to admit a wrong, a lack of which led to the unanimous rejoinder of the village meeting trying Daniel that '[To say] "I admit it with a sore head" is no admission at all' and to a similar reaction by Chief Kaŵaza Maniŋu to the man who admitted his wrong 'because the Chief says so'. The much-admired shrewdness to govern wisely is illustrated by the

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[6]Max Gluckman, The Judicial Process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia, Manchester: Manchester University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1955, especially Chap. 3.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 82.

Court's familiarity with what Gluckman refers to as 'norms of misconduct'[8] when it indicates to Olipa in the case of the 'Estranged Newlyweds' that it suspects her of covering up her infidelity by accusing her husband of having infected her with a venereal disease.

Reference to Table IX (Chapter 5, facing p. 245) reminds us that much of the Kaŵaza Native Court's time is devoted to cases involving conduct likely to disturb normal social relationships, such as adultery, assault, slander, theft and damage to crops. Furthermore, the Court departs from its usual leniency when dealing with more serious invasions of rights and more violent breaches of the peace. For instance, in January 1947, I was present when Chief Kaŵaza Songani imprisoned a man for six months for stealing clothes and a boy for two months for being in possession of a knife when the Court messenger (kapasu) tried to arrest him for breach of a service contract with a white farmer.

(d) The Moral Implications of Folk-Lore

The Ceŵa have their share of Africa's rich heritage of oral folk-lore. This includes ideophones, idioms, proverbs, maxims, riddles, fables and songs. These folk-lore elements vary in the extent to which they have explicit normative reference. Proverbs and maxims are the most directly didactic; fables and songs the most densely obscured in symbolism.

Apart from mentioning one or two general proverbs, I shall leave the more direct expressions of norms to the

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[8] Ibid., p. 129.

The drums

The dance

PLATE XXV - CIŴELE, THE DANCE
OF YOUTH

next section; for, as we shall see then, Ceŵa ritual provides many opportunities for the direct and detailed moral instruction of the central participants.

Many proverbs and maxims refer to social life by extolling the virtue of neighbourliness or by warning of the consequences of anti-social conduct. Thus, 'If your companion's beard catches alight [and] you extinguish [the fire] for him, tomorrow he'll extinguish [one in] yours'; and 'Good requites companionate good; evil requites companionate evil'. Certain idiomatic expressions facilitate the development of social skills such as the shrewd recognition of the deception of others. For instance, 'sharpness of tongue' (kutwa Kwalilime) means the ability to tell lies that resemble truthful statements. The primary functions of riddles appear to be to provide entertainment and training in general mental alertness. Among those I collected, few had any moral implications.

Songs and fables deal with a wide variety of subjects, both traditional and topical, and their function would appear to be the provision of entertainment and vicarious social experience rather than the pointing of morals. Words of songs vary in intelligibility. Songs associated with everyday tasks, such as pounding maize, tend to make more sense than those pertaining to traditional dances such as the secret nyau, the cimbumbuli and cigwiti of the older people and the ciŵele and citelele of the younger ones. A woman, when she can spare breath from the pounding that she is accompanying, sings :-

> Girls, what are you proud about?
> You are proud of the men of the Regiment;
> But disease has already finished them, Wo!

Another laments :-

A misfortune that I am black [darker than everage].
My fellows open with keys [have boxes of possessions
because they have attracted rich husbands].
Mayo, Mayowee, Zangose, Mayo.

A third complains of marriage,

I cook food and he says it's raw.
I go to fetch water and he says I'm late.
Yaya, I ask you Soldier, Yawaliye, Sure!

A group of women, on finishing the plastering of a neighbours house, demand of him,

Man with very black head, Stingy one!
Man with very black head, Stingy one!
Things [gifts?] please, things please, things please.
If he fails to give me,
I'll defecate on his doorstep!
Man with very black head, Stingy one!

Some of the songs associated with traditional dances include:-

What are you talking about, you two girls?
Now, if your husband dirties his legs,
Get water and wash him.
Foolish ones are instructing the neophytes!

You, Cauta, Cauta [God].
Cauta takes young men.

A virgin often goes to her mother:
Her father seduces her.

You have stinted me a fowl,
I being present.
I'll go elsewhere to find
Another kind of treatment.

Perhaps the main relevance that these songs have to our present purpose is that they show a realistic grasp of human motives, one that is unfettered by any romantic notions.

Fables are more articulate in painting a shrewd picture of human deceit, chicanery and cunning. Most of them have animal characters who tend to play constant rôles. Hare (Kalulu) is usually the hero, and personifies the slyness that helps the weak to overcome the strong and villain-

ous. Tortoise (Fulu) resembles him in many ways, though he he achieves his ends through the boldness of simplicity rather than the deceptiveness of cunning. Lion (Mkango, Cilombo) represents the powerful, pompous authority against which these two are often successfully pitted; Hyena (Fisi), the greed and lack of principle that moralists even as liberal as Hare and Tortoise find abhorrent; and Baboon (Mkhwele), the stupidity of the dupe whom cleverer characters find useful as a cat's paw or scapegoat. Thus, it is Hare who bribes and tricks his way out of Lion's clutches; Tortoise who alone succeeds in catching the wily Hare with bird-lime on his shell-back; Hyena who puts an end to the generosity of the hospitable (human) headman by eating all his pigs instead of the single one he was invited to take; and Baboon who dies when Hare succeeds in putting the blame on to him for killing Lion's children[9].

The general impression given by these animal tales, which Ceŵa share with many other Africans, is one of 'business ethics' in a bush setting. The unprincipled principles they extol contrast sharply with both the asserted norms of Ceŵa precept and the operative norms of sanctioned conduct. The line between actions of a character that are held up for emulation and those that are models for detestation is so thin that one can only assume that the tales perform a function similar to that of detective novels in our society; they provide adventure to compensate for the dullness of respectability; negative example to satisfy the smugness of those who observe the norms; and vicarious experience to sharpen the wits of those who would improve their understand-

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[9]The stories in which these incidents occur are given in Appendix G.

ing of social behaviour. In this last respect, they resemble the legends of the Andamanese[10] in being a means of giving exercise to Ceŵa interest in human character.

The most outstanding human character in fable is Pimbilimani [of] Original Plan (Pimbilimani Nzelu Zayekha). He shows much of Hare's resourcefulness and cunning when he pits himself against the unprincipled malevolence of his mother and maternal uncle. In addition, he illustrates the advantages of the human privilege of having a following; for he effects his plans, not only by organizing his human age-mates, but also by commanding a band of animal helpers. The plot of the Pimbilimani story, though not the mental processes of its characters, has a Hamlet-like quality which I have been unable to penetrate for our present purposes, but which makes it worth reproducing for some reader who may be more successful. It is included with a few other illustrations of Ceŵa stories in Appendix G.

In at least two respects, the folk-lore to which we have referred accords with the other sources of normative conceptions we have examined. It emphasizes frankness and ingenuousness in social life. Its characters never justify their motives with complicated rationalizations. Their morality seems to be practical and down-to-earth. Harmonious social relationships are highly valued, that men should not only desire them but also develop the shrewdness needed for bringing them about. Ceŵa folk-lore gives a realistic picture of human motives (especially when they are projected into animals) and shows that their being hidden is not conducive to bearable social life.

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[10] Brown, The Andaman Islanders, p. 395.

(e) Normative Aspects of Ceŵa Ritual

When we move to the field of ritual, we expect the emphasis to shift from the appeal of intrinsic rationality to that of symbolic appropriateness[11]. This shift in fact occurs to the extent that, in their ritual, Ceŵa express certain values, such as fertility and virility, that have not yet cropped up in our exploration of the more direct indicators of norms. At the same time, even in the field of ritual itself, Ceŵa show the uncomplicated, ingenuous and yet shrewd appraisal of social life that we have noticed in other contexts. This may partly explain the great difficulty I had in getting informants to conceive of the possibility that elements of their ritual might have meanings going beyond their everyday connotations. In any event, I have to record my failure to penetrate Ceŵa ritual symbolism. I tried, but the combined effect of deficient training on my part and a lack of articulateness on the part of my informants prevented me from making much headway. For instance, I failed to discover any referent symbolically associated[12] with the removal of hair, which plays an important part in mortuary rituals. I was repeatedly told that it was simply hair that was being shaved off and thrown away! One of the few objects to which informants gave a symbolic meaning without much hesitation or coaxing from me was the string of white beads placed round the neck of the

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[11]Cf. Talcott Parsons, [The Structure of] Social Action, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937, pp. 210-11.

[12]In the manner described by Godfrey Wilson and Monica Hunter in The Study of African Society, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 2, Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1938, pp. 11-12.

recipient of the name in the ritual of nominal reincarnation (<u>kuponya nyumba</u>, see below, pp. 277ff.). This, they said, stood for a 'pure heart' (<u>mtima woyela</u>), which was their expression for the meek and generous disposition that they hoped the recipient would assume with the name. Others were the 'activating agents' (<u>vizimba</u>, sing., <u>cizimba</u>) used in magical concoctions, especially the 'medicines' with which diviners doctor themselves (see Chapter 7, pp. 314ff.).

The fact that the Ceŵa have a rational approach to human society and the norms controlling it does not mean that supernatural sanctions have no appeal to them. On the contrary, they show the utmost respect for a complex of mystical beliefs centring on ritual purity and impurity. As we saw incidentally to one of the cases of misfortune on p. 260, ritual purity, which is achieved mainly by a taboo on sexual intercourse, especially illicit sexual intercourse, is considered necessary for performing difficult or dangerous operations such as mining, smelting or distilling. It is also necessary at all the crises in the life cycle—birth, puberty, marriage and succession to headmanship or chieftainship. The most protracted period during which ritual purity is required of parents, more particularly by their abstention from illicit sexual intercourse, is the ten or eleven months from conception to 'when the child first smiles'. The unborn child is in a ritually dangerous condition described as 'cold' (<u>wozizila</u>). If either of its parents becomes ritually impure, or 'hot' (<u>wotentha</u>), such as by its father's having intercourse with a mistress rather than with another of his wives, the foetus will 'get cut in the chest' (<u>-duka m'cifuwa</u>), the chief symptom of this condition before birth being the mother's difficult

labour. Appropriate confession (kuulula) by the parent responsible is believed to remove the danger and to result in normal birth. It is only after the ritual of 'taking the child' (kutenga mwana) has been performed, from four to eight weeks after birth, that the danger of the child's ritual 'coldness' passes, and makes it safe for him to be brought into contact with the dangerous, 'hot' forces of human reproduction. This is because this ritual formally introduces him to the village community in which these forces abound. The main features of the ritual are that the parents have coitus interruptus while holding the child, after which they anoint it with their mixed seminal and vaginal fluid, and (according to some informants) pass it across the fire, in which medicines specially procured for the occasion are burnt. A feature relevant to our present purposes is the belief, noted in Chapter 5 (p. 224), that, to the extent that the father succeeds in bracing himself (kulimbika mtima, 'making firm [his] heart') to forego the pleasure of full intercourse, so will the child show firmness of character.

Ceŵa social life would be much simpler, and its sexual life much freer, if the kutenga mwana ritual finally removed the new member of society from ritual danger and the associated susceptibility to 'getting cut in the chest' by the ritual impurity of those in actual or mystical contact with him. There are, however, many subsequent occasions on which he will be in a 'cold' condition that imposes sexual and certain other taboos, e.g. those relating to the seasoning of food with salt, on his parents, his spouse and, at the more important life-crises, the headman of his village. Puberty, both physical and social, going

on a journey, menstruation, mourning—all these and other occasions render people 'cold' and impose taboos on those associated with them. The defloration that completes the Ceŵa female puberty ritual (cinamwali) is simply the means of formally re-introducing the girl, who has been in a 'cold' condition, to the dangerous, 'hot' forces prevalent in the village. Exactly parallel is the instruction given to a boy at the end of his induction into the nyau society to have intercourse with a woman 'lest he should die'.

Ceŵa believe that, should the taboos be broken, the 'cold' person will 'get cut in the chest', the symptoms in the post-natal period, more in keeping with the description, now approximating those of what we recognize as pulmonary tuberculosis. The number of cases of pulmonary tuberculosis brought in to the Fort Jameson African Hospital is considered to be very small in proportion to the probable prevalence of the disease[13]; and this may well be the result of the fact that, because Ceŵa, and other tribes in the district, regard it as the condition of 'getting cut in the chest' (kuduka m'cifuwa, mdulo) and a natural consequence of human negligence, they think it unlikely that European methods of treatment will help to cure it. The whole complex of beliefs concerning mdulo exerts a strong influence on every Ceŵa, and appears to have withstood the onslaught of modern changes far better, for instance, than the cult of the shades.

An important aspect of the mdulo complex is the notion that the breach of a taboo will not affect the one who breaks

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[13]Discussion with the Provincial Medical Officer of the Eastern Province in Fort Jameson, early in 1953.

it, but that some innocent person connected with him will suffer. Thus, although a supernatural sanction is apparently operating, the ultimate sanction preserving the taboo is a secular one. Usually people who break mdulo taboos at inauspicious times, such as when their wives are pregnant; or when they are in mourning, are successfully sued for damages—in spite of the fact that the allegation made against them falls within the Witchcraft Ordinance's wide definition of 'imputing witchcraft' (see Chapter 7, p. 284, Footnote 3).

The effect of these ritual prescriptions bolstered by secular authority is the preservation of the social relationships conducive to effective human reproduction. Their ultimate reference, through the obscurer channels of symbolism and mystical belief, is to the fertility of the soil and the fecundity of animals and men. An indication of this is to be found in the belief that a woman who has died in childbirth should be cut open to release the harmful tension (nphamvu, 'strength'), and her corpse either thrown into a deep pool or tied in the branches of a tree lest its 'heat' should destroy the fertility of the soil (see above, Chapter 5, p. 242).

Matching these ritual prescriptions, there is intense preoccupation with ideas of virility. The standards that men set up when they complain that they are losing their sexual powers are stringent, to say the least. In this connection, there is a subtle conception of the place of women in Ceŵa society in the belief that, if a woman should have an orgasm before her sexual partner, the latter, unless he makes a quick confession of his inadequacy and is appropriately treated, will develop a wasting disease that in-

variably proves fatal. Of the six miscellaneous cases shown in the last line of Table XXXII (Chapter 10, facing p. 373), two were of this kind.

Before turning to the details of the ritual of cardinal importance in sustaining the Ceŵa normative system (that of nominal reincarnation), let us dispose of the normative aspects of rituals associated with death, puberty and marriage[14].

In brief, mortuary rituals comprise the magical protection of corpse and grave-site from the attacks of sorcerers, followed by burial, grave-watching for two or three nights and a series of mourning ceremonies. The first of these ceremonies, which occurs on the day following the burial, consists of the tying of mourning bands (milaza, sing., mlaza) on the heads of those persons, such as wives or sisters of the deceased, chosen to be chief mourners. At this time their heads are shaved for the first time to allow the growth of a fresh crop of hair which will be kept as a sign of mourning. About a month later there is a ceremony, attended by dancing and beer-drinking, at which beer that is a day off maturity (cale) is offered to the deceased's shade, and, the following day, the mourning bands are removed and the mourners' heads finally shaved. About a year later, if the deceased was an important person, an anniversary feast (called caka, 'year') is held—again to the accompaniment of dancing and beer-drinking. The theme of the last two ceremonies, especially where dancing, beer and libations are concerned, is the forgetting (kuiŵala) of the deceased and the settling (kukazikika) of his

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[14]Descriptions of all three types of rituals, as well as of nominal reincarnation, will be found in Appendix H.

shade at the graveyard—away from the village where it might interfere with the welfare of the living. This theme, though expressed in supernatural terms, has an important secular aspect. It facilitates the readjustment of the members of the group to the loss of one of their number, and accords well with the emphasis we have noted elsewhere on the maintenance—in this case in spite of the accident of death—of harmonious human relationships.

The outstanding feature of the puberty and marriage rituals (which usually coalesce in the case of the girl's ceremony) is their emphasis on formal instruction. The Ceŵa do not leave the important process of education for the fullest phases of living to ill-defined emotional nuances of their ceremonials. In their matter-of-fact way, they ensure that the neophyte knows verbally at least how to meet every situation he is likely to encounter in his new, full adult status. To us, who have become partially immunized by the constant stream of spoken and written words with which we are bombarded, Ceŵa attention to verbal detail appears obsessional. A girl is not simply told that she must see to the comfort of her husband. She is told that she must first go to the bush and gather firewood; then bring it back; then make a fire; then go to the water-hole to draw water—and so on—leading eventually to but one small detail of her wifely duty, providing warm water for the washing of her husband's legs. Every other duty that may be in store for her is similarly presented in great detail. Ceŵa assign a much greater value to words than we do. We believe in the power of words only if by some association they have become charged with interest or, at the worst levels of education and propaganda, fear. To the Ceŵa, words have a high

Two akasinja dance near drumming team

Drumming team: 'sound-effects man' with slotted drum watches feet of dancers

Makanja, the dancer on stilts

Ngwala (an antelope): a "one man-power model" built of saplings and finished with grass and maize-sloughs. Danced only after dark; here "parked" in a secret place in the bush

Malia: a masked male dancer caricatures Ceŵa womanhood

PLATE XXVI - NYAU, 'THE BIG DRUM'

face value, and 'to give words' (kupatsa mau) means to deliver a charge of unfailing, intrinsic worth.

This is not to say that the occasions on which words are given are not charged with emotion. Words are delivered on occasions the importance of which warrants their being given special attention. But the fact that all words likely to be of use at some time in the future are included, that nothing is left to vague hints and obscure symbols alone, points to the down-to-earth conception of human relationships that we noted earlier.

A notable feature of the puberty ceremonies, especially those activities of the nyau society that may be equated with boys' initiation, is the inclusion of both positive and negative objects and actions for evaluation, i.e., the setting up of values and behaviour patterns both for emulation and detestation, with as thin a line between the two as is the case with folk-lore characters and themes.

The most conspicuous negative values associated with nyau are to be found in the suspension, during its production, of normal rules of respectful and decent behaviour. Even in the present form of it, which represents a degeneration resulting from years of being banned, orgiastic features are prominent. The characters in the dance, their faces masked and their voices made falsetto, drop all respect-forms in speech, use abusive and obscene language, dance naked if there are no whites present and assault people freely, especially those who are entering the society, i.e., in effect, those who are undergoing tribal initiation. Informants say that long ago their behaviour was even more violent, that they could take property and assault any person

and rape any woman who got in their way; and that people used to hide in their houses to avoid such incidents. Apart from the fact that the dancers were generally supposed to be the shades—only initiated members of the society knew that they were not—and could not be identified, no legal action would have been taken against them even if it had been possible to identify them. In a society remarkable for its tight controls in everyday life on aggression and violence, the period of _nyau_-production was—and in some measure still is—one during which such controls were dramatically lifted.

These negative values, i.e., objects and activities held up for detestation, are prominent in the induction of new members into the _nyau_ society. If someone defecates near the place in the bush where neophytes are taught and dances are practised (the _liunde_ or _dambwe_), the boys are made to pick up and pretend to eat the faeces, and are told to examine them carefully because 'they must be familiar with things that, in the village, are looked upon as filthy'. Similarly, they are made to wash in urine and carry out other humiliating actions, such as dancing _cimwangalala_, an erotic display by means of which a well-brought-up Ceŵa wife arouses her husband's ardour.

In both the boy's (_nyau_) and the girl's (_cinamwali_) puberty ceremonies, the instructions given are typical of those of rites of passage. The neophyte is enjoined 'to give up childishness' (_kuleka cibwana_) and to take on a character befitting an adult man or woman. The girl in particular is warned that she should always help the elders and avoid quarrelling with them when she is pregnant lest she should

lack someone to help her when the time comes for her to bear her child. And, as we have noted, she is instructed in the details of how to satisfy her husband's every need. She is warned that she should not look at her husband's face, since it is the one she has seen before, but should rather watch his belly because it is wont to change with hunger; that, when he performs 'the work of the house', i.e., when he has sexual intercourse with her, she should be responsive lest he complain that he sleeps with a dead person who has not been properly instructed; and that she should be hospitable to his guests that he may enjoy their hospitality when he visits them. Like the nyau entrant, she is put through many tests of humiliation, patience and endurance.

One of my informants remarked that, whereas the girl has one initiation, the boy has two. This is not altogether correct; for the girl's ceremony has two distinct phases, one at her first menstruation ('little maidenhood', cinamwali cacinono) and one at her first pregnancy ('big maidenhood', cinamwali cacikulu or cisamba). What he was referring to was the fact that the boy, in addition to entering into nyau, plays an active part in his wife's initiation. With her he goes through certain rites of attachment, such as eating together (in a society in which men and women usually eat separately), the mutual shaving and the mixing of pubic and axillary hair, and the ritual coitus that brings to an end her dangerous, 'cold' condition. It is only if the girl is unmarried that someone else, such as one of her cross-cousins, is invited to play the rôle of 'hyena' (fisi) and perform this vital service for her by deflowering her ('eating [her] maidenhood', kudya cinamwali). Corresponding with the instructions his wife receives, the boy is told how

Sacrificing a fowl at dawn
at a miniature hut built
for the shades at the
base of an msolo tree

PLATE XXVII - APPEASING THE SHADES

he should be a good husband, especially how he should avoid being unfaithful to her when she is pregnant and thus injuring her unborn child by 'cutting it in the chest'.

Nominal reincarnation[15] is a ritual in which the central figure, a neophyte about to take over the earthly name of a departed shade, may be of almost any age. Very often he or she is a child to whom the name is transferred because its former proprietor has complained—by making some member of the matrilineage ill—that he or she is being forgotten. On the other hand, the person concerned may be a man advanced in years who, in succeeding to a headmanship, is receiving the name of his predecessor. If the name is an important one, such as that of a headman, the weight of responsibility of its associated office is symbolized by the recipient's manifest unwillingness to receive it and by his having to be captured by force or by stealth and put through the ceremony.

This ritual resembles the rituals of puberty and marriage in providing much scope for verbal instruction. The notable respect in which it differs from them is that the instruction is more general in its reference. The specific duties of the married adult give rise to a wealth of detailed precepts; whereas the task of being a worthy successor to a person of cherished memory may be conceived of in but a few

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[15]Because of its subtle play on the word 'nominal', I find Father Stefaniszyn's translation of <u>kuponya dzina</u> ('to throw [the] name') highly appropriate (cf. B. Stefaniszyn, 'African Reincarnation Re-Examined', <u>African Studies</u>, 13, 1954, 131-46). My investigations confirm his finding that there is no belief that the receiver of the name is possessed by the deceased's shade, i.e., according to belief, reincarnation is purely nominal.

general maxims. The normative importance of nominal reincarnation lies, not so much in the volume of words that pass, as in the fact, especially true of succession to headmanship, that the new status is one of honour and importance which on no account should be betrayed by unworthy conduct. Another difference between the ritual we are considering and those of puberty and marriage is that the latter involve individual sponsors (aphungu, sing., phungu) and specialist instructors (anyamkungwi, sing., nyamkungwi) who are entrusted with the detailed supervision of neophytes, whereas the former involves a wide circle of people of diverse status, any of whom may instruct (-langa) the recipient of the name, provided he accompanies his advice with a small gift. Typically these advisers remind the neophyte of his new genealogical position by telling him what his relationship now is to each of them; and then urge him to be of good heart like his predecessor, or, if his predecessor's conduct was not exemplary, simply 'to give up childishness', to be meek, generous and polite, and to avoid violence, abuse and unkindness.

The ritual of nominal reincarnation is important because of its spirit of rebirth and rededication and because the neophyte is expected to aspire to either the standard actually set by his predecessor or to the one people wish he had set. It is a recurring public reminder of the Ceŵa conception of desirable traits and proper conduct.

The Ceŵa Normative System in Its Modern Setting

It remains to summarize our diverse material relating to Ceŵa norms and values and to consider the effects on them of recent changes. The broad base of the normative system

is a clear conception of the value of orderly social life. This conception is brought into sharper relief by the relatively dispassionate contemplation of its opposite, which is not far removed from the Hobbesian state of nature, in which the bush rather than the village is the frame of reference, and people's conduct would approximate to the destructiveness of the madman or the 'mutual killing' (kuphana) that Ceŵa sometimes ascribe to the pre-European era of their recent history.

Orderly social life is promoted, and the state of nature—of wild animals in the bush—is avoided, not only by teaching people in suitably susceptible states the basic principles of good living, but also by giving them, through both initiation and folk-lore, a familiarity with aberrent conduct and a clear understanding of the mechanism of the social order and therefore a keener perception of how it may be operated for the common good. It is this intellectual aspect of their morality that appears to make the Ceŵa sensitive to shame; for the advantages of proper conduct are so clear to them that only a fool could be immoral.

On a more mystical, less rational level, the values of fertility and fecundity are preserved in beliefs relating to the effects both on the power of the soil and on the human reproductive process of the careless handling of natural forces. The consequences of these beliefs are, however, in conformity with the more rational conceptions of the social good; for they encourage conduct that, while insupportable by scientific standards, involves serious consideration of the effects of one's actions on other people's welfare.

In modern times, the Ceŵa normative system has been disturbed by two main influences. Firstly, the introduction of a money economy has increased individual independence and mobility, and has correspondingly weakened the social and economic solidarity of the matrilineage in general and the matrilineage-segment in particular. Norms promoting co-operative labour, and supporting certain forms of communal (in this case matrilineage) ownership, are opposed by the individualism on which the Western economic system rests; and a cash-nexus between economic collaborators is gradually displacing the older bonds of kinship and neighbourship. Bound up with the change to a money economy is the acquisition of a new culture-element, cattle; for, since Ceŵa first took to large-scale labour migration in the second decade of this century, cattle have been the 'bank' in which their earnings have been invested. This has added to the burden of their value-conflicts because their traditional culture lacks precedents for resolving the problems associated with owning, herding and lending cattle which now frequently arise.

The second disturbing influence has been the advent and the advance of Christianity. Although the decline in the cult of the shades may in part be attributed to it, it is also the outcome of the emancipating and dispersing tendencies of the new economic order.

Formal converts to Christianity probably constitute no more than a fifth of the adult population, and include considerable numbers of persons whom the missionaries call 'backsliders'—those who have reverted, or, because of enhanced social status taken for the first time, to bigamy or

Anglican mission hospital

Roman Catholic mission church

Dutch Reformed funeral service in a village

Teacher at the Ceŵa National School

Village schoolmaster, pupils and schoolhouse

Inside the schoolhouse

PLATE XXVIII - MISSIONS AND EDUCATION

concubinage, or, according to denomination, beer or cousin-marriage. In spite of this relatively low rate of formal and lasting conversion, and perhaps because of keen competition between the two main missions represented in Ceŵa country, the (Roman Catholic) White Fathers and the (Protestant) Dutch Reformed Church, the influence among the Ceŵa of Christianity is extensive. Thus, of the almost innumerable funerals I attended during the course of my field-work, not one lacked some Christian element, such as a Bible-reading, a prayer or a sermon. The first one I went to promised to be a good example of a pagan funeral; but, soon after we were settled outside the hut of the deceased, a man appeared, carrying a Bible. I turned in disappointment to my interpreter, a Roman Catholic, 'So it's to be a Christian funeral after all!' 'No', he replied, 'Dutch'.

All Ceŵa nowadays, Christian and pagan alike, observe the Sabbath, and in speech and belief find it easy to assimilate the Christian God to the position of their indigenous Providence, Creator and Rain God, known by names such as Cauta, Ciuta, Mulungu (now used for the Christian God) and Leza. On leaving for Nyasaland in February 1947, I bade farewell to a pagan friend, saying that we would see each other the following June. '_Mulungu akatisunga_ (If God preserves us)', he corrected me. He may have been expressing a cautious pagan sentiment, but it certainly fitted the Christian mould.

In general, if Ceŵa have any opposition to Christianity, they are very reticent about it; and, converted or not, they tend to be shameful and secretive about the cult of the shades. During my stay among them, I was able to attend

only one purely indigenous religious ritual, the offering of a libation of <u>cale</u> beer and maize-flour to the shade of a headman at the end of the mourning period following his death.

The invasion of the Ceŵa normative system by principles appertaining to Western economics and to Christian religion has a direct bearing on our central theme, the sociology of sorcery. As we shall see in Chapter 10, conflicts between intrusive individualism and indigenous communalism and between Christian rules and Ceŵa customs often crop up as ingredients in the social tensions expressed in the medium of beliefs in sorcery—with the somewhat incongruous result that, though the indigenous system of religion has virtually collapsed, preoccupation with beliefs in sorcery is at least as strong as ever, and may even have increased.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BELIEFS IN SORCERY AND THEIR SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

A final step is necessary before we turn to the application to Ceŵa case material of the hypotheses developed in Part I. We must get an inside view of Ceŵa sorcery by making a systematic examination of beliefs regarding it. In this chapter, therefore, we shall consider the extent to which these beliefs preoccupy people's minds; the nature of the beliefs themselves; their many consequences in social behaviour; and the degree of insight Ceŵa have into the relationship between social tension and accusations and believed instances of sorcery.

Prevalence and Preoccupation

Every year the Provincial Commissioner of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia devotes a small section of his annual report to 'witchcraft', a term defined in the relevant Ordinance to include sorcery[1]. His remarks usually show that there have been very few cases of it in the three districts falling under his control[2]. Since this section is included in the chapter on 'Law and Order', the reference is, of course, to cases involving 'witchcraft'

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[1] Northern Rhodesia, Laws, Witchcraft Ordinance, No. 5 of 1914 as amended by No. 47 of 1948, Section 2.

[2] See, for instance, Northern Rhodesia, Department of Native Affairs, African Affairs : Annual Reports, 1951, p. 63; 1952, 69; and 1953, p. 75 (Lusaka: Government Printer).

that have come before the courts—the subordinate courts, of District Commissioner and Provincial Commissioner, and the High Court, since such cases are specifically excluded from the jurisdiction of the native courts (see Chapter 5, p. 238).

The number of court cases involving 'witchcraft' cannot, however, be taken as an index of the number of accusations of it that actually take place or of the prevalence of beliefs in it. Although it is an offence to name a person a 'witch' or to impute 'witchcraft'[3], there appear to be strong social pressures preventing a person accused of sorcery from bringing his accuser to court. The law may be on his side, but public opinion is not. The chief effect of taking his accuser to court would be to bring greater publicity to his social condemnation; for the weight of popular prejudice is loaded heavily against him.

Even if we had records of the accusations that take place, we would still have an incomplete picture of the prevalence of belief in sorcery. Suspicions may remain vague and unformulated; and accusations, especially in view of the provisions of the Witchcraft Ordinance, are cautiously expressed and seldom made in public. In these circumstances an estimate of the prevalence of belief in sorcery has to be based on impressions. From my contacts with Ceŵa of all types—Christian and pagan, educated and illiterate, old and young—I would say that the basic be-

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[3]Witchcraft Ordinance, Section 3, which also makes it an offence to assert 'that any person has by committing adultery caused in some non-natural way death, injury, damage or calamity'.

lief that certain persons are sorcerers (nfiti, sing., the same) is held by close on 100 per cent of the population. For instance, only one of the 268 persons interviewed for my public-opinion survey rejected as unanswerable the question, 'Are there more or fewer sorcerers nowadays than there were long ago?'. Incidentally, sixty-two per cent of an abridged sample of 156 persons[4] said there were more nowadays; twenty-five per cent said there were more long ago; and most of the remaining thirteen per cent, who included the person who rejected the question, said they didn't know.

If, as my impressions suggest, belief in sorcery is almost universal, we are concerned, not so much with its prevalence, as with people's preoccupation with the fears that spring from it. Indices of this preoccupation are the relative frequency with which people attribute misfortunes to sorcery and their related tendency to take precautions against possible attacks by sorcerers.

My first impressions led me to believe that Ceŵa were intensely absorbed in beliefs in sorcery. This was probably because of the general discrepancy between what people say of a phenomenon and the phenomenon itself. In this case I encountered dogma first. After hearing a few accounts of the wonderful but wicked ways of sorcerers, and after being assured that people were constantly troubled by their actual deeds and the dread of their possible deeds, I had one of my assistants interview ten men and nine women individually and ask them to estimate how many of twenty

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[4]The reason for abridging the sample on certain items has been given in Chapter 3, p. 137, Footnote 81.

hypothetical deaths in a village they would expect to be caused by sorcerers. Their estimates ranged from sixteen to twenty, i.e. from eighty to 100 per cent; the residual category (if any) they described as 'deaths of God' (imfa zaMulungu).

During the course of field-work, I collected information relating to deaths and other misfortunes (mainly the former) about which my informants had first-hand knowledge. 194 of these, selected solely on the basis of sufficiency of detail, are analyzed in Table X (facing p. 331), which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 8. This summary of believed instances of misfortunes assigns a lower proportion than dogma does to those resulting from acts of sorcerers, and, in addition to showing misfortunes due to natural causes, or acts of God, it introduces two other categories, those due to acts of people and to acts of shades.

Although the fifty-five per cent of misfortunes attributed to sorcery in this table is lower than that usually estimated by informants, it nevertheless indicates a considerable degree of preoccupation with fears of sorcery. This is borne out by the fact that virtually all Ceŵa take precautions against the possible attacks of sorcerers. A later section will deal with some of the details of these. All we need to note here is that they regard the procuring of protective charms as an essential part of the normal pursuit of health; and that, though they recognize that the protection of a hut from sorcery is magical rather than technological, they look upon it as an essential part of normal building procedure.

As we have suggested in earlier chapters, certain conditions of Ceŵa life, such as health hazards, social tensions, (both indigenous and modern), value-contradictions and traditions of sorcery, combine to produce an elaborate system of beliefs centring on the activities of the sorcerer. And, as we shall try to demonstrate in Part III, this system persists because it has social functions. The existence of this system implies in the individual Ceŵa a high degree of preoccupation with beliefs in sorcery. This preoccupation, which is admittedly subject to variations from one person to another, is the natural outcome of early training and the life-long process of rationalizing misfortune by ascribing it to causes such as the ones shown in Table X. Belief in sorcery starts early in life. If children cry or are rude and uncontrollable, their elders frighten them by saying that sorcerers, or sometimes hyenas, the commonest of sorcerers' familiars, will carry them away.

The effects on one's habits of thought of a life-long association with a system of beliefs in sorcery, in which one's peers also participate, should be recognized. As I was an investigator rather than a teacher, I was in the fortunate position of not having to refute my informants' beliefs but rather of having to project myself into them as fully as possible in order to gain a sympathetic understanding of them. The ease with which I was able to do this, and to develop habits appropriate to the system, impressed upon me how firmly rooted beliefs in sorcery must become in the course of time. If someone dies, it is relatively easy, if only as a means of detecting social tensions, to change from the Western thought, 'What disease or accident has killed him?', to the more typically Ceŵa one, 'With whom has he

quarrelled; who was jealous of him; in short, who has killed him?' As a result of this cultivated habit, I sometimes had to remind myself that notorious 'sorcerers' in the local community were not in fact responsible for misfortunes but were unfortunate people whose structural positions or eccentric personalities had made them unpopular. This experience made me appreciate the insidious effects on more general beliefs of specific habits of thought such as these.

The Nature of the Beliefs

What is the nature of the beliefs with which Ceŵa are thus preoccupied? In general, they may hold sorcerers responsible for most forms of misfortune that may befall them. They believe that sorcerers disturb one's relationships with useful persons such as chiefs or employers; that they impoverish one by sending 'their' hyenas and wild cats after one's livestock and poultry, or by using nfumba magic which entices living plants from one's garden into theirs; that they prevent some pregnancies and end others disasterously; that they send one insane; and that they kill one in a variety of ways. Two beliefs are of cardinal importance, viz., (a) that sorcerers are necrophagous and (b) that they usually attack their matrikin.

Informants are unanimous that sorcerers are dependent on material magic for their evil deeds. The idea of their killing anyone by using words alone or by using some means other than 'medicines' (maŋkhwala) seems absurd, though they attribute this sinister power to some of the missionaries. When questioned, they say that it is possible for older people to curse their matrilineal juniors by using words alone. (The effects of this cursing may be removed by blow-

ing water on to a live coal held near the victim's head.) In practice, however, younger informants seldom make the distinction between socially tolerated cursing and the use of threatening words, which is one of the characteristic practices of the sorcerer. They say, too, that sorcerers often step in and kill a person who has been cursed or threatened by someone else, thus throwing their guilt on to someone who in a fit of anger may have said more than he intended.

Ceŵa believe that the tendency to use threatening and prophetic words is nevertheless the surest mark of the sorcerer; and it often serves to identify him without the bother of holding an ordeal or consulting a diviner. If A threatens B by saying, 'You'll see this year! (Mudzaona caka cino!)' or 'You'll fall into a game pit! (Mudzagwa m'mbuna!)', and B later dies, it is considered obvious who killed him. In addition to this fondness for threatening language there are other traits that set off sorcerers from people (Ceŵa sometimes use this dichotomy as a means of stressing the inhumanly anti-social nature of sorcerers). These traits include :- red eyes, from staying up all night; fatness, from eating human flesh (cf. the gaunt European stereotype of the witch); and what may best be described as a kind of extra-sensory perception which enables its possessor to tell where a death has occurred in the neighbourhood.

Informants seem quite familiar with some of the more straightforward of sorcerers' techniques, but tend to stall when questioned about details of their more amazing feats. They refer to the latter as matsenga ('tricks'), by which

they mean they are incomprehensible to ordinary people. I often noticed that informants would show agreement about the more mundane practices of sorcerers, but, when asked for details of their more astonishing accomplishments, would begin to discuss these heatedly; and then would stop with dramatic suddenness as each remembered that to pose as an authority on sorcery is to endanger one's reputation. Shrugging their shoulders, they would turn to me and say, 'Why ask us? Go and ask the sorcerers themselves!'

Starting with some of the items that are familiar to most Ceŵa, we may note the widespread belief that sorcerers injure and kill people by putting magical substances (mankhwala, into which category European poisons and medicines also fall) into their food or beer. It is doubtful whether Ceŵa originally distinguished between poisoning and sorcery. They have to now, however; for, though it is a public duty to report a case of murder-by-poisoning, it is an offence in terms of the Witchcraft Ordinance to accuse anyone of sorcery. In effect, Ceŵa have come to recognize that the Administration believes in one type of sorcery, viz., poisoning[5]. They therefore now distinguish between 'visible magical substances' (mankhwala apoyela, lit., 'magical substances of in-the-light'), which they hope will impress the Administration, and others that will probably not. Despite this emphasis on poisoning, enquiries I made of the Health Department revealed that very few cases of it are brought in to hospitals or dispensaries.

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[5] I am grateful to Mr D.B. Hall, now Sir Douglas Hall, formerly of the Northern Rhodesia Provincial Administration, for pointing this out to me.

Another point on which there is fairly general agreement is that sorcerers attack people by making concoctions that incorporate various forms of 'dirt' obtained from their prospective victims, e.g. nail-parings, hair, bodily excretions and soil from a footprint. The Ceŵa objection to pit-latrines is in part probably due to the fear of this 'contagious' sorcery.

Most informants are prepared to describe how sorcerers use their magical concoctions for drawing lines (mikhwekhwe, sing., mkhwekhwe) across paths that their would-be victims frequent. They add that the magic is made selective by having 'dirt' from the intended victim included in it, and by the sorcerer's addressing the medicines as he applies them in a manner similar to the following :-

> If now this person [naming him] and I agree, then he will pass over this line [without ill effect]; but if we don't agree, then he is going to see [i.e., experience] something today [specifying the intended victim's injuries in detail].

Another item of common knowledge—if not of common reported experience—is the tendency for sorcerers to trouble one when one is asleep, causing a feeling of oppression—of being paralyzed yet conscious—a condition that can be got rid of only by a strong effort to throw off the sorcerer. An informant states :-

> Sorcerers cut off a person's head, he remaining alive, and go and play with it at the graveyard [their favourite meeting place]. When they realize that dawn is about to break, they go and put it back on that person. This is why, when he wakes up, he has a sore head and neck.

Sorcerers using a socially disapproved method of enticing other people's crops into their own gardens (nfumba) sometimes make doubly sure of a large, but illicit, crop by

seizing people at night and setting them to work without their knowing it. In one story of wide currency a missionary was the victim of this kind of abuse.

Many informants believe that tropical ulcers (which are very common in Ceŵa country) are the result of sorcerers' eating people's flesh without following the more usual practice of killing them first. They allege that nsima (stiff maize-flour porridge) is often found on tropical ulcers, indicating that the victim's living flesh is being used as ndiwo ('relish') by the sorcerer concerned.

We have seen how Ceŵa believe that sorcerers meanly take advantage of hot-headed people by killing those whom they have cursed or threatened. They believe that they take advantage of other opportunities, too, and quote the instance of how, if a person has been weakened by the visitation of a shade, a sorcerer may finish him off and thus escape blame for his death. Informants state that sorcerers always attack the weak and unprotected. That is why, they argue, there are many deaths among young children, and why many people die in January and February [the malaria season] 'when people's stomachs are weakened by eating the new crops'.

We come now to those practices attributed to sorcerers about which informants (perhaps for reasons of respectability) disclaim a detailed knowledge. Thus they say that sorcerers have familiars that work for them; that they belong to a necrophagous guild; that they teach their sorcery to their favourite children or grandchildren; and that they perform supernatural feats such as operating over great distances by flying around in winnowing baskets

(visese, sing., cisese). But, apart from putting forward some general principles such as the one that a sorcerer lacking magical substances is helpless, they are unable (or unwilling) to speak authoritatively or consistently about any details relating to these beliefs. The descriptions that follow thus represent modal rather than standard opinions.

Sorcerers are believed to employ familiars. These include hyenas, owls, red ants, nightjars, lions, leopards, puff-adders and mythical, crested black mambas (nbobo, sing., the same). Hyenas and owls are mentioned most frequently. This may be related to the facts that hyenas cause considerable losses in small stock and poultry, and that the owl's weird cries are heard in Ceŵa as '*Muphe! Muphe nimkukute!* (Kill him! Kill him that I may munch him!)'. Informants do not believe that a sorcerer has sexual relationships with his[6] familiars, but they describe a kind of mystical sympathy that exists between them. They quote instances of how, when a sorcerer has imbibed heavily, drunken hyenas are found in his hut; and of how, when a sorcerer dies, his hyenas die too. They reject the idea that there is any transformation of sorcerer into familiar. As one informant puts it,

> When sorcerers send hyenas or other animals to catch pigs or fowls [for them], this does not mean that they are inside them, but rather that these animals are their soldiers or messengers who are sent by them.

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[6]Masculine pronouns and possessives referring to sorcerers should be read as common gender, since they are so in Ceŵa statements. Informants usually assert that the majority of sorcerers are women, though this doctrine is often contradicted when actual allegations of sorcery are cited (see Table XVIII, Chapter 8, facing p. 339).

> These [animals] all stay in their masters' huts, some being roots [i.e., magical constructions]; others, real animals.....Hyenas are like sorcerers' servants, or they are sometimes like their bicycles or donkeys.

Some of the information about the sorcerers' guild[7] comes from those who have taken part in grave-watching (see below, pp. 305ff.). Grave-watchers claim that, owing to the magical substances they use for making themselves invisible, they have been able to observe the sorcerers without being detected. Such informants say that sorcerers, after the burial of someone they have killed, send various of their familiars to the graveyard to test whether they will meet with any opposition from grave-watchers or from graveyard magic which may have been used for 'closing' entrances and circumscribing the grave.

> When sorcerers want to go to the graveyard, they send birds, such as nightjars and owls, and then there comes a wind blowing from west to east which brings flying winnowing baskets on its return [from the east].

> We were sitting down [reports a grave-watcher] and we saw a great many red ants. They were coming along the path, but where they came from was impossible to say. At this stage the elders [present] knew that this day we would indeed be beating sorcerers. Secondly, we saw crows, fowls, snakes and also chairs. And all these things I saw with my own eyes.

After having sent their familiars ahead in this way, the sorcerers themselves are said to approach. They have a leader whom some informants call Nyamawila. He supervises the sharing of the flesh of the victim, who is cut up by one of his matrilineal relatives, this person having been responsible earlier for reviving him so that the sorcerers may torment him before they slaughter and eat him. The

[7] Msonkhano, which is the general term for 'gathering' or 'meeting'. 'Sabbat' might possibly be a better translation, except that it is too specific and has become associated with some of the special features of European witch-beliefs, e.g. satanism.

grave-watcher continues :-

> When these things had happened, the sorcerers themselves arrived. We heard them speaking just as ordinary people would speak. They walked in single file along the path, and the woman who had killed the dead girl with sorcery was in front; I heard her saying, 'All the meat of the two legs is mine'. And Headman Kamtengo sat in the chair, and it was he who said, 'Hurry up!' The others called for the dead girl's relative, the one who had killed her with sorcery, and told her to revive her. She came forward and again insisted that the meat from both legs was to be hers.

Informants say that, if sorcerers elude the grave-watchers, they disinter the corpse by striking the grave with a 'root' (i.e., magical object) and by calling out the name by which the deceased was known as a small child. By their 'tricks' (matsenga), they cause him to come up to the surface where they revive him into a semi-conscious state. He can hear and feel but is paralyzed and dumb. They torment him, perhaps saying, 'You stinted me beer; do you think you'll get any in this graveyard?' When they have finished this, they kill him again—just as they would any kind of livestock, i.e., they cut his throat. Then they share the 'meat'. It is not clear how they cook it, though informants do not think they eat it raw. If any is left over, they dry it. The victim's fat is rendered down for making magical substances, e.g. those for bringing success at gambling. When they have finished, again by using 'tricks', they close up the grave in such a way that it does not appear to have been disturbed. They are said to build a fire (as any other company of people probably would); and some informants claim to have seen this fire.

Like any other body of its kind, the sorcerers' guild protects the general interests of its members and regulates the relationships between them. The first of these functions

is illustrated by informants' assertions that, if anyone in the neighbourhood acquires particularly strong anti-sorcery 'medicines', the guild chooses some of its most skilful and experienced members to try their strength. A man I knew had just returned from a visit to Portuguese territory, where he had obtained some of Mpulumutsi's famous anti-sorcery magic[8], and he was boasting about his immunity from the attacks of sorcerers. People hearing him thought his demeanour was very foolish, if not suicidal. The second function is illustrated by beliefs that the guild ensures a fair distribution among members of flesh from corpses, and that it forces everyone in turn to contribute a corpse. If a member shows a lack of reciprocity by living too long on what is described as 'credit' (<u>cikweleti</u>), his guild-fellows enjoin him to kill one of his matrilineal relatives or perhaps even his own child in order that he may discharge his obligations towards them. An informant says :-

> If a sorcerer simply eats the meat killed by his fellows, the latter will tell him, 'You must kill some of your children so that we may partake of them. Why do you just eat our meat?' And, overcome with shame, the sorcerer proceeds to kill his own child so that he can give [meat] to his fellows.

Another illustration of how the guild is believed to regulate relationships between members is found in the rationalization of the belief (to be discussed later) that a sorcerer attacks the members of his own matrilineage. This is expressed by analogy: 'If you want to kill livestock, you don't go and kill that of other people; you kill your own'. The implication here is that the member's matrilineage is his special preserve, and that the guild will arbitrate in his favour if anyone trespasses on it.

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[8]We shall refer later (see below, pp. 320ff.) to the anti-sorcery movement of which Mpulumutsi was one of the leaders.

Although Ceŵa habitually speak of all mystical evil-doers (and poisoners, too) as <u>nfiti</u>, they sometimes, if questioned about the motives of sorcerers, distinguish between two types. Firstly, there is the <u>mphelanjilu</u> ('killer-for-malice'), the person who, untrained and unskilled in the art of sorcery and motivated chiefly by hatred, begs or buys destructive magic or poison and kills his enemy; and, secondly, the <u>nfiti yeni-yeni</u> ('real <u>nfiti</u>') who has been one from childhood, and who is driven by 'meat hunger' (<u>ŋkhuli</u>), and whose characteristic activity is 'digging up people' (<u>kufukula ŵanthu</u>). My informants were unable to answer the crucial question whether the <u>mphelanjilu</u> subsequently eats the corpse of his victim. This distinction between 'real <u>nfiti</u>' and 'killer-for-malice' is closer to that made by certain South African tribes between night-witch and day-witch than it is to the one between witch and sorcerer that is commonly accepted by social anthropologists[9]. We shall return to this point later.

How does a child become a 'real <u>nfiti</u>'? Ceŵa maintain that when a sorcerer gets old he takes his favourite child or grandchild and initiates him into eating human flesh. He gives him a medicine to prevent him from being nauseated by its smell, and he inoculates him against the skin-rash that is believed to be the normal consequence of eating it. People say that this training takes up a good deal of the child's time and interest, and that he is often scolded by his mentor for ingenuously letting the cat out of the bag. Says one informant:-

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[9] See Chapter 1, p. 6.

> At our village there is a woman called Maŋgose, who has a daughter, Lusia; and Lusia has a daughter, Velonika. Now Maŋgose is teaching her granddaughter, Velonika, to be a sorcerer; and she takes her with her wherever she goes at night riding on her hyena. In the daytime Velonika tells other people: 'Granny and I went to the graveyard, and to kill people with sorcery, and we rode on our hyena'. Her grandmother, Maŋgose, becomes very angry with her and tells her to stop saying these things.

Some informants assert that a sorcerer does not achieve any power until he has had sexual intercourse with his sister. Other references to power derived from contact with incestuous objects are to be found in descriptions of maize-sorcery (nfumba yacimaŋga), by means of which the sorcerer entices young plants from other people's gardens into his own. In preparing his 'medicines', the maize-sorcerer is said to make use of activating agents (vizimba, sing., cizimba) such as the caul from his sister's child or his mother-in-law's loin cloth stolen from her while she sleeps. Similarly, some owners of muzzle-loaders are believed to increase the accuracy of their shooting by persuading their sisters to sleep with their bullets in contact with their private parts. These practices are referred to as ufiti (sorcery).

In general, Ceŵa describe sorcerers as 'very clever' (zocenjela kwambili). They believe that there is no limit to the means they can employ for attaining their sinister ends—provided they have the requisite magical substances and the knowledge of how to use them. We have seen how informants credit sorcerers with the power of using animal familiars, and of operating over long distances by flying in winnowing baskets. They tend, however, to be rather inconsistent in that they attribute omniscience to sorcerers and yet believe it possible to hoodwink them without much

difficulty, e.g. the practice that returning labour migrants follow of entering their home villages under cover of darkness (see below, p. 325), or that of bereaved people of postponing wailing for a few hours after someone has died. One gets the impression that Ceŵa conceive of sorcerers as both very clever and very stupid.

It is probably not too early in our exploration of the Ceŵa system of beliefs to examine the appropriateness of our translation of <u>nfiti</u> as 'sorcerer' and <u>ufiti</u> as 'sorcery'. From our discussion of this problem in Chapter 1 (pp. 6ff.), it will be recalled that, thanks mainly to Evans-Pritchard, anthropologists now make a clear distinction between sorcerer and witch. These two types of mystical evil-doers have one important characteristic in common. 'Both alike are enemies of men'. As to the distinction between them, various interrelated criteria may be applied. Firstly, the sorcerer uses magic to perpetrate his evil deeds; whereas the witch carries out his crimes by having a special type of personality. From this it follows, secondly, that people who are sorcerers are conscious of their actions and deliberate in their intentions; whereas those who are witches may not know of the evil life they lead after normal waking hours, and, even if they do, may be driven by an uncontrollable urge, in some instances personified in the form of a familiar. Thirdly, the sorcerer may be driven by anger, envy or malice of a passing kind; whereas the witch has a permanent addiction to his anti-social actions, one that is rooted in heredity or in early conditioning. Fourthly, the actions of the sorcerer, depending as they do on material substances ('medicines') and/or on specific verbal magic, are not as baf-

fling to ordinary minds as are the supernatural machinations of the witch. Finally, the anthropologist can usually believe that sorcery is attempted (even though he may not accept allegations regarding its prevalence or its effectiveness); whereas he can only dismiss as fantastic the idea that witchcraft is ever practised, let alone that it is effective.

Applying the first four criteria to the _ufiti_ of the Ceŵa, we find that according to belief :-

(1) With the exception of the curse (which is rare and not necessarily illegitimate—see above, pp. 288-89, and Chapter 4, pp. 201-202), there is no means by which people can bring harm to others without the aid of material magical substances; thus, 'The _nfiti_ does not kill-by-_ufiti_ without anything—without magical substances (_Nfiti silodza cabe—popanda maŋkhwala_)'.

(2) All _nfiti_ are conscious of their actions, and most of them are motivated by hatred and envy; the only cases where this is not so are those in which they are driven by their lodge-mates to kill someone in order to pay their debts of flesh.

(3) The 'killer-for-malice' (_mphelanjilu_) is usually satisfying a short-term urge for vengeance; whereas the 'real _nfiti_' (_nfiti yeni-yeni_) is driven by a 'flesh hunger' (_ŋkhuli_) that is directed specifically towards human flesh, to which he was habituated in early childhood by his mentor.

(4) Some of the _nfiti's_ actions are comprehensible; whereas others are beyond ordinary understanding, being designated as 'tricks' (_matsenga_, the term that is also used for conjuring tricks).

Applying the fifth criterion, I would say that, although I have no first-hand evidence of anyone's ever having practised _ufiti_, I have no reason for believing that some forms of it are never attempted.

Remembering that _nfiti_ is a generic term covering both 'killer-for-malice' and 'real _nfiti_' (though this may appear inconsistent), should we translate it as 'witch' or 'sorcerer'? This is a moot point on which I have changed my mind more than once. There are sound reasons for

translating nfiti as 'sorcerer' rather than as 'witch'. His techniques are based on material magical substances (which I sometimes translate as 'medicines'); he is conscious of his aims and deliberate in his purposes. On the other hand, (a) there is a possibility that the 'real nfiti' is a witch; and the 'killer-for-malice', a sorcerer; though only one criterion, that of motive, is used for making the distinction between them; (b) some of the more fantastic actions of nfiti certainly resemble those of the witches of other societies, e.g. flying around at night, belonging to a guild, and having familiars.

While recognizing that the proper translation of nfiti is, like that of the Zulu umthakathi, the compound 'sorcerer-witch', I have decided to use 'sorcerer' for nfiti and 'sorcery' for ufiti. I have chosen this pair of terms rather than the other because there is no trace in Cewa doctrine of the idea that nfiti is anything but socially (as opposed to biologically) inherited; and because there is every indication in both doctrine and case material (presented in Part III) that the average nfiti is believed to be a deliberate evil-doer[10].

Consequences of Beliefs in Sorcery

We shall now turn to the practices associated with the basic belief that sorcerers exist and harm people. We shall consider these in the following order :- protective measures; the direct combating and punishing of sorcerers;

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[10] I am grateful to Professor Max Gluckman and to Dr D.H. Reader for discussions that have helped to clarify this problem for me.

and the methods of determining, in specific cases of misfortune, whether sorcery is the cause, and, if so, who the sorcerer is.

Fears of sorcerers are sufficiently general to make practically every Cewa take precautions against their possible attacks. It is customary for a person to protect magically both his body and his hut (kutsitikila thupi and kutsitikila nyumba respectively). The modern movements directed against sorcery and witchcraft[11] have had a strong appeal because they have capitalized the widespread insecurity basic to these practices by offering multi-purpose medicines for destroying mystical evil-doers and for protecting those whom they are likely to attack.

Cewa protect their bodies by wearing amulets (vithumwa, sing., cithumwa), consisting of medicines sewn into small pieces of cloth, or by having medicines rubbed into incisions in the skin (kutemela maŋkhwala). They believe that these measures have the effect of diverting sorcerers from the person using them. Some amulets have the specific purpose of warning their wearer of the approach of sorcerers. Thus, he believes, if he is walking along a road or path, the amulet may grip his arm tightly to tell him exactly where a sorcerer lies in wait for him. If he is sleeping in his hut, it will, so he believes, wake him up so that he can challenge the sorcerer as soon as he comes near; and, if he fails to give a satisfactory account of his presence at a time when people are not normally in the habit of paying calls, he can deal with him. This he does by hitting him

[11] See below, pp. 320ff.

(usually below the knee) with a hammer specially treated with a destructive medicine which causes the sorcerer to return to his hut and die at a later date. One sorcerer-alarm medicine is kept in a small horn hung on the doorway of the hut. Informants say that, when a sorcerer approaches, the horn falls to the ground, and of its own accord jumps across the floor and wakes up its owner by tapping him on the head. Ceŵa regard the protection of the body against sorcery as especially important if one is going on a journey.

Convenient though they may be, protective medicines are considered dangerous. Firstly, they are always a challenge to the sorcerer-fraternity, who, if they hear that someone is protected by a new kind of medicine, may send one of their leading members to test its strength (cf. above, p. 296). Secondly, the more powerful the protective medicine the greater the dangers attending its use. In 1952 I was told the story of a man who, when he was at work in Southern Rhodesia, had been treated by some Nyasalanders (who are believed by Northern Rhodesians to have strong medicines) in such a manner that he would wake up on the approach of sorcerers. The medicines may have helped him during his lifetime; but, when he died, they caused his shade to wake up, and he has haunted the bush ever since, sometimes making himself known to his widow and daughter. The fact that some of these medicines, like the one described in the last paragraph, are kept in horns is significant. It is only powerful, sinister medicines that are kept in horns. The leaders of the two modern 'anti-witchcraft' movements (see below, pp. 320ff.)

urged people to throw away all their horns, which was a safer way, given the Witchcraft Ordinance and cognate legislation in the territories in which they operated, of telling them to give up sorcery.

I have not heard of any instances in which European medicines have been used specifically as prophylactics against sorcery, but it is possible that they are. Ceŵa show great faith in European medicines—especially ones that are injected—even in what they regard as sorcerer-sent ailments. As an informant puts it,

> God made many trees [from the roots of which most Ceŵa medicines are made]. There is no reason why the Europeans should not have acquired some of the good trees which can be effective against the bad ones.

The 'doctoring' of a hut starts while it is being built. Branches of the poison-ordeal (<u>mwabvi</u>) tree[12] are incorporated in the wooden frame before it is plastered, and various medicines are buried under the threshold and in the part opposite the doorway known as 'at the heads' (<u>kumitu</u>). These measures are aimed at injuring any sorcerer who may come near. Ceŵa believe that he would bleed from the rectum, return to his hut and die. In addition, medicines are placed in the roof. Some of these are believed to keep away bird-familiars, such as owls and nightjars. Others, especially a concoction made from water-lily roots, are intended to cause the sorcerer to see, not a hut, but a pool of water or some other such misleading object.

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[12]See below, p. 309, for a discussion of the botanical identification of this tree.

Mwabvi (poison-ordeal) tree, bushy because many branches have been chopped from it for inclusion in hut wall frames as a protection against sorcerers

Incisions on a man's insteps into which Mpulumutsi rubbed his panacea for detecting sorcerers and protecting the innocent from them

Three views of a new grave with branches to keep off stray cattle and medicines (in gourd and small horn) to drive away or capture - as bird-lime would - flesh-eating sorcerers

PLATE XXIX - PROTECTION AGAINST SORCERERS

Since Ceŵa regard 'digging up people' (kufukula ŵanthu) as the activity characteristic of sorcerers, the most active and organized steps that they take to destroy them are to be found in the institution of lying in wait for them at the graveyard (kukhalisyila nfiti kumanda)[13]. The beliefs that sorcerers are necrophagous and that many deaths are the result of their actions lead to elaborate precautions being taken immediately someone dies. Since it is considered necessary for the graveyard to be 'closed' against sorcerers and for the site of the grave to be marked out with medicines, wailing is usually delayed for some hours lest sorcerers approach the grave before the relatives of the deceased have fetched a graveyard magician (mabisalila) to carry out these steps. Ceŵa consider it possible, however, that sorcerers may have preceded the graveyard magician and may have drawn lines with their own medicines in an attempt either to influence him or to neutralize in advance any of the magic he uses. In order to be sure that sorcerers will not disinter and eat the corpse, Ceŵa believe it necessary, therefore, to keep a vigil at the grave-side for two or three nights after the burial. Graveyard magicians have a variety of medicines for facilitating this task :- some for circumscribing the graveyard with a line which, if crossed by sorcerers, will make them visible; some for sprinkling on the grave in order to paralyze any sorcerers approaching it; and some to render the grave-watchers invisible and inaudible to the sorcerers. One informant describes how the magician must be naked when he applies the first of these; and how, as he does so, he ad-

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[13] For an account of the graveyard vigil among the Nyanja, see H.S. Stannus, 'Notes on Some Tribes [in British East Africa]', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 40, 1910, 285-335, at p. 314.

dresses his medicines as follows :- 'If it is God who has killed this one, no matter; but if he has died by death sent by a person, then I would like to see this person'. Some informants assert that graveyard magicians are people who were once sorcerers themselves but who have given up their evil ways. Graveyard magicians whom I knew did not admit this, but said they had acquired their skill from friends or relatives.

The grave-watchers go to the graveyard just after sundown on the day of the burial. When the graveyard magician has applied his medicines appropriately, they lie in wait for the sorcerers. They report that the latter, after preliminary tests already described (see above, p. 294), arrive, and, by asking one another whether so-and-so and such-and-such are expected, reveal the identity of many of the neighbourhood's sorcerers. When the graveyard magician is satisfied that all the sorcerers have arrived, he grips his medicine-horn firmly 'lest the sorcerers run away', and he tells his fellow watchers to 'harden their hearts' and start punishing the sorcerers. Grave-watchers say that, aided by being invisible and inaudible to the sorcerers, they approach them, and, with calm deliberation, drive thorns (or, in modern times, nails) into various parts of their bodies. Finally they ram a sharpened stick (cisoŋga, plur., visoŋga) through the anus of each sorcerer and 'stir up his entrails' (-vundula matumbo). A sorcerer treated in this way does not die immediately, but returns to his village where he dies in due course. Before dying, they say, he inadvertently reveals what has happened to him by his tendency to sit on one buttock. It is probable that persons suspected of sorcery are actually

subjected to treatment of this kind. During my third field trip, a woman from Fort Jameson district was convicted by the High Court of having murdered another woman by forcing a stick up her vagina. No suggestion of sorcery was, however, to be found in the evidence[14].

A graveyard vigil I attended had a distinctly modern flavour about it. After the graveyard magician had annointed our foreheads with 'medicines to make us invisible', he said a prayer to Mulungu, as the Christian God. (Before his second—polygynous—marriage, he had been a mission teacher.) It ran :-

> We know, O Lord, that You disapprove of people's killing one another; but when people do it, as they have in the case of this one here [indicating the grave], we have to get even (kulingana) with them. So, Lord, if they [the sorcerers] come tonight, please excuse us if we chop them with axes [-patsa nkhwangwa, 'give axes'].

Had the sorcerers come (they didn't 'because of strong medicines used for closing the graveyard'), they would have been shot with muzzle-loaders and finished off with axes. The only exciting incident occurred when a rival party of grave-watchers approached, and their electric torch was mistaken for the sorcerers' fire.

Fortunately for ordinary people, sorcerers are considered unlikely to disinter corpses after about 9 p.m., and grave-watchers seldom need keep an all-night vigil—especially if they 'doctor' the grave against any atypical sorcerers who may come in their absence, who will be caught by the medicines as birds are caught in bird-lime. At the end of the vigil mentioned, one of the graveyard magicians left some medicines in a small horn and in a gourd on the grave-mound (see Plate XXIX).

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[14]See African Affairs : Annual Report, 1952, p. 69.

Informants assert that, if sorcerers approach the grave during a vigil, it is not essential to establish their identity before punishing them. Anyone who goes to a graveyard, except as a mourner in a funeral procession or as a member of a grave-digging or grave-watching party, is assumed to be up to no good; and for practical purposes is regarded as a sorcerer. So diligently do people avoid the graveyard that it is considered to be a safe place at which to leave the highly secret, life-size representations of animals (<u>nyau zolemba</u>) inside which men dance during the evening performances of <u>nyau</u> mimes (see Appendix H).

Since Ceŵa feel that many sorcerers elude the grave-watchers, they often consider it necessary to establish the identity of the sorcerer who is responsible for a particular case of misfortune or for a series of such cases. This brings us to ordeals and divination.

Before the Europeans came, at the behest of chiefs and village headmen, an infusion of the bark of the <u>mwabvi</u> tree was regularly administered to whole village populations at a time. Sometimes an ordeal of this kind would be held when a series of deaths, or perhaps the death of a chief or headman, had led to the impression that sorcerers were active; but apparently it was also held as a routine measure of social hygiene. Ceŵa say that there are two types of <u>mwabvi</u> tree. The one found in Nyasaland, known to Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa as <u>ciŋkhundu</u>, is said to be so strong that the infusion made from its bark causes people guilty of sorcery to die outright from its effects. The one found in Kaŵaza's country is said to be weaker; if a sorcerer drinks an infusion prepared from it, he does not die but he purges; and this is taken as a sign of his guilt. Long ago it led

1.

2.

PLATE XXX - ORDEALS

1. "Fleeting" an English witch (after Ewen).
2. Maravi poison ordeal (after Gamitto): man on right is probably ritual friend of man taking ordeal poison.

to his enslavement or death. If enslaved, he would generally be sent as tribute to the territorial or paramount chief; otherwise he was either killed with an axe by a ritual friend of his matrilineage, who was given a red bead as a token of instruction and rewarded for his services with a goat; or he was bound hand and foot and thrown on to a fire[15].

Both varieties of mwabvi are believed to make innocent people vomit. If the ordeal clears an accused person, there is great rejoicing, and he is compensated by his accuser. One of my informants described an animated scene of rejoicing that occurred when a village headman in his home neighbourhood was cleared of suspicion. This occurred in the middle 1940's. A very similar incident, which occurred at the foot of Mount Zomba in Southern Nyasaland in 1860, is recorded by Livingstone[16].

In this part of Africa, the poison-ordeal tree has usually been identified as Erythrophloeum Africanum; this is probably the one that the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa refer to as the Nyasaland kind of mwabvi (ciŋkhundu). I collected specimens from a shrub designated as the local variety, and the Northern Rhodesia Forestry Department tentatively identified it as Crossopteryx febrifuga[17]

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[15] Stannus, 'Notes on Some Tribes', p. 291, records that, among the Nyanja, the 'mphiti' was burned on a pile of wood, which accords with the accounts of my Ceŵa informants. For texts on the poison ordeal, see Appendix I.

[16] David and Charles Livingstone, [Narrative of an Expedition to] the Zambezi and Its Tributaries, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1866, pp. 131-32.

[17] Letter dated 29.9.54 from the Conservator of Forests, Ndola, for whose co-operation and that of the Provincial Forestry Officer at Fort Jameson I am grateful.

According to the *Nyasaland Handbook*, poison ordeals still occur 'over the border in Portuguese territory'[18]. According to an official of the Portuguese Administration whom I met, '*Mwabvi*-drinking no longer occurs in Moçambique, but across the border in British territory'. The true position is that, though *mwabvi*-drinking at large-scale ceremonies has been successfully suppressed, it still occurs—in great secrecy—as a family (i.e., matrilineage) affair, when an accusation of sorcery is countered by a challenge that all possible suspects, including very often the accuser, should submit to the ordeal. As we have seen (above, p. 304), branches of the *mwabvi* tree are still used as defences against sorcery by being woven into hut-frames before these are plastered.

The poison oracle, in which *mwabvi* is administered to fowls and its effect taken as confirmation or refutation of some proposition formulated when the medicine is addressed, is known to some Ceŵa but unknown to many; and I doubt whether it is often resorted to. My enquiries about it produced this unexpected statement,

> There are some people who know they are sorcerers, and when they realize that on the morrow they are going to drink *mwabvi*, they shut a cock in a basket, and when they have drunk the *mwabvi* it is the cock that purges in their stead.

In Ceŵa the term *mwabvi* is used to refer to any kind of ordeal. In addition to the poison ordeal, there are ordeals by fire and by boiling water. As these are used more often for discovering thieves and adulterers than for detecting sorcerers, they are not especially relevant here.

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[18] S.S. Murray, *A Handbook of Nyasaland*, London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1932, p. 90.

Although the use of the poison ordeal has been greatly reduced, this does not mean that sorcerer-finding has stopped. My impression is that the Ceŵa, on being forced to depend less upon the poison ordeal for detecting sorcerers, have turned to other methods of divination, those falling into the general category of kuombeza ula[19]. These appear formerly to have been used only for determining whether a case of misfortune, usually illness, was the result of a visitation of a shade and, if so, which shade was responsible and should be appeased. I found that, whenever I asked for information about this kind of divining, informants gave me descriptions of steps taken to establish the identity of an angry shade rather than of a sorcerer; yet, in most cases of actual divination that I investigated, I found that the client's trouble was traced to the activities of a sorcerer, who might or might not be named—depending sometimes on the fee paid.

Although divining does not follow every case of death or misfortune—even when sorcery is suspected—Ceŵa nevertheless consider it important in many cases to know who the sorcerer is. An informant states :-

> Among village people those with [divination] magic know who the sorcerers are; those who lack it are simply killed without knowing a thing.

Ceŵa are familiar with a variety of methods of divination. I make no attempt here to determine which of these are indigenous. Many are obviously not, since some diviners of

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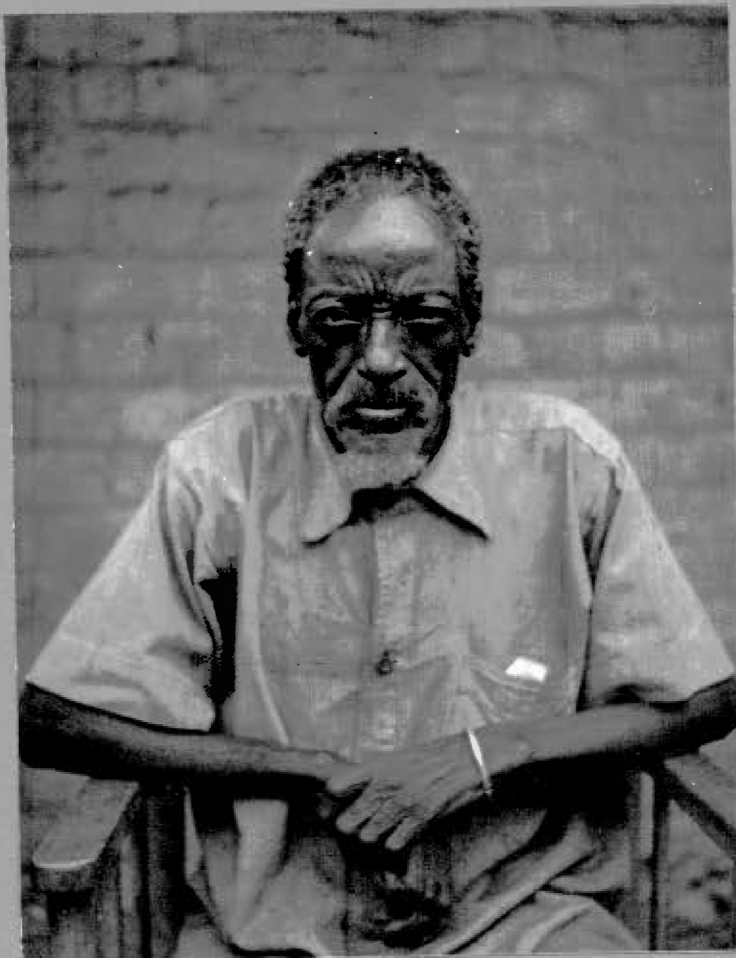
[19] Ula (plur., maula) means 'divining apparatus or medium'. In Nyanja literature it is sometimes translated as 'lot'. I do not consider this appropriate because there is more in the meaning of ula than 'one of a set of objects used to secure a chance decision.....' (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 3rd Edition). It may be a chance decision from the Western viewpoint, but it is not for the Ceŵa. Ula is impersonal. The diviner is referred to as Waula, i.e., '[The person] of ula'.

A man who, in addition to divining, claims to cure barrenness, the medicines for which he displays.



A diviner who dreams solutions to his clients' problems and checks them with a tortoise shell on a string.

PLATE XXXI - CEŴA DIVINERS

high prestige are foreigners. In the neighbourhood I know best, of four well known diviners, one is a Yao from Nyasaland, and another, though professing to be a Ceŵa, has, judging from his own account and from his <u>fanakalo</u>-laden speech[20], been away from Ceŵa country for many years; the other two are local Ceŵa. The Yao, who is a Mohammedan, divines with the aid of the Koran. The much-travelled Ceŵa uses a speaking gourd, and one of the local ones depends mainly on dreaming, but checks his results with a tortoise-shell on a string. I shall describe the techniques of the last two later, as I had occasion to consult them.

A divining method known to the Ceŵa but one which I was unable to observe personally is that of the <u>mpondolo</u>, or lion-diviner. The <u>mpondolo</u> enjoys high prestige and is always addressed as <u>Mambo</u>, a title shared only with important chiefs (see Chapter 4, p. 168). The Ceŵa say that <u>mpondolo</u> divining came from the Cikunda people on the Zambezi; and it is interesting to note that Livingstone referred to a man at Kebrabasa on the Zambezi who called himself a '<u>Pondoro</u>' and claimed that he could change into a lion, and that the village gained from the hunting he did when in that form[21]. Chief Kaŵaza Maniŋu gave me the following account of the <u>mpondolo</u> :-

> Among the Cikunda there is a kind of diviner known as an <u>mpondolo</u>. If you want to know anything, you hand him some tobacco and a shilling. He grinds the tobacco and snuffs it, and in the middle of the night he turns into a lion and starts roaring. Next morning he is able to tell you the answer to your problem.

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[20]<u>Fanakalo</u>, or Kitchen-Kaffir is the lingua franca used in European settlements from Cape Town to the Copperbelt (see above, Chapter 4, p. 157, Footnote 8.

[21]<u>The Zambezi and Its Tributaries</u>, p. 177.

> He owes his gift to a spirit which he owns during his lifetime and which moves on to another person, not necessarily a related person, when he dies. The new possessor of the spirit receives all the knowledge of the person who had it before. The mpondolo diviner is always addressed as Mambo. Being a lion is useful for many purposes, e.g. wreaking vengeance (your victim dying by whatever way you lay down—accident, suicide or ordinary death); protecting people; and hunting.

The main function of any divining apparatus or medium is to say yea or nay to a proposition; though the range of response of a speaking gourd is naturally somewhat wider. Cewa say that some diviners place a horn in a gourd, and interpret the way in which it falls when the gourd is moved; that others speak when delirious (-bwebweta); or rely on dreaming (kulota); that others, again, gaze into a dish of water and see the sorcerer's face reflected on the surface (a technique modernized by vendors of Mcape medicine in the 1930's, who used mirrors—see below, pp. 320ff.). Two interesting beliefs exist about the practices of Christians. The first is that they use the Bible as a means of divining; and the second, that the taking of the sacraments is the Christian form of the poison ordeal, a view that was held in medieval Europe[22].

If the diviner is to manipulate his apparatus with success, or in some other way give satisfactory solutions to his clients' problems, he has to know a good deal about their present social relationships; and, if he is to attribute their misfortunes to the displeasure of their matrilineage shades, he has to be acquainted with their

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[22] D.R. Taft, Criminology, a Cultural Interpretation, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, p. 305.

genealogies. For these reasons, he is usually a keen student of local friendships, animosities and kinship ties. In addition, he usually insists that the client should be accompanied by a relative or a close acquaintance. Most diviners require a period during which they can give consideration to the client's problem; hence there are two distinct phases in the diving process, firstly, 'putting the divining apparatus to sleep' (kugoneka ula), i.e. handing over some token with a request that a problem (often only vaguely mentioned at the time) be investigated; and, secondly, returning later for the seance proper (kuombeza ula). Usually the divining apparatus is 'put to sleep' as the sun goes down, and the seance is held the next morning before sunrise. It is at the seance that the fee (referred to as the 'fowl' though nowadays commonly paid in money) is offered. The diviner will accept the 'fowl' only is he feels reasonably confident that he will satisfy his client; and, if he makes a false diagnosis or prognosis, he is expected to return it.

Material magic plays an important part in the smooth running of the apparatus, or in the effective response of the medium. Horns, gourds, tortoise shells and other devices have to be treated with medicines before being used. The diviner who relies on dreaming rubs a few drops of a concoction into incisions behind each ear, and sleeps with his head on the vessel containing the rest of it. The activating agents (vizimba, sing., cizimba) used in preparing this concoction are of great symbolic interest. They may include the brain of a hyena 'because a hyena dreams where people have left their livestock pens open'; or the heart of a vulture 'because the vulture keeps what it has

dreamt in its heart, and knows where to go next day'. If a diviner has been treated with vulture-activated magic, he will be careful to remain standing (normally considered rude in Ceŵa society) if he goes to visit a sick person 'lest he kill him, since, if a vulture alights on a tree above an animal you have shot, it is a sure sign that the animal is going to die'.

The divining situation is important sociologically[23] since it is during the divination that vague feelings of tension are organized and formulated into a belief that a particular person is responsible for a particular misfortune. Unless one joins Ceŵa in believing that diviners have actual occult power, one cannot escape the fact that the person who goes to the diviner is the one who feels and afterwards expresses tension against the alleged sorcerer; for any diviner worth his 'fowl' gives an answer acceptable to his client[24]. We shall return to this in a later chapter.

A diviner's seance is usually conducted under conditions of great secrecy, and the most effective way I could find of gaining first-hand knowledge of it was to play the rôle of client. By way of illustrating certain of the principles and techniques of Ceŵa divining, I give condensed accounts of the two occasions on which I consulted diviners :-

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[23] I am grateful to Professor J. Clyde Mitchell for impressing this on me.

[24] Cf. Monica Hunter (now Wilson), Reaction to Conquest, London: Oxford University Press for International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1936, pp. 308-309.

(1) In July 1947, my wife and I were losing a good deal of sleep because birds used to come each night and make a noise on the reed-mat ceiling of the house we were using. We asked several Ceŵa what they thought these birds were, and the consensus of opinion was that they were owls. Our servant, Jerusalem, felt sure that they were owls 'sent by people', i.e., sorcerers' familiars, although he was puzzled about who could be sending them, since, from the cardinal Ceŵa belief that sorcerers do not attack people unrelated to them, it follows that African sorcerers do not attack Europeans. I decided to consult a diviner, and as Dayton, one of my assistants, told me there was one at his home village, I went there with him early one morning. (At the time I did not know that it was necessary to 'put the divining apparatus to sleep' first.) As this was my first meeting with the diviner, he was suspicious, and hesitant about taking on my case. He finally got rid of me by discovering that there was no suitable oil for working his speaking gourd. Two days later he came to see me, and arranged that the seance should be held early the following morning. I agreed to this, but during the evening of the same day he came to tell me that he had to leave the local village earlier than he had expected, and asked whether we could have the seance immediately. I agreed, and, as my assistants had gone home for the night, asked our servant, Jerusalem, to support me. We went with the diviner into a disused hut, using a petrol-tin brazier and a paraffin lantern for light. The diviner took a little black gourd out of a basket he was carrying, and, having put some powdered medicines into it and having rubbed it on the outside with an oily substance, he shook it hard and passed it round his head. He then set it up on the floor and told us to clap hands (kuomba m'manja)—a token of respect. Next, he asked me to turn down the lantern. When I had done this, he started addressing the gourd in respectful terms, calling it A Mai ('mother', the term of address one would use towards any woman commanding respect). The gourd responded in a wheezing whistle. As the light was poor, I was unable to tell whether this sound was the result of ventriloquism or caused by the diviner's squeezing something in his hands. I could not understand what the gourd was saying, though Jerusalem obviously could. I concluded that it was intelligible only to someone thoroughly acquainted with the tones of Ceŵa. After some preliminary courtesies, the diviner asked me what the trouble was. I said, 'Akadzidzi (owls)'. The gourd cackled, and the diviner said, 'So you knew all along, did you, Mother?', to which it replied in the affirmative. The diviner and the gourd then had an argument. After respectfully disagreeing with his 'mother', the diviner turned to me, saying that she had asserted that a younger brother of my father was using sorcery against me, but that he had assured her that such a person must have died long ago. If he had been mistaken in his assertion, he added, I should contradict (-tsutsa) him. In this way I was drawn into the argument. When I told him that there were two of my father's younger brothers still alive, a further argument ensued about which of the two was responsible for sending the owls. It was decided eventually that

the one who had sought to do me harm was 'the one who did not write regularly'. I asked how it was that my wicked uncle could send owls over such a long distance. The gourd found this question very amusing, and replied, 'Why, people can send things across the sea, across Southern Rhodesia and even across the Zambezi into Northern Rhodesia—don't be astonished!' The diviner then passed on a warning from the gourd that my uncle would kill me if I didn't take some steps in the matter. Not relishing the idea of having medicines rubbed into incisions in my skin, I told the diviner that I would write to my uncle telling him to desist from his sorcery. If that proved ineffective, I said, I would call in his [the diviner's] assistance again. I paid him five shillings and he left.

(2) At the end of 1948, on our way to Ceŵa country (during a university vacation), we had a slight accident which provided a useful excuse for consulting a diviner. As we were driving through Southern Rhodesia, a car going southward threw up a stone which struck the windscreen of ours, making a small round patch of splintered glass in one corner. In January 1949, while talking to an old Ceŵa friend, who happened to be the local diviner, I mentioned this accident, saying that I was puzzled about its cause, and would probably consult him professionally about it. He showed no objection, and a few days later I went at sundown to his hut, accompanied by my friend the headman of the village in which we were camped. In order to 'put the divining apparatus to sleep', I handed him a fragment of the broken windscreen together with three shillings, reminding him of our earlier conversation. He told us to come back the following morning. Before sunrise the next day, the headman and I went to the diviner's hut, into which he took us and seated us. He sat opposite us across the fire next to a forked stake which had been driven into the floor of the hut. From the top of the stake was suspended a fine string which was threaded through a hole in the middle of a tortoise shell about three inches long. Below the tortoise shell the string was fastened to a small disc (probably of wood). The diviner started to tell us the story that explained how the stone had jumped up and struck the windscreen. As he proceeded, he confirmed details by putting questions to his apparatus which he addressed in a friendly way as _Fulu_ ('tortoise'). Holding the disc in one hand so that the string was taut, he used the other to slide the tortoise shell up it as he asked a question. If the shell slid straight down, this was a negative answer; if it came down slowly, this was an affirmative one. He probably controlled the movements of the shell by keeping the string still or by vibrating it slightly—as required—but, however he managed it, he did it skilfully enough not to be detected in the semi-darkness of a fire-lit hut before sunrise[25]. The story he told me was as follows :-

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[25] Essentially the same technique except for the use of a gourd or small horn instead of a tortoise shell is described by Stannus for the Njanja ('Notes on Some Tribes', p. 304).

> Before I had bought my car, three other Europeans had seen it in the window. They had 'counted their pennies' with a view to buying it, but had found that they hadn't enough money. Soon after that, I went in and bought it, and this angered them very much. They decided to kill me by making a 'medicine line' (mkhwekhwe) across the road so that I would have a serious accident. Fortunately for me, however, the shade of one of my ancestors had taken pity on me because he felt that, having paid for the car, I was entitled to have it. He had therefore intervened, though by mistake he had not removed all the medicine from the road, with the result that the stone that broke our windscreen was thrown up by what remained. When I told the diviner that I was anxious about the journey back to South Africa, he asked his apparatus whether we would have any mishap. The shell came straight down, indicating a negative reply. He told me that, to be on the safe side, he would prepare a charm for me to keep in my car when travelling. I paid him ten shillings for the seance and the charm. He told me afterwards that the cizimba (activating agent) he had used in it had been a piece of human caul (cibalilo), which is of general use because of its protective function (anatomically) and of special value for improving social relationships because it makes one 'like a child' and therefore 'pleasing to people'.

Although these two cases of divining are atypical because a European with his special circumstances and social relationships was involved, they nevertheless illustrate some of the basic principles at work. The client comes to the diviner with a problem, about the solution of which he has a number of unformulated ideas. By investigating his client's case during the period between the initial consultation and the final seance, and, during the seance, by skilfully drawing him into the conversation, the diviner helps him to arrive at a satisfying conclusion (in terms of Ceŵa belief), and may supply him with charms and other forms of assistance that will help to relieve his anxiety. The first diviner's transposition of Ceŵa doctrine regarding the typical kinship of sorcerer and victim from a matrilineal to a patrilineal mode struck me as ingenious. It is interesting to note, too, that the second diviner attributed our ac-

cident ultimately to a tense social relationship (that between me and the people who wanted to buy the car).

To the Ceŵa the European ban on the poison ordeal or on any other form of sorcerer-finding is quite incomprehensible. The majority of informants believe that there are more sorcerers nowadays than there used to be, and attribute this to the fact that the Europeans do not allow them to make accusations of sorcery or to take any action against sorcerers.

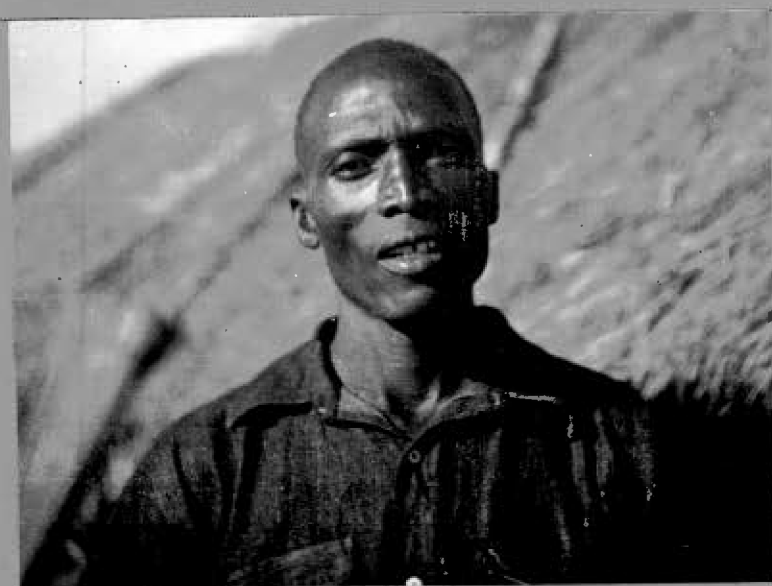
> There is a popular myth about the sorcerer who was caught red-handed and whose case eventually came before the District Commissioner. The D.C. imprisoned the man whose sense of public duty had led him to report the 'crime'; and, turning to the sorcerer, he discharged him and presented him with a bag of salt and a large knife, telling him to go back to the corpse he had been eating. 'This is one of the reasons why the Europeans forbade the poison ordeal; so that they could sell salt to people'. Another reason is that 'the Europeans are afraid of being detected themselves if the ordeal is used; for they, too, are proprietors of sorcery just as they are of whisky.

An informant complains :-

> Long ago there were hardly any sorcerers, and you could not find the path to the graveyard, but today it looks like a well-trodden road; and this is because of the Europeans. If you catch a person killing his fellows with medicines, the Europeans ask, 'Did you see him killing?'; and, if you lack words in reply, they set him free and arrest you. Or, if you find him eating human flesh and take him to the Europeans, they say to you, 'If you find dead game, do you not pick it up?'; and all they do is give the sorcerer a bag of salt with which to eat his 'relish'.

The general attitude underlying these myths is probably of wide currency in Northern Rhodesia. In 1947, a member of the African Representative Council, speaking in English, disagreed with the official doctrine that witchcraft does not exist, and reported that his electors wanted him to tell the Council that African doctors, instead of

Matthew Hopkins,
England, 1645
(after Ewen)



Bwanali Mbewe,
Nyasaland,
1947

PLATE XXXII - MEN WHO TRIED
TO STAMP OUT WITCHCRAFT

being tried by their District Commissioners, should be allowed to detect witches and wizards[26].

The 'African doctors' he referred to were probably followers of Bwanali and Mpulumutsi whose 'anti-witchcraft' movement was then at its height. The consequences of beliefs in sorcery that we have thus far considered have been of a chronic nature. More acute forms occur from time to time in movements directed against sorcery and witchcraft (the term depending on the tribe being considered) that sweep across the country. As we shall suggest in Chapter 10, the tensions expressed in these movements, and indeed in the beliefs in sorcery underlying them, must be sought, not only in specific reactions to the provisions of the Witchcraft Ordinance, but also in the general conditions of changed social life.

Our present task is descriptive. Two of the movements have been recorded[27], that of the Mcape-medicine vendors, who were active in the early 1930's, and that led by Bwanali and Mpulumutsi in 1947. Both started in Nyasaland and spread to adjoining territories; and both aimed at the complete removal of witchcraft and sorcery from the country by the systematic destruction or reform of witches and sorcerers and by the protection of their potential victims. Each had its dual-purpose medicine for achieving these objectives. The Mcape medicine was a red solution of soapy appearance which was administered orally.

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[26] Northern Rhodesia, African Representative Council, Debates, 18 July 1947.

[27] Audrey I. Richards, 'A Modern Movement of Witch-finders', Africa, 8, 1935, 448-61; and M.G. Marwick, 'Another Anti-Witchcraft Movement in East Central Africa', Africa, 20, 1950, 100-112.

It was intended, firstly, to deter people from witchcraft or sorcery by making them severely ill the moment they turned to it and by killing them if they persisted in it; and, secondly, to protect people from all possible attacks by witches and sorcerers. The medicine of Bwanali and Mpulumutsi had similar aims but was administered through incisions in the skin. Both movements gave rise to widespread excitement and speculation regarding the disappearance of witchcraft and sorcery from the country; and both engendered a series of beliefs and rumours which *inter alia* attributed a Christ-like resurrection to the leaders, and predicted their 'second coming'.

Since 1947 other movements have occurred which are reminiscent of the two described. In October 1953, a Nyasaland Tonga, known as Richard Bwanali (but apparently no relation of the other Bwanali, who was an Ngoni from the *circunscricão* of Angónia in the Tete *intendência* of Moçambique) was convicted in the High Court in Salisbury on four counts of culpable homicide and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. Evidence at his trial showed that he conducted ceremonies in a native reserve near Salisbury in which he administered medicines orally to people standing in queues; that he encouraged confessions of witchcraft; and that he detected alleged witches by using a mirror (a practice of the Mcape vendors, some twenty years previously)[28].

During the first half of 1954, it was reported in the press that a number of instances had occurred in Sambawanga

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[28] *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), 7 and 8 October 1953, and further information kindly placed at my disposal by the Secretary for Native Affairs, Southern Rhodesia.

in south-east Tanganyika in which a person had suddenly appeared in a district, claiming that he had returned from the grave to become a 'Kamchape' who would smell out witches. This, with the aid or local 'unpopularity-scouts', he would proceed to do, and would be warmly accepted by a witch-ridden community. One of these witchfinders was found guilty on twelve counts of imputing witchcraft with intent to cause injury and misfortune, and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and twelve cuts with a cane. In addition he was ordered to pay compensation to the witnesses for the prosecution[29].

Ceŵa Insight into Social Relationships Involved

Informants' statements show a clear recognition of the relationship between social tension and believed instances of sorcery. Such statements usually affirm that persons who have quarrelled 'practise sorcery against each other' (-lodzana, lit., 'kill each other with sorcery'). Less often they assert that those who have quarrelled 'grasp [accuse] each other [of] sorcery' (-gwilana ufiti). Thus, the belief that sorcerers generally attack their matrikin is supported by a number of arguments that reveal considerable insight into the connection between believed instances of sorcery and strained social relationships. Similar insight is revealed by acknowledged exceptions to this central doctrine.

Ceŵa maintain that matrilineal relatives 'practise sorcery against each other' because they are unable to

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[29] The Central African Post (Lusaka), 31 May 1954. I am grateful to Professor J. Clyde Mitchell for sending me information on this and the Richard Bwanali case.

settle their quarrels by the ordinary juridical procedures available to unrelated persons who quarrel. Litigation is generally between one person supported by his matrikin and another supported by his.

> If you try to take legal action against your 'sibling' [i.e. matrilineal relative], the court people [chief and assessors] just laugh at you, and you have to go home and settle your quarrel there.

This jural identification of matrilineage members appears to cause intra-matrilineage tensions to be relieved, not by catharsis and adjustment, but by suppression; and informants believe that the smouldering hatred resulting from suppression flares upiin due course in the form of sorcery. They express this belief neatly when they assert that the hatred leading to sorcery is more common among matrikin because with them there is a tendency 'to leave [unspoken] words of speech with one another' (kusiana mau oyankhula). The implication here is that, if there were some legitimate means of getting the angry words off their chests, there would be less danger that smouldering hatred would later lead to their 'practising sorcery against each other'. 'To keep words in the chest' (kusunga mau m'cifuwa) is regarded with an almost neo-Freudian disapproval.

Informants assert, however, that own siblings are tied by bonds of affection and loyalty and do not practise sorcery against each other. It is matrilateral parallel cousins (ortho-cousins, designated as 'siblings of different wombs'), they say, who are the ones who do. If we take 'sibling' in its wider meaning of 'matrikinsman', this is to say that persons belonging to different 'breasts', or matrilineage-segments, are more prone to practise sorcery against each other than those who belong to the same segment.

The matrilineage is the natural arena for quarrels over succession to status and over the inheritance of property; and informants link this with their assertion that sorcerers generally attack their matrikin. Referring to quarrels over status, one informant says :-

> Headmanship kills many people in this country of ours because, if you have succeeded to it, it isn't everybody that rejoices with you; others oppose you very much.....Sometimes the people of a family [banja, which in this context means 'matrilineage'] choose a junior child to be headman of it, if they see that his character is better than that of the senior 'brother' [which may include ortho-cousin]. Thus, when the junior brother succeeds to the headmanship, the senior one looks for medicine that he may kill him and seize the headmanship.

Another informant makes a similar statement about quarrels over the inheritance of property :-

> If a person is rich, his younger relative or his elder relative kills him with sorcery so that he may take all his wealth (cuma) for himself.

A third informant makes a general statement which would apply to both status and property, and adds an interesting observation about the believed increase in the prevalence of sorcery since the Ceŵa acquired property. He says :-

> Of your brothers [i.e., matrikin] and your children, your brothers are the ones more likely to kill you with sorcery. Your children would not get any return (phindu) from doing so, but your brothers would get a return. Before people used to go to Southern Rhodesia and acquire property such as cattle, there was not much sorcery.

As we have hinted, Ceŵa recognize certain exceptions to their central doctrine that sorcerers attack only their own matrikin. The most important of these is the belief that the co-wives of a polygynist practise sorcery against each other or against their husband. An informant says :-

> Polygyny causes many deaths among women. If a man becomes a polygynist, he knows that, though he may survive for a long time, [one of his wives] will in the end kill him, or the wives will kill each other with sorcery. If the man loves one of his wives only—

> either the senior or the junior wife—the other one will procure medicines and kill him or kill her co-wife and say, 'Now we are all even'. Sometimes she will kill her co-wife and say, 'Now my husband will have to love me only'.

This is a convenient point at which to record that Ceŵa assert that the majority of sorcerers are women.

Another exception to the belief that it is typically matrikin who practise sorcery against each other is the one that persons competing for the favours of a superior may do so. Ceŵa point out that, if a man has a quarrel with his employer or with his chief, he may attribute this to the sorcery of someone who is jealous of his relationship with this influential person. Those competing for the favours of a European or a chief are not necessarily related to one another.

Ceŵa believe sorcery to be on the increase. Although, as we have seen (above, p. 319), they attribute this to the European ban on ordeals and accusations of sorcery, they nevertheless seem to have considerable insight into the connection between accusations and some of the relationships that are typical of modern times. They believe that people who have become rich—and becoming rich is largely a modern phenomenon—are in constant danger of being attacked by sorcerers. As one of them puts it,

> Some people kill a fellow human being simply because of the jealousy [they feel] on seeing him possess good things. They do not feel well in their hearts, and they simply want to kill him, saying, 'He is very proud'.

We have seen (above, p. 299) that, when a labour migrant returns from his place of work, he enters his home village under cover of darkness. This well known practice is attributed to his fearing the sorcery of his matrikin.

According to African mores, he should be sharing his newly acquired wealth with them; but his newly acquired individualism contradicts this. The same applies to people who have become rich locally, e.g. from selling maize or vegetables or from running a village shop. Their preoccupation with fears of sorcery is, according to informants, reflected in their keen interest in acquiring strong protective medicines.

An important instance of how, in this manner, modern socio-economic changes may have exacerbated social relationships that were probably already strained under indigenous conditions is to be found in conflicts arising from the ownership of cattle. Cewa assert that these conflicts are frequent causes of persons' practising sorcery against one another. The fact that Cewa have only recently acquired cattle (cf. Chapter 3, pp. 113ff. and Appendix D) seems to have accentuated the friction inherent in the relationships between men of the same matrilineage. What typically happens is that a labour migrant sends home some of his earnings to his mother's brother who invests them in cattle. When the migrant comes home—sometimes after many years' absence—quarrels often arise over the ownership of the cattle. Since both cattle and wage-earning are new elements in Cewa life, this situation has no indigenous precedents and no, or very few, customary solutions. In any case, cattle are a form of wealth, and, as we have just noted, Cewa consider the desire for wealth to be behind many misfortunes attributed to sorcery. It is not surprising that one informant summed up the causes of sorcery by saying, 'Cattle and polygyny finish people'.

In this chapter, we have sought to give an inside view of Ceŵa sorcery. Our account has therefore been biased towards informants' opinions and statements of dogma and has not included references to the characteristics of specific persons believed to be sorcerers, their victims or their accusers. This bias will be corrected in Part III in which case material will be presented and analyzed.

PART III

APPLICATION AND CONCLUSION

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CASE MATERIAL

INTRODUCED AND APPLIED TO CEŴA DOGMA

Part I of this study was devoted to the formulation —from hints in the literature—of a dual hypothesis regarding the sociology of sorcery and witchcraft. Part II gave an account of Ceŵa beliefs in sorcery in their full context of environment, technology, social structure and normative system. We now come to the task of testing the hypothesis developed in Part I against case material.

Collection and Primary Analysis of Case Material

I collected this material during the course of fieldwork, especially during my second (1948-49) and third (1952-53) field trips. By the time of these two trips (both of short duration during South African university summer vacations), I had a clearer idea of the problem about which I intended orientating my study of the Ceŵa, and I was freer from the task of acquiring a knowledge of the language and culture than I had been on my longer, first trip (1946-47). I made a practice of recording all cases of misfortune that I heard of. In some instances, these came my way with hardly any effort on my part, as when they occurred in the neighbourhood in which I was working. In others, I deliberately sought them out, either by asking informants from this neighbourhood to describe any misfortunes that had escaped my notice, e.g. those that had occurred during periods when I was not in the field, or by asking informants from other

TABLE X—TYPES OF EX

Type of Ex
(1) Natural causes,
(2) Acts of persons
(s) Vengeance f
Other acts, of propert adultery m
(3) (s) Acts of sor
(v) Sorcerers by oth
Other a
(4) Acts of shades
Total . . . .
Less cases involvin (s) above) . . . .
Cases not involving
Summary with
Total cases involvi sorcery (marked (s
Less cases in which victims of people' own sorcery or the (marked(v) above)
Cases in which misf tributed to sorcer non-sorcerers . .

neighbourhoods to tell me about misfortunes occuring at any time in their areas.

I recorded the account of each case verbatim, and, then, by entering certain of its details under headings in a specially prepared note-book, checked that I had enough information on it to make it comparable with others, and to meet the requirements of the analysis I had in mind[1]. To facilitate tabulation, I transferred the main characteristics of cases on to cards which could be sorted and counted easily.

It is clear that the manner in which the cases came to be recorded precludes our regarding them as a random sample from the universe of Ceŵa misfortune; and the ratios between any of the categories into which they fall must be regarded as but crude estimates of the corresponding parameters of this universe. Without the complete listing of all misfortunes in a given area over a given period and the use of a randomizing technique for drawing a sample of these, the possibility cannot be excluded that selective biases were operating. For instance, it is possible that, in the earlier stages of recording cases, I was too often attracted by the exotic nature of explanations in terms of beliefs in sorcery to give due attention to the more humdrum ones attributing misfortunes to acts of God, of persons other than sorcerers, and of shades. Furthermore, since some informants gave me details of more than one case each, their personal interests and problems may have influenced the selection of those that they remembered and related. There

[1]I am grateful to Professor Monica Wilson for suggesting this procedure.

TABLE X—TYPES OF EXPLANATIONS, WITH MORAL IMPLICATIONS, OF 194 CASES OF MISFORTUNES (MOSTLY DEATHS) COLLECTED DURING THE COURSE OF FIELD-WORK

Type of Explanation Offered	Moral Implication: Victim Had Been at Fault	Moral Implication: Victim's Friend or Relative Had Been at Fault	Moral Implication: No One Had Been at Fault	Total	Percentage of All Cases
(1) Natural causes, '[acts] of God'	12	8	29	49	25.3
(2) Acts of persons other than sorcerers:					
(s) Vengeance for sorcery (v)	11	-	-	11)	17.0
Other acts, e.g. breach of taboo, use of property-protecting or anti-adultery magic	13	9	-	22)	
(3) (s) Acts of sorcerers:					
(v) Sorcerers killed by own sorcery or by other sorcerers	6	-	-	6)	55.1
Other acts of sorcerers	39	15	47	101)	
(4) Acts of shades	2	2	1	5	2.6
Total	83	34	77	194	100.0
Less cases involving beliefs in sorcery (marked (s) above)	56	15	47	118	60.8
Cases not involving beliefs in sorcery	27	19	30	76	39.2

Summary with Reference to Table XI

Total cases involving beliefs in sorcery (marked (s) above) 118

Less cases in which sorcerers were victims of people's vengeance, their own sorcery or the sorcery of others (marked (v) above) 17

Cases in which misfortunes were attributed to sorcerers' attacking non-sorcerers 101

Summary with Reference to Table XXXII

Cases with:-	Involving Beliefs in Sorcery	Not Involving Beliefs in Sorcery	Total
Moral implications	56 + 15 = 71	27 + 19 = 46	117
No moral implications	47	30	77
Total	118	76	194

was, however, a sufficiently large number of informants--between thirty and forty for 194 cases of misfortune--for their biases to have been subject to some degree of mutual dilution.

A few of the cases I recorded have been excluded from the analysis that follows because I failed to ascertain sufficiently detailed information about them. I have retained in Table X only those related to me by informants who showed by the way they answered my questions that they were fully acquainted with the persons involved in the incidents they described.

Table X shows that (1), in twenty-five per cent of the 194 cases retained for analysis, the misfortune was attributed to '[acts] of God', such as the victim's succumbing to recognizable disease, to old age, or to certain accidents that were not believed to be associated with malign or sinister circumstances; (2), in seventeen per cent, to the actions of persons other than sorcerers, such as failure to perform a ritual, the breach of a taboo, suicide, or the use of property-protecting (cambo), anti-adultery (likaŋkho) or vengeance magic; (3), in fifty-five per cent, to acts of sorcerers; and (4), in three per cent, to the intervention of shades.

Before we give closer attention to the slight majority of cases in which misfortune was attributed to attacks by sorcerers, their number, viz., 107 (101 + 6), needs to be adjusted if it is to reflect either (a) the number of cases involving beliefs in sorcery or (b) the number of those in which sorcerers were believed to have attacked non-sorcerers. These adjustments are effected at the foot of

It will be immediately apparent that our sample of case material is small; and, as we proceed with the analysis, the limitations imposed by this fact will become increasingly obvious. It is therefore perhaps fitting to refer to the reasons why the sample is not larger. Adequate case material of this kind can be collected only after a high degree of rapport has been established. Most informants among the Ceŵa are aware of the fact that whites disapprove of beliefs in sorcery. They tend, therefore, not to relate incidents implying such beliefs unless they are sure that their listener will take them seriously, not try to eradicate them, and be generally sympathetic. It was only by living in the community for an extended period, learning the language and participating in everyday and ceremonial life that I was able to gain my informants' confidence. The collection of case material therefore had to come late in my field-work. I might add that, even with ideal rapport, informants usually become reticent when they remember, not only that it is a criminal offence to impute witchcraft (including sorcery) to others (see Chapter 7, p. 284), but also that, by doing so, they may arouse the hostility and precipitate the vengeance of those to whom they impute it.

<u>Ceŵa Dogma Checked</u>

In Chapter 1 (pp. 11ff.), we pointed out that records of the relationships between believed sorcerer and victim do not directly reflect social tensions but rather people's beliefs about such tensions. They therefore provide a means of checking whether dogma expressed in a general way by informants, and recorded in the last section of Chapter 7 (pp. 322ff.), is consistent with specific instances of believed

TABLE XI—SOCIAL AND SPATIAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SORCERER AND VICTIM IN THE 101 CASES IN TABLE X IN WHICH MISFORTUNES WERE ATTRIBUTED TO SORCERERS' ATTACKING NON-SORCERERS

Social Relationship :-	Spatial Relationship			Total	Percentage of 101 (115)* Cases	
	Same Village	Different Villages Or at Great Distance	Unknown			
Kinsmen:						
Matrilineal:						
Different segments	20 (22)*	7 (7)	5 (5)	32 (34)	31.7	(29.6)
Same segment	13 (17)	3 (3)	- -	16 (20)	15.8	(17.4)
Segment membership indeterminate	9 (9)	- (2)	2 (2)	11 (13)	10.9	(11.3)
Total matrilineal	42 (48)	10 (12)	7 (7)	59 (67)	58.4	(58.3)
Non-matrilineal:						
Involving a co-wife	- (1)	- -	1 (1)	1 (2)	1.0	(1.7)
Spouses and father-child	7 (8)	- -	- -	7 (8)	6.9	(6.9)
Other affinal	11 (13)	- -	- -	11 (13)	10.9	(11.3)
Other non-matrilineal	9 (10)	3 (4)	- -	12 (14)	11.9	(12.2)
Total non-matrilineal	27 (32)	3 (4)	1 (1)	31 (37)	30.7	(32.1)
Total kinsmen	69 (80)	13 (16)	8 (8)	90 (104)	89.1	(90.4)
Non-kinsmen	6 (6)	3 (3)	1 (1)	10 (10)	9.9	(8.7)
Victim not specified	1 (1)	- -	- -	1 (1)	1.0	(0.9)
Total	76 (87)	16 (19)	9 (9)	101 (115)	100.0	(100.0)

*In some cases more than one sorcerer or more than one victim were designated. The figures in brackets take these 'multiple' cases fully into account; whereas those not in brackets include in respect of such cases only the first sorcerer or the first victim mentioned.

attacks by sorcerers. Table XI shows the relationships, both social and spatial, between sorcerer and victim in the 101 cases, referred to above, in which sorcerers were believed to have attacked non-sorcerers. In some of these cases, more than one sorcerer or more than one victim were designated, with the result that the 101 cases provided 115 relationships. The figures in brackets take these 'multiple' cases fully into account; whereas those not in brackets include in respect of such cases only the first sorcerer or the first victim mentioned. As the percentage distributions vary only slightly with the two methods of counting, the figures in brackets will be disregarded in the calculations that follow.

The material summarized in the table is consistent with the main Ceŵa doctrine that sorcerers tend to attack their matrikin; for nearly three-fifths of the cases are ones in which this is believed to have happened. Within the 'matrilineal' category, differences are generally too small for it to be possible to check some of the subsidiary beliefs, such as the one that it is commoner for classificatory than for own siblings to attack each other. The proportion of believed attacks between members of different matrilineage-segments is, however, about twice the proportion of those between members of the same segment (thirty-two and sixteen per cent respectively). The magnitude of this difference must, of course, in part be attributed to the greater frequency with which Ceŵa villagers fall into the first relationship category rather than the second, i.e., to the larger universe of interaction that exists between persons belonging to different matrilineage-segments and therefore the greater probability of their being associated

in believed instances of sorcery. This reservation, incidentally, applies to all the conclusions reached in this chapter; but, since our present task is to test Ceŵa dogma against specific believed instances of sorcery, we shall postpone a discussion of the problem that necessitates the reservation until the next chapter, where its effects are of greater consequence.

We noted in Chapter 7 that Ceŵa recognize certain exceptions to their central doctrine that sorcerers confine their attacks to their matrikin. The first of these is that the co-wives of a polygynist tend to practise sorcery against each other or against their husband. This subsidiary doctrine is not reflected prominently in the table, where cases related to polygyny amount to only one per cent of the total.

The second exception, that unrelated persons competing with each other for the favour of a chief or an employer tend to practise sorcery against each other, is reflected in ten per cent of the cases, in which the sorcerer and his victim were unrelated. The implication that, in these cases, sorcery broke its usual bounds of operation because of intense rivalry, cannot, however, be checked unless we extend the table to indicate whether the attack was believed to have been preceded by a quarrel. Table XII (in Appendix J) shows how 100 of the 101 cases were distributed according to the relationship between sorcerer and victim, and the nature of the quarrel, if any, believed to have preceded the attack. Table XIII, derived from this, summarizes the data in a form that enables us to test for a possible association between the relationship of sorcerer and

TABLE XIII—TO TEST ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP (IN THREE CATEGORIES) OF SORCERER AND VICTIM AND WHETHER OR NOT A QUARREL WAS BELIEVED TO PRECEDE THE SORCERER'S ATTACK

Sorcerer and Victim Were:-	Quarrel Preceded Attack	No Quarrel Preceded Attack	Total
Related matri-lineally	41	18	59
Related non-matrilineally	22	9	31
Unrelated	9	1	10
	72	28	100
Add 1 case in which victim was not specified			1
Total reconciled with Table X			101

$\chi^2 = 1.808$; $.50 > p > .30$.

victim (in three categories) and whether or not the sorcerer's attack was preceded by a quarrel. The apparent lack of any association is confirmed by the application of the chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 1.808$; $.50 > p > .30$[2]). In other words, the data do not justify the rejection of the 'null' hypothesis that believed attacks between matrikin are as often preceded by quarrels as they are between persons related non-matrilineally or unrelated.

The frequencies in Table XII (Appendix J) are consistent with the Ceŵa assertion that, within the matrilineage, headmanship and related issues, such as rivalry for the leadership of a large following, give rise to quarrels that lead to sorcery; for ones of this type between matrikin are cited eleven times out of a possible of 107. They also reflect the belief that quarrels over cattle and other kinds of property—quarrels which, we noted in Chapter 7 (pp. 324ff.), are characteristic of modern social changes—often disturb a matrilineage (cited sixteen times); and they show that they may even occur between non-matrilineal relatives and unrelated persons (cited seven times). Although, as we have just recorded, our data do not represent prominently the idea that polygyny often leads to quarrels culminating in attacks of sorcery, this table shows the importance in their gestation of the wider category to which it belongs, viz., sexual jealousy (cited altogether eighteen times).

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[2]This value of p indicates that the slight degree of association present could result from chance between about a third and a half of the time. A probability of one in twenty ($p = .05$) is widely accepted as the upper limit of safety in tests of significance (cf. Margaret Jarman Hagood, Statistics for Sociologists, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1941, pp. 449-50).

TABLE XIV—TO TEST ASSOCIATION BETWEEN TYPE OF QUARREL (IN THOSE CASES IN TABLE XII IN WHICH A QUARREL OCCURRED) AND TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SORCERER AND VICTIM

Quarrel over:-	Relationship between Sorcerer and Victim		Total
	Matri-lineal	Non-matri-lineal and Unrelated	
Social obligations, cattle and other property	30	8	38
Other issues, e.g. sexual jealousy and politics	17	24	41
Total	47	32	79

$\chi^2 = 9.996$; $.01 > p > .001$.

Source: Table XII in Appendix J.

Although we have been unable to establish any association between the social relationship of sorcerer to victim and *whether or not* a quarrel preceded the sorcerer's believed attack, we are able to test whether certain relationship-categories tend to be associated *with certain types* of quarrels. Reference to Table XII (in Appendix J) shows that quarrels over social obligations occurred more frequently where the social relationship between sorcerer and victim was matrilineal, and that the same applied, though in lesser degree, to quarrels over cattle and other property. The opposite applied to quarrels related to sexual jealousy, adultery and divorce, which together show higher frequencies for persons related non-matrilineally and unrelated. If these distributions are summarized in a four-fold table (Table XIV), they show a highly significant[3] association between matrilineal relationship of sorcerer and victim and quarrels over social obligations, cattle and other property ($\chi^2 = 9.996$; $.01 \rightarrow p \rightarrow .001$), which is in agreement with the instances we have cited.

Before we leave the question of how the relationship of sorcerer to victim is related to the quarrel, if any, that preceded the sorcerer's believed attack, we should take advantage of the opportunity of checking certain Ceŵa beliefs about the distinction between the 'killer-for-malice' (*mphelanjilu*) and the 'real sorcerer' (*nfiti yeni-*

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[3] I am following the widely observed convention (see, for instance, Hagood, *loc. cit.*) of using the expression 'moderately significant' when p lies between .05 and .01; 'highly significant' when p lies between .01 and .001; and 'extremely significant' when p is less than .001.

TABLE XVI—TO TEST ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN WHETHER SORCERER WAS OR WOULD HAVE BEEN CLASSIFIED AS A 'KILLER-FOR-MALICE' OR A 'REAL NFITI' AND (1) WHETHER OR NOT THE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SORCERER AND VICTIM WAS MATRILINEAL; AND (2) SEX OF SORCERER

(1)

Classification of Sorcerer:-	Sorcerer and Victim:- Related Matri-lineally	Related Non-Matrilineal-ly and Un-related	Total
'Killer-for-malice'	36	29	65
'Real nfiti'	17	8	25
Uncertain	6	4	10
	59	41	100
Add one case in which victim was not specified			1
Total reconciled with Table X			101

$\chi^2 = 1.192$; $.70 > p > .50$.

(2)

Classification of Sorcerer:-	Male	Female	Total
'Killer-for-malice'	43	21	64
'Real nfiti'	11	14	25
Uncertain	4	7	11
	58	42	100
Add one case in which the sorcerer was not identified			1
Total reconciled with Table X			101

$\chi^2 = 6.343$; $.05 > p > .02$.

Source: Table XV in Appendix J.

yeni). In many of the 101 cases, the informant stated whether he considered the sorcerer fell into one or other of these categories. In most others, where the informant had not been explicit, it was possible to judge into which category the sorcerer would have been placed. For instance, if his motive was given as 'flesh hunger' (nkhuli), or if it was stated that he had acted from addiction to sorcery rather than from hatred or a desire for revenge, it could be assumed that he would have been classified as a 'real nfiti'. In eleven cases it was not possible to determine in which category he would have been placed.

The distribution of sorcerers in three categories, 'killer-for-malice', 'real nfiti' and '[classification] uncertain', together with the relationships between them and their victims and whether or not their attacks were preceded by quarrels is shown in Table XV (in Appendix J), which is derived from the same card-sortings as Table XI (facing p. 334). The frequencies in the cells of this table are too small to indicate any detailed links, but the totals derived from it may be used to test more general associations. The application of the chi-square test to the first set of these, cast in the first part of Table XVI, indicates that the slightly apparent tendency for 'real nfiti' to be believed to attack their matrikin proportionately more than their non-matrilineal relatives and unrelated persons cannot be regarded as significant ($\chi^2 = 1.192$; $.70 > p > .50$). The second part of Table XVI reveals a moderately significant tendency for 'killers-for-malice' to be men; and 'real nfiti), women[4] ($\chi^2 = 6.343$; $.05 > p > .02$). This finding

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[4] I am grateful to Professor Philip Mayer for suggesting to me that I should make this tabulation, which was one I had overlooked.

TABLE XVII—DISTRIBUTION OF CASES ACCORDING TO WHETHER THE SORCERER WAS OR WOULD HAVE BEEN CLASSIFIED AS A 'KILLER-FOR-MALICE' OR A 'REAL *NFITI*' AND WHETHER OR NOT A QUARREL HAD PRECEDED HIS BELIEVED ATTACK ON THE VICTIM

Classification of Sorcerer :-	Attack Preceded by :- A Quarrel	No Quarrel	Total
'Killer-for-malice'	64	1	65
'Real *nfiti*'	6	19	25
Uncertain	2	8	10
	72	28	100
Add one case in which the victim was not specified			1
Total reconciled with Table X			101

$\chi^2 = 64.560$; $p < .001$.

TABLE XVIII—SORCERERS BY AGE AND SEX

Age Category	Male	Female	Sex Unknown	Total
Child	-	-	-	-
Adolescent	1	-	-	1
Adult	43	22	-	65
Old	14	20	-	34
Unknown	-	-	1	1
	58	42	1	101
Sex proportion	.57	.42	.01	1.00

Significance of difference of sex proportions from .50:-
Males: CR = 1.06; p = .29.
Females: CR = 1.20; p = .23.

again raises the question of the translation of nfiti. Taken together with the fact that Ceŵa say nfiti (unqualified) are more often women than men (see Chapter 7, p. 325), it may mean that, when they say this, they have the specific category of witches in mind. We shall return presently to the sex ratio of the more general category.

Another set of totals, cast in Table XVII, reveals an extremely significant tendency, in the beliefs reflected in the data, for 'killers-for-malice' to have been involved proportionately more often in quarrels than is the case with 'real nfiti' ($\chi^2 = 64.560$; $p < .001$). This is not a surprising result when one considers that one of the characteristics of the 'real nfiti' is his being addicted to his evil practices rather than driven by a strong emotion of a situational or passing kind. It does, however, support the hypothesis that, where it is difficult to find persons with whom the victim may have quarrelled, there is a tendency for those with a long-standing addiction to sorcery, rather than with a strong specific motive, to be blamed for his misfortune (see Chapter 8, p. 345).

The case material is not consistent with the assertion, just referred to, that the majority of sorcerers (nfiti in the general sense, unqualified) are women. Table XVIII shows the distribution by sex and age (the latter in four broad categories) of the 101 sorcerers we are considering. Nearly three-fifths are men; and slightly over two-fifths, women. Though these proportions do not differ significantly from the normal proportion, taken as .50, they show a trend opposite to that postulated

TABLE XIX—VICTIMS BY AGE AND SEX

Age Category	Male	Female	Sex Unknown	Total
Child	4	7	5	16
Adolescent	6	5	-	11
Adult	36	24	1	61
Old	11	1	-	12
Unknown	-	-	1	1
	57	37	7	101
Sex proportion	.56	.37	.07	1.00

Significance of difference of sex proportions from .50:-
Males: CR = 0.91; p = .36.
Females: CR = 1.91; p = .06.

TABLE XX—RELATIVE AGES OF SORCERERS AND THEIR VICTIMS

Age Category of Victim :-	Age Category of Sorcerer: Child	Adolescent	Adult	Old	Unknown	Total
Child	-	-	7	9	-	16
Adolescent	-	-	4	6	1	11
Adult	-	1	45	15	-	61
Old	-	-	8	4	-	12
Unknown	-	-	1	-	-	1
	-	1	65	34	1	101

Analysis

Sorcerer and victim in the same age category .	49
Sorcerer older than his victim	41
Sorcerer younger than his victim	9
Age relationship unknown	2
	101

TABLE XXI—RELATIVE GENERATIONS OF RELATED SORCERERS AND THEIR VICTIMS IN THREE KINSHIP CATEGORIES

Kinship Category	Sorcerer and Victim in Same Generation	Sorcerer in Senior Generation	Sorcerer in Junior Generation	Total
Belonging to different matrilineage segments	9	20	2	31
Other matrilineal relatives	9	12	5	26
Non-matrilineal relatives	16	10	6	32
	34	42	13	89
	Victim unknown			1
	Sorcerer unknown			1
	Sorcerer and victim unrelated			10
	Total reconciled with Table X			101

by informants. As to age, about two-thirds are mature people; and about one-third, old. Table XIX gives similar details for the victims in the sample. Here, too, though the lower age categories are better represented, the highest frequencies are for mature people and for males. Taken together, these two tables support the hypothesis that those believed to be involved in sorcery, either as sorcerers or as victims, tend to belong to the more socially active segments of the population, a finding which is not without significance in a study that seeks the social functions of beliefs in sorcery. It must be noted, however, that, since it is difficult to set up norms with which to compare the observed age distributions, the statistical foundation for this proposition is not as firm as it should be.

This reservation applies also to the following two tables. Table XX indicates that, in a small minority of cases (nine in ninety-nine), the believed sorcerer was younger than his victim. In the others he was believed to be either in the same age category as his victim (forty-nine) or in a senior category (forty-one). Table XXI, which shows the relative generations of those sorcerers and victims related to one another, shows a similar belief that sorcery is more often directed towards juniors (forty-two cases out of eighty-nine) and equals (thirty-four) than towards seniors (thirteen).

If we turn back to Table XI (facing p. 334), we find one type of relationship between sorcerer and victim which informants hardly mentioned at all, but which is represented by eleven per cent of the 101 cases. This is the relationship between affines (other than spouses). Prior

to collecting my case material, I had heard of only one instance of a sorcerer's being believed to have attacked an affine; and this case, having been one exposed by Mpulumutsi, one of the leaders of the 'anti-witchcraft' movement of 1947[5], seemed to have been quoted as something so unusual as to be incredible—as a tribute to Mpulumutsi's great powers of detection.

In this chapter we have described how the case material was collected, and we have checked it against some items of Ceŵa dogma. We have found that, on the whole, informants' general statements are consistent with the more specific beliefs that they express when they quote cases of misfortune attributed to sorcery. These cases show that, according to belief, sorcerers frequently attack their matrikin; and that, within the matrilineal category, they more often attack members of other segments than members of their own. The cases are not consistent with the view that most sorcerers are women; though they indicate some slight support for the idea that 'real _nfiti_', who may be witches rather than sorcerers, tend to be. They do not reflect the common belief that the co-wives of polygynists often practise sorcery against each other or against their common husband; and they suggest that affines practise sorcery against each other to a greater extent than dogma would suggest.

This disposes of people's beliefs about the categories of relationships tending to exist between sorcerers

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[5]Cf. M.G. Marwick, 'Another Modern Anti-Witchcraft Movement in East Central Africa', _Africa_, 20, 1950, 100-112, at p. 104.

and their victims and about the types of social tensions that informants thus postulate in their more specific beliefs about sorcery. In the next chapter, we shall leave the realm of belief and try to discover the social tensions reflected in the real quarrels between accuser and sorcerer.

CHAPTER NINE

ACCUSATIONS AS EXPRESSIONS OF STRUCTURAL TENSIONS

Having examined the extent to which Ceŵa generalizations about sorcerers are confirmed when specific instances of their attacks are cited, we now turn to the more sociologically relevant aspects of such instances. From what has been set out in Part II, it is clear that Ceŵa life has all the physical, cultural and social conditions necessary for a system of beliefs in sorcery to have developed. The environment is one in which the vectors of serious diseases flourish; the technology, though in many respects adequate for tapping the available natural resources, is based on tradition rather than on objective, scientific investigation, and provides neither a clear understanding of the causes of disease and death, nor an appreciation of the random incidence of the misfortunes that in Western society are referred to as accidents and acts of God; traditional beliefs include those in sorcery; and the normal stresses of the social structure, as well as conflicts of values aggravated by modern social disequilibrium, give rise to personal animosities that are readily taken up into retrospective explanations of misfortunes of all types.

Our task in this chapter will be to examine the extent to which the case material introduced in the last one reflects tensions inherent in the social structure. We should note that we are now leaving the realm of Ceŵa <u>be-</u>

<u>liefs about</u> social tensions that are reflected in informants' explanations of why a particular sorcerer attacked a particular victim, and that we are entering the realm of <u>actual tensions</u> reflected in accusations of sorcery. We do this by now concentrating on the relationship between accuser and sorcerer. In thus changing our focus, we lose some of the weight of our sample; for in only seventy-nine of the 101 cases reviewed in the last chapter were the accusers identified.

In this chapter we ask to what extent accusations of sorcery between members of a matrilineage may be attributed to the tensions inherent in its structure, and in how far accusations between persons not belonging to the same matrilineage express tensions to which they are normally subjected in their relationships with one another.

<u>Accusers and Sorcerers</u>

We have already examined the characteristics of alleged sorcerers (see Chapter 8, pp. 338ff.). What are those of accusers? As a preliminary to our study of their relationships with sorcerers, we must clarify our interpretation of the term <u>accuser</u> and present the distribution, by age and sex, of those to whom this term is applied.

The more obvious definition of an accuser as the person who accused someone else of sorcery is not wide enough for our purposes; and we have to include the person who carried out investigations, such as consulting a diviner or arranging a poison ordeal, that led to the identification of the sorcerer. This wider definition is based on the assumption that 'any diviner worth his fowl gives an answer

TABLE XXII—ACCUSERS BY AGE AND SEX AND COMPARISON OF THEIR SEX PROPORTION WITH THOSE OF SORCERERS AND OF VICTIMS

Age Category :-	Male	Female	Sex Unknown	Total
Child	-	-	-	-
Adolescent	1	-	-	1
Adult	48	16	-	64
Old	8	5	-	13
Unknown	-	-	1	1
	57	21	1	79
'Self-accusations' (see text opposite) . . .				2
Accuser unknown, e.g. sorcerer designated by diffuse gossip				20
Total reconciled with Table X				101
Sex proportion	.72	.27	.01	1.00

Significance of difference of sex proportions from .50 :-
Males: CR = 3.16; p = .0016.
Females: CR = 3.35; p = .0008.

Comparison of the sex proportions of :-

(a) Accusers and Sorcerers (cf. Table XVIII)

	Accusers f	Accusers %	Sorcerers f	Sorcerers %	Difference %	CR	p
Male	57	72.1	58	57.4	+14.7	2.04	.04
Female	21	26.6	42	41.6	-15.0	2.09	.04
Unknown	1	1.3	1	1.0	+ 0.3	-	-
	79	100.0	101	100.0	-		

(b) Accusers and Victims (cf. Table XIX)

	Accusers	Victims	Difference	CR	p

No steps taken (no reason given for inaction)	16	20.25
No steps taken because identity of sorcerer was considered obvious . .	9	11.39
Poison ordeal	7	8.86
Questioning by village headman . . .	5	6.33
Questioning by others	5	6.33
Sorcerer identified by grave-watcher	4	5.06
	79	100.0

that his client finds acceptable' (cf. Chapter 7, p. 315). It makes possible the rather incongruous category of 'self-accusation' into which two cases fall. In this type of case, the diviner, perhaps through being unable to unravel a client's tangled social relationships and knowing him to have the reputation of being addicted to sorcery, accused the client himself of being the sorcerer. In twelve of the seventy-nine cases, the victim—sometimes on his death-bed—was himself the accuser.

Table XXII shows the distribution by age and sex of the seventy-nine accusers (the first named in those cases in which more than one were designated). Table XXIII indicates the steps, if any, that they took to establish the identity of the sorcerer. Accusers, like sorcerers and victims (cf. Tables XVIII and XIX, facing pp. 339 and 340 respectively), tend to fall in the 'adult' age category and include a higher proportion of men than of women to a degree of significance at about the level of $p = .001$. Again they tend to represent the socially active members of Ceŵa society. To a moderately significant degree in three out of four categories tested, accusers include a higher proportion of males than do either sorcerers or victims (see foot of Table XXII). Table XXIII shows the importance of diviners in the detection of sorcerers and the relative unimportance of other means. This is interesting when considered against the fact that, in all the texts on divining that I collected, the traditional function of the diviner was portrayed as that of ascertaining the wishes of the shades. It would appear that, with the suppression of the poison ordeal, other types of divining have taken its place as the main means of detecting sorcerers (cf. Chapter 7, p. 311).

TABLE XXIV—RELATIVE AGES OF ACCUSERS AND SORCERERS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF SORCERERS AND VICTIMS

Age Category of Sorcerer:-	Age Category of Accuser					
	Child	Adolescent	Adult	Old	Unknown	Total
Child	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adolescent	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adult	-	1	39	5	1	46
Old	-	-	25	7	-	32
Unknown	-	-	-	1	-	1
	-	1	64	13	1	79

Analysis and Comparison with Table XX

	f	%	Difference %	f	%	
1) Accuser and sorcerer in same age category	46	58.2	+ 9.6	49	48.5	1) Sorcerer and victim in same age category
2) Accuser older than sorcerer	5	6.3	-34.3	41	40.6	2) Sorcerer older than victim
3) Accuser younger than sorcerer	26	32.9	+24.0	9	8.9	3) Sorcerer younger than victim
4) Age relationship unknown	2	2.6	+ 0.6	2	2.0	4) Age relationship unknown
	79	100.0	0	101	100.0	

Significance of difference of proportions:

For first comparison: CR = 1.30; p = .19.
For second comparison: CR = 5.24; p ←.000001.
For third comparison: CR = 4.04; p ←.0001.

Table XXIV, which presents the age relationships between accusers and sorcerers, shows that, in the largest proportion of cases, they belonged to the same age category, as was true of sorcerers and victims (see Chapter 8, Table XX, facing p. 340). There is, however, one notable difference between the two distributions. A systematic comparison with Table XX—made at the foot of Table XXIV—reveals that, when accuser and sorcerer, or sorcerer and victim, do not belong to the same age category, it is commoner—to an extremely significant degree—for accusers to be younger than sorcerers than it is for sorcerers to be younger than victims. A similar finding—but one having a degree less of statistical significance—results if the generation relationships between related accusers and sorcerers are compared with those between related sorcerers and victims (see Table XXV). Sorcerers, when not in the samè generation as their victims, tend to be senior to them; but accusers, when not in the same generation as those whom they accuse of sorcery, tend to be junior to them.

Accuser-Sorcerer Relationships as Pointers to Social Tension

Table XXVI (in Appendix J) presents a detailed classification of the social relationships between accusers and sorcerers, and shows how these are distributed according to (1) their spatial relationships and (2) whether or not a quarrel preceded the accusation. Since this table is the source for subsequent tables cinsidered in this chapter, it is appropriate to record here some of the principles and conventions followed in its construction. The table contains three main categories of social relationships, matrilineally related, related but not matrilineally, and un-

TABLE XXVI—SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCUSER AND SORCERER ACCORDING TO (1) THEIR SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP AND (2) WHETHER OR NOT A QUARREL PRECEDED THE ACCUSATION

TYPE OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCUSER AND SORCERER (including reciprocals of relationships shown)	(1) SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP			(2) ACCUSATION PRECEDED BY		TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of 79 (112)*
	In the Same Village	In Different villages or at Great Distance	Not Recorded	A Quarrel	No Quarrel		
Related by kinship or affinity:							
Matrilineally related:							
In the same matrilineage segment:							
child-mother	3 (5)*	- -	- -	-	3 (5)	3 (5)	3.80 (4.47)
own siblings, excluding adult sisters	9 (9)	- -	- -	7 (7)	2 (2)	9 (9)	11.39 (8.04)
lineal kin, e.g. mother's mother-daughter's child	- (1)	- -	- -	- -	- (1)	- (1)	0.89
Total (a)	12 (15)	- -	- -	7 (7)	5 (8)	12 (15)	15.19 (13.40)
In different matrilineage segments:							
adult sisters	1 (5)	- -	- -	1 (2)	- (3)	1 (5)	1.27 (4.47)
mother's sister-sister's child, own and classificatory	5 (11)	2 (3)	- -	6 (11)	1 (3)	7 (14)	8.86 (12.50)
classificatory siblings	8 (9)	2 (2)	- -	9 (10)	1 (1)	10 (11)	12.66 (9.82)
classificatory mother's brother-sister's child	2 (2)	1 (1)	1 (1)	4 (4)	- -	4 (4)	5.06 (3.57)
others	3 (3)	- -	- -	2 (2)	1 (1)	3 (3)	3.80 (2.68
Total (b)	19 (30)	5 (6)	1 (1)	22 (29)	3 (8)	25 (37)	31.65 (33.04)
Indeterminate, e.g. own mother's brother-sister's child (c)	3 (3)	1 (1)	- -	3 (3)	1 (1)	4 (4)	5.06 (3.57)
Related, but not matrilineally:							
Seminally:							
in the same matrilineage segment as that to which linked (d)	1 (1)	- -	- -	- -	1 (1)	1 (1)	1.27 (0.89)
in a different matrilineage segment from that to which linked (e)	4 (5)	1 (1)	- -	5 (6)	- -	5 (6)	6.32 (5.36
indeterminate, e.g. own cross-cousins	1 (1)	- -	- -	1 (1)	- -	1 (1)	1.27 0.89)
Total (f)	6 (7)	1 (1)	- -	6 (7)	1 (1)	7 (8)	8.86 (7.14)
Affinally:							
spouses	1 (2)	- -	- -	1 (2)	- -	1 (2)	1.27 (1.79)
in the same matrilineage segments that to which linked (g)	7 (12)	- -	- -	4 (7)	3 (5)	7 (12)	8.86 (10.71)
in a different matrilineage segment from that to which linked (h)	10 (15)	1 (1)	- -	9 (12)	2 (4)	11 (16)	13.92 (14.29)
others	2 (7)	1 (1)	- -	3 (8)	- -	3 (8)	3.80 (7.14)
(i)	20 (36)	2 (2)	- -	17 (29)	5 (9)	22 (38)	27.85 (33.93)
Unrelated (j)	5 (6)	3 (3)	1 (1)	9 (10)	- -	9 (10)	11.39 (8.93)
Summary							
Total:matrilineally related (a + b + c)	34 (48)	6 (7)	1 (1)	32 (39)	9 (17)	41 (56)	51.90 (50.00)
Total:related but not matrilineally (f + i)	26 (43)	3 (3)	- -	23 (36)	6 (10)	29 (46)	36.71 (41.07)
Total:unrelated (j)	5 (6)	3 (3)	1 (1)	9 (10)	- -	9 (10)	11.39 (8.93)
Grand Total	65 (97)	12 (13)	2 (2)	64 (85)	15 (27)	79 (112)	100.00 100.00
Add cases in which:							
accuser accused himself**						2	
accuser was not specified						20	
Total reconciled with Table X.						101	
Analysis							
Belonging to the same matrilineage segment (a)	12 (15)	- -	- -	7 (7)	5 (8)	12 (15)	15.19 (13.40)
Belonging to different matrilineage segments (b)	19 (30)	5 (6)	1 (1)	22 (29)	3 (8)	25 (37)	31.65 (33.04)
Belonging to, or linked seminally or affinally with, the same matrilineage segment (a + d + g)	20 (28)	- -	- -	11 (14)	9 (14)	20 (28)	25.32 (25.00)
Belonging to, or linked seminally or affinally with, different matrilineage segments (b + e + h)	33 (50)	7 (8)	1 (1)	36 (47)	5 (12)	41 (59)	51.90 (52.69)

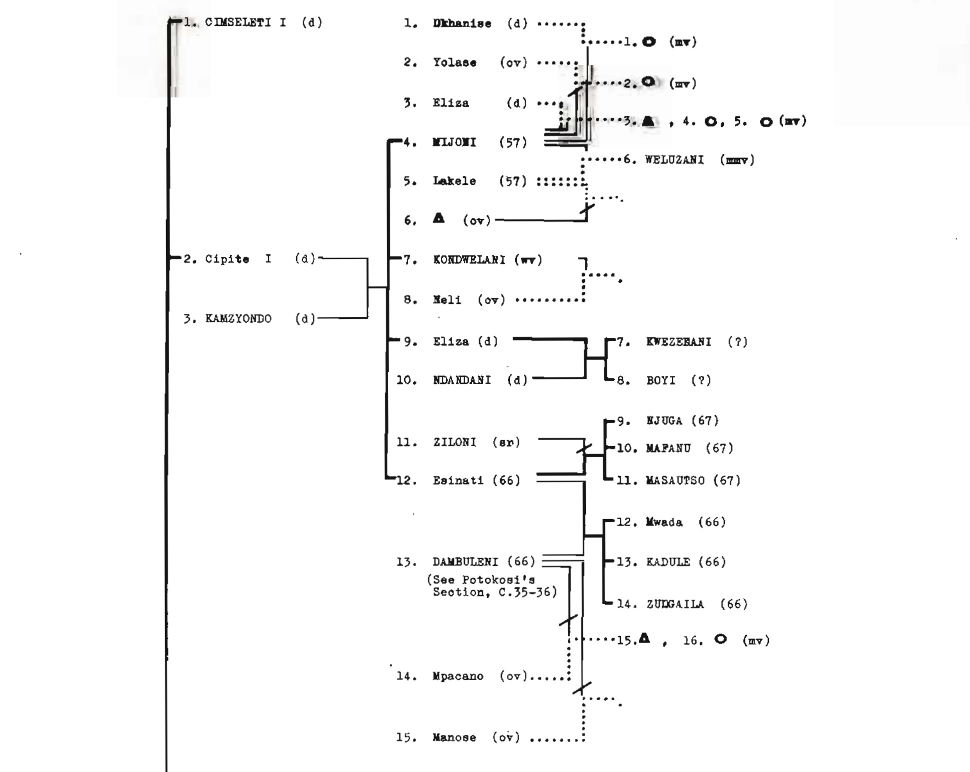
*In some cases more than one accuser or more than one sorcerer were designated. The figures in brackets take th "multiple" cases fully into account; whereas those not in brackets include in respect of such cases only the first accuser or the first sorcerer designated.

**"Accuser" is defined to include any person who consulted the diviner who named the sorcerer, the assumption bein that "any diviner worth his fowl gives an answer acceptable to his client" (cf. Chapter VII, p. 315). Occasionally (as was possible with the two cases shown at the foot of the main part of the table), if the diviner is baffled by t problem or if he has a shrewd suspicion that the client is unpopular, e.g. "habitually a sorcerer", he may designate the client himself.

4. Cimseleti's Section, Jeremiah Village

This genealogy illustrates the typical social composition of a Ceŵa village-section. Note that it includes the small section of Maiwase (B.13), the second wife of Cuzu (B.12). Maiwase's section appears to be developing into an independent one; it is already spatially segregated.

The legend and hut plan of Fig. 4, facing p. 154, apply to this genealogy.



G E N E R A T I O N S
A B Ç D E
1. CIMSELETI I (d)
1. Ukhanise (d)
2. Yolase (ov)
3. Eliza (d)
4. MIJONI (57)
5. Lakele (57)
6. ▲ (ov)
1. ● (mv)
2. ● (mv)
3. ▲ , 4. ●, 5. ● (mv)
6. WELUZANI (mmv)
2. Cipite I (d)
3. KAMZYONDO (d)
7. KONDWELANI (mv)
8. Neli (ov)
9. Eliza (d)
10. NDAKDANI (d)
7. KWEZEHANI (?)
8. BOYI (?)
11. ZILONI (sr)
12. Esinati (66)
9. NJUGA (67)
10. MAPANU (67)
11. MASAUTSO (67)
12. Mwada (66)
13. DAMBULENI (66) (See Fotokosi's Section, C.35-36)
13. KADULE (66)
14. ZUDZAILA (66)
15. ▲ , 16. ● (mv)
14. Mpacano (ov)
15. Manose (ov)
16. FOLITO (ov)
16. NDELENI (fv)
17. ANDONI (ov)
18. LABISONI (ov)
1. FOLOJALA (53)
2. NDELEYA (53)
17. KOLOZANA (ov)
19. Ticokiele (53)
20. TILENDAGE (53)
21. Kacubwa (ov)
1. Cinji I (d)
2. MNIDYE (d)
4. Msiya (d)
▲ (?)
18. Cinji II (Mafunase)
22. Tigwade (59)
23. NSADE (59)
19. SINOYA (ov)
24. SIKELO (61)
25. Mwanida (mfv)
26. Muyeko (64)
27. DZUWALIWAWA (64)
3. JOJO (64)
20. Yelezeti (sr)
21. ZULANI (ov)
28. Makondwa (ov)
29. Tizione (ov)
30. Vazi (?)
31. Ebenesi (?)
5. HALINWE (d)
6. Bangkhulana (hv)
7. KALILO (ov/wv)
22. ● (fv), 23. ▲ (sr),
24. ● (sr), 25. ● (fv),
26. ● (fv), 27. ▲ (fv),
28. ▲ (fv), 25. ▲ (fv)
8. ● (ov)
32. BANDE (54)
33. OBISTALA (lep)
30. CIMSELETI II (43)
31. Violeti (43)
9. Cilimbila (45)
10. JOMBO (d)
34. SAMSONI (45)
35. Maniwe (45)
36. WALAZA (43)
37. SIMONI (43)
32. KENYANI (d)
33. Mielamange (50) (See Jeremiah's section, C.20-22)
38. NATIZANA (35)
39. BLAHINU (25)
See Jeremiah's section, D.44-45
34. ABISTALA (50)
35. ● (ov)
36. ● (ov)
40. ● (mv)
37. ABELO (ov)
38. Ailedi (49)
41. MISEKI (13)
42. Cipite II (60) (Ezelia)
43. KAMENDA (lnr)
4. ALIELE (60)
39. JOSEPH (49)
40. Lucy (49)
10. Mwanida (62)
41. MWANILENJI (ov)
42. Esenelí (52)
43. MATCHES (52)
44. KADYEMPAKENI (54)
45. Manjase (62)
46. Andiseni (52)
44. Maluwase (hv)
45. CIKANANA (ov)
47. ABIOTI (?)
48. Dolika (?)
49. MBAWALA (62)
50. Mlilana (49)
●(d)
▲(d)
3. Cisape
4. DAMBO
11. ANDALASONI (23) (See Jeremiah's Section, D.24-25.)
46. DAVITE (lsr)
47. Velinasi (56)
48. BALANABA (56)
51. Dumase (56)
52. KAMLADGA (56)
53. ▲ , 54. ▲ , 55. ● (mv)
49. Jolia (ov)
50. Muyiqkhole (33)
51. BIDUWELO (61)
5. Cisaqkheni (d)
6. CIMSITU (d)
12. CUZU (62/4)
52. KADZE (lep)
53 KUMULANI (7)
54 Evelina (7)
55. Telezia (6)
56. VELANJALA (lnr) (See Fotokosi's Section)
56. Maunda (6)
57. KAMPAUNDI (?)
58. KAWAZA (4)
13. Maiwase (4)
7. Cimzite (d)
●(d)
▲(d)
8. CALUMPHA (d)
14. DGALANDE (ov)
15. Takhala (11) (See Jeremiah's Section)
L E G E N D
MATRILINES:
BANDA
MVULA
OTHERS
WHEREABOUTS (INDICATED IN BRACKETS):
NUMBERS REFER TO HUT PLAN IN FIG. 4.
OTHER SYMBOLS FOLLOW CONVENTIONS USED IN FIG.
OTHERWISE: - AS FOR FIG. 4.

TABLE XXV—RELATIVE GENERATIONS OF RELATED ACCUSERS AND SORCERERS IN THREE KINSHIP CATEGORIES

Kinship Category	Accuser and Sorcerer in Same Generation	Accuser in Senior Generation	Accuser in Junior Generation	Total
Belonging to different matrilineage segments	12	3	10	25
Other matrilineal relatives	9	2	5	16
Non-matrilineal relatives	12	7	10	29
	33	12	25	70
	Accuser and sorcerer unrelated . .			9
	Total reconciled with Table XXII .			79

Comparison with Table XXI

	f	%	Difference %	f	%	
1) Accuser and sorcerer in same generation	33	41.8	+ 8.2	34	33.6	1) Sorcerer and victim in same generation
2) Accuser in senior generation	12	15.2	-26.4	42	41.6	2) Sorcerer in senior generation
3) Accuser in junior generation	25	31.6	+18.7	13	12.9	3) Sorcerer in junior generation
4) Unrelated	9	11.4	+ 1.5	10	9.9	4) Unrelated
5) Relationship unknown	-	-	- 2.0	2	2.0	5) Relationship unknown
	79	100.0	0	101	100.0	

Significance of difference of proportions:

For first comparison: CR = 1.13; $p = .26$.
For second comparison: CR = 3.84; $p < .0001$.
For third comparison: CR = 3.05; $p = .0024$.

related. The first of these major divisions is broken down according to whether accusers and sorcerers belonged to the same matrilineage-segment or to different segments. Thus, if they were adult own brothers, they have been classified as belonging to the same segment; adult own sisters, on the other hand, as growing points of matrilineage proliferation and the origins of new segments (cf. Chapter 4, p. 193), are, like ortho-cousins, classified as members of different ones. In the second major category, which includes those accusers and sorcerers who are related but not matrilineally, relationships have been classified according to whether the link is seminal or affinal, and sub-classified according to whether such a link associates them with the same matrilineage-segment or with different ones. The third category, which includes accusers and sorcerers who were unrelated, contains too few cases to warrant subdivision. It is worth noting, however, that quarrels preceded all nine of these cases and that these had to do with love and politics in about equal proportions.

Like Table XI, Table XXVI has two sets of entries. In certain cases, more than one accuser and/or more than one sorcerer were designated. The first set of entries includes, in respect of such cases, only the first accuser or the first sorcerer mentioned; whereas the second set (in brackets) takes 'multiple' cases fully into account, and its grand total shows that there were 112 relationships involved in the seventy-nine cases in which an accuser was identified.

The data presented in this table provide a means of checking, for the Ceŵa, the first part of the hypothesis

between the segments considered as groups. In terms of the hypothesis I put forward in 1952[1], Ceŵa beliefs in sorcery are, inter alia, catalytic to the normal process of matrilineage-segmentation in that they are a means by which redundant, insupportable relationships, which through being close and personal cannot be quietly contracted out of, are dramatically blasted away.

Tensions between segments, which may be expressed in the form of rivalry between groups, or more specifically between their leaders, pass through two phases. So long as the matrilineage as a whole persists, segment leaders compete for its overall leadership; and accusations of sorcery have the function of discrediting rivals. Once division has started, segment leaders may abandon hope of ever achieving overall leadership; and accusations of sorcery then have the function of accelerating and justifying the incipient separation.

Let us cast this in the detailed terms of the first part of the hypothesis developed in Part I. During the first phase, competition is possible because the Ceŵa succession rule is sometimes suspended on grounds of personality (low Variable C); and it is intense because headmanship is highly valued (high Variable V) and because relationships between competitors are personal rather than segmental (high Variable P) and cannot be objectified by appeal to the ballot-box or to arbitration. According to the Ceŵa succession rule, when a headman dies, he is succeeded in turn

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[1]M.G. Marwick, 'The Social Context of Cewa Witch Beliefs', Africa, 22, 1952, 120-35 and 215-33, at pp. 232-33 et passim.

by his surviving younger own brothers; and, when the last of these dies, by the senior male member of the senior segment of the first descending generation, i.e., the original headman's eldest sister's eldest son. The death of the last surviving brother to have succeeded the headman may throw the men of the first descending generation into competition. Since the succession rule may be disregarded on grounds of personal qualification, each of these men stands a chance of succeeding if he can demonstrate his qualities of leadership and if he can discredit his more important rivals. Not only has competition for headmanship all the ingredients of social tension, but the situation in which it occurs is such as to make it probable that such tension will be expressed in terms of sorcery—for two reasons :- Firstly, tensions between competitors cannot be resolved by the juridical process because they belong to the same matrilineage; and this group is, in the eyes of the Chief, an indivisible, undifferentiated unit. Secondly, a competitor may find an accusation of sorcery a more effective way of discrediting a rival than any other available to him. In these circumstances, a high incidence of accusations may be expected between male matrilateral parallel cousins, i.e. ortho-cousins in a matrilineal society.

It might be argued that a high incidence of accusations might also be expected between own brothers, since they are involved in the first of the two phases of the succession process. Ceŵa informants assert, however, that own, as opposed to classificatory, siblings are united by bonds of affection and loyalty and 'do not practise sorcery against each other' (cf. Chapter 7, p. 323). This general statement is contradicted, though rarely, when believed instances of sorcery

are cited. However, in none of the ten cases I recorded in which believed sorcerer and victim were own siblings was headmanship the subject of a quarrel occurring before the believed attack; nor was it an issue in any of the ten cases I recorded in which accuser and alleged sorcerer were own siblings[2]. To the extent that the Ceŵa explanation of the low incidence of tension between own siblings is a valid one, this may be an instance, in terms of our hypothesis, of the effective control of competition by the prescription of behaviour (high Variable C). A man's birth-order seems to fix his status _vis-à-vis_ his own brothers with greater certainty than his mother's birth-order fixes it _vis-à-vis_ his classificatory brothers.

Once the headmanship has left the headman's contemporary generation and passed to the first descending one, the second phase begins. Hitherto one of the men of the senior generation, through not being a member of any of the primary segments (assuming that the ancestress of the matrilineage—or matrilineage-remnant—is his sister), has managed to keep the group together. He has done this by being the keystone of the arch (cf. Chapter 4, p. 198). Once he falls away, the fragmentation of the matrilineage may proceed. The successful candidate in the junior generation, even if he is in its senior segment, may find it difficult to weld his followers together; and tension may develop between the various segments, the leader of each perhaps abandoning hope of ever being overall leader. The resulting separation may be punctuated by accusations of sorcery.

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[2]In both instances, the ten cases were distributed among relationship-categories as follows:- brother-sister, six; brother-brother, three; and sister-sister, one.

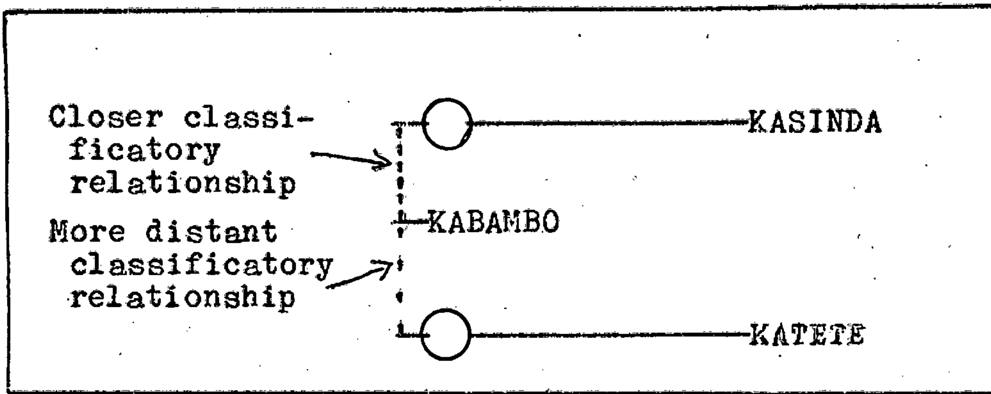

Fig. 9—To Illustrate Case No. 1

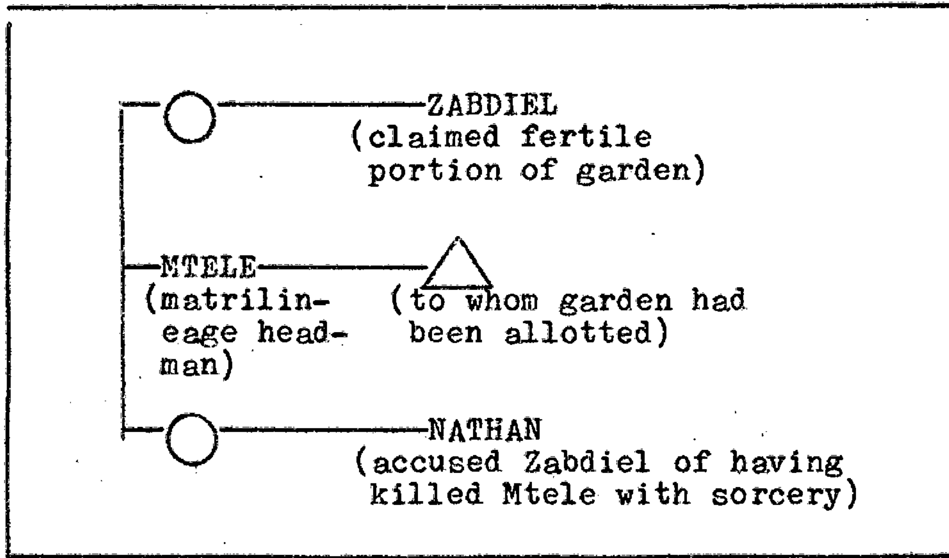

Fig. 10—To Illustrate Case No. 2

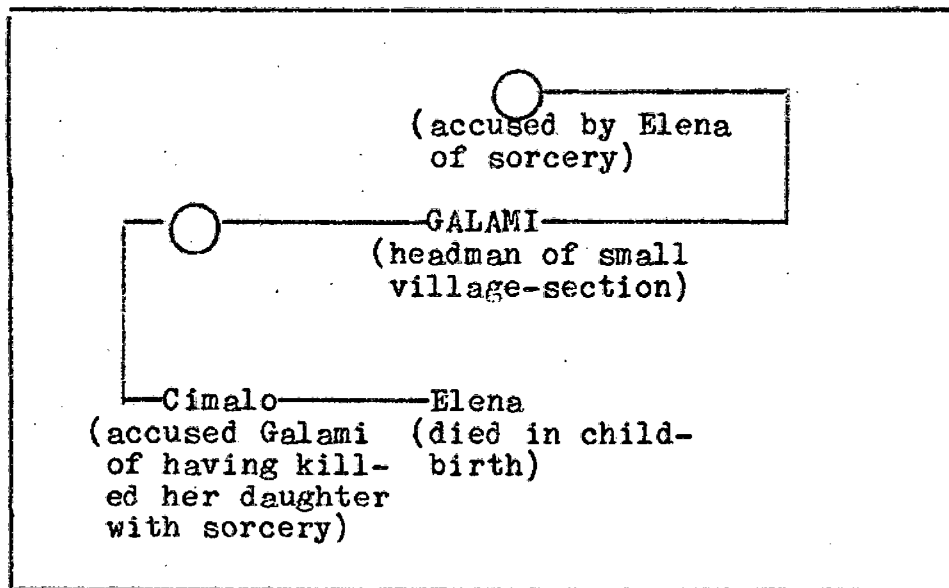

Fig. 11—To Illustrate Case No. 3

Cases Illustrating Inter-Segmental Conflict

The following cases illustrate how inter-segmental rivalry may be expressed through the medium of accusations of sorcery :-

Case No. 1 (see Fig. 9): A Ceŵa chief, whom we shall call Kabambo, had no own sister's son, and it was generally accepted that he would be succeeded by a classificatory sister's son, Kasinda; so much so, that Kasinda had been given the pre-succession name associated with the chieftainship. Kasinda was not, however, universally liked, and a more distantly related classificatory sister's son of Kabambo, whom we shall call Katete, who had gained an enviable reputation as an arbitrator of disputes, was regarded as a possible alternative. When, at an advanced age, Kabambo died, Katete, claiming that the old man had made a death-bed statement to him, accused Kasinda of having killed him with sorcery, adding that he had penetrated Kabambo's strong magical defences by using the unusual technique of committing adultery with one of Kabambo's wives, thus rendering his bed dangerous to its owner. Many people believed Katete's allegation, but, although it blocked Kasinda's succession for a long period, Kasinda eventually succeeded because his genealogical relationship was closer than Katete's.

Case No. 2 (see Fig. 10): Mtele, the headman of a matrilineage, had quarrelled, and come to blows, with his senior sister's son, Zabdiel, over a garden which Mtele had allotted to his own son, and the more fertile portion of which Zabdiel had claimed [an instance of the common conflict of loyalties a Ceŵa man experiences in relation to his children and his sisters' children]. Soon after the quarrel, Mtele became ill and subsequently died. A junior sister's son, Nathan, having just returned from work in Southern Rhodesia, came to the funeral and chased Zabdiel away, saying, 'Don't sit here crying for the one you have killed'. [Unfortunately, I have no record of who succeeded Mtele as headman.]

Case No. 3 (see Fig. 11): A young married woman, Elena, had no brothers or mother's brothers. She and her mother, Cimalo, had been living in Johani's village, to the headman's section of which they had long-standing ties of friendship, though not of kinship. Elena's mother's sister's son, Galami, persuaded them to move to a village in which he was headman of a small section. They were not, however, happy there, and came back to Johani's village. Their leaving Galami and thus diminishing his following led to a violent quarrel between him and Elena, during which she alleged, by way of excuse for leaving his section, that his wife was a sorcerer. Elena fell pregnant soon after their return from Galami's village-section, and feared that he had concocted, using soil on which she had urinated, a form of sorcery known as kalamatila, which makes child-birth difficult. When her time came, it was reported to me that she had been four days in labour. I rushed her to the nearest

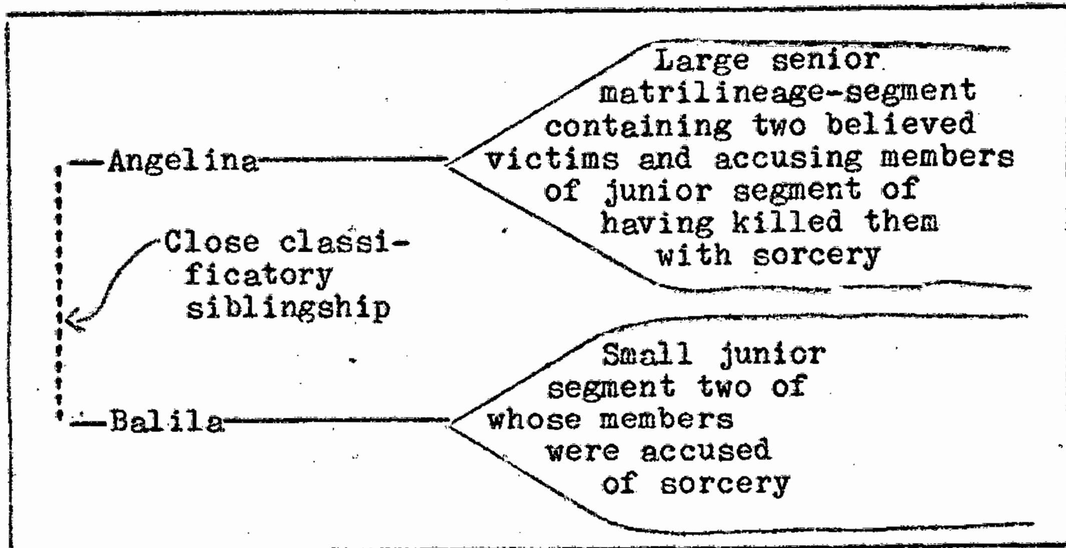

Fig. 12—To Illustrate Cases Nos. 4 and 5

TABLE XXVII—RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ACCUSER AND SORCERER SUMMARIZED ACCORDING TO THEIR MEMBERSHIP OF, OR AFFINAL OR SEMINAL AFFILIATION WITH, THE SAME OR DIFFERENT MATRILINEAGE-SEGMENTS

Relationship Category	Number of Cases		Percentage of 79	(112)*
Belonging to the same matrilineage-segment	12	(15)	15.19	(13.40)
Belonging to different matrilineage-segments	25	(37)	31.65	(33.04)
Belonging to, or linked seminally or affinally with, the same matrilineage-segment	20	(28)	25.32	(25.00)
Belonging to, or linked seminally or affinally with, different matrilineage-segments	41	(59)	51.90	(52.69)
	61	(87)	77.22	(77.69)
Add cases in which :-				
membership of, or affiliation with, segment was indeterminate	9	(15)	11.40	(13.39)
accuser and sorcerer were unrelated	9	(10)	11.39	(8.93)
	79	(112)	100.0	(100.0)

*Figures in brackets take 'multiple' cases fully into account.

Source: Table XXVI in Appendix J.

mission hospital, but she died there of a ruptured uterus—probably the result, the doctor told me, of bearing down too hard, which I assume could have been caused by the fear that her classificatory brother's sorcery would prevent her from giving birth to her baby. The day after her funeral, her mother, Cimalo, accused Galami of having killed her with sorcery.

Cases Nos. 4 and 5 (see Fig. 12): In Mashaŵe village there live two segments of a matrilineage, the 'breast' of Angelina, which has many members, and that of Balila, which has but few. On two occasions the death of a member of the former segment has been attributed to the sorcery of a member of the latter; and, each time, the accuser (a member of Angelina's segment) has claimed that the sorcerer's motive was to reduce the disparity in numbers between the two segments.

Statistical Examination of Hypothesis

These cases serve to clarify the form our hypothesis takes when applied to Ceŵa lineage-segmentation. Let us now check this form of it against the statistics obtained by summing the characteristics of the seventy-nine cases in which an accuser was identified. The first set of these is presented in Table XXVII, which is derived from Table XXVI in Appendix J. At first sight the proposition that tension and conflict are greater between members of different matrilineage-segments than they are between members of the same segment is confirmed. From thirteen to fifteen per cent of accusations (depending on the method of counting) were between members of the same segment; whereas roughly twice that proportion of them were between members of different segments. The ratio between these proportions is maintained when, to the members of matrilineage segments, there are added those persons affiliated to them by seminal or affinal ties (see the central section of Table XXVII). The table thus shows that, in this sample, accusers and sorcerers are members or affiliates of different segments twice as often as they are of the same segment.

TABLE XXVIII—SOCIAL AND SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCUSER AND SORCERER

Social Relationship	Spatial Relationship: In Same Village	Spatial Relationship: In Different Villages or at Great Distance	Spatial Relationship: Not Recorded	Total
Related matrilineally	34	6	1	41
Related non-matrilineally or unrelated	31	6	1	38
	65	12	2	79

Source: Table XXVI in Appendix J.

Can we go a step further and claim that these data show that inter-segmental tensions are twice as intense—or even more intense—than intra-segmental ones, and that accusations are catalytic to lineage segmentation?

Two problems confront us if we are to take this step. The first is that the high frequency of accusations in certain social relationships may be linked only indirectly with the tensions characteristic of such relationships, i.e., there may be a hidden intervening variable that explains the association. Thus, Professor Monica Wilson, having noted witchcraft accusations between unrelated neighbours among the Nyakyusa, who live with age-mates and not with kinsmen[3], warned me[4] of the possibility that, since the Ceŵa live in villages with their matrikin, the higher frequency among them of accusations between matrikin might simply reflect tension between people as neighbours rather than as kinsmen. I therefore made a practice of recording both the spatial and the social relationships between accuser and accused. Table XXVIII, abstracted from Table XXVI in Appendix J, presents the distribution of the seventy-nine cases according to these two variables (as affecting first accuser and first sorcerer mentioned). This shows a lack of association between matrilineal kinship of accuser and sorcerer and either their physical separation or their physical proximity—so obviously that the application of the chi-square test is unnecessary. The data in hand falsify neither the hypo-

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[3]Monica Wilson, Good Company, London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1951.

[4]Private communication.

thesis that accusations of sorcery reflect tension between people as neighbours, nor the alternative that they reflect tension between them as kinsmen. Professor Wilson's interesting hypothesis must be left to future investigators.

Rates v. Raw Frequencies

The second problem, to which we alluded briefly in the last chapter (pp. 334-35), arises from the fact that the incidence of accusations of sorcery in various relationship-categories is of complex determination. A high frequency of accusations in a particular category is an index, not only of the degree of tension characteristic of it, but also of the sheer frequency of interaction in it. Thus, to argue that a high incidence of accusations in a given relationship-category indicates a high degree of social tension in it is as naïve as contending that divorce is a more serious problem in the United Kingdom than it is among South African whites because the absolute number of divorces in any one year is greater in the former than in the latter population. Just as divorces can be compared only when considered as rates, i.e., in relation to the universe in which they may occur, such as the total population or the total married population, so must accusations of sorcery be related to the universe of social interaction in which they occur. For instance, the frequency of accusations between ortho-cousins must be expressed as a ratio of the frequency with which persons in this category meet and interact.

This problem would in any case be a difficult one to resolve; and it is complicated here by the fact that, as recorded in the last chapter (see above, pp. 329-30),

the case material did not come from a single neighbourhood. It was thus not confined to the neighbourhood for which I have full information regarding the social composition of villages. The only possible way of meeting this problem would, therefore, be to build a paradigm—empirically based if possible—which would yield a quantitative estimate of the universe of interaction a person has with each type of fellow tribesman, e.g. his siblings, ortho-cousins, lineal matrikin, seminally linked relatives, affines, unrelated fellow villagers (in village-sections other than his own), fellow tribesmen in other villages—and so on. With such estimates as their second terms, accusation rates or ratios would be comparable with one another, and one could then conclude whether certain relationships have a greater expectation of accusations of sorcery than others, and, in terms of our hypothesis, a greater degree of tension.

An added complication to the problem we are considering is the fact that the size of each universe of interaction in which accusations of sorcery may occur is determined, not only by the numbers of persons involved in the relationship, but also by other factors such as community of interests, physical proximity and social norms, all of which may affect the frequency with which they are brought into interaction as well as the quality of their interaction.

Yet another complication is the fact that Ego, whether we take him to be accuser or sorcerer, is, as we have seen (cf. Table XVIII, facing p. 339, and Table XXII, facing p. 345), a person of variable age and sex; and different age-sex categories have, for obvious demographic

reasons, different probabilities of interaction with any other category of persons we care to take. Thus, an old man has fewer surviving ortho-cousins than a younger one; and the chances of their being more widely dispersed, e.g. as a result of uxorilocal marriage or village fission, are greater. In general, other things being equal, one interacts more frequently with those of one's fellow men who are more numerous in type, who are in the immediate vicinity and with whom one is linked by similar interests. Conversely, one interacts less frequently with persons who are less numerous in type, who are physically remote, and to whom one is not united by common interests.

These considerations indicate that the construction of a paradigm which would yield satisfactory second terms for comparable rates of accusation for each social relationship-category would be extremely complicated. It is an operation clearly beyond the limits set by my rudimentary statistical and demographic competence and by the localized nature of my genealogical data. I shall therefore not attempt it, but merely express the hope that this statement of the problem may prompt someone to suggest a practical solution which may guide future field workers in the collection of such data as may be used for estimating the universe of social interaction characteristic of each type of social relationship in which accusations of sorcery and witchcraft occur.

Had we been able to construct the paradigm just sketched, we would have had a series of theoretical estimates each of which would have served as a foil, a denominator or a second term, to the absolute frequency of accus-

TABLE XXIX—TO TEST ASSOCIATION BETWEEN WHETHER ACCUSER AND SORCERER BELONGED TO (1 and 2), OR BELONGED TO, OR WERE SEMINALLY OR AFFINALLY AFFILIATED WITH (3 and 4), DIFFERENT MATRILINEAGE-SEGMENTS AND WHETHER OR NOT A QUARREL PRECEDED THE ACCUSATION (single counting (1 and 3) and full counting (2 and 4) OF 'MULTIPLE' CASES)

1. Membership Alone, Single Counting

Accuser and Sorcerer Belonged to :-	Accusation Was Preceded by :- A Quarrel	No Quarrel	Total
The same matri-lineage-segment	7	5	12
Different matri-lineage-segments	22	3	25
	29	8	37

$\chi^2 = 2.642$; $.20 \rightarrow p \rightarrow .10$.

2. Membership Alone, Full Counting

Accuser and Sorcerer Belonged to :-	Accusation Was Preceded by :- A Quarrel	No Quarrel	Total
The same matri-lineage-segment	7	8	15
Different matri-lineage-segments	29	8	37
	36	16	52

$\chi^2 = 3.660$; $.10 \rightarrow p \rightarrow .05$.

3. Membership and Affiliation, Single Counting

Accuser and Sorcerer Belonged to, Or Were Associated with,	Accusation Was Preceded by :- A Quarrel	No Quarrel	Total
The same matri-lineage-segment	11	9	20
Different matri-lineage-segments	36	5	41
	47	14	61

$\chi^2 = 6.431$; $.02 — p — .01$.

4. Membership and Affiliation, Full Counting

Accuser and Sorcerer Belonged to, Or Were Associated with,	Accusation Was Preceded by :- A Quarrel	No Quarrel	Total
The same matri-lineage-segment	14	14	28
Different matri-lineage-segments	47	12	59
	61	26	87

$\chi^2 = 6.619$; $.02 \rightarrow p \rightarrow .01$.

Source: Table XXVI in Appendix J.

TABLE XXIX

ations falling within a particular category of social relationships. In the absence of such a foil[5], our conclusions must be stated with caution. Provided that the absolute frequencies summarized in Table XXVII (facing p. 353) are the result of tense relationships rather than of differing universes of interaction, they lend some support to the hypothesis that accusations of sorcery are more common between those belonging to, or associated with, different matrilineage-segments than they are between those belonging to, or associated with, the same segment; and this distribution of tension-indicators is in conformity with the structural oppositions described in the third section of this chapter, especially on pp. 348-51.

There remains the proposition that accusations of sorcery are catalytic to the process of lineage-segmentation. Do accusations facilitate the separation of two segments? Our data do not provide a direct answer to this question. We may, however, seek in them an answer to the question whether inter-segmental accusations are more often preceded by quarrels than are accusations between members of the same segment. Table XXIX, abstracted from Table XXVI in Appendix J, shows (in Sections 3 and 4) a moderately significant tendency for membership of, or affiliation with, different segments to be associated with a quarrel having preceded the accusation ($\chi^2 = 6.431$; $.02 \rightarrow p \rightarrow .01$; and $\chi^2 = 6.619$; $.02 \rightarrow p \rightarrow .01$—for single and full counting

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[5]I have attempted to find such a foil in the case material itself; but, since my procedure is questionable, I have relegated the exercise involved to Appendix K, where it is presented in the hope that it may stimulate statistically-minded social scientists to suggest a solution to the problem set out on pp. 355-58 of this chapter.

of 'multiple' cases respectively). Sections 1 and 2 of this table show that the association is not significant when segment membership alone—without seminal or affinal affiliation—is taken as the basis of classification (χ^2 = 2.642; $.20 \rightarrow p \rightarrow .10$; and χ^2 = 3.660; $.10 \rightarrow p \rightarrow .05$ —for single and full counting respectively). In these circumstances, the rider that quarrels precede inter-segmental accusations more often than they precede intra-segmental ones must be taken with some reserve. Assuming its validity for the moment, we may interpret it to mean that tension within a segment may be present but restrained; whereas tension between segments meets less opposition from social norms, and that accusations of sorcery are more freely used as indicators of such tension, thus facilitating the separation characteristic of what has been described as the second phase of segmentation (see above, p. 351).

Other Instances Examined and Illustrated

The proposition that we have just tried to test is but one instance of the hypothesis that accusations of sorcery arise under certain defined conditions from social tension, which, in turn, is a function of socially unrestrained personal competition for highly valued goals. Let us now seek illustrations of other instances of this general hypothesis, firstly, by inspecting other figures culled from Table XXVI in Appendix J; and, secondly, by presenting illustrative cases.

Table XXX presents a summary of the distribution of accusers and sorcerers according to the relationship categories in which they were associated. Again, in the absence of a foil against which to interpret absolute frequencies,

TABLE XXX—DISTRIBUTION OF ACCUSER AND SORCERER IN THE RELATIONSHIP CATEGORIES IN WHICH THEY WERE ASSOCIATED

Relationship Category	Number of Cases		Percentage of 79	(112)*
Matrilineally related:				
same segment	12	(15)	15.19	(13.40)
different segments	25	(37)	31.65	(33.04)
segment membership indeterminate	4	(4)	5.06	(3.57)
total (a)	41	(56)	51.90	(50.01)
Related but not matrilineally:				
seminally	7	(8)	8.86	(7.14)
spouses	1	(2)	1.27	(1.79)
other affines	21	(36)	26.58	(32.14)
total (b)	29	(46)	36.71	(41.07)
Unrelated (c)	9	(10)	11.39	(8.93)
Total (a + b + c)	79	(112)	100.0	(100.0)

*Figures in brackets take 'multiple' cases fully into account.

Source: Table XXVI in Appendix J.

our conclusions are subject to the proviso stated above (p. 358). Can we from this table come to any conclusions about tension among matrikin in general? It will be remembered that Ceŵa regard the matrilineage as the natural arena for quarrels that lead to sorcery; and that they usually phrase this by saying that matrilineal relatives who quarrel, being unable to avail themselves of the normal machinery of arbitration, 'leave [unspoken] words of speech with one another', with the result that they practise sorcery against one another (cf. Chapter 7, pp. 323-24). More rarely, they say of such people who have quarrelled that they 'grasp [accuse] one another [of] sorcery' (see Chapter 7, p. 322). Table XXX certainly shows that about half the accusers and sorcerers in the sample were matrilineally related.

We have already observed that, within the general category we are examining, the sub-category formed by persons belonging to the same matrilineage-segment is productive of relatively few accusations of sorcery—especially when compared with the one formed by those belonging to different segments. Another sub-category, that comprising matrilineal relatives whose segment membership was classified as indeterminate, produces even fewer accusations (four or five per cent). Most of the relationships included in this category were those between mother's own brother and own sister's son. This finding is at variance with the impression I formed, from what people said, of a considerable degree of tension between partners in this relationship.

The second major category of Table XXX, persons related but not matrilineally, accounts for about two-fifths

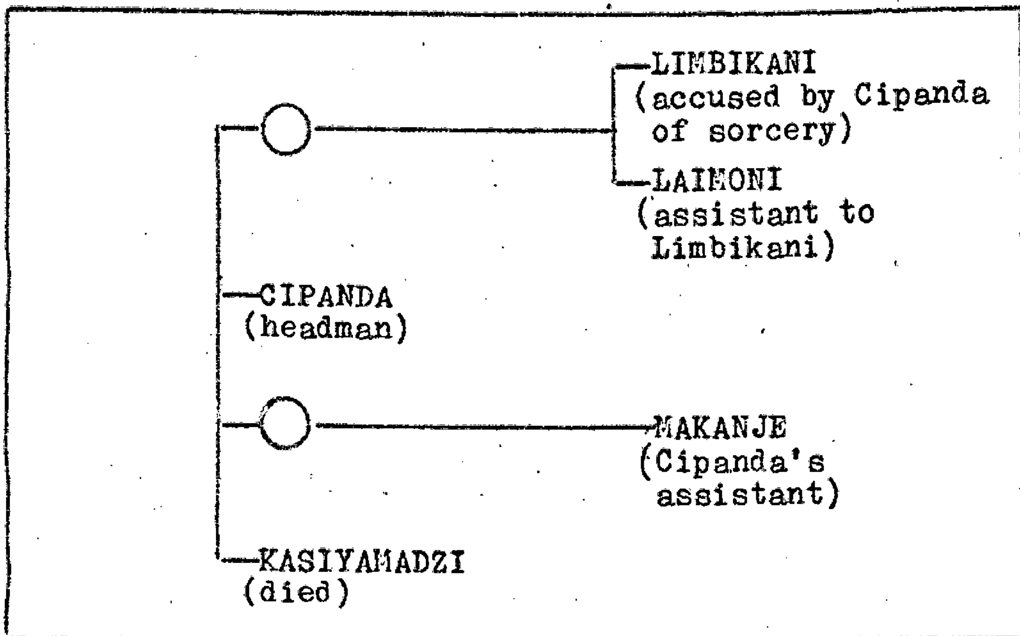


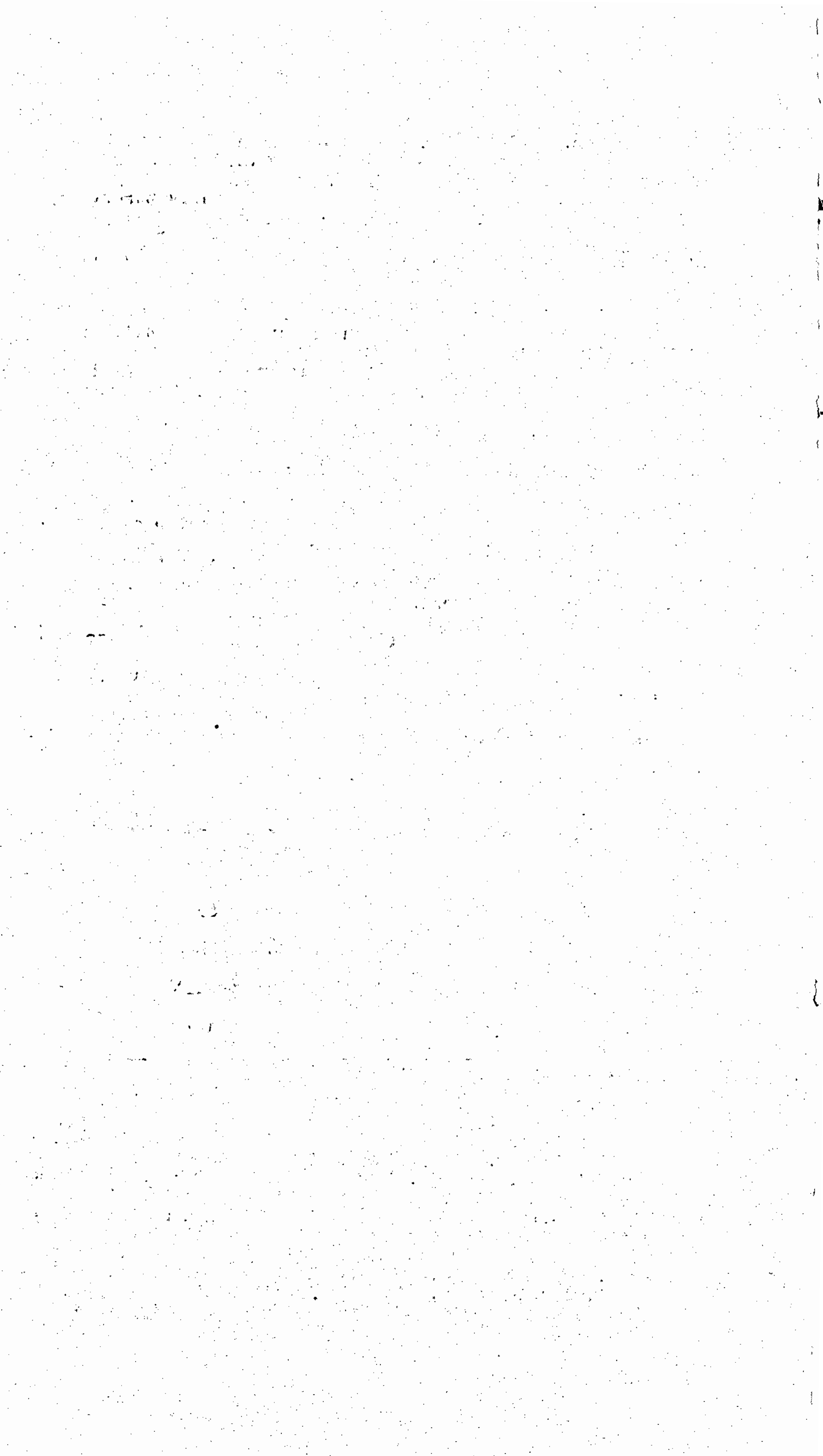
Fig. 13—To Illustrate Case No. 6

of the cases. Within it, the sub-category of affines makes up between a quarter and a third of the whole sample. The third major category, unrelated persons, forms but a small proportion of the sample.

This brief survey of statistical hints provides us with starting points for the discussion of other instances of our general hypothesis. It suggests that, in the context of sorcery, the relationship between mother's brother and sister's son is not often hostile; that affinal relationships are considerably more hostile than informants' statements would suggest; and that unrelated persons are not often involved in the paired rôles of accuser and sorcerer. The numbers of cases supporting these propositions are, however, too small to permit of our doing anything more than use the statistics as a starting point; and we shall have to resort to the method of illustrating rather than testing the remaining instances of the hypothesis.

Although Table XXX suggests that the relationship between mother's brother and sister's son is not often hostile, case material can be presented to show that, though social norms demand co-operation in this relationship, it can be a tense one, especially when questions of succession are involved.

> <u>Case No. 6</u> (see Fig. 13): Before the Europeans came, Cipanda was an important headman across the Kapoche river. Disagreeing with the policy of his chief, he retired from his headmanship and for many years lived as an unimportant village headman in another chiefdom. In his village, his junior assistant was his younger sister's son, Makanje, in whose favour he had, for reasons of personality, passed over his elder sister's son, Limbikani. After some years in retirement, Cipanda received a reconciliatory invitation from his former chief to return to the important position he had held. However, now being old, he sent his younger brother, Kasiyamadzi, in his stead, with Limbikani as his assistant. Shortly after taking up his appointment, Kasiyamadzi



died; and Cipanda accused Limbikani of having killed him with sorcery. Limbikani denied this and demanded a poison ordeal. As the poison made him purge, he was considered guilty; but Cipanda, probably through a lack of interest in his former headmanship, did nothing to prevent Limbikani from succeeding to it; and Limbikani is now the incumbent, with his younger brother, Laimoni, as his assistant.

The discovery that, in from a quarter to a third of the sample, accusations of sorcery occurred between affines came as a surprise to me after my having noted in 1952 that in a sample of twenty cases there was not a single instance of either a believed attack or an accusation involving affines. While allowing for the possibility that a sample as small as twenty could have missed accusations or suspicions between affines, I suggested that their incidence was low because (a) avoidance relationships would prevent the development of tension between affines of proximate generations and (b) joking relationships would permit of the harmless discharge of tensions developing between affines of the same or of alternate generations[6]. With the extension of my sample of cases from twenty to 101, a considerable change occurs, rendering the explanation I gave in 1952 unnecessary and pointing to the dangers of generalizing from too few observations. The extended case material suggests that affinal relationships are so tense that the traditional circumscription of behaviour between affines, which is an important feature of Ceŵa social organization, is not adequate as a means of controlling hostility; and that this is expressed in accusations of sorcery. It would seem that attachment to a sibling (as in Case No. 7, below), to a child (as in No. 8) or to a spouse (as in No. 9) may break down the bar-

[6]Marwick, 'The Social Context of Cewa Witch Beliefs', p. 227.

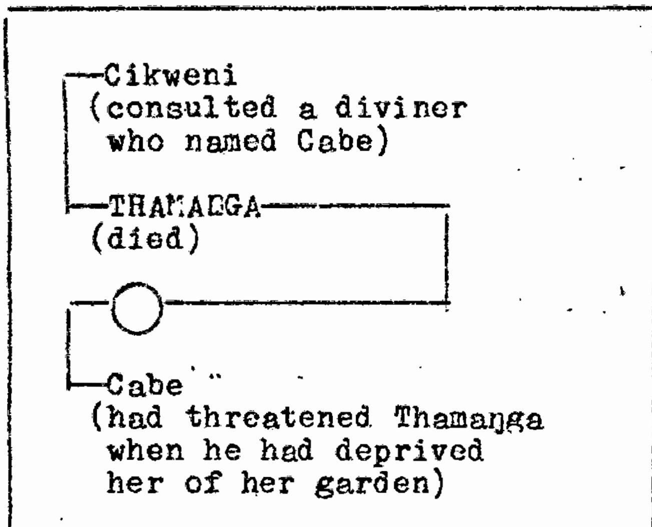


Fig. 14—To Illustrate Case No. 7

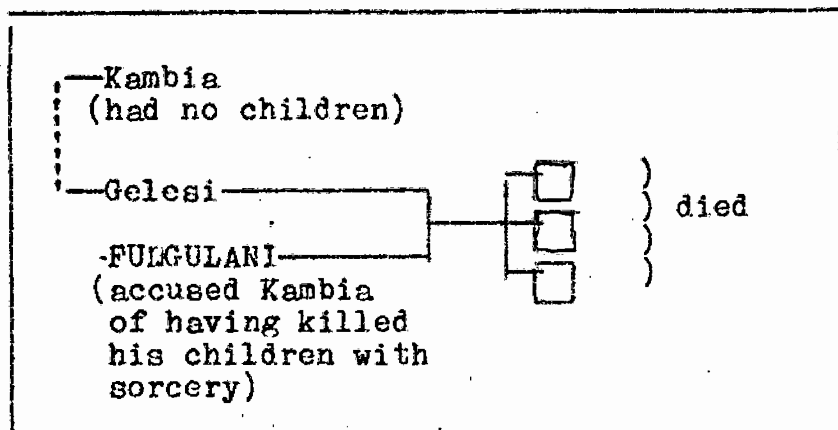


Fig. 15—To Illustrate Case No. 8

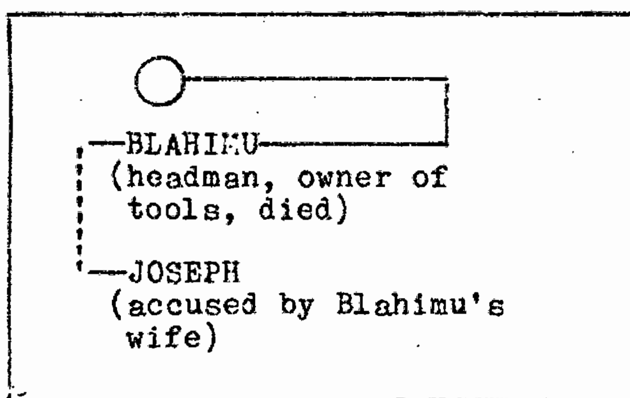


Fig. 16—To Illustrate Case No. 9

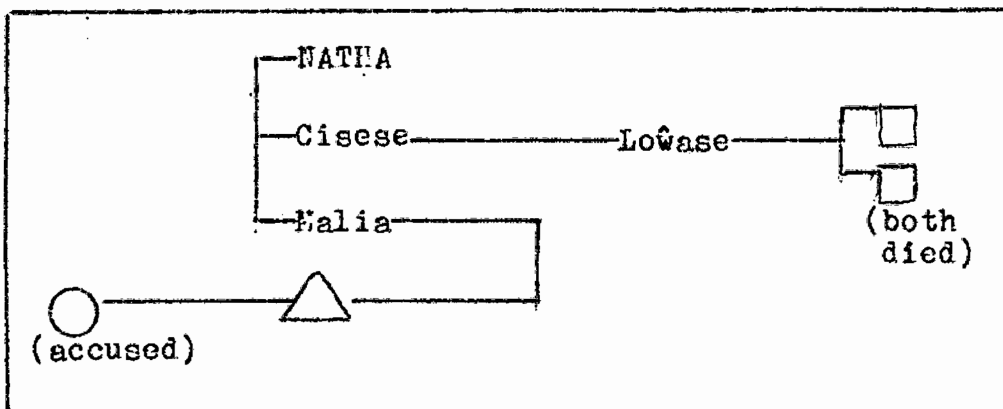


Fig. 17—To Illustrate Case No. 10

riers erected by the prescription of interaction between affines. Or, if the guilt of the sorcerer is clear because of his reputation (as in Cases Nos. 10 and 11) or because of something he said or did (as in Cases Nos. 7 and 12), an affine may be the one to formulate the accusation.

Case No. 7 (see Fig. 14): Thamaŋga, a village elder, gave his wife's sister, Cabe, a garden. Later he took it back, and in her anger she said, 'Thou, we'll see the manner in which you'll stay in your garden (Iwe, tione m'mene udzakhalila m'munda mwanu)'. When he died, his sister, Cikweni, went to a diviner who told her that Thamaŋga had been killed by the sorcery of Cabe.

Case No. 8 (see Fig. 15): Fuŋgulani and his wife, Gelesi, had three children. Gelesi's elder classificatory sister, Kambia, had no children. When all three of their children died, Fuŋgulani accused Kambia of having killed them with sorcery out of jealousy; and later, it is said, he killed her by giving her poisoned snuff.

Case No 9 (see Fig. 16): When Headman Blahimu died after drinking kacaso with his junior classificatory brother, Joseph, Blahimu's wife, who had seen Joseph inviting her husband to drink with him, accused Joseph of having killed him by putting medicine in his drink. People believed that Joseph wanted full ownership of Blahimu's carpenter's tools, which at the time he had on loan.

Case No. 10 (see Fig. 17): When Loŵase lost two of her children, she went to a diviner in company with her mother, Cisese, her mother's brother, Natha, and her mother's sister Malia. The diviner found that the children had been killed by the sorcery of Malia's husband's mother, Baileti, who was said to have an addiction for human flesh and who, the diviner affirmed, had killed the second of the two children because she had not liked the taste of the first one.

Case No. 11 (see Fig. 18): Dailesi died during her third pregnancy. Although before her death she had quarrelled with her elder sister, Manjase, 'they always blame Maŋgose [Dailesi's husband's mother] in that family because she is a notorious sorcerer'. And so it was on this occasion. Dailesi's brother, Wotini, went to the diviner, and Maŋgose was the one named.

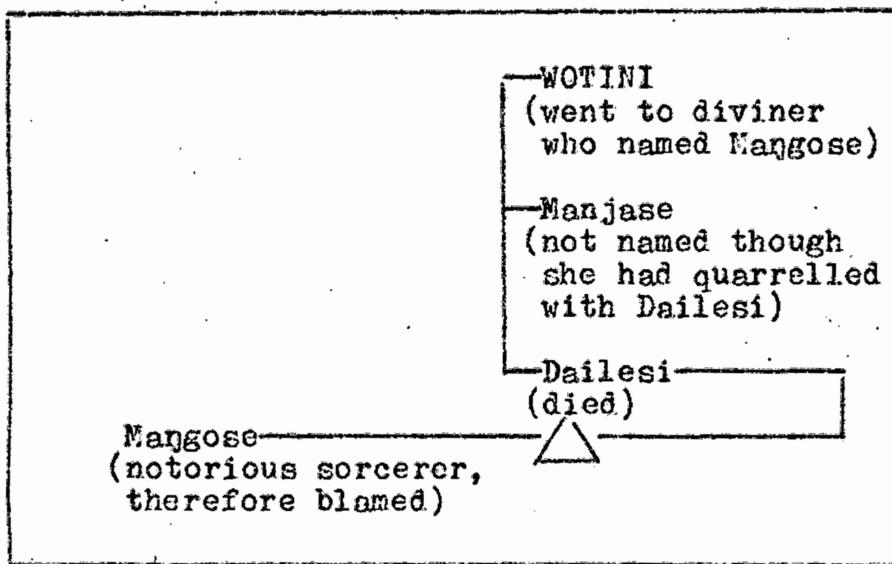


Fig. 18—To Illustrate Case No. 11

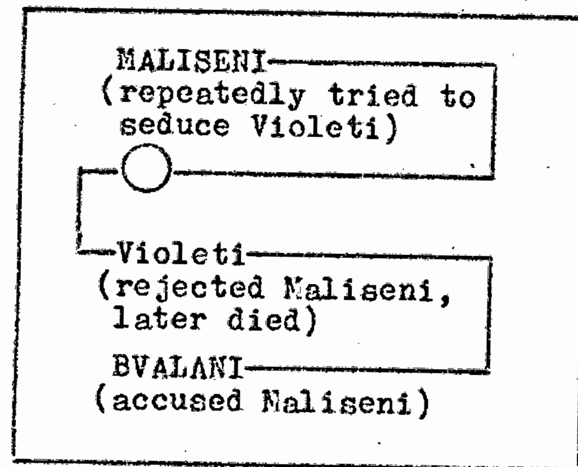


Fig. 19—To Illustrate Case No. 12

Case No. 12 (see Fig. 19): Maliseni tried on several occasions to seduce his wife's sister, Violeti, but she consistently rejected him. Violeti's husband, Bvalani, knew about his advances; and, when Violeti died, he accused Maliseni of having killed her with sorcery in revenge for her having rejected him.

Although, as we have noted (above, p.361), unrelated persons are not often paired as accuser and sorcerer, in all nine cases in which they were, either a severe quarrel or intense rivalry had preceded the accusation. In four of these cases, the sorcerer's motive was believed to be sexual jealousy, his wife or betrothed having been seduced by a close relative of the victim; and the accuser, recognizing this strong motivation, and aware of the guilt of the victim's relative, had little or no difficulty in inferring who the sorcerer was. In the fifth case, there had been a serious quarrel at work on a tobacco farm between the victim and the African foreman (kapitao), and the latter was blamed for her death. The remaining four cases arose out of political rivalry; in two, the accuser and sorcerer were village-section leaders competing for overall headmanship of the village; in the third, they were supporters of rival candidates for an important chieftainship; and, in the last, the victim's wife accused a territorial chief of having killed her husband, who, before his death, had succeeded in an appeal to the Paramount Chief against a decision of the territorial chief.

Of these nine cases, the following two are given as examples of cases arising from sexual jealousy and political rivalry respectively.

Case No. 13: Zechariah betrothed a girl and then went to work in Southern Rhodesia. After he had been there three years, the girl said, 'How's this? When he left me, I was but a child. Now I am a grown woman. Now

I'll form a liaison with a man'. This she proceeded to do, with Abelo. Zechariah received a letter from his sister in which she reported the infidelity of his betrothed; and he wrote back to her, 'How is it that my betrothed has taken on with Abelo? Did he not know that I had betrothed her? She will see [i.e., experience] something!' And he signed his letter with the drawing of a lion. After a month, lions came and took one of Abelo's beasts. Next day they caught another; and, the following day, yet another. But when the lions came to catch Abelo himself, they failed to get him; and went back again to Southern Rhodesia where they were received by their master [Zechariah]. Zechariah now procured medicine which he sent through the air, and with it he killed Abelo's mother, three of his sisters, two of his mother's younger sisters, two of his younger brothers, his mother's mother and his mother's brother. The accuser, Abelo, did not need to make enquiries; to him it was obvious who the sorcerer was.

Case No. 14: Katete and Kasinda (see above, Case No. 1, p. 352) were rivals for a chieftainship, that of Kabambo. One day a messenger reported to one of Katete's friends, Filipo, that one of his rival's supporters, Cimteŋgo, on hearing of the Paramount Chief's intention to support Katete's candidature, had said that he disagreed : that Katete might have a right to succeed, but only after the death of Kasinda. He had added the threat, 'If Katete doesn't die, there'll be a war (Ngati A Katete sadzafa mpaka ŋkhondo idzacitika)'. Subsequently Filipo was informed by some of Katete's relatives that they overheard Cimteŋgo saying, 'The moon is old. If Katete is alive by the next moon, he will be lucky'. Filipo claims that Cimteŋgo has been attempting to kill Katete with sorcery.

It may be worth noting that, in Case No. 13, Zechariah's revenge, in that it was in some measure justified, might have been classified as vengeance magic rather than sorcery; for our definition of sorcery includes the idea that it is illegitimate. Against this it may be argued, however, that Zechariah could have sued Abelo in the Chief's court instead of adopting the extreme measures he chose; and that, in any case, he took his revenge rather far.

This case is a good illustration of Mayer's contention (see Chapter 2, pp. 60-61) that 'people who have both possibilities may still prefer to accuse each other of witchcraft rather than pick a legal quarrel' because 'they

do not want to be reconciled. What they want is an excuse for rupture'. This excuse is imputed to Zechariah, who, it is assumed, found the killing of his rival or of his rival's cattle and relatives the only satisfying way of avenging as serious a wrong as that of being cuckolded. And its very imputation is a far more effective way of breaking an unendurable relationship than anything as mild as 'agreeing to disagree' or 'parting in a friendly spirit'.

Conclusion

The cases that have been presented in this chapter illustrate most of the points of the structural part of our hypothesis. Those concerning rivalry between segments show that tension develops when objects or status competed for are highly valued and when social prescription is not clear. In such cases, it is not clear because of a conflict between two principles, the succession rule and the importance attached to personal qualifications for headmanship. The third variable in the formula for tension, that interaction should be personal rather than segmental, is not conspicuously demonstrated, since it is, in the cases we have presented, a constant (present) factor. It is the factor that explains why the world over (see Chapter 1, pp. 37ff.) accusations and suspicions of sorcery and witchcraft occur only between persons known to each other, such as relatives and neighbours.

When we consider factors that determine whether tension will be expressed in the medium of beliefs in sorcery rather than in some other way, we again encounter variables that go largely unnoticed because—in the Ceŵa situation at least—they are constant. Explanations of mis-

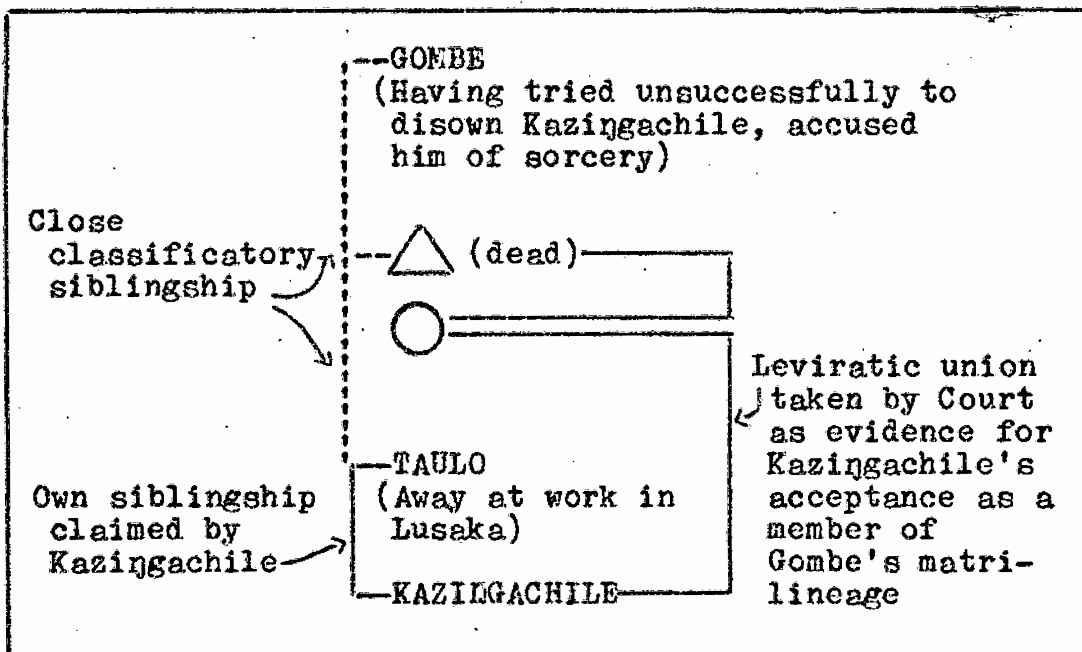


Fig. 20—To Illustrate Case No. 15

fortunes in terms of sorcery are congruent with traditional beliefs that are still universally shared; and disease and death, for which no scientific explanations are traditionally available, are frequent enough to provide raw material for such explanations. The remaining factor, that alternative means of expressing tension should be ineffective or not preferred, has been demonstrated in one of the cases (No. 13), but could probably be amplified by another illustration.

> Case No. 15 (see Fig. 20 and Chapter 4, p. 201): Kaziŋgachile came from Nyasaland and claimed membership of Headman Gombe's matrilineage, saying that he was the younger brother of Taulo, Gombe's classificatory brother (mother'smother's sister's daughter's son) who was domiciled at Gombe's village but was away at work in Lusaka. Gombe, after questioning him, accepted him as a member of his matrilineage, and, in time, went so far as to choose him to enter a leviratic union (kulowa cokolo) with the widow of another of his classificatory brothers. Later, when it became apparent that Kaziŋgachile was a scoundrel, Gombe tried to disown him, but the Court argued that, since he had accepted him as a 'younger brother'—particularly since he had chosen him to contract a leviratic union on behalf of his matrilineage—, he was, as headman of the matrilineage, responsible for his actions. Gombe then accused Kaziŋgachile of being a sorcerer, recalling how he had been discovered cutting bark from a tree at the graveyard and collecting soil from where his wife had urinated, both highly sinister actions.

Gombe's accusation would probably not have been made if the Court had confirmed and not rejected his disowning of Kaziŋgachile.

The cases cited as examples of the formulation, in terms of beliefs in sorcery, of tensions between matrilineage-segments (Nos. 1-5) illustrate the hypothesis that accusations of sorcery, as instances of social conflict, have the function of facilitating the rupture of close, personal, and normally indissoluble, relationships. The case just presented (No. 15) is a further illustration of this principle, with the difference that the relationship between

Gombe and Kazingachile, though it might well not have been one of actual kinship, was, by a court ruling, sustained as if it were.

It will have been noted that, in certain cases, the tense relationship of which the accusation was an expression was one partly or entirely brought about by conditions resulting from modern social changes. For instance, in Cases Nos. 2 and 7 (see above, pp. 352 and 363 respectively), the quarrel was in some measure intensified by the shortage of fertile land in the Ceŵa Reserve; in Case No. 9 (see above, p. 363), the desire to inherit his victim's carpenter's tools was attributed to the sorcerer; and in Case No. 13 (see above, pp. 364-65), Zechariah's absence at work in Southern Rhodesia appears to have precipitated his betrothed's infidelity, which led to the extreme vengeance he wreaked upon her lover. In general, it may be noted that the socio-economic differentiation brought about by Ceŵa involvement in the world economy, competition over cattle, money and other new forms of property, uncertainty over the recognition of political leadership by the Administration—all these exacerbate, if they do not actually cause, tensions between Ceŵa. However, since modern conditions are more clearly reflected in normative conflicts, we shall postpone a fuller discussion of the effects of modern influences until the next chapter.

CHAPTER TEN

THE NORMATIVE ASPECTS OF CEŴA SORCERY

It will be recalled that, in Part I, we detected in the literature and extended by logical examination an hypothesis which for convenience we labelled 'normative'. This hypothesis, which may be regarded as a derivative of the 'social mould' theory of Durkheim and his successors, affirms that beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft provide a medium for the dramatization and reinforcement of social norms. It has two parts. According to the first, sorcerers and witches, who by definition are enemies of men, provide useful symbols for distinguishing and stigmatizing social evils. According to the second, their victims, though regarded more as fools than as knaves, sometimes play a similar rôle when the misfortunes they have suffered are retrospectively attributed to those of their traits and actions that invited attack. A corollary to both parts of the normative hypothesis is that beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft, because of their conservative, stabilizing functions, are thrown into sharp relief when an indigenous normative system is threatened by the intrusion of a foreign one.

To what extent does the case material we have been examining confirm these propositions? Firstly, do Ceŵa sorcerers serve as symbols for distinguishing and stigmatizing socially disapproved conduct and characteristics? Secondly, do their victims exemplify Ceŵa conceptions of

TABLE XXXI—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FIRST SORCERERS NAMED IN THE 101 CASES OF TABLE X IN WHICH THE MISFORTUNE WAS ATTRIBUTED TO SORCERERS' ATTACKING NON-SORCERERS

Characteristics	Number of Cases	
Socially disapproved:		
Already a known sorcerer	17	
Jealous or greedy	9	
Quarrelsome or threatening	7	
Involved in sinister activities, e.g. incest, hunting magic	5	
Impotent or sterile	4	
Other socially disapproved	7	
		49
Not socially disapproved		52
Total reconciled with Table X		101

unwise, if not anti-social, tendencies? Thirdly, are modern conditions of social change reflected in cases having normative or moral implications ?

Evil Personified

Table XXXI shows that forty-nine, or slightly under half, of the 101 sorcerers in the sample analyzed in Chapter 8 were believed to have had anti-social traits before being involved in the real or believed episode recorded. Of these forty-nine, seventeen, or about a third, were described as already or habitually sorcerers; and all but two of the seventeen were, or would have been, classified as 'real nfiti' rather than 'killers-for-malice'. With only two exceptions, my records do not reveal what more specific traits may have been hidden in this sub-category —traits which might originally have created the reputation of being a sorcerer. One man acquired such a reputation because he was in the habit of entertaining others with conjuring tricks; and another (see below, Cases Nos. 16 and 17 on p. 371), because he was impotent.

A further third of the forty-nine cases (nine plus seven) were ones in which the sorcerer was described as jealous, greedy, quarrelsome or threatening; and the remainder were ones in which he or she was involved in activities of a sinister nature associated with sorcery, or was impotent or sterile, or was considered a bad character for some reason other than those already cited.

Those falling into the first sub-category, i.e., alleged sorcerers who, when they were accused, already had the reputation of being sorcerers, provide us with an in-

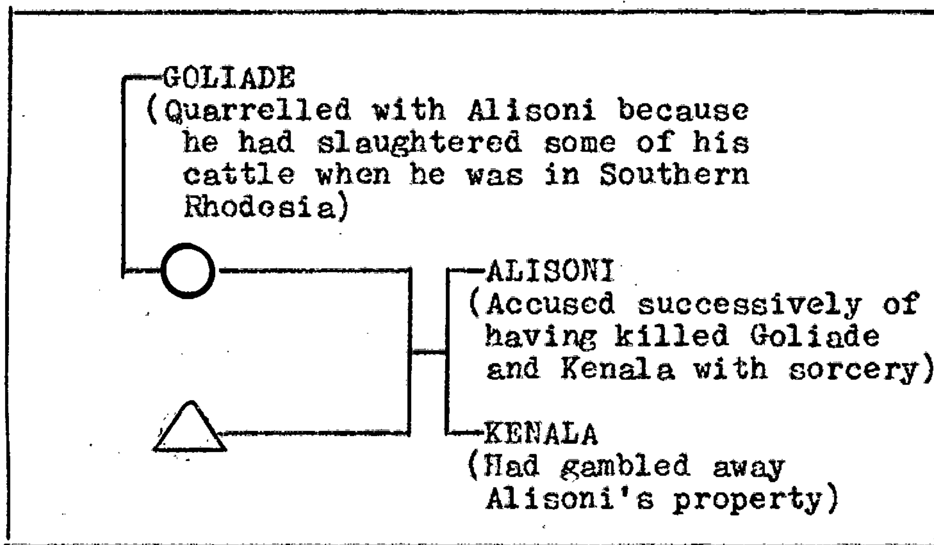


Fig. 21—To Illustrate Cases Nos. 16 and 17

stance of how the structural hypothesis, tested in the last chapter, and the normative one, being illustrated here, may interact. In Case No. 11 (see Chapter 9, p. 363), although before her death the victim had quarrelled with her elder sister, it was her husband's mother, Maŋgose, who was accused of having killed her 'because they always blame Maŋgose in that family because she is a notorious sorcerer'. In other words, the tension between sisters was not expressed in the accusation because it could be deflected on to someone defined by social norms as an appropriate scapegoat. I did not personally know the alleged sorcerer in this case; but in another, of a somewhat similar type, in which I did, I noted that he was said to be impotent, was highly strung, volatile, and in general temperamentally unsuited to playing the role of the Ceŵa ideal man, who is defined (see Chapter 6, pp. 253ff.) as meek, controlled and unaggressive. This unfortunate misfit figured in the following two cases as well as in three others not included in the sample because the records of them were not full enough.

> Case No. 16 (see Fig. 21): Alisoni and his mother's brother, Goliade, quarrelled because, during Goliade's absence at work in Southern Rhodesia, Alisoni had taken some of Goliade's cattle and slaughtered them without his permission. When Goliade, after his return home, died, people in the village thought that he had been killed by the sorcery of Alisoni because, they said, Alisoni wanted his mother's brother's property and, anyway, was a sorcerer because he was impotent.

> Case No. 17 (see Fig. 21): His fellow villagers say that Alisoni killed his younger brother, Kenala, with sorcery because, on his return from a visit to Fort Jameson, he discovered that Kenala had been gambling and had taken his [Alisoni's] tie, shirt and shoes to meet his gambling debts.

Although, in the second of these two cases, the victim had been at fault (and will be referred to in the next section of this chapter), Alisoni was regarded as having taken his punishment of him beyond reasonable limits.

An example of how an accusation of sorcery may result from a person's being involved in practices of a sinister nature is the following :-

Case No. 18: In 1950, an adolescent girl, Adelaida, on going to fetch water, disappeared. When the people of her village missed her, they searched, but could not find her. Then someone discovered her head on the hut-verandah of her mother's brother, Kamaŋgani, and, near it, the footprint of a small leopard. Kamaŋgani had the reputation of using nfumba magic for enticing other people's crops from their gardens into his. The people accused him of sending a leopard-familiar to kill his sister's daughter so that he might have her skull to put in his grain-store to increase his maize at other people's expense. He denied the accusation and invited them to search his hut for the familiar. While they were doing so, the leopard escaped through a window. His guilt, in the eyes of the people of the village, was confirmed when he ran away. He went mad; and the last time they saw him—in 1951—he was wandering around naked. He has not been seen since, and probably died in the bush.

The characters of accused sorcerers vary from those of unmitigated scoundrels like Kaziŋgachile (See Chapter 9, Case No. 15, p. 367) to tragic figures, like Eledia in the next case, whom the course of events has driven into socially disapproved behaviour.

Case No. 19 (see below, Fig. 29, facing p. 379): Johani and Eledia married while still young and both became Christians, Johani eventually being employed as an evangelist by one of the missions. After some years, Johani made another woman, Etelina, pregnant and married her (polygynously), with the result that he was discharged from the mission. This was a great disappointment to Eledia, who had been considerably impressed by Christian values. She did not adjust herself to her husband's polygyny as she should have done according to indigenous Ceŵa norms; but, in spite of this, Johani's sisters (who lived in the village of which he was headman) sided with her against their brother and his second wife, Etelina. One day Johani and Etelina discovered a medicine-horn in the roof of the brick house on either side of which Eledia and Etelina lived, and accused Eledia of attempting to kill them with sorcery.

Victims May Get Their Deserts

The case just presented provides a convenient link with the next way in which beliefs in sorcery may vindicate

TABLE XXXII—TYPES OF MISDEMEANOUR ATTRIBUTED TO THE VICTIM OR HIS ASSOCIATE IN THE 117 CASES IN TABLE X THAT HAD MORAL IMPLICATIONS

Type of Misdemeanour	Cases Involving Beliefs in Sorcery	Cases Not Invovling Beliefs in Sorcery	Total
Failure to discharge traditional obligations	16	7	23
Sexual promiscuity	1	16	17
Being a sorcerer	17	-	17
Being conspicuously fortunate	12	-	12
Being quarrelsome, aggressive etc	9	1	10
Failure to perform ritual, breach of taboo etc.	-	10	10
Dishonesty, theft etc.	4	6	10
Adultery, sexual jealousy etc.	7	-	7
Being mean or avaricious	5	-	5
Others (drunkenness, lack of virility, being unsociable)	-	6	6
	71	46	117

$\chi^2 = 78.811$; $p < .001$.

social norms, i.e., by attributing socially disapproved behaviour to the victim; for Johani, from one viewpoint at least, was unwise to destroy Eledia's happiness and his carreer with the mission, and got, or narrowly escaped, his due.

It will be recalled that, in Table X (see Chapter 8, facing p. 331), the 194 cases of misfortune recorded during the course of my field-work were classified <u>inter alia</u> according to whether or not they had moral implications in regard to the previous actions of the victim or of someone associated with him. In eighty-three cases, the victim of the misfortune had, in terms of Ceŵa social norms, been at fault; and, in a further thirty-four, someone closely associated with him, such as a kinsman or friend, had been at fault. Of these 117 cases with moral implications, seventy-one were ones involving beliefs in sorcery; and forty-six (already referred to in Chapter 6, pp. 259ff.) did not involve such beliefs. The types of misdemeanours of which victims or their associates had been guilty are shown in Table XXXII.

To what extent do the cases entered in the first column of the table, those involving beliefs in sorcery, provide illustrations, if negative ones, of the Ceŵa social norms analyzed in Chapter 6? The following moral defects were attributed retrospectively to victims or their close associates (in descending order of frequency of mention) :- being a sorcerer, failure to discharge traditional obligations, being conspicuously fortunate, being quarrelsome, aggressive etc., being involved in adultery or similar misdemeanours, being mean or avaricious, being dishonest and (only one case) being sexually promiscuous.

A comparison of this distribution with that shown in the second column of the table, for cases not involving beliefs in sorcery, reveals that, with the exception of two categories of misdemeanour, viz., failure to discharge traditional obligations and dishonesty, there is virtually no overlapping of the two distributions, the general association of types of misdemeanour with types of sanction being statistically of extreme significance ($\chi^2 = 78.811$; $p < .001$). Thus, when misfortunes are attributed—in part at least—to the sexual promiscuity of the victim or his associate, they are almost exclusively ones regarded as the consequences of breaking a taboo. Conversely, being conspicuously fortunate is a moral defect (at least in Ceŵa eyes) which is, in the cases under review, sanctioned entirely by cases involving beliefs in sorcery.

Case No 17 (see above, p. 371) provided us with a straightforward example of how a victim's misfortune may be attributed to a previous wrong. Kenala gambled away his elder brother's property, and, so people believed, was subsequently the victim of his sorcery. Other cases of a similar kind are the following :-

> <u>Case No. 20</u>: Two young men, Thawani and Batizani, were unrelated friends living in the same village. Batizani went to work in the district and returned home one night to find his friend Thawani committing adultery with his wife. He refused to take any legal action against Thawani; but, soon after this, went to Nyasaland. He returned from Nyasaland on a Thursday. On the Friday Thawani became unwell, and by the Saturday he was dangerously ill. People began to ask Batizani, 'Seeing that you came back on Thursday and your friend became dangerously ill on Saturday, what are we to think here in the village?' After they had spoken thus, on the Sunday Thawani died. Their own village headman being away, they called in the headman of a neighbouring village to question Batizani. Everyone, especially Thawani's brother, Waitisoni, believed that Batizani had brought 'medicines' with him from Nyasaland, where 'medicines' are reputed to be powerful,

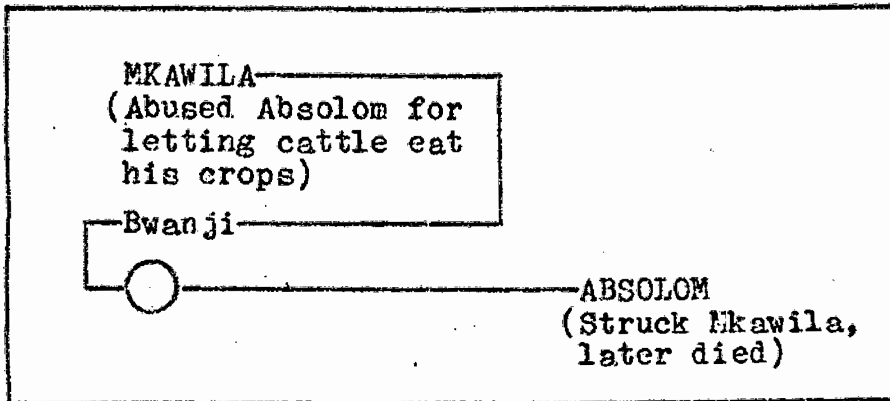


Fig. 22—To Illustrate Case No. 21

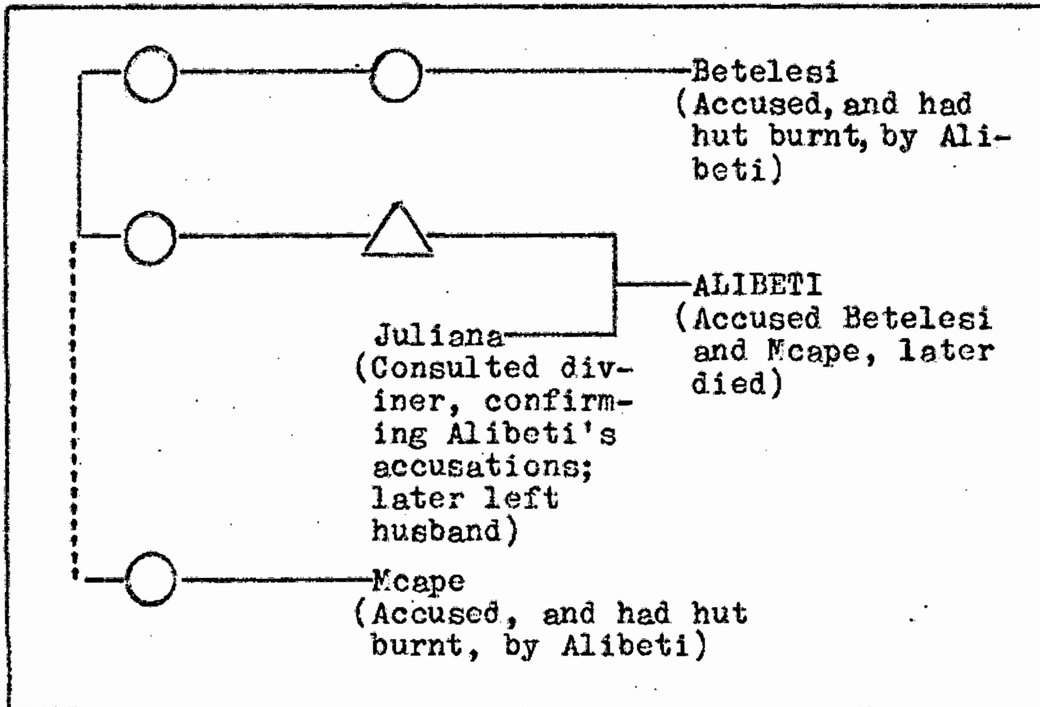


Fig. 23—To Illustrate Case No. 23

and had killed his former friend with them. The fact that he had refused to take any legal action against him was taken as a sign of his intention to kill Thawani with sorcery.

Case No. 21 (see Fig. 22): Absolom was a boy of about fifteen years. One day the cattle he was herding strayed into the garden of his mother's sister, Bwanji, and started eating the crops there. When Bwanji's husband, Mkawila, returned to the village, he started abusing Absolom. Absolom struck him. Mkawila then said, 'It is not right that I should be beaten by a child; the child [doing so] should die'. After only two weeks Absolom suffered from a headache and died the same afternoon. The people said to Mkawila, 'See, you, his [classificatory] father, said the child should die. See, he's died now'. They reported the matter to the Chief who, however, refused to take any action because, he said, he dealt only with cases in which people had seen medicines being poured [i.e., with cases he might refer to the Administration as suspected murder by poisoning].

Case No. 22: Lilani was killed by the sorcery of his new wife. He had angered her by spending a longer time with his first wife than with her.

Case No. 23 (see Fig. 23): In May 1950, a puppy belonging to Alibeti went mad, and he caught it and tied it up. It escaped, and he caught it again; but this time it bit him on the finger. He went to the dispensary at Kaŋkhomba village, but, as there was no medicine there for this complaint, they advised him to go to the St Francis Mission Hospital, which, however, he neglected to do. In August he began to be ill. He vomited and could not drink water, just as a dog cannot when it has the disease of the dogs. His father and mother tried various remedies but with no avail. Alibeti complained to his father, saying, 'I am being killed by your kind (mtundu, which may be translated here as "matrikin"), Father', without naming any of them specifically. His father listened sympathetically to this allegation because he was very fond of his son, something that had already incurred the anger of his matrikin. Alibeti then went mad and burnt down the huts of two of his father's matrikin, of Mcape, his father's mother's mother's sister's daughter, and of Betelesi, his father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter, accusing them of practising sorcery against him. He died, and Betelesi stayed away from his funeral. His mother, Juliana, then consulted a diviner who confirmed her son's accusations; and, for this reason, she subsequently left her husband.

In this last case, not the victim, but an associate, his father, was the one who had been unwise. He had not resolved the conflict of loyalties a man feels towards his children and his matrikin; and, as a result, he lost, not

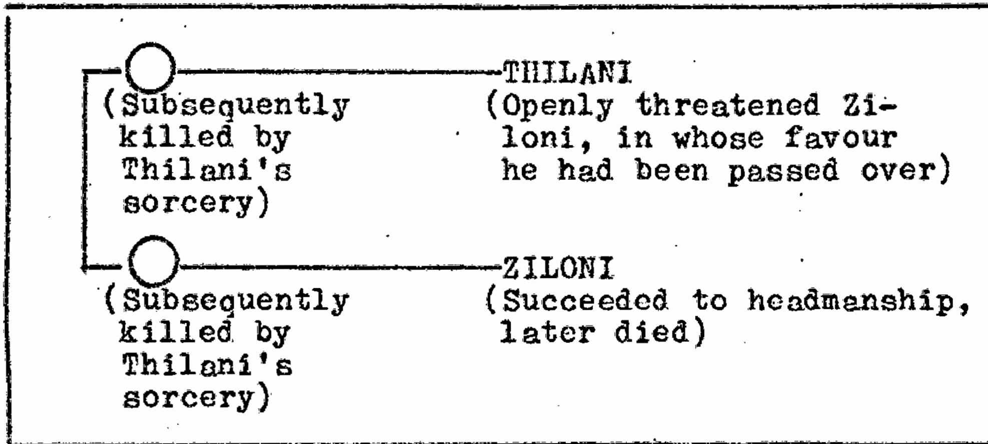


Fig. 24—To Illustrate Case No. 24

only his beloved son, but also his wife 'who had been with him for many years and borne him many children'.

Sometimes cases related to structural opposition, such as Nos. 1 and 2 (see Chapter 9, p. 352), illustrate the principle that a person who is conspicuously fortunate may be the believed victim of sorcery. The successful heir in a succession dispute, especially if his success is attributable to personal rather than genealogical qualification, is, in Ceŵa eyes, conspicuously fortunate and in danger of the sorcery of his opponents. The following case provides further illustration of this :-

> Case No. 24 (see Fig. 24): Thilani was the rightful heir to a junior headmanship, but was passed over in favour of Ziloni, who, though junior to him both genealogically and in years, was popular and looked upon as a more suitable candidate. Thilani quite openly—'as if he were mad'—threatened Ziloni, saying, 'I [shall] kill you this year (Nikupha caka cino)'. He carried out his threat, so say those who heard him make it, by putting 'medicines' in Ziloni's beer. Subsequently he was believed to have killed with sorcery his own mother and her sister, the mother of Ziloni, both of whom had sided with Ziloni against him.

Modern Conflicts of Values

The most conspicuous expression of modern value-conflicts in accusations and believed instances of sorcery is to be found in the objects of competition in quarrels and rivalries that preceded them. Such objects of competition and other issues of quarrels have already been presented—for sorcerers and victims in Chapter 8, p. 336, and Table XII in Appendix J; and, in part, for accusers and sorcerers in Chapter 9, *passim*. Of the categories into which the issues of quarrels fall, some, such as headmanship and the failure to discharge obligations towards kinsmen, include issues that could have arisen under the indigenous

TABLE XXXIII—INDIGENOUS OR MODERN INFLUENCES REFLECTED IN THE ISSUES OF QUARRELS PRECEDING ACCUSATIONS OF SORCERY OR INSTANCES OF BELIEVED ATTACK BY SORCERERS

Accusation or Instance Preceded by Quarrel over :-	Cases f	Cases %
Issue that could have arisen under indigenous conditions, e.g. involving headmanship, obligations between kinsmen, sexual jealousy	44	55.7
Issue apparently brought about by modern influences, e.g. involving cattle, other property, land rights	19	24.0
Issue that could have arisen under indigenous conditions but which seems to have been aggravated by modern influences, e.g. conflict of Ceŵa and Christian values, adultery related to labour migration	9	11.4
Unspecified iuuse	7	8.9
	79	100.0

Source: Table XII in Appendix J

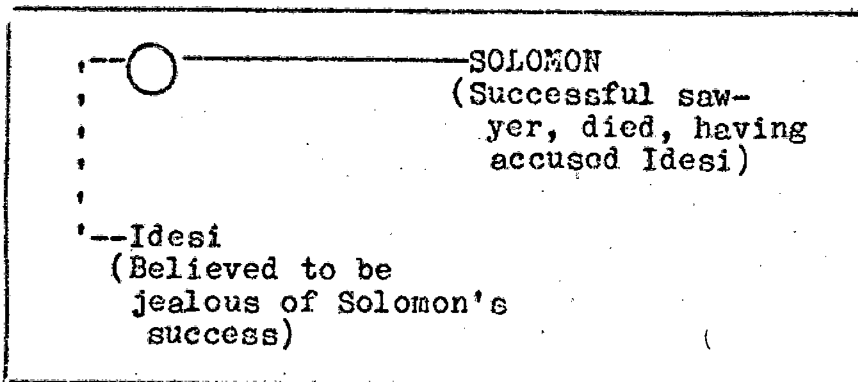


Fig. 25—To Illustrate Case No. 25

social system. Others, such as land, cattle and other forms of property, are clearly modern. Others, again, such as adultery, sexual jealousy and divorce, may, according to circumstances, be attributed to indigenous or to modern value-conflicts, or to both.

Reference to Table XII in Appendix J will show that there were seventy-two of the 101 cases comprising our sample in which the believed attack had been preceded by a quarrel—whether between sorcerer and victim or between accuser and sorcerer or between the close associates of any of them. Since two issues were involved in seven of these cases, there were altogether seventy-nine issues; and these have been classified in Table XXXIII. It appears that just over half of the issues could have arisen under indigenous conditions; that about a quarter were brought about by modern conditions; and that just under an eighth were ones in which indigenous stresses might have been aggravated by modern conditions.

We have seen how, even under indigenous conditions, being conspicuously fortunate is, in Cewa eyes, a moral transgression and is sometimes attributed to the victims of sorcery (see above, Case No. 24, p. 376). This danger becomes greater with the intrusion of modern goods and modern values. The following two cases portray clearly the conflict between Cewa norms of collective (matrilineage) ownership and Western individualism :-

Case No. 25 (see Fig. 25): Solomon died of epilepsy in 1950. People say that this illness dated from when he drank a small gourd of beer given him by his classificatory mother, Idesi. He remembered afterwards that it had given him a queer sensation, and he attributed his subsequent illness to it. He believed that Idesi was practising sorcery against him because he owned a

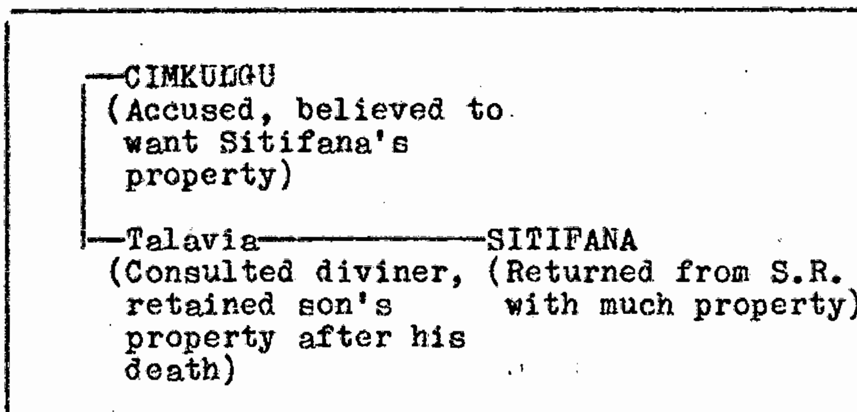


Fig. 26—To Illustrate Case No. 26

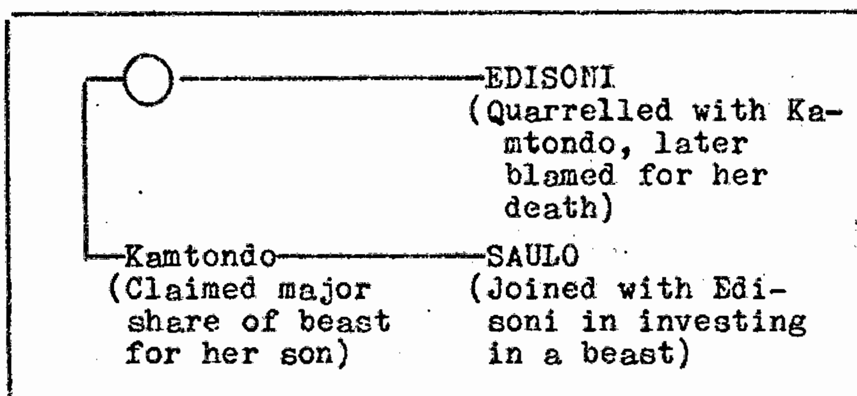


Fig. 27—To Illustrate Case No. 27

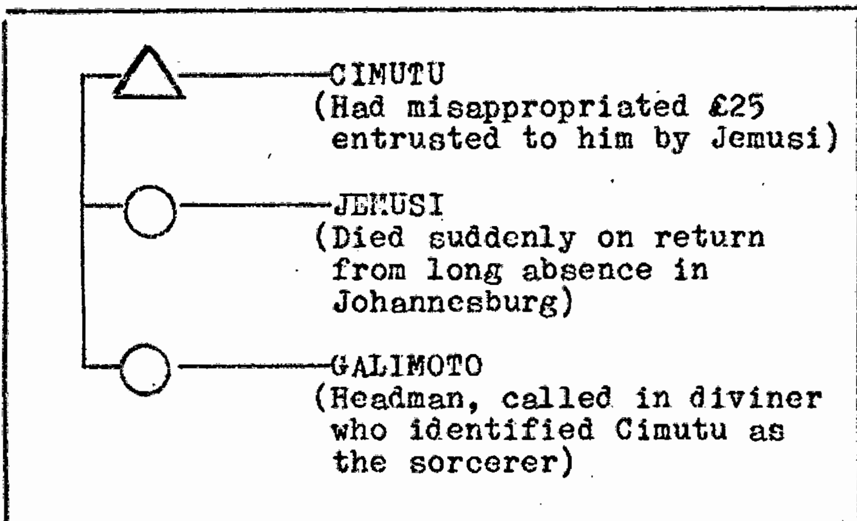


Fig. 28—To Illustrate Case No. 28

saw and made good money by sawing planks for sale. Idesi, who was poor, 'did not feel good on seeing him well-off', and, so he reasoned, wanted to kill him.

Case No. 26 (see Fig. 26): A young man called Sitifana returned from work in Southern Rhodesia with much property. Among his matrikin there were many who were poor and who wanted that property to be divided among them. One of them, his mother's brother, Cimkuŋgu, killed him with 'medicines'. Sitifana's mother, Talavia, went to a diviner who confirmed her suspicions against her brother, Cimkuŋgu. Talavia now retains her late son's property, arguing that Cimkuŋgu is not entitled to it, having killed him.

How other modern objects of competition may lead to disputes that culminate in accusations of sorcery is illustrated in the following cases. It is not necessarily the victim who fails to uphold the indigenous norms against the intrusive ones.

Case No. 27 (see Fig. 27): Two classificatory brothers, Edisoni and Saulo, the son of Edisoni's mother's sister, Kamtondo, went together to work in Southern Rhodesia, and invested their savings in a beast. Edisoni came home first, and a quarrel arose between him and Kamtondo, who claimed that her son, Saulo, had a major share in the beast. People believe that Edisoni killed her with sorcery.

Case No. 28 (see Fig. 28): Jemusi and his mother's brother's son, Cimutu, went together to work in Johannesburg. Cimutu returned home first, bringing £25 that he had been given by Jemusi to invest for him at home. Cimutu, however, without telling anyone at home, spent this money himself. Jemusi meanwhile stayed at work in Johannesburg for eighteen years. His kinsmen begged him to come home because they longed to see him again, and he came. On his arrival he complained of a headache, and within a week he was dead. The village headman, Galimoto, Jemusi's mother's younger sister's son (and, like Jemusi, a cross-cousin of Cimutu), consulted a diviner who said Jemusi had been killed by the sorcery of someone who had wasted £25 of his. Headman Galimoto invited the diviner to his village so that he could make a clearer identification. At the village, the diviner threw some 'medicines' into his bowl, which he had filled with water, and saw the image of Cimutu, with a medicine-horn in his hand, on the surface of the water. He called Cimutu and, pointing to the image, said, 'Who's this?' Cimutu admitted that it was himself. The diviner said, 'Do you still deny that you killed Jemusi?' Cimutu went away to his hut, crying with shame. Headman Galimoto said that the case should be taken before the Chief; but, before any action could

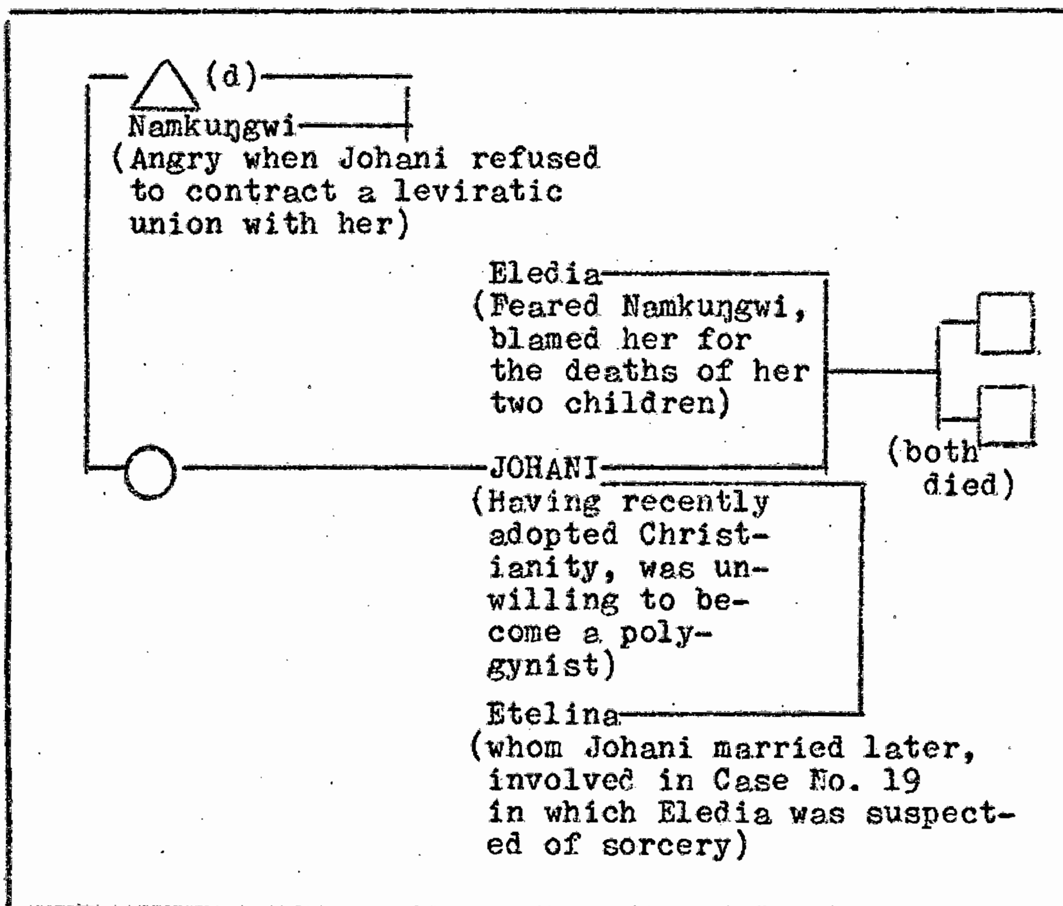


Fig. 29—To Illustrate Cases Nos. 19 and 29

be taken, Cimutu ran away in the middle of the night and went to Cape Town, where he was subsequently killed in a street accident.

Sometimes the specifically Christian element in modern values plays a part in the tensions leading to accusations of sorcery, as in this case,

Case No. 29 (see Fig. 29 and Case No. 19, above, p. 372): Soon after Johani and Eledia married, Johani's mother's brother, Matope, died. According to the Ceŵa custom of nepotal levirate (kulowa cokolo, which refers also to other forms of the levirate, as well as the sororate), Johani should have married his widow, Namkuŋgwi. As he and Eledia had recently been converted to Christianity, he refused to contract what would have been a polygynous marriage, and Namkuŋgwi was very angry about this. Eledia says of her, 'She used to threaten (kutembelela) Johani, and I wasn't happy until the day she died'. Before Namkuŋgwi's death, however, two of Eledia's children died, and she and her husband were sure that they were the victims of Namkuŋgwi's sorcery.

In Case No. 23 (see above, p. 375), we saw that, under indigenous conditions, a man may be torn by loyalties towards his matrikin and his children. This type of conflict sometimes occurs in a modern setting, as it did in Case No. 2 (see Chapter 9, p. 352), where it was played out in relation to the shortage of land, a modern phenomenon. The victim, Mtele, had given a garden that was claimed by his sister's son, Zabdiel, to his own son; and this led to the dispute that was cited when Zabdiel was accused of having killed him with sorcery.

Normative Functions of the 'Anti-Witchcraft' Movements

The dramatization of social norms in stories of witchcraft and sorcery periodically reaches a climax when anti-witchcraft or anti-sorcery (the choice of term depending on the societies concerned) sweep across the country. Brief descriptions of some of those affecting

the Ceŵa have been given in an earlier chapter (see Chapter 7, pp. 320ff). Both the Mcape and Bwanali-Mpulumutsi movements focused attention on the evil propensities of sorcerers and witches, and thus portrayed, negatively, the Ceŵa normative system. The Bwanali-Mpulumutsi movement, with its emphasis on the confession of past misdeeds as an essential part of the cure of repenting sorcerers, was particularly effective in this respect. An informant who made the arduous journey to Mpulumutsi's headquarters in Portuguese territory reported as follows :-

> After we had been treated and given medicines to take away with us, we retired. Some people woke up with headaches, and went and complained of them to Mpulumutsi. He said to them, 'You've been eating your fellow men'. One confessed, 'Yes, I've eaten two of my children'. Another said, 'I've eaten my mother-in-law and her husband'. A third admitted to having brought a human head with him and to having used flesh from it as a 'relish' to eat with his maize-flour porridge on the very journey to Mpulumutsi! He had thrown it away just before arriving. Mpulumutsi warned these people that they should give up their evil practices. After that he gave them medicines to drink.
>
> Those who, having been treated with Mpulumutsi's medicines fail to confess their [sorcery], or resume it after having confessed, are sure to die. Many die on their way home to their villages. [In reply to a question] No, I didn't see any dead people, but on the way to Mpulumutsi's I saw a number of trees from which bark had been stripped in order to make coffins for those who had died by the way[1].

Barber, reviewing certain 'messianic' movements that have occurred among American Indian tribes, asserts that the function of a messiah is to proclaim a stable order to replace the state of insecurity resulting from deprivation and the disorganization of the 'controlling normative structure'

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[1]Recorded in M.G. Marwick, 'Another Modern Anti-Witchcraft Movement in East Central Africa', Africa, 20, 1950, 100-112, at pp. 104-105.

of a society in a culture-contact situation[2]. This general proposition seems to fit the case we are considering. Western influences have affected both the social structure and the normative system of Ceŵa society. The rural masculinity rate has dropped, and those who have been drawn, even temporarily, into the vortex of modern industry have been exposed to new values which in many respects conflict with those prevailing during their up-bringing. The resulting value-conflicts have made them more prone to doctrines of salvation and reform. As Worsley has pointed out, 'millenarian' movements, far from being nativistic flights from reality, as Linton claimed they were, are rather 'desperate searchings for more and more effective ways of understanding and modifying' a confused environment[3].

Since both the movements closely affecting the Ceŵa were well integrated with modern as well as indigenous aspects of life[4], their function has been to rearrange and synthecize the old and the new rather than, as we have shown to be the case with other aspects of Ceŵa beliefs in sorcery, to conserve indigenous norms threatened by modern ones.

Conclusion

In general, our case material confirms the 'normative' hypothesis. Although about half of the sorcerers

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[2]Bernard Barber, 'Acculturation and Messianic Movements', American Sociological Review, 6, 1941, 663-69.

[3]P.M. Worsley, 'Millenarian Movements in Melanesia', Human Problems in British Central Africa, 21, 1957, 18-31, at pp. 24-25.

[4]Cf. Audrey I. Richards, 'A Modern Movement of Witchfinders', Africa, 8, 1935, 448-61, at pp. 450-51; and Marwick, 'Another Modern Anti-Witchcraft Movement in East Central Africa', passim.

in the sample were believed to have had no anti-social traits before becoming involved in the cases recorded, they were nevertheless now sorcerers, serving as symbols of social evil. The moral stigmata of those who had already shown them before being accused or suspected of sorcery covered a representative range of anti-social conduct, and portrayed, if negatively, a series of cherished Ceŵa norms, such as meekness, self-control and generosity.

As to victims, two-thirds of the 118 cases involving beliefs in sorcery—including those of vengeance on sorcerers—were ones in which anti-social or socially inadequate behaviour was attributed either to the victim or to someone closely associated with him.

Of the seventy-nine issues of quarrels preceding either accusations or suspicions of sorcery, about a quarter were apparently brought about by modern conditions of tension; and a further eighth were ones in which such conditions were at least contributory.

Barber's hypothesis that the function of messianic movements is to effect normative re-orientation seems to fit the case of the East Central African movements. Since, however, both those closely affecting the Ceŵa combined in a new synthesis indigenous and modern elements, their effect has not been, as with our recorded episodes relating to sorcery, to champion indigenous norms against intrusive ones.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study I have followed what may be regarded as a normal scientific progression. From hints in the literature and from insights gained from experience in the field, I have formulated a dual hypothesis regarding the sociology of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft, and have then checked this hypothesis against case records collected among the Northern Rhodesian Ceŵa. The checking of the hypothesis had to be preceded by a fairly detailed account of the environment, culture, social organization, normative system and beliefs in sorcery of the Ceŵa, since, as the phrase 'social setting' in the title implies, the hypothesis is one whose application demands a full determination of all the sociological variables involved. It remains to summarize the steps I have taken and to set out the lessons that this study may have for future investigators of the sociology of sorcery and witchcraft.

Those who have written on sorcery and witchcraft use, explicitly or implicitly, the frame of reference of both sociology and psychology. I have disregarded psychological hypotheses for reasons of scientific parsimony and because of the as yet unsolved problem of making such empirical observations as will serve to put them to the test.

Sociological hypotheses are of two kinds, structural and normative. Believed attacks by sorcerers and witches or, more important sociologically, accusations of sorcery and witchcraft, may be taken to be expressions of structural tensions; and many of such believed attacks and actual accusations, by bringing to public notice the evil characteristics of sorcerers and witches or the unwise actions of their victims, provide a means by which people's sentiments are moulded towards, and kept attuned to, the social norms. Under modern conditions, such moulding may reflect the conflict between indigenous and intrusive values.

Each aspect of this dual hypothesis had to be brought into line with its respective more general theoretical system, the first with the sociology of tension and conflict; and the second, with the theory of norms. An examination of what has been written, both specifically and incidentally, about tension and conflict revealed a common assumption, not always explicit, that these dissociative forms of interaction result from relatively uncontrolled competition for highly valued objects, especially if the competition is personal or 'primary' rather than segmental or 'secondary'. Furthermore, reference to the writings of Simmel, Gluckman and Coser showed that conflict has positive social functions in that it integrates and perpetuates group life by investing it with a dynamic character that facilitates successive adjustments to changing circumstances.

These general propositions apply to the specific tensions and conflicts associated with beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft. Thus, accusations and suspicions occur between persons in close social relationships who are com-

peting for highly valued goals and whose interaction is not prescribed either by general norms or by more specific ones relating to status-differences. Furthermore, the conflicts involved in sorcery and witchcraft, like social conflicts in general, are socially functional; for they serve to formulate tensions in such a way as to facilitate the rupture of close, personal relationships which, by their very nature, cannot be contracted out of, and which cannot be continued because they have become insupportable.

The normative aspect of the hypothesis may be regarded as a particular instance of the 'social mould' theory of Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown, or of the 'voluntaristic theory of action' detected and made explicit by Parsons. It is to the effect that beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft permit of the dramatization and the reinforcement of social norms and thus contribute to the normative or common-value integration of the society concerned.

The Ceŵa, with their environment demanding a system for the rationalization of frequent misfortune, with their traditions fixing such a system in terms of sorcery (strictly, sorcery-witchcraft) and with their distinctly matrilineal social organization, provided interesting material for the testing, or at least the anecdotal illustration of both structural and normative aspects of the hypothesis. The Ceŵa matrilineage is a massive social unit which periodically proliferates beyond the possibility of effective leadership, given the limitations of ecology and subsistence system. It is, moreover, regarded by the Chief as an undifferentiated, indivisible unit, with the result that its tensions and conflicts are played out in an internal rather

than a tribal arena. The frequency of accusations of sorcery between matrikin, more particularly those belonging to different matrilineage-segments, suggests that, among the Ceŵa, beliefs in sorcery are catalytic to the inexorable but disturbing process of social differentiation and the consequent regrouping of matrilineage members under new leadership; for accusations in terms of such beliefs facilitate the blasting away of relationships which, through being close and personal, cannot be quietly dismantled and yet cannot be continued because, for reasons of ecology and demography, they have become redundant.

Believed and real episodes related to sorcery seem to express tensions in other relationships as well. For instance, the personal, and, through the identification of siblings and of other matrikin, the pervasive, relationships between affines appear to generate tensions that cannot adequately be controlled by avoidance behaviour or resolved through joking relationships or juridical processes; and they consequently find an outlet in beliefs about, and accusations of, sorcery. Similarly, rivalry between unrelated persons—especially over love or politics—may become so intense that normal means of arbitration or expression are displaced by suspicions and accusations of sorcery.

Our major difficulty in demonstrating the hypothesis that, among the Ceŵa, beliefs in sorcery provide a medium for the expression of structural oppositions has been that of converting raw frequencies of accusations into comparable rates. The number of times persons in a given social relationship accuse each other of sorcery should ideally be

expressed as a proportion of some estimate of the total interaction characteristic of persons in that relationship. Various circumstances have made this ideal method impracticable for the case material presented; and an alternative method, that of using as the base for each accusation-rate the frequency of the (affiliative) association between accuser and victim in the relationship-category being examined, is too questionable to merit inclusion anywhere but in an appendix. Where the small size of the sample has precluded statistical testing, cases illustrating—rather than effectively testing—the structural part of the hypothesis have been presented.

The normative aspect of the hypothesis has been easier to demonstrate. An examination of the moral characteristics and actions attributed to both sorcerers and their victims has, in general, shown that believed instances of sorcery tend to provide sanctions for socially acceptable conduct, and that, in the conflict of values brought about by modern social changes, the indigenous Ceŵa normative system is usually championed against the intrusive Western one; though the normative effects of the anti-witchcraft or anti-sorcery movements seem to have been synchretistic rather than nativistic.

The lessons that this study may have for future investigators of the sociology of sorcery and witchcraft may be summarized as follows :-

1. The widely accepted principle of checking people's statements against their actions, or their general expressions of belief against specific instances, is of particular importance in this type of investigation. This study suggests that there may not necessarily be a close correspondence between a people's dogmas about the social characteristics of sorcerers and witches, such as their age, their sex and the social and spatial

relationships between them and their victims and accusers, and the picture one gains by summing the characteristics of people involved in specific episodes relating to sorcery and witchcraft.

2. As the title of this study implies, sorcery and witchcraft must always be examined in their social setting. So intricate is their connection with the structure and normative system of the society in which they are found that their significance cannot be understood without a full analysis of the ecological and human background against which they occur. In particular, is is not sufficient merely to record the identities and spatial and social relationships of accuser, sorcerer or witch and victim. Some estimate of the general social interaction between persons of their respective types is necessary for interpreting the significance of the frequency with which they may be brought together in the rôles of accuser, mystical evil-doer and victim.

3. Fuller attention than has been given here should be directed to the analysis of the normative system. All possible types of evidence should be used in an attempt to give a detailed and balanced account of a people's cosmological beliefs, folk-lore, ritual, juridical practices, and explanations of misfortunes in so far as these reflect social values. Only then can a demonstration of the normative functions of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft be convincing.

4. If suitable psychological techniques can be devised, these may prove valuable in the investigation of those cases in which intra-personal tensions rather than structural oppositions are important in the etiology of believed instances and accusations of sorcery and witchcraft. Cases of this kind are often of normative significance because intra-personal maladjustments are often associated with social deviance; but a mere analysis of their contribution to common-value integration falls considerably short of an adequate understanding of them.

If I subscribe to the last point, it does not mean that I believe that anything will be achieved by the premature cross-fertilization of incompatible conceptual systems (cf. Chapter 1, p. 18). Throughout this study I have maintained the discipline of confining myself to sociological variables, believing that more will be gained by a modest advance along one theoretical front than by trying to offer a 'complete scientific explanation' of

phenomena as complex as beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft. If this study has indicated the lines along which such an advance may be made, it will have achieved its object.

APPENDIX A

ESTIMATES OF THE CEŴA-CIPETA-ZIMBA AND OTHER 'NYANJA-SPEAKING' POPULATIONS, 1950-51

If the 1951 mid-year estimate of the total African population of Nyasaland is distributed according to the tribal composition revealed by the Census of 1945, the de jure Ceŵa-Cipeta population of the Protectorate may be placed at about 701,000. This method of estimating is suggested in a letter, dated 20 February 1955, from the Chief Secretary of the Nyasaland Government[1]. The official 1951 mid-year estimate of the total de facto African population of Nyasaland is 2,340,200[2]. According to the 1945 Census, the Ceŵa and Cipeta made up 28.18 per cent of the de facto African population[3]. 28.18 per cent of 2,430,200 is 659,468, which represents an estimate of the 1951 de facto Ceŵa-Cipeta population. In the Central Province, where this tribal division is concentrated, the de facto population made up ninety-four per cent of the de jure in 1945[4]. If this percentage applied in 1951, the de jure Ceŵa-Cipeta population may be placed at 701,000.

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[1]Cited by permission.

[2]Central African Statistical Office, Monthly Digest of Statistics for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1, 3, June 1954, Table 1.

[3]Nyasaland Protectorate, Report on the Census of 1945, Zomba: Government Printer, 1946, Table 4.

[4]Ibid., Tables 1 and 3.

In Northern Rhodesia in 1951, the Provincial Administration estimated the de jure Ceŵa population at 125,767, with about two-thirds in Fort Jameson district and about a third in Lundazi district[5]. This estimate excludes those Ceŵa who are subject to non-Ceŵa chiefs, e.g. Ŋgoni and Kunda in Fort Jameson district and Nseŋga in Petauke district.

In Moçambique in 1950, the de jure Ceŵa (including Cipeta and Zimba) population was probably between 65,000 and 107,000. The upper limit of this range is estimated as follows :- The Anuário da Província de Moçambique for 1952-53, referring to the Census of 1950, gives the populacão não civilizada of the circunscricões of Macanga and Marávia of the Tete intendencia as 100,349, but does not state whether this figure is de jure or de facto[6]. Its masculinity rate (85.7 males per 100 females[7]) resembles that of the de facto population of the Central Province of Nyasaland in 1945 (84.6) and is considerably lower than that of its de jure population[8]. If, on the basis of this, we assume that the figure is de facto, and that there is a similar ratio between de facto and de jure populations as there was in the Central Province of Nyasaland in 1945 (94 : 100, see above, p. 390), the de jure populacão não civilizada of these two circunscricões may be placed at 107,000. Judging

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[5]Northern Rhodesia, Eastern Province, Annual Report on Native Affairs, 1951, appended tables—on file at Fort Jameson.

[6]Anuário da Província de Moçambique, Lourenço Marques: A.W. Bayly & Co., Ltd., 38º Edição, 1952-53, pp. 28-29.

[7]Computed from the same source.

[8]Computed from Nyasaland Protectorate, Report on the Census of 1945, Tables 1 and 3.

from Dos Santos Júnior's references to the 1940 Census and from his maps[9], we can assume that these two circunscricões are the ones in which the Ceŵa population is concentrated, and that the 1950 figure applies to unassimilated Africans (Indígenas) belonging to Ceŵa, Cipeta and Zimba designations. The lower limit of the range (65,000) is derived from figures that Mr A. Rita-Ferreira of the Portuguese Administration was kind enough to send me at the beginning of 1960, which suggest that the upper limit underestimates the number of (non-Ceŵa but 'Nyanja-speaking') Ntumba and Mbo in the circunscricões concerned[10]. Mr Rita-Ferreira does not state whether his estimate refers to the de facto or de jure population. His research into the identity of the Zimba has established that they are a branch of the Ceŵa; and he classifies all Ceŵa in Moçambique into two branches, Zimba and Cipeta[11].

This gives a total for the three territories of about 900,000 Ceŵa, including Cipeta and Zimba. These probably make up about two-thirds of the total 'Nyanja-speaking' peoples, whom I would place at just under 1,500,000 in 1950-51[12]. For 1946-49, Atkins, whose estimate did not

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[9]J.R. Dos Santos Júnior, Algumas Tribos do Distrito de Tete, Pôrto: República Portuguesa, Ministério das Colonias, 1944, p. 21 and maps on p. 104 and between pp. 18 and 19.

[10]Private communication, which gave the following estimates of ethnic groups in Moçambique:- Zimba, 60,000; Ntumba, 50,000; Cipeta, 5,000; and Mbo, 1,500.

[11]António Rita-Ferreira, Agrupamento e Caracterização Étnica dos Indígenas de Moçambique, Lisboa: Ministério do Ultramar, Junta de Investigacões do Ultramar, 1958, pp. 63 and 123.

[12]From the sources quoted in previous footnotes and from the East African Statistical Department's estimate (in a letter dated 1 March 1954, cited by permission) that the Nyanja-speaking (Nyasa) population in Tanganyika Territory numbered 15,000 in 1948.

include Moçambique or Tanganyika Territory, placed the total population of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia using Nyanja as their mother tongue at 1,298,449[13]. Apart from his exclusion of these two territories, there are other differences in the bases of our respective estimates. Firstly, he refers to a slightly earlier date; secondly, he counts the Fort Jameson Ŋgoni as Nyanja-speaking (in fact they speak Nseŋga); and, thirdly, he includes the subjects of non-Nyanja chiefs, e.g. 10,000 Ceŵa in Petauke district, Northern Rhodesia.

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[13]Guy Atkins, 'The Nyanja-Speaking Population of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia (a Statistical Estimate)', African Studies, 9, 1950, 35-39.

APPENDIX B

PORTUGUESE CONTACTS WITH THE MARAVI AND THEIR DERIVATIVES

Ceŵa history, as opposed to conjecture based on tradition, begins with the records of the Portuguese, who, after Vasco da Gama's discovery of the sea route to India at the close of the fifteenth century, established a settlement at Sofala in 1505, and built forts at Sena and Tete on the Zambezi some thirty years later[1].

Absorbed by their quest for precious metals south of the Zambezi, the Portuguese paid scant attention to the north-bank tribes for about a century. References to two of them, the 'Mumbos' and the 'Zimbas', appear in an early seventeenth-century book, but more because of their military successes against the Portuguese and their alleged cannibalism[2] than because of any interest the latter may have had in

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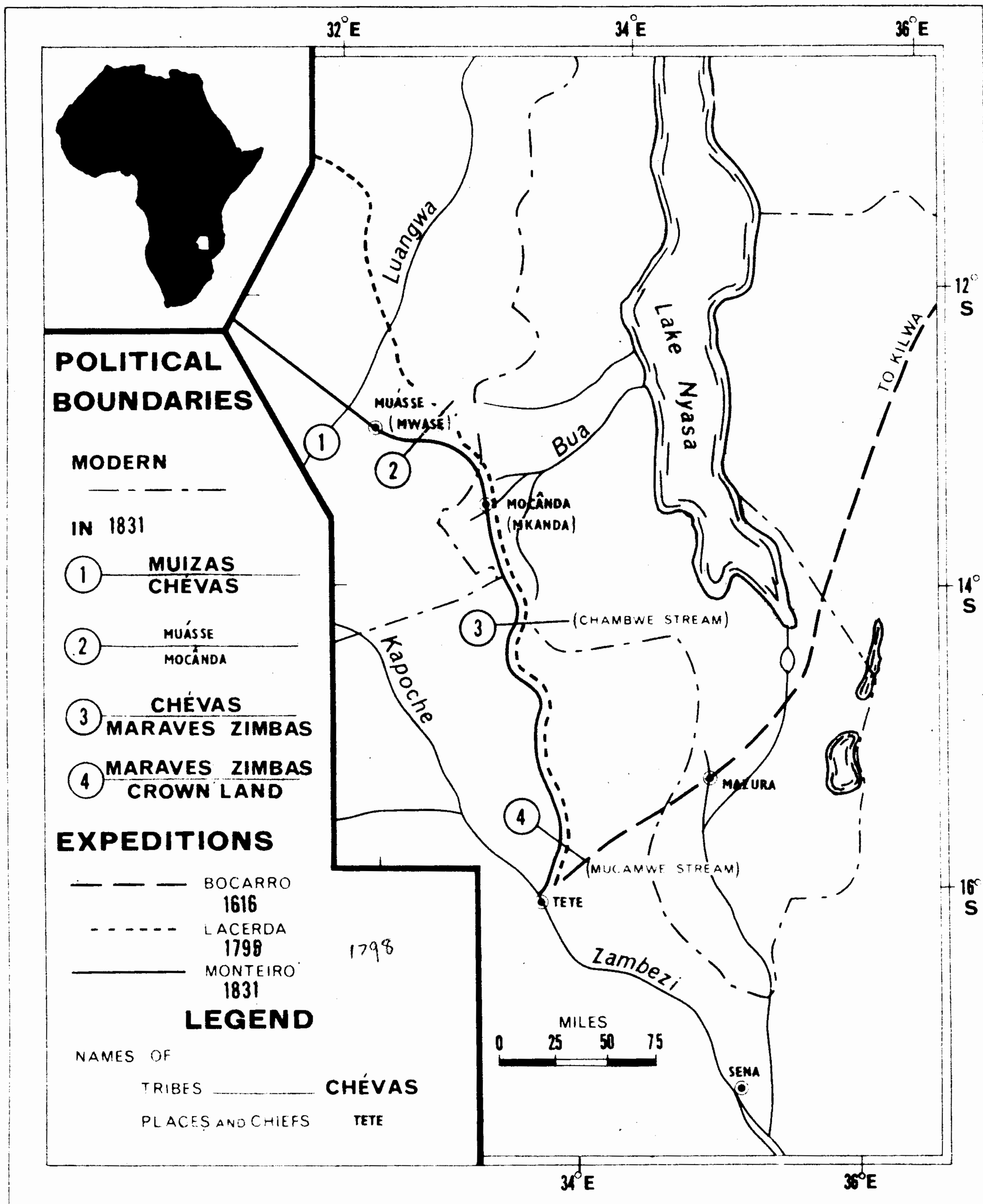
[1]Eric Axelson, South-East Africa 1488-1530, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1940, pp. 182-83 et passim; George M'Call Theal, The Portuguese in South Africa, London: T.S. Unwin, 1896, p. 133. It is possible that the writings of medieval Arabian geographers have references to tribal dispositions in this area, since it would appear from those cited by Axelson in his first chapter that the Arabs knew of Sena (Siouna, Seyouna) as early as the twelfth century, and had probably penetrated as far as the Quebrabasa rapids (fifty to sixty miles above Tete) by about the beginning of the fourteenth century. In a letter, however, Dr Axelson tells me that he doubts whether the works he cites in his book have more information on the Zambezi tribes.

[2]João dos Santos, Ethiopia Oriental (1609) trans. in George M'Call Theal, Records of South-East Africa (in 9 vols.), London: Wm. Clowes and Sons, Ltd. for the Government of the Cape Colony, 1898-1903, 7, 290ff.



After: Hamilton (for Bocarro)
Burton (for Lacerda and Monteiro)

Map 7—Some Portuguese Expeditions through Maravi-Ceŵa Country, 1616-1831

their ethnography. It is doubtful whether the Zimbas referred to can be identified with the present-day people of the same name whom Rita-Ferreira's researches have shown to be a branch of the Ceŵa[3].

The first references to the inhabitants of the Nyasa-Shire basin appear in the record of the overland journey undertaken by Gaspar Bocarro from Tete to Kilwa on the coast in 1616 (see Map 7). As Bocarro was motivated by considerations of local politics rather than by the spirit of exploration, his record is little more than a simple route journal. Furthermore, the fact that it was compiled nearly twenty years later by an archivist, also called Bocarro[4], raises doubts about the authenticity of one of its most crucial passages[5]. At any rate, it makes a reference to Marauy as the capital of a chief and (in the passage of doubtful authenticity) to a lake called Manganja and a river issuing from it called Nhanha. In a careful analysis, Rangeley, whose sound knowledge of Nyasaland place-names and traditions commands respect, has identified Marauy with the Malaŵi, or capital, of Kaphwiti, chief of the Maŋanja, and

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[3]António Rita-Ferreira, Agrupmento e Caracterização Étnica dos Indígenas de Moçambique, Lisboa: Ministério do Ultramar, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1958, pp. 63-64 and 123.

[4]See Chap. 145 of 'Extracts from the Decade Written by Antonio Bocarro' in Theal, Records of South-East Africa, 3, pp. 415-19 (Theal's translation).

[5]For a careful reconstruction of Gaspar Bocarro's journey and a discussion of this passage, see R.A. Hamilton, 'The Route of Gaspar Bocarro from Tete to Kilwa in 1616', Nyasaland Journal, 7, 2, 1954, 7-14, especially at p. 10.

has thus linked it with the Malaŵi country of Ceŵa tradition[6]. All three names (Malaŵi, Maŋanja and Nyanja) are modern designations of either the Maravi themselves or of peoples who, like the Ceŵa, are descended from them. There seems little reason to doubt that, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the country at the southern end of Lake Nyasa was occupied by the Maravi.

This impression is confirmed by the systematic report on the Portuguese settlement made about fifty years after Gaspar Bocarro's journey by a Jesuit priest, Manoel Barretto, who had spent many years in the Zambezi basin[7]. In this we find the first unmistakable references to the Maravi. Barretto regarded them as warlike, and suggested that conquering them would be a difficult task. He recorded that they dominated the Macua tribe as far east as Moçambique; and that through 'Rundo, the second person in the empire of Maravi'[8], they controlled the north bank of the Zambezi for a distance of two hundred leagues up the river from Quilimane. His conjectures about their sphere of influence in the interior—beyond his personal experience—are probably unreliable[9]. He reported that the Maravi traded with the Portuguese 'in ivory, much iron, many slaves, and <u>machiras</u>, which are coarse cotton cloths in great demand

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[6] W.H.J. Rangeley, 'Bocarro's Journey', <u>Nyasaland Journal</u>, 7, 2, 15-23, especially at p. 18.

[7] 'Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama' (1667), trans. in Theal, <u>Records of South-East Africa</u>, 3, pp. 463-95 and 502-508.

[8] <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 475 and 480.

[9] <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 480.

in Mokaranga [the Monomotapa's territory, south of the Zambezi, from where most of the local gold came]'[10]; and that the Maravi empire 'is governed by its emperor, named Caronga'[11].

When these seventeenth-century records were written, the Maravi appear to have been a well organized tribe, or federation of related tribes, dominating a large part of the country north of the Zambezi[12]. Over a hundred years later, they were still a source of concern to the Portuguese, who, at the close of the eighteenth century, were penetrating their territory in an attempt to discover a route across the continent to their possessions on the west coast. The leader of one of the most notable of their expeditions, de Lacerda e Almeida, complained bitterly of the way in which they delayed and impoverished passing travellers with palavers (milandos) instituted against them on the slightest pretext[13]. The records of the explorers of this later period provide us with a clearer picture of the northerly limit of the Maravi 'empire', viz., the Aruangoa (Luangwa) river[14].

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[10] Ibid., pp. 480-81.

[11] Ibid., p. 480.

[12] The possibility that their unity was exaggerated in early Portuguese records is considered by Rita-Ferreira, Agrupmento e Caracterizacao Étnica dos Indígenas de Moçambique, p. 61.

[13] R.F. Burton, 'Lacerda's Journey to Cazembe in 1798', in The Lands of Cazembe, London: John Murray for the Royal Geographical Society, 1873, pp. 61-62. Mlandu (plur., milandu) is the Nyanja for 'a meeting for discussion of some claim or right, lawsuit or quarrel' (Dictionary of the Nyanja Language, ed. by Alexander Hetherwick, London: Lutterworth Press for United Society for Christian Literature, 1929.

[14] Burton, ibid., p. 49.

During the nineteenth century, the 'empire' of the Maravi appears to have differentiated and decayed. In 1831-32, a Portuguese expedition led by Major J.M.C. Monteiro passed through their territory on its way to see Kazembe, the King (Mwata) of the Eastern Lunda. The deputy commander and chronicler of the expedition, Captain (later Major) A.C.P. Gamitto, applied the name Maravi (Maraves) to the people living south of the Chombue stream[15], not far south of the present Moçambique-Northern Rhodesia border (see Map 7, facing p. 395); and he described them as ultimately subject to Undi (Unde). Those to the north of this stream he called Ceŵa (Chévas)[16]. This is the earliest recorded reference to this name. Gamitto's records show that the first Ceŵa encountered on the northward march were subject to Mkanda (Mucanda); and those north of the Serra Muxinge, to Mwase (Muásse)[17]. Gamitto made remarkably detailed, objective and informed ethnographical notes. These show that the political separation of Maravi and Ceŵa was not associated with much cultural differentiation[18]. By the time of Livingstone's second expedition (1858-64) the decay of Undi's 'empire' had become a topic of everyday conversation[19].

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[15] A.C.P. Gamitto, O Muata Cazembe, Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1854, p. 44.

[16] Loc. cit.

[17] Ibid., pp. 4, 105ff. and 123.

[18] Ibid., Chaps. 2 and 4, especially at p. 148.

[19] David and Charles Livingstone, [Narrative of an Expedition to] the Zambesi and Its Tributaries, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1866, p. 217.

APPENDIX C

NOTES ON THE CEŴA OF LUNDAZI DISTRICT AND THE 'NORTHERN' CEŴA OF FORT JAMESON DISTRICT

The authority of the Lundazi Ceŵa chiefs has devolved either from Mwase Kasuŋgu or from Mwase Lundazi[1]. Mwase Lundazi was presumably one of Kaloŋga's designates[2]. Varying accounts exist of how Mwase Kasuŋgu obtained his country. Some say that it was given him by Kaloŋga's designate in the Kasuŋgu area, Lukwa (or Culu in some accounts) in return for his having killed a wild beast that was troubling his people. Others say that he obtained it by waging a war against Mwase Lundazi—either on his own account or in support of Culu[3]. Mwase Kasuŋgu's chiefdom, now in Nyasaland, is the most highly organized of all modern Ceŵa chiefdoms. Thomson attributes this to the enterprise

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[1]Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa District, District Note Book, Vol. 2 (kept at Fort Jameson), appended diagram entitled 'Devolution of Northern Rhodesian Chewa Chieftainships' (undated and unsigned).

[2]This assumption, on which I have no definite information, may be read into J.M. Winterbottom, 'Outline Histories [of Two Northern Rhodesian Tribes]', Human Problems in British Central Africa, 9, 1950, 14-25, at pp. 23-24; and E.H. Lane Poole, Native Tribes [of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia], Lusaka: Government Printer, 3rd Ed., 1949, p. 28; but not into Samuel Yosia Nthara, Mbiri ya Acewa, Zomba: Nyasaland Education Department, 1945, pp. 4-10.

[3]For some of the accounts of Mwase Kasuŋgu's ascendency, see Lane Poole, loc. cit.; Nthara, ibid., p. 11; Winterbottom, loc. cit.; and J. Bruwer, 'Die Rasse onder Wie Ons Kerk Arbei', Die Basuin, instalments from 8, 2, 1937, 14-15, until 9, 5, 1938, 6, at 8, 4, 1937, p. 18.

and courage of its founders, its geographical position on a main trading route, and the prestige arising from successful resistance to the Ŋgoni and, later from an alliance with them[4].

Mkanda, to whom the 'Northern' Fort Jameson Ceŵa owe allegiance, had his territory bisected by the Northern Rhodesia-Nyasaland border, which here follows the Nyasa-Luaŋgwa divide. In the early years of British occupation, the Chief lived in Northern Rhodesia; but, as the Ŋgoni had dispossessed him of his territory, the Administration did not recognize his claims to chieftainship for about twenty years. In 1917, when his 'perpetual'[5] uterine nephew, Matuwamba, who had been in charge of the Nyasaland section, died, the Mkanda of the day (Kamwendo) decided to take over this section, and left his son, Mkanda Mateyo, in charge of the part of the chiefdom falling in Northern Rhodesia. When Mkanda Kamwendo died in 1921, he was succeeded in Nyasaland by his sister's son, Mkanda Gudu. By this time the Northern Rhodesia Administration had recognized Mkanda Mateyo. Mkanda Gudu of Fort Manning district, Nyasaland, and Mkanda Mateyo of Fort Jameson district, Northern Rhodesia, are thus cross-cousins, and their successors will, in the normal course of events, become 'perpetual' cross-cousins.

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[4] I am grateful to Mr T.D. Thomson of the Nyasaland Administration for allowing me to read and here to cite his unpublished notes on the constitution of Mwase's Ceŵa.

[5] See above, p. 174, for a discussion of 'perpetual' relationships.

There are two versions of the story of how the first Mkanda obtained title to his land. The first, espoused by those who, in 1952, wished to have Undi's paramountcy over the Northern and Southern Ceŵa of Fort Jameson abolished (see above, p. 93), and the one recorded by Nthara[6], is that Kaloŋga sent Mkanda to colonize his territory on the same day that he dispatched Undi to the Kapoche. This would make Mkanda co-ordinate with, rather than subordinate to, Undi. The other version is that Mkanda was the husband of one of Undi's sister's daughters (or possibly his sister), Cilunje, and that what is today the two Mkandas' country was granted to Cilunje, whose independence was so great that she was not required to send tribute to Undi. She died without issue, and her husband, Mkanda, somehow acquired her chieftainship. This version, which is advanced by those who favour the unification of Northern and Southern Ceŵa under Undi (and whose cause succeeded), since it makes Mkanda subordinate, is supported by the tradition in the country of one of Mkanda's subchiefs, Mbaŋombe, that Mkanda, after appointing the first Mbaŋombe, presented him to Undi[7]. It is also more in keeping with the fact that the Mkanda matriclan is Mbeŵe and not Phili[8], that of Ceŵa chiefs tracing descent from the Kaloŋga who led the people to Central Nyasaland.

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[6]Mbiri ya Acewa, pp. 4-5.

[7]I am grateful to Mr H.H. Thomson of the Northern Rhodesia Administration for allowing me to read and here to cite his unpublished notes on the Mbaŋombe chieftainship.

[8]My enquiries do not confirm Winterbottom on this point (cf. 'Outline Histories', p. 22).

Even if the version that makes the Mkanda chieftainship originally subordinate to that of Undi is correct, there is no doubt that the Mkandas have been independent of the Undis for a very long time. de Lacerda e Almeida, who passed through the country in 1798, makes a reference to 'the King Mocanda, the most powerful in people and dreaded Marave chief of these parts'[9]. And, as we have seen (above, p. 398), Gamitto regarded him as a Ceŵa (as opposed to Maravi) chief, independent of Undi. Furthermore, the independence of the Mkanda chieftainship was entrenched by the Northern Rhodesia Government's recognizing Mkanda Mateyo until 1937 as 'Paramount Chief of the Northern Chewa People in the Fort Jameson District'[10].

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[9] The Lands of Cazembe, p. 76 (Burton's translation).

[10] Certificate in the possession of Chief Mkanda Mateyo, signed on 3 June 1935 by His Excellency, the then Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Hubert Young.

APPENDIX D

CATTLE IN FORT JAMESON DISTRICT

Two references in Gamitto's journal of the Monteiro expedition make it clear that, even before the Ngoni invasion, there were cattle in the country of the Ceŵa and the Tumbuka north-east of where Fort Jameson township is now situated. One mentions that the inhabitants did not kill cattle for meat, but instead ate fowls and dogs[1]. The other describes how, in Mkanda's country, the expedition saw many herds of cattle (though these may have belonged to Ŵisa or Tumbuka settlers rather than to the Ceŵa 'lords of the land'), but the people were unwilling to sell them any[2]. According to Read, 'On the highlands round Dedza [Central Nyasaland] the Ceŵa had had cattle before the Ngoni came'[3].

The Ngoni are believed to have lost their cattle in crossing the Zambezi in 1835[4], but, as they repeatedly raided the local tribes for both cattle and people, they replenished their losses during their wanderings north of

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[1] A.C.P. Gamitto, _O Muata Cazembe_, Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1854, p. 143.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 111.

[3] Margaret Read, _The Ngoni of Nyasaland_, London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1956, p. 167n.

[4] See, for instance, J.M. Winterbottom, 'Outline Histories [of Two Northern Rhodesian Tribes]', _Human Problems in British Central Africa_, 9, 1950, 14-25, at p. 16.

the Zambezi; and by the last decade of the nineteenth century there were some 20,000 cattle in Mpezeni's country[5]. Over half of these were captured by the British forces in the war of 1898, and, though it is recorded that 'the majority were returned to the Angoni'[6], by 1900 the Ngoni were reported, as a result of having 'indiscriminately slaughtered and sold their cattle', to be in possession of only about 1,200[7].

In 1891, two years after receiving its Royal Charter, the British South Africa Company had the sphere of its operations extended to the area immediately north of the Zambezi (though not including what is now Nyasaland). In the 1890's, when the Company began administering what is now the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia, the reports of its officials repeatedly referred to the suitability of the country for cattle rearing[8]. During the first decade of the twentieth century, African-owned

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[5]British South Africa Company, Report on the Administration of Rhodesia, 1898-1900, p. 67; J.C.C. Coxhead, The Native Tribes [of North-Eastern Rhodesia], Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Papers, No. 5, 1914, p. 20; and J.A. Barnes, Politics in a Changing Society, Cape Town: Oxford University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1954, p. 19.

[6]Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa District, District Note Book, Vol. 1, kept at Fort Jameson.

[7]B.S.A. Co., Report on the Administration of Rhodesia, 1898-1900, p. 67. For an exhaustive investigation of what happened, see Barnes, Politics in a Changing Society, pp. 93ff.

[8]B.S.A. Co., Report on the Company's Proceedings and the Conditions of the Territories within the Sphere of Its Operations, 1889-92, p. 35; and Report on the Administration of Rhodesia, 1897-98, pp. 115 and 399.

cattle in the Fort Jameson division (as it then was called) increased to nearly 8,000[9]; and the first European farmers, who numbered just over twenty, were engaged mainly in cattle farming. During this period there was a good market for cattle in Southern Rhodesia, where herds had been depleted by rinderpest. The Southern Rhodesian demand fell away in 1915, and this, together with the rapid and widespread encroachment of the tsetse fly, caused most European farmers to turn to the cultivation of tobacco, which had been started in the division in 1912[10]. In 1922, an official publication described the tsetse fly as 'one of the assets of the country' since it made the local labour supply unlike that of Southern Rhodesia where natives were so rich in cattle that it was difficult to induce them to work for wages[11]. In spite of tsetse encroachment, African-owned cattle in the Fort Jameson sub-district had increased by 1921 to over 16,000, of which about ninety per cent were owned by the Ŋgoni; and ten per cent, by the Ceŵa[12].

Great progress has been made in confining the tsetse fly to low-lying country such as the Luangwa valley, though outbreaks of tripanosomiasis still occur from time

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[9]Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa District, Annual Report, 1912-13, on file at Fort Jameson.

[10]Northern Rhodesia, Eastern Province, Provincial Team, Eastern Province Agricultural Economic Review : Report by a Sub-Committee, [consulted early in 1953], p. 2, on file at Fort Jameson.

[11]J.C.C. Coxhead, Northern Rhodesia : A Handbook, Livingstone: Government Printer, 1922, p. 23.

[12]Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa Province, Annual Report for Fort Jameson Sub-District, 1921-22, on file at Fort Jameson.

to time in marginal areas[13]. By 1938 there were 32,000 African-owned cattle in Fort Jameson district, of which the Ngoni owned seventy-seven per cent; and the Ceŵa, twenty-three per cent[14]; and by 1951 this number had risen to 59,000, with forty-three per cent Ngoni-owned; and fifty-seven per cent, Ceŵa-owned[15].

The recent uncertainty of the tobacco market has led farmers in the Eastern Province to consider the possibility of reviving the European cattle industry as a supplement to tobacco cultivation[16].

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[13]Northern Rhodesia, Native Affairs Department, African Affairs : Annual Report, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1952, p. 62.

[14]Northern Rhodesia, Eastern Province, Annual Report on Native Affairs, 1938, Annexure II, on file at Fort Jameson.

[15]Northern Rhodesia, Native Affairs Department, African Affairs : Annual Report, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1951, p. 56, and information kindly supplied me by the Provincial Veterinary Officer, Fort Jameson, in a letter dated 4 April 1955.

[16]Eastern Province Agricultural Economic Review (see Footnote 10, above, p. 405), pp. 14-17 and Appendix III.

APPENDIX E

LABOUR MIGRATION

1. Resumé of Its Development in What Is Now the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia

Reporting to the British South Africa Company on their expedition to the country between Lake Nyasa and the Luangwa, Thomson and Sharpe noted that there was a considerable labour potential in Mpezeni's area (later Fort Jameson district) which, with Mwase's (now in Nyasaland), they described as 'thoroughly well supplied with eager, industrious men as yet unspoiled by gin and a too-paternal government'[1]. In 1897-98, Codrington, then Deputy Administrator of Northern Rhodesia, wrote: 'The export of labour to Mashonaland is one of the most obvious directions in which we can contribute to the development and prosperity of Rhodesia, and our preliminary experiments in this direction seem likely to be successful'[2]. Most of the labourers required were for unskilled work on the farms and mines of Southern Rhodesia; but as early as the beginning of the twentieth century, Selby, the Civil Commissioner of the area we are concerned with, reported that natives were being trained as carpen-

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[1] British South Africa Company, Report on the Company's Proceedings and the Condition of the Territories within the Sphere of Its Operations, 1889-92, pp. 36-7.

[2] B.S.A. Co., Report on the Administration of Rhodesia, 1897-98, p. 114.

ters, sawyers, bricklayers and mail carriers 'and perform their various duties with remarkable intelligence and conscientiousness'[3].

The District Note Book records that a native labour recruiting association was busy during 1906[4]. In 1912, the Annual Report reflected that about 14,000 Africans from the East Luangwa District (roughly the equivalent of the present Eastern Province) were working for wages, about 2,000 of them in Southern Rhodesia[5]. In the second decade of this century, the demand for labour greatly increased. Locally, European tobacco farming was getting under way; and general economic development in Southern Rhodesia led to more intensified recruiting for work there. Furthermore, the military operations in East Africa created an unprecedented demand for carriers. Thus, in 1917, roughly two-thirds of the taxable male population of the Fort Jameson sub-district (a part of the then East Luangwa Province) were at work for wages. About half of these were working locally; over two-fifths were engaged as military carriers; and the remainder were working outside Northern Rhodesia in non-military employment[6].

The disappearance after the First World War of the demand for military carriers was quickly balanced by the new opportunities for work arising from the development of the

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[3]B.S.A. Co., Report on the Administration of Rhodesia, 1900-1902, p. 419.

[4]Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa District, District Note Book, Vol. 1, kept at Fort Jameson.

[5]Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa District, Annual Report, 1912-13, on file at Fort Jameson.

[6]Northern Rhodesia, East Luangwa Province, Annual Report, Fort Jameson Sub-District, 1917-18, on file at Fort Jameson.

Northern Rhodesian mining industry in the 1920's. Except for a decline in the depression of the early 1930's, the demand for labour has steadily increased. Population growth has, however, kept pace with it, so that the proportion of Fort Jameson district's taxable males at work for wages was much the same in 1951 as it had been in 1917. The position in 1951 is shown in Table V, facing p. 124, above. From year to year there are fluctuations in the Administration's estimates. This is not surprising when one remembers that they are made from population estimates based on tax registers rather than on actual censuses; and that the base of the percentage keeps changing as 'lost ones' (macona) are removed from the registers. Table V omits boys and women. Both these categories are involved in a good deal of short-term work on local tobacco farms.

Thus far we have been referring to all the tribes of Fort Jameson district. The Ceŵa show minor variations from the pattern for the district (see Table V). These, to the extent they are stable, are probably determined by their geographical position and their traditional work-preferences. For instance, Kaŵaza's Ceŵa in the Reserve are farther from Fort Jameson, where local opportunities for work are greatest, than are the Ŋgoni, and are correspondingly less involved in work within the Province. As to traditional work-preferences, a district officer in 1938 noted that the majority of Ceŵa leaving the Province went south; whereas the Kunda showed a preference for mining and went to other parts of Northern Rhodesia; and the Ŋgoni, in search of supervisory and skilled positions, divided their numbers equally between west and south[7]. The main points of this hypo-

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[7]Northern Rhodesia, Eastern Province, Annual Report, Fort Jameson District, 1938, on file at Fort Jameson.

thesis are confirmed by the 1951 estimates given in the table we have just been examining, especially if one remembers that the 'Elsewhere' category refers mainly to the Union of South Africa.

2. Sindikani Phili's Journey to Southern Rhodesia

The following description given to me by a boy aged about sixteen of his first journey to the distant labour centres, then still fresh in his memory, reflects some of the anxieties, frustrations and excitements of such an undertaking. Speaking in Ceŵa, Sindikani told me of his experiences, and I recorded them in mixed English and Ceŵa.

> In October 1949, I began to get ready for my journey to Southern Rhodesia. My maize-flour I carried in a new towel, and a fowl I put in a pot. At Kambaua village, where I slept the first night, the fowl was stolen. I had obtained a pass from Chief Kaŵaza. I got on to a lorry at Sinda Stop [near Kambaua village] on a Sunday. We travelled through the night and arrived in Lusaka on the Monday. This part of the journey cost me twenty-three shillings. In Lusaka, they took our names to find whether anyone had been lost on the way. After that, I went to the compound where the passengers from the lorries all stay. The following day my friend and I went to the Government offices to have our passes put in order. They were unable to see us, and told us to come back next day. When this had gone on for two weeks—without our having our papers put in order—we became very worried. We therefore took the train to Livingstone, where, having been sent to the hospital to be vaccinated, we had our papers put in order without much trouble. We were in Livingstone two days. At three o'clock one afternoon, we set off on foot for the Victoria Falls. We walked because we were short of money. At the Victoria Falls the next morning they [Southern Rhodesian officials] lined us up to count us and see where we had come from; and, on the third day, we caught the train for Bulawayo. We had free passes on the train—it's 'Government' [i.e., free—part of the Southern Rhodesian scheme then operating to facilitate the entry of labour migrants]. Our free passes expired at Nyamandlovu, and we had to pay ninepence each to get to Bulawayo, where we arrived at 7 a.m. We got off the train and went to the place where people go before they have any work. The friend who had made the journey with me deserted me. I was very much afraid, as I was only a child. I knew why he had left me : he wanted to go to Johannesburg, and he said that, since I was a child, I might die on the way there. I therefore decided to go to Gwelo and get work there.

At 2 p.m. I went to the railway ticket office and bought a ticket to Gwelo for four and ninepence. I got to Gwelo at seven o'clock that evening. I slept at the station, and next morning went to seek my mother's brother, Mawano. I found him at 12 o'clock on Mr R's farm. He received me well; he went to the store to buy me sugar and bread, and he made me tea, and I drank it well. When I was drinking it, he asked me all about here at home, asking, 'Is all well at home?' I said, 'Yes'. I slept there where he was, and next morning started to go out to look for work; but my uncle stopped me, saying that I should rest for one week. I rested for a week and then on the Monday I went to look for work. Mr R gave me a job—in the garden where I worked for three weeks. He promised me thirty-five shillings a month because I was still a child. He told me that if I worked well he would raise my wages to two pounds. He then put me in the dairy to work the cream separator and make butter in a glass churn, which I used to take to the kitchen when the butter was made. I worked at this for six months, and then left (after giving notice properly) because, as a person of work [an able-bodied person], I felt that I should be earning more. At the time of my going, we troubled each other very much, the Master and I. I cancelled my notice and then gave it again. He wanted to have me arrested, and my uncle, too, who wanted to go to another town.

1950?

Eventually I left in April 1949, and went to work in a shoe factory in Gwelo. My starting wage was two pounds a month. They told me that I would have to work for at least six months. I earned from two pounds to two pounds, fifteen shillings a month, depending on the amount of overtime I worked. I gave notice in July 1951 and went to the office of the Native Commissioner to have my documents put in order for the journey home. I then got on the train, paying nine shillings and elevenpence for the journey from Gwelo to Salisbury; and four shillings and ninepence from Salisbury to Bindura. I paid half-a-crown for a lorry fare from Bindura to Mount Darwin. At Mount Darwin [from which the free transport operated at the time], I had to stay a month because there were many people waiting to go down to the Zambezi. When I eventually got to the Zambezi, I lost a basin and twenty enamel plates, altogether worth about two pounds. I left them on the lorry, and remembered about them only after the lorry had gone back to Mount Darwin. When we had crossed the Zambezi, the boy from a village near home with whom I was travelling and I got on our bicycles (which we had bought for twelve pounds each in Salisbury) and took four days to reach home. Each night we slept in villages, buying food with our money; we got it for reasonable prices.

We entered our home villages at seven or eight o'clock in the evening because this is one of our customs. There are certain people who have bad hearts, as if sorcerers, who, if they see you coming with a big bag with many blankets and nice pillows, say: 'That person has come back with many things'. If you don't give them a shirt

or some money or something, they start seeking medicines with which to kill you. We do this only in our home villages. On the road there's nothing to fear.

When I was in Southern Rhodesia I earned good money, and on returning I had thirteen pounds, a bicycle and other things, such as shorts, [long] trousers, six shirts and a jacket. When I came back I was in great trouble and confusion, not knowing how to take my money and divide it among my relatives. Some I gave ten shillings; another, a pound; and another, two pounds. In July 1950, I had sent home five pounds to my mother so that my relatives could buy a beast. On my return they rejoiced, saying, 'You've done well because you have bought a "bank"'.

At the end of his story, Sindikani and I had a general discussion of his experiences, which produced the following miscellaneous afterthoughts :-

On the way to Southern Rhodesia, when I was in Lusaka, I had some trouble because someone stole my supply of maize-flour. When I was working in the shoe factory in Gwelo, a watchman stole three pairs of shoes, and they imprisoned him for two months. Another man stole a bath towel, and they caught him and imprisoned him for a month. At Gwelo a man was killed by dynamite. When they were making a dam, he went down after an explosion to clear away the rubble, when an unfired charge of dynamite exploded and killed him. They buried him, and the Europeans said it was an accident. In Gwelo someone had his money and blanket stolen, and they were unable to find the culprit. On 25 October 1950, there was a motor cycle race in Gwelo. A man called B once assaulted an Indian, and they arrested him and took him to prison where he stayed for two months. When we were on our way to Southern Rhodesia, a man on the train started making tea on a pressure stove. The European guard caught him and hit him and put him in prison when we reached Bulawayo because he might have set the train on fire. At the shoe factory in Gwelo, two houses fell down in December 1950 because of the wind and rain, and one end of the tennis-shoe building collapsed. At Mr R's farm, the African foreman had a fight with one of the workers, and Mr R discharged him. In 1951 Mr R, who was very obese and could not walk well, went to hospital to have some fat removed. When I left him, he was well. I didn't want to work in Bulawayo because there are <u>tsotsis</u> [juvenile delinquents] there who kill their fellow men. The Fort Victoria train was once derailed and took a whole week to complete its journey. On the way to Southern Rhodesia, I saw some wild animals from the train when we were near Mazabuka. I was delighted to see them. When we arrived at the Victoria Falls, I cried very much because I felt home was very far away. I was greatly depressed; but from that time onwards I stayed

with the thought, 'No matter; if God keeps me, I'll see home again'. A certain prisoner went mad, and they tied him up and took him to the hospital. As I watched this, I felt great compassion for him. The grown-up son of Mr R fought with an African, and the African was badly beaten. Mr R discharged him, but didn't have to have him arrested.

3. David Mwanza's Journey

The following is my translation, slightly abridged, of an account written for me by David Mwanza. It refers to the year 1936 when he was about twelve years old.

I had been staying with my mother's sister at a village near the Mzime river for two months, when, one day, my father arrived in the company of another man and the latter's children. He said, 'What do you think? I'm going to Southern Rhodesia'. On hearing this, I rejoiced in my heart. I said, 'I'm coming with you'. My father said, 'Your mother has sent you a fowl to eat on the way to Southern Rhodesia'. We stayed in the village for a day.

On starting our journey, we were three children and two adults. After three days' journey, we slept at a village in Portuguese territory. There we met others who were going to Southern Rhodesia, and with them formed a single company. On the way we met my brother who was returning from Southern Rhodesia. Since our company was poor and without rations and without blankets, my brother took his blanket and gave it to me, and he gave me sixpence that I might eat on the way.

One day we came to a stream. As I bent down to drink, I saw a bicycle pump under the water. When we arrived at a village we found people coming home from Southern Rhodesia; and we sold it to them without any haggling for half-a-crown.

At that place we were three days' journey from the Zambezi. And our companions told us [children], 'When you see the Zambezi, you are not to exclaim because, if you do, we'll all die of disease of the belly'. We went on and we came to a small hill from which one could see the Zambezi; and we all saw it. This was when we were a day's journey from it. We went on, and, after a short distance, I exclaimed, 'Oh!' My companion asked me what I was exclaiming about. I replied, 'I was exclaiming at the size of that enormous Zambezi'. My companion reported this to the adults, who were very angry indeed and wanted to beat me.

. . . .

We went on and came to a village where we slept. The next afternoon at three o'clock we came to the Zambezi. We slept there. Next day we waited until the sun reached its nine o'clock position, when we saw many people coming from Southern Rhodesia singing songs. When they landed on our side of the river, they all went, and we got on to the ferry. The men operating the ferry went off to drink beer and returned at one o'clock. We started our crossing and went slowly because there was not much water. We reached the other bank at four o'clock. We slept there. We ate wild fruit that grows on the banks of the Zambezi.

We started off [next morning] and, after travelling a long distance, cooked some food at about four o'clock in the afternoon. Then we started to traverse a long stretch of country where there is no water anywhere for forty miles. We traversed it during the night, not knowing that there were small villages on the way at places where the Government was having wells dug. At one of these [we got into trouble by trying to kill an animal which turned out to be a pig; and were saved from serious consequences by a man going in the opposite direction, who threatened to beat the people who were trying to detain us].

We went a long distance, and all became very tired. The adults said, 'Come, let's sleep'. We slept; and started off early the next morning and travelled until the sun reached its ten o'clock position, when we arrived at a place called Mkumbula, where we cooked food and where they gave us maize to roast. This was because the Government had laid down that persons going to Southern Rhodesia should receive maize to eat. We left there, and, after a long journey, came to a certain village. There we found women who smoked tobacco; and, since my father had tobacco, we bought maize-flour with it.

We slept there; and next morning left and came to a hill called Makomo. The path goes right over it. We climbed it from six o'clock until eleven o'clock. We went on a little, and came to Mandawi [Mount Darwin?], where people from here [Northern Rhodesia] take out documents for entry into Southern Rhodesia. There they showed us houses for defecating in—what Europeans call latrines—saying, 'This is yours; and that is the women's'. The next morning they gave us the work of sweeping the yard. When we had finished, we went to the office to await our documents. They gave us these in the afternoon, when the doctor came to examine people for sores, rash and venereal disease. He found many people with these, but he didn't discover my sore thumb, which I had hurt on the way, because I had thrust it into the sand and it was difficult to see the sore.

Then they called us to the house of the senior European where they instructed us in the manner in which we should conduct ourselves in Southern Rhodesia.

When they had finished, they said that those who wanted to go could go. We went that same day, and that evening slept in the bush because there was no village nearby. There was no water there, and, on going to find some, we found the place where cattle had been drinking; we drew some and cooked our food with it, not caring that it was dirty.

Next morning we resumed our journey and came to [the farm of] the European where my elder [classificatory] brother, Patisoni, was. On our arrival he was greatly distressed at seeing that I had come. He said, 'Come, let us go home [together] because I have much money and [with it] I shall buy all you want'. But I would not agree [to his taking me home]. And he gave me half-a-crown that I might eat on the way because [he saw] we really intended to press on. And another acquaintance gave me a shilling; and another, sixpence. We slept the night at that European's farm.

The next day we continued on our way, and, after a long journey, came to where my 'small father', who had married my mother's sister, was. He gave me ninepence. We pressed on. At that time I became very lame; my feet were blistered, and I could not walk properly. I therefore asked my father to buy me some tennis shoes. This he did..... We walked a long way and came to a certain stretch of country which resembled a large dambo. We went a long way, and the sun set. There was no tree nearby, but we eventually found one, which we cut down and used for making a fire. We slept there, but ate nothing because there was no water. Next morning we pressed on. We came to a stream and [after we had cooked food] I refused to eat any because I had quarrelled with my father...... Before the food was finished, I heard something say, 'Ku---u'. They all told me it was a train. I was greatly frightened because this was my first experience [of a train]. And my father told me I must eat the food; otherwise the train would strike me. In fear I ate the food. The train went.

We slept the night on the way, but in the bush. Next morning we reached the farm of a European where we found many Tumbuka people. We asked them about the character of their European [master]. They gave a good account of him; and we went to ask him for employment. He took us on civilly, and immediately gave us maize-meal [as opposed to pounded maize-flour]. He told us to go and build ourselves huts.

This was in October 1936 that we started work. At the end of a month we children received five shillings; and the adults, fifteen shillings. And seeing that, on leaving home, we had had no proper clothes, we were [now] in rags. We bought clothes. Shorts cost [me] half-a-crown; a shirt, half-a-crown; all my money was finished.

We worked four months; and in the fifth month one of our companions fell ill of the chest. And there came

a certain deceitful person who said he knew how to prepare medicines for the chest. He began seeking these for our companion. He said that his price was one and sixpence, but, as we had no change, our companion gave him half-a-crown, telling him to get change at the store and bring back a shilling. But did he return? On receiving the half-crown he went, and was not seen again in spite of our searching for him.

We were greatly worried on account of the sick person. In April 1937, we realized that his illness had become very serious. Therefore my father said, 'It were well that we went home lest he should die here'. Our homeward journey began in May 1937. I had altogether two pounds, ten shillings; and my [child] companion, the same. My father had six pounds, fifteen shillings; and the sick man, five pounds, ten shillings. On leaving work, we went to buy at the store. I bought shorts, a shirt, a belt, a sweater, a hat and tennis shoes; and my friend did the same. We began our journey home..... We took four weeks and arrived home in the fifth week. Everyone rejoiced exceedingly, especially my mother, who danced very much. It was in the month of June that we arrived home. I perceived that my elder [classificatory] brother, Patisoni, who had now returned home, rejoiced [at our return]; and so did my elder brother, Kadze. Seeing that I had ten shillings [of my money left], I took half-a-crown to give to my mother, but she refused it; I gave Kadze two shillings, and he bought a pair of shorts and a shirt. And with the half-crown my mother had refused I bought shorts, and with two shillings I bought two hoes, one for my mother and one for me. I gave a shilling to another [classificatory] mother, the mother of Patisoni. And half-a-crown I kept that I might give it to my other [classificatory] mothers.

There were many fowls at home. We ate as many as eighteen, and twelve remained. There was much joy because I remembered the words I had spoken when still a child, viz., 'I want, if I go to Southern Rhodesia and return, to eat many fowls'. The tennis shoes I had bought I gave to another elder brother..... I stayed at home for six months, and in November there came a teacher to start school in the village. [After I had got over my fear of being laughed at for making mistakes in reading], I began school.

4. Notes of an Interview with a Man Recently Returned from Work, 18 December 1952

The informant said that he had been through Southern Rhodesia to Kimberley and Cape Town and 'Western Germany', which turned out to be South-West Africa. He was in Cape Town for two weeks, and found many people from Northern Rhodesia living there. (He pointed out that, in a distant labour centre, if a

person comes from near your home, you are as if his brother, and make friends with him.) At this time he was out of work, but during the two weeks he found work with a canning company who sent him to Walvis Bay [South-West Africa] to work in a fish canning factory. There he earned in a week as much as he would earn in a month here, i.e., two pounds, ten shillings. Provided you were not too fond of beer and women, he added, you could put in a good deal of over-time and earn up to seven pounds a week. (This sounded an exaggeration, since he quoted the overtime rate at one and sixpence an hour.) When I asked him what he had done with his money (he worked two years, from 1949 to January 1952), he said that the bank of black people was their hands : that he had not bought any cattle, and that by the time you had bought yourself clothes, clothed your wife and had some beer, the money was gone. In reply to a question he said that he would very much like to go again, and would write to his employers in Walvis Bay for a document enabling him to go back. In reply to another question he said that it was not possible to make money locally. Some people were lucky and made it, e.g. if they had cattle. A grain-store yielded the best kind of money, although he did not think that the price of maize was good.

5. Some Typical Labour Histories Summarized

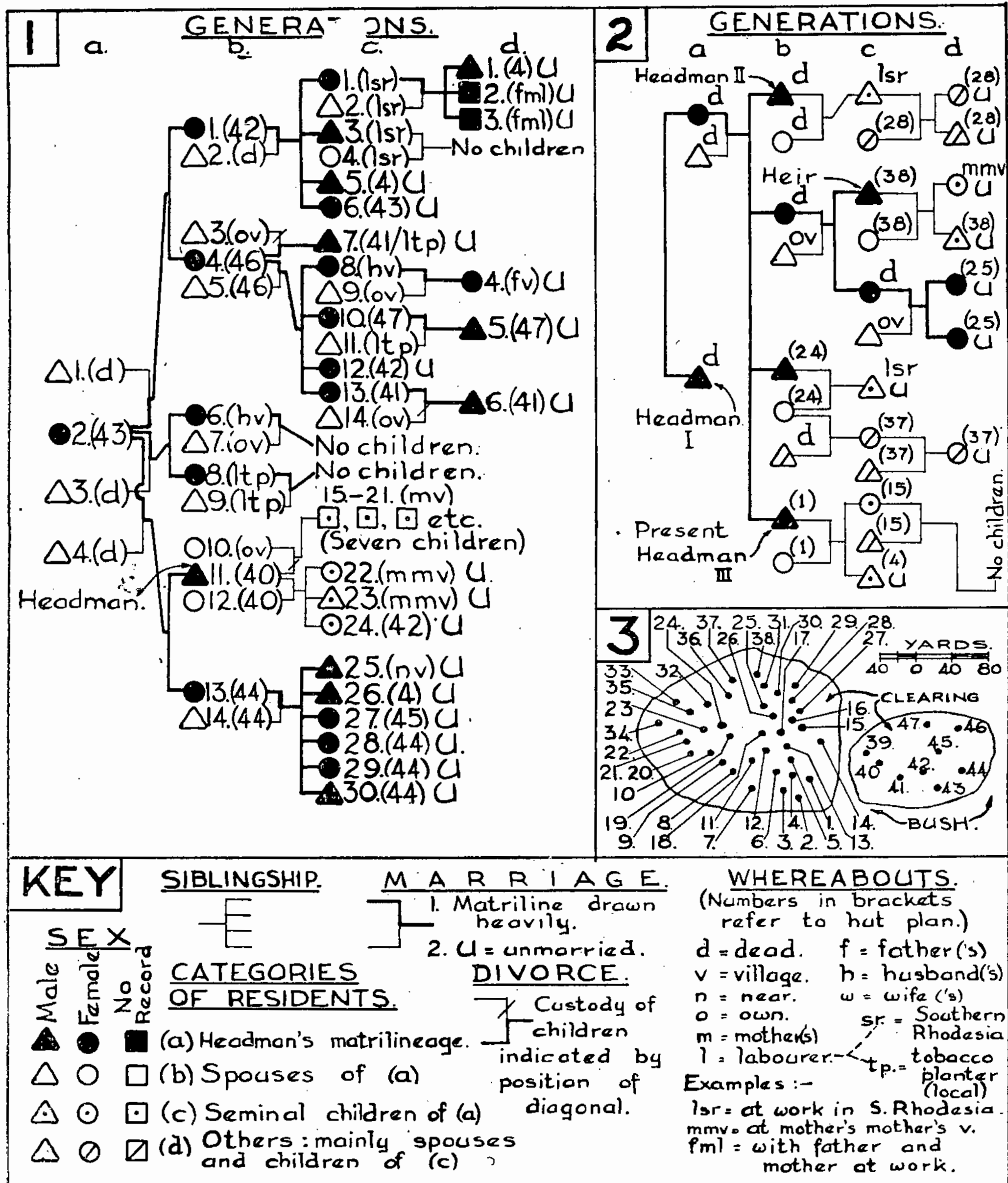
Person	Journey No.	Date	Place of Work	Kind of Work	Duration	Wages (shillings) p.m.	Rations Provided?
Cuzu Phili, a man born c. 1884	1	c.1899	Carrying between Fort Jameson and Tete		3 years	3	Yes
	2	c.1906	Carrying between Fort Jameson and Ndola		8 months	5	Yes
	3	'before 1916'	Local farm	With cotton	3 weeks	4	Yes
	4	do.	Local farm	Well-digging	1 month	3	Yes
	5	do.	Local farm	With cotton	2 months	3	Yes
	6	do.	Mvuma, S.R.	In a mine	1 year	30	Yes
	7	1916	Jombo Mine, S.R.	In a mine	1 year	60	Yes
	8	1926	Near Salisbury	On a farm	1 year	12	Yes

Person	Journey		Place of Work	Kind of Work	Duration	Wages (shillings p.m.)	Rations Provided?
	No.	Date					
Cuzu Phili (continued)	9	1928	Bulawayo	Quarrying	1 year	60	Yes
	10	1929	Messina, Transvaal	In a mine	3 years	60	Yes
	11	'recently'	Great East Road	Road work	1 month	12	Yes
Dzuŵaliŵaŵa Banda, a man born 1922	1	1940	Local mission	Garden boy	1 month	7½	Yes
	2	1946	Local farm	With tobacco	3 months	9	Yes
	3	1947	Indian trader's	Kitchen boy	6 months	15	No
	4	1948	Local farm	Bricklayer	2 years	37	Yes
	5	1951	Lusaka	Kitchen boy	1 year	95	No
Batizana Banda, a boy born 1937	1	1950	Local farm	Hoeing tobacco	2 months	10*	Yes
	2	1952	Local farm	Hoeing tobacco	1 month	10*	Yes
Adalaida Mvula a woman, born 1918	1	1938	Local farm	Ridging tobacco	3 weeks	8*	No
	2	1938	Local farm	Grading tobacco	1 month	5*	No
Muiŋkhole Phili a woman, born 1930	1	1945 (?)	Local farm	Tying tobacco	3 weeks	10	Yes
	2	1945 (?)	Local farm	Tying tobacco	3 weeks	10*	Yes
	3	1946 (?)	Local farm	Tying tobacco	5 weeks	10*	Yes

*Informant received clothes or cloth to the value of this amount.

Person	Journey No.	Date	Place of Work	Kind of Work	Duration	Wages (shil-lings p.m.)	Rations Pro-vided?
Tiilila Banda, a girl born 1937	1	1952	Local farm	Hoeing tobac-co	4 weeks	5*	Yes
	2	1952	Local farm	Hoeing tobac-co	4 weeks	5*	Yes

*Informant received clothes or cloth to the value of this amount.



Genealogies of two of the sections and hut plan of Matope Village, Fort Jameson District, Northern Rhodesia

(1) Tenje's, illustrating the typical social composition of a Cewa village section

(2) Matope's (abridged), illustrating a variation from the typical pattern caused by an abnormally high proportion of virilocal marriages

(3) Hut plan : Tenje's section (Huts Nos. 39-47) is segregated from the other sections because it joined the village only recently

(Diagram reproduced from South African Journal of Science, 48, 1952, p. 259, by kind permission of the Editor.)

APPENDIX F

ADDITIONAL GENEALOGIES

1. Tenje's Section, Matope Village

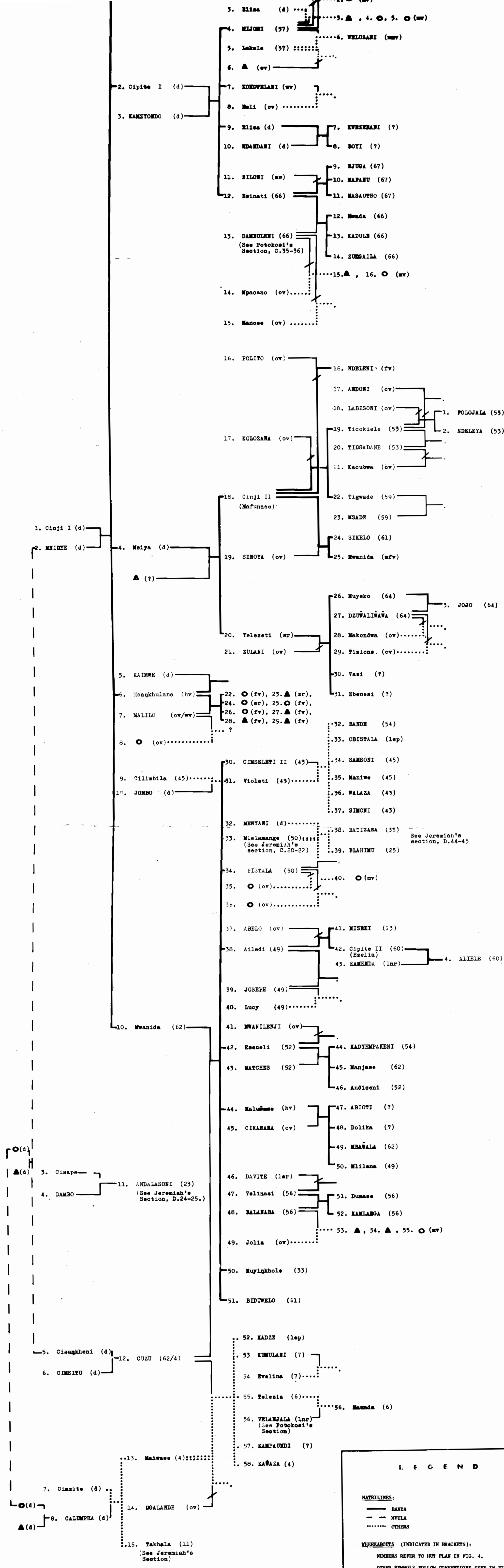
This genealogy illustrates the typical social composition of a Ceŵa village-section.

2. Matope's Section, Matope Village (abridged)

This genealogy represents a variation from the typical pattern, caused by an abnormally high proportion of virilocal marriages.

3. Hut Plan of Matope Village

Note that Tenje's section (Huts Nos. 39-47) is segregated from the other sections of the village because, at the time when it was studied, it had only recently joined the village.



L E G E N D

MATRILINES:
BANDA
NVULA
OTHERS

WHEREABOUTS (INDICATED IN BRACKETS):
NUMBERS REFER TO HUT PLAN IN FIG. 4.
OTHER SYMBOLS FOLLOW CONVENTIONS USED IN FIG.

OTHERWISE: - AS FOR FIG. 4.

4. Cimgeleti's Section, Jeremiah Village

This genealogy illustrates the typical social composition of a Ceŵa village-section. Note that it includes the small section of Maiwase (B.13), the second wife of Cuzu (B.12). Maiwase's section appears to be developing into an independent one; it is already spatially segregated.

The legend and hut plan of Fig. 4, facing p. 154, apply to this genealogy.

5. Potokosi's Section, Jeremiah Village

This genealogy deviates from the typical pattern in having an abnormally high proportion of virilocal marriages; and it is complicated by (a) the intertwining of long-associated matrilineages and (b) the fact that the section has recently come from Portuguese territory, where many of its members have been left.

The legend and hut plan of Fig. 4, facing p. 154, apply to this genealogy.

APPENDIX G

SOME EXAMPLES OF CEŴA STORIES

1. Hare and Lion's Children[1]

Lion had four children. One day he met Hare and asked him, 'Would you like to work as the nurse of my children?' Hare said: 'Yes, Great Chief, I should like to very much'. So, Lion then left all his children with Hare and went to hunt game. While he was away, Hare played with the children on the sand, saying, 'You and you wrestle with each other, and the one that falls is game'. One fell down, and was eaten. This went on until three children had been eaten and only one remained. Then Hare said, 'All right, you who remain and I shall wrestle and we'll see who is knocked over'. They actually wrestled and Hare was knocked over, but he said to the lion cub, 'If you eat me, with whom will you remain?' And they wrestled again, and the lion cub was knocked down, and Hare ate him.

Now Hare said, 'But what am I to say to Lion?' He made a plan and took thorns and scratched himself all over his body and began to weep. Lion returned and on arrival asked, 'Why are you crying, Hare?' Hare replied: 'Sorry, Great Chief, but Baboon seized all the children and ate them'. And Lion said, 'Now what are we to do?' Hare replied: 'I have already thought of a plan. I shall tie you in a bundle of sweet potatoes, and then we'll go and trade with the baboons'. They actually did as they had planned, and Hare carried the bundle to the baboons, asking them, 'Who wants to buy sweet potatoes?' He called them all to come close, but one of the baboon children who was there kept saying, 'There is a big eye in the bundle'. Hare therefore said, 'Come on, let us go and trade in the house'. And they all entered the house. Then Hare closed the door. Lion sprang out of the bundle and caught all the baboons, and that was the end of them.

Hare, Tortoise and Their Fellow Animals[2]

It happened like this. All the animals could not drink water because all the streams had run dry. They came to an agreement that they would dig for water; and they

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[1]My translation of the original told by Vinancio Nthukwa.

[2]My translation of the original told by Kosmos Banda.

sent Antelope to go and beg a water-charm[3] from Rock Rabbit (Hyrax), who lived on a hill; for Rock Rabbit appears to live without drinking water, and we do not know where he drinks it. Rock Rabbit told Antelope to go and dig beside the cangaluce tree to be found in the dambo. Antelope ran fast, but, as he descended the hill, he fell down and forgot what Rock Rabbit had said.

When Antelope came to his fellow animals, he named another tree; and, when they dug, they found no water Then they sent another animal to Rock Rabbit, but he did exactly the same as Antelope. This happened again and again, until nearly all the animals had been sent and had returned without the charm. There remained only Hare and Tortoise. But Hare refused to go and beg the charm from Rock Rabbit, and his fellow animals chased him away, saying, 'If you come and beg water here, you'll die of thirst'. And, having spoken thus, they sent Tortoise to beg for the water-charm. When he arrived, Rock Rabbit said: 'But I've already said that you must dig beneath the cangaluce tree in the dambo. And Tortoise listened carefully, not wishing to forget what he had been told; and, on his return, he did not fall down. Thus Tortoise returned safely, and they succeeded in digging a water-hole.

At the water-hole they placed a guard who might keep Hare away if he came to drink water there. But Hare always came with honey in order to bribe the one on guard to let him drink water. And all the animals failed to guard the water-hole properly because they liked honey. But there came the time for Tortoise to guard the water-hole. He didn't care for honey, and he asked the others to smear bird-lime on his back so that, when Hare came, he would think that his shell was something to sit on. When Hare arrived, he saw what he thought to be a small stone, and he sat on it, dangling his legs in the water. And, because he knew nothing about Tortoise's plan, he thought that there was no one guarding the water-hole; but in fact he was sitting on Tortoise's back. And he began to boast, saying that they were now afraid of him because they had failed to place a guard at the water-hole. When Hare wanted to depart, he found that he was stuck, and he tried in many ways to get away, but in vain.

Eventually the others found him there, properly stuck. And when all the animals had assembled, Elephant said, 'You are going to die today'. And he asked him, 'Where do you want to be killed?' And Hare replied: 'I want you to kill me in a bush, because, if you try to kill me on a stone, I'll certainly remain alive, and, if you try to kill me in a bush, I'll certainly die because dirt will get into my eyes'. And all the animals shouted together: 'Kill him by throwing him into a bush so that he'll really die'. But in fact the bush was very soft and he was not killed when he landed there. He ran away as fast as he could, and was saved.

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[3]Cizimba ca madzi. Cizimba usually means an activating agent added to otherwise inert root concoctions to make them potent. But for its un-African flavour, 'spell' might have been a better translation than 'charm'.

After a few days, the rains came again, and the water-supply was restored.

3. Hyena and the Hospitable Headman[4]

Long ago there was an hospitable [human] headman who used to receive all who came to his village. If they needed food, he gave it to them. Now there was a certain person who went to the village of the hospitable headman, and his name was Lion. Lion came to the village and approached the headman, saying, 'I need a sleeping-place because time has overtaken me so that I am unable to pass on to my home village'. And the headman gave him a place to sleep in, and he asked his guest: 'Have you food with you that you may eat today?' And his guest replied, 'No, I have no food because I thought that I would reach home today'. So, the hospitable headman said: 'Lion, go into the cattle byre and eat one large ox'. And Lion in fact went there and caught one beast, as the headman had told him, and, having eaten it, went to the hut the headman had given him for the night.

Next day, at daybreak, Lion went to take leave of the headman and to thank him for the hospitality he had enjoyed in his village. And the headman said, 'Go to the byre and eat one other beast before you leave for home'. And Lion caught one other beast, and, having eaten it, went on his way.

Now, when Leopard heard about this from Lion, he, too, made a journey to the village of the hospitable headman, arriving there in the afternoon. He approached the headman and said: 'I would like a place to sleep in because time has overtaken me, and I cannot get home today'. The headman said: 'Go and sleep in that hut'; and he asked him, 'Have you food with you that you may eat today?' And Leopard replied, 'No, I have no food because I thought that I would reach the place to which I am going before the end of the day; so, please help me'. And the headman told Leopard: 'Go to the goat-pen and catch one big goat'. And Leopard went and caught one and ate it. Next morning, at daybreak, Leopard went to the headman to take his leave and thank him for the hospitality he had enjoyed. But the headman said, 'Go again to the goat-pen and take another little goat and eat it before going home'. And Leopard went and caught one, as his host had told him, and then went home.

When he arrived home, he told Hyena the story of the hospitable headman who received people well, giving them food according to their kind. When Hyena heard this, he made a journey to the village of the hospitable headman, and, having arrived, said to him : 'I would like somewhere to sleep because the place to which I am going is so far that I shall be unable to reach it today'. And the headman said, 'All right, sleep in that hut over there'; and he

[4]My translation of the original told by Thandford Phili.

asked him, 'Have you food with you that you may eat to-day?' And Hyena replied: 'No, I have no food because I thought that I would reach the place to which I am going before the end of the day; so, please help me'. And the headman told Hyena, 'Go to the pig-pen and eat one large pig'; and Hyena went and caught a large pig and ate it. When he had finished, he went to sleep in the hut the headman had assigned to him.

In the middle of the night, Hyena awoke and went to the pig-pen and caught all the pigs and took them to the bush. But the people heard the noise and came out of their houses; and, when they saw it was Hyena, they killed him.

So, Hyena died because of his thieving ways; and the headman gave up helping people who came to sleep at his village because of the case of Hyena. Hyena brought misfortune to all the people who sought the headman's hospitality. And that is why, even to this day, people hate Hyena for his thieving ways and for his having ended the friendship between people and the hospitable headman.

4. Pimbilimani of Original Plan[5]

A certain person had a male child whose name was Pimbilimani of Original Plan. And one day Pimbilimani's mother went to the stream to get water. When she had drawn water, she was unable to raise the jar on to her head, and Lion came along. She said, 'Please, Lion, help me put this on my head'. Lion replied: 'And if I put it on your head, what will you give me?' And that woman said, 'But I'll give you my child to eat; he's at the village'. Lion agreed, and helped her with the jar.

Next morning Lion came, and the woman said, 'But wait a little, and while I prepare the traps on the verandah of the house, you hide yourself near at hand; and, when the trap falls, I'll tell him to go and see the trap that has fallen; when he comes, then you can catch him'. The trap fell, and the woman said 'Pimbilimani, go and see the trap that has fallen', but the child said, 'But my trap falls twice'; and the trap fell again, and he said, 'That trap of mine falls three times'—and thus he did not go.

And the woman said to Lion, 'All right, now I'll tie you in a bundle of grass, and I'll tell Pimbilimani to go and lift the bundle of grass, and at that time you can catch him; and the woman actually tied up a bundle of grass with Lion inside it. She told Pimbilimani: 'Go and carry the bundle of grass on the path'. Pimbilimani told his companions, 'My companions, come along, let's go and carry the bundle of grass on the path'. His companions assented, and Pimbilimani said, 'But first you must shoot at this bundle of the adults'. They made small bows and began to shoot at the bundle. Very soon Lion ran away. And Pimbilimani took the grass to his mother.

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[5]My translation of the original by Natalia Banda.

Lion went again to the mother of the child and said, 'I've been unable to eat your child; now, therefore, I am going to eat you, his mother'. But the boy's mother said, 'But I'll buy him a white cloth and, when he is in the boys' hut, you'll know which he is and you'll be able to catch him'. And the boy's mother bought her son a white cloth; but, when he went to the boys' hut, he tore up the whole of that cloth and divided it among his companions. When Lion came, he asked: 'Which is Pimbilimani in here—the one with a white cloth?'. But Pimbilimani replied, 'Look, we've all got white cloths; so, whom are you going to catch?' Therefore Lion did nothing.

From that time, Pimbilimani realized that his mother wanted to feed him to Lion. So, he killed his mother and made a belt from the skin of her belly.

At the village of his maternal uncle, they heard that Pimbilimani was very famous. And his uncle called him to his village. On his journey there, Pimbilimani took these animals :- a mouse, a wood-borer, a spider, a rat and a water-rat. And he began his journey. After walking a long way, he found there was a big hill shutting off the whole path; and he took the mouse and it made a tunnel through it. And they all went on. Secondly, they came to a big lake which was impossible to cross; so, they took a spider-web so that it could be their bridge, and on it they actually made a bridge and they all crossed the lake. They went on many miles, and they encountered an enormous tree shutting off the whole path; but Pimbilimani simply took the wood-borer and told it to make a hole through the tree; and it actually made a hole, and they all went on well. Fourthly, they came to a big bush; now he sent the water-rat, saying, 'Now make our path that we may go in it'; and the water-rat actually made a path through the bush. Eventually they came to the village of his maternal uncle. All these things that he had encountered on the road had been caused by the sorcery of his maternal uncle.

His uncle killed a beast, and they cooked food. When they were cooking, Pimbilimani sent the rat, saying, 'Go and look at the food'. The rat actually went, and returned, saying, 'They've put medicines in your food; so, you must eat our food'. And so it happened that Pimbilimani did as the rat had said.

Next morning, at daybreak, his uncle took his bow and shot a pigeon which was in a nearby tree. He actually killed the pigeon, but the arrow remained in the tree. And he told Pimbilimani to climb up there so that he could retrieve the arrow. And Pimbilimani said, 'But you must look after this belt of mine'. And his uncle tied the belt round his belly. Now, when Pimbilimani had climbed up, his uncle uttered a magical address, saying to him, 'You, if you saw this tree being planted, let the tree not go up; but, if you did not see the tree being planted, let the tree go right up!' And the tree actually went up very high. And he, too, right up there, Pimbilimani, said, 'But I, too, if you recognize that belt of mine that you

tied round your belly, it doesn't matter. But if you don't know where I got that belt, belt of mine, contract on the belly!' And the belt gripped very hard on his uncle's belly, so that that person told the tree to come down. And in this way they failed to overcome each other.

APPENDIX H

SOME CEŴA RITUALS

1. 'Taking' the Child (with some references to other situations connected with ritual 'hotness' and 'coldness' and 'getting cut in the chest' (*kuduka m'cifuwa*, *mdulo*)[1]

A man should refrain from committing adultery when his wife is pregnant because she and her unborn child are ritually 'cold' (*ozizila*), and his adultery has made him 'hot' (*wotentha*); consequently he will kill the unborn child with *mdulo* as soon as he goes to the doorway of her hut. He can have intercourse with his [pregnant] wife, since, by so doing, he gives the foetus its food. On the other hand, it does not seem to matter if, having made his wife pregnant, a man goes away, e.g. to work, provided that he does not commit adultery wherever he is. If he is a polygynist, he can have intercourse with all his wives while one of them is pregnant, but must stop as soon as the child is born. He then watches the child carefully for signs of its beginning to laugh [smile]. These may appear four or five weeks after birth, and indicate that the time for 'taking' the child is at hand. He takes some money

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[1]Based mainly on interviews with Cuzu Phili and Gositino Banda. The best sources for *mdulo* that I have come across were Anon., *Mdulo*, no publisher and no date given—probably printed at Mkhoma, Nyasaland, by the Dutch Reformed Mission Press; its unstandardized Afrikaans orthography suggests a date early in this century; and A.G.O. Hodgson, 'Notes on the Achewa and Angoni [of the Dowa District of the Nyasaland Protectorate]', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 43, 1933, 123-66, at pp. 129-30.

[a few shillings] and gives it to his wife, telling her to go to thank her midwives (anyamwino) for helping her to recover from the illness of childbirth. The midwives know from this that the husband is now going 'to take the child' (kutenga mwana).

It is on that very night that he resumes intercourse with his wife : he sleeps with her and 'performs the work of marriage' (has intercourse with her). She lies on her back with the baby on her chest. As soon as he has ejaculated once, possibly twice, he withdraws and runs to the other side of the hut. His wife takes the mixed seminal and vaginal secretion, rubs it on the child and passes the child to him across the fire [which is now between them]. He holds the child for a time, and then passes it back to her. When she receives it, the child should sneeze, urinate or defecate. If it does not, this means that the husband has ejaculated too much semen, and that the child has not been properly 'taken', and will die unless medicines are procured to prevent this. Nowadays, if the husband is away at work, such medicines alone may be enough to ensure the child's safety.

The husband has 'to make firm [his] heart' (kulimbika mtima) to break off intercourse in the middle. It is like tasting food and then not eating it, and requires a strong will. This firmness of heart is what the father gives to the child at this time. If he is weak in this matter, the child's character will also be weak.

Once the child has been [successfully] taken, it is 'warm' (wofunda, wotentha). The reason why the parents

pass it across the fire is that this is an additional way of removing the 'coldness' (nphepo) of the womb and of making it 'warm'.

'Hotness' comes from men; for it is their 'hotness' that makes them desire coitus.

After the child has been 'taken', its father can sleep with his wife or wives and can commit adultery with other women without causing any danger to the child or its mother. The only time a man can kill his wife with mdulo is when she is pregnant; for 'a woman who is not pregnant is of no use [of no function, unimportant]'. If he 'cuts' (-dula) his wife, he has to pay [her matrilineage] compensation known as mpango or canthumbi. Having paid it, he would not be required to pay camzimu [the payment for settling her shade] as well.

His wife, if she commits adultery, can kill him with mdulo if he has been on a journey and returns to her. In this case, her adultery has made her 'hot', and, if he has not committed adultery while away, he is 'cold', and her 'hotness' will kill him. If, however, he has not refrained from sexual intercourse on his journey, he is not in danger of being 'cut' by an adulterous wife on his return. Another way in which a woman who has committed adultery can kill her 'cold' husband is by putting salt in his 'relish'.

A pregnant woman can kill herself (kudzipha yekha, sometimes used for 'to commit suicide') by committing adultery.

2. Boy's Puberty[2]

Boys mature later than girls. Suppose a boy and a girl are born on the same day or in the same month. The girl will have had two or three children by the time the boy has reached maturity. When a boy has reached puberty, this is indicated by his dreaming he is having sexual intercourse with a grown woman, this resulting in his having a seminal emission. This fact he must bring to the attention of someone if it has not been noticed; and the person he tells about it must procure for him the appropriate medicines. Some, made from roots of the mtombozi tree, are taken orally in soft porridge; others, made from the roots of the msolo tree are used for washing. If the boy is not treated in this way, he will develop a disease known as kudzidyela (the applied form of the reflexive of kudya, 'to eat', meaning, approximately, 'to eat himself'). Its symptoms are pain in the back, hands and legs. Untreated, the disease causes a gradual wasting away, and is invariably fatal.

After the boy has been treated, he must find a woman and have intercourse with her. This is to make him 'hot'. If he fails to do this, he will be liable 'to get cut in the chest' (kuduka m'cifuwa), the symptoms of which are, roughly, those that Western doctors would associate with pulmonary tuberculosis. After he has seduced this woman, he goes to his mother's hut, where he is given 'relish' (any kind, even meat) with salt in it; and from now on he will be well.

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[2]Based mainly on a text by David Mwanza and on interviews with Jabesi Lungu and Simeon Banda.

3. Nyau[3]

Nyau (plur., the same) is the name given to any one of a series of dances or mimes that are produced periodically by the Ceŵa, Cipeta and Zimba. Like the ritual of the sneeze (see above, p. 223), this appears to be an institution the possession of which distinguishes the Ceŵa (in the general connotation of the name) from neighbouring peoples, even from the other descendants of the Maravi; though Professor Jorge Dias's researches among the Makonde in north-eastern Moçambique and south-eastern Tanganyika[4] shows that they have an institution, known as mapiko, that is very similar to the nyau of the Ceŵa.

The nyau mimes are organized by local secret societies, which, having no specific names, are themselves known as nyau, though this term, in the singular, more properly refers to any one of the various mimes. In Nyasaland, the augmentative form, cinyau, with plurals, vinyau or zinyau, is commoner. Although it is locally organized, nyau comes under the control of the territorial chief in that the right to hold it (known as thambwe in Northern Rhodesia; mzinda in Nyasaland) is possessed only by the ambili, those village headmen looked upon as the chief's lieutenants and charged with calming him when he is angry (see above, p. 241).

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[3]Based on numerous texts and interviews and on personal observation of the production of nyau, both in the village and 'behind the scenes', on two occasions, and of the dance alone on a third occasion. The fullest published account is that of W.H.J. Rangeley, '"Nyau" in Kotakota District [Nyasaland]', Nyasaland Journal, 2, 1949, 35-49, and 3, 1950, 19-33.

[4]A. Jorge Dias, Portuguese Contributions to Cultural Anthropology, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1961, Chaps. 2 and 3.

Nyau has two functions. Firstly, it is produced as an appropriate means of celebrating the ritual shaving of (a) mourners for the death of a headman or important elder and (b) a girl coming to the end of the first phase of her puberty ceremony (see below, pp. 440ff.). Secondly, it serves as a boys' initiation lodge. Rangeley, in describing the first of these functions, states that (a) 'Nyau is a funeral dance.....a part of the funeral ceremonies which culminate in kumeta (the shaving of heads)' and (b) nyau comes by invitation to cinamwali (girls' puberty ceremony) as a means of frightening any girl neophytes in need of chastisement[5]. Bruwer goes further by saying that nyau is a 'secondary phenomenon' which has evolved out of the girls' initiation (cinamwali)[6]. I was unable to observe the association between nyau and cinamwali because, during my time in the field, with the exception of my third trip, the production of nyau was banned by a Native Authority order, and, prior to the introduction of Indirect Rule, had been banned for many years by the direct action of the Administration. Cinamwali ceremonies, although disapproved of by the missionaries, were not under a legal ban, but most people believed them to be, and I was unable to witness any of them personally.

Regarding its second function, Rangeley affirms that nyau in its original form was selective and that 'only a small proportion of men in a village were members of it'.

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[5] '"Nyau" in Kotakota District', pp. 44-45.

[6] J.P. van S., Bruwer, Die Gesin onder die Moederregtelike Acewa, Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Pretoria, 1949, p. 181.

It is, he claims, only in 'the most degenerate areas' and only 'within the last sixty years' that it has become a boys' initiation ceremony[7]. The Ceŵa Reserve of Fort Jameson district qualifies, by this definition, as one of the 'degenerate areas'; for, whatever the position may have been in the past, membership of nyau is at present a sine qua non of Ceŵa manhood; and it seems to me that nyau, even according to Rangeley's account, has too many features in common with the initiation ceremonies of other Bantu-speaking peoples for the resemblances to have been fortuitous or necessarily of very recent origin. My census data showed that, in spite of the ban, virtually every male over about the age of twelve had entered one of the local societies, either at one of its secret, illegal performances in the Reserve or at one on a tobacco farm outside the jurisdiction of the Native Authority. Informants agreed that the age for entering nyau was much lower than it used to be. The resemblances between nyau and other Bantu initiation ceremonies will become clearer as we proceed.

A boy wishing to enter nyau may approach the local leader (nyamkungwi, also meaning 'instructor'), who is usually a close relative of the holder of the right to produce it, the mwini thambwe (hon. plur., eni thambwe). The nyamkungwi will, however, tell him to get the permission of his parents. A sponsor (phungu) who is already a member of nyau is chosen for him—usually his cross-cousin or his brother-in-law—and takes him to the production place

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[7] '"Nyau" in Kotakota District', p. 48.

(dambwe, liunde) in the bush—often at the graveyard—where neophytes are instructed, tested and beaten, and where some of the dance models (nyau zolemba, sing., nyau yolemba), mostly man-operated representations of animals, are constructed—from saplings and grass finished with strips of maize-sloughs which increase their visibility when they are danced at night. An entrance fee is handed over. Long ago it consisted of reed mats and a fowl, and nowadays it is paid in money—in Northern Rhodesia as little as sixpence, or, if partial immunity from beating is desired, about one and sixpence; in Nyasaland considerably more.

As soon as the neophyte (namwali) is introduced, all present start beating one another with sticks to impress upon him the seriousness, and for a Ceŵa, the unusualness of the training he is about to undergo. Even his sponsor is beaten; and henceforth, throughout the period of his training, which long ago lasted as long as two months and nowadays may last a week or two, the neophyte is severely beaten on the slightest pretext. One of the reasons given for the beating is that it removes the spirits (viwanda, a term for unsettled ghosts rather than for apotheosized shades which are called mizimu) of the village and allows those of nyau to take their place. The occasions for beating arise when the neophyte is being taught the esoteric vocabulary, the songs and the dances of the society.

Something one notices at the production place is the lifting of controls on aggression, and the suspension of courteous and respectable behaviour. In addition to beating one another and the neophytes, especially those of them who in the village have tended to be impudent before they

entered the society, the senior members drop all respect-forms in speech, prefacing almost everything they say with '_Iwe!_ (Thou!)', the equivalent of our schoolboy 'You!'; they curse one another and use obscene language. This conduct is characteristic of them when, at specific times in the ceremonials they are assisting, they put on their mimes at the village, where they abuse everyone present and openly make suggestive remarks and gestures to women in the audience or to their own female character, Malia, played by a man. It is said that, long ago, they could commit assault and rape with impunity.

Formerly, non-members of the society, mainly women and children, believed—or are said to have believed—that the _nyau_ dancers were the spirits of the dead and that the _nyau zolemba_ were real wild animals (_vilombo_). This fiction was kept up by the most elaborate precautions, many of which are still rigorously applied. The production place, often at the graveyard where no one has the right to go except as a member of a grave-digging or grave-watching party or of a funeral procession, is clearly marked off with flags, and any unauthorized person entering it used to be badly beaten, heavily fined or even killed. Anyone betraying the secrets of _nyau_, such as by telling non-members the meanings of the special terms used or singing _nyau_ songs at times when _nyau_ was not in progress, would be beaten or killed. Should any dancer, especially the stilted _makanja_, hurt himself, he would be killed lest his injury should lead to people's believing that the character he represented was not in fact one of the spirits of the dead. Even today, dancers wear masks or some other form

of face-covering at all times, and speak in falsetto voices; the custom survives of throwing a handful of sand at any dancer whose disguise shows signs of falling off.

During their training period in the bush, the neophytes are 'cold' and their sponsors and their parents must abstain from sexual intercourse lest they 'cut them in the chest'. For the same reason they may not eat any 'relish' containing salt. During this period, the neophytes are instructed in nyau secrets and songs, taught about adult life, put through tests of endurance such as being immersed in cold water, and made to carry out unusual, disgusting or humiliating actions such as killing fowls with their teeth and drinking their blood, handling excreta, being led around by strings tied round their testicles and performing cimwangalala, an erotic dance by means of which a properly instructed Ceŵa wife arouses the ardour of her husband.

At the end of their time in the bush, the neophytes are returned to the village where each one is formally introduced to his mother, made to put his hand in her cooking pot to signalize that his days of stealing 'relish' from her are over, and made to touch her sleeping mat for the last time. He is then enjoined to find himself a woman, since sexual intercourse is regarded as essential as a means of removing his dangerous state of 'coldness'.

The nyau mimes are spectacular, and the drumming that accompanies them is of a very high standard. In addition to the two or three drums and a pounding mortar that beat out the basic, intricately interwoven rhythms, there is an open-sided drum, mbalule, with a harsh tone, which produces

the 'sound effects' that emphasize the actions of particular dancers. The dancing of the commonest characters, akasinja (sing., kasinja), is very vigorous, and the masks of the less usual ones, such as Cadzunda and his wife, Malia, are remarkable, as are the tall stilts of makanja and the life-like antics of the animal representations (nyau zolemba). Rangeley gives a full list of the various characters and animals that may be included[8]. Some of the ones he lists, e.g. Simon Petero and Yosefe, as well as the better known Malia lead one to believe that nyau has, in some measure at least, been influenced by Roman Catholic pageantry in Moçambique.

Informants agree that present-day nyau in Northern Rhodesia is of very degenerate form. Older people dismiss it as mere ciwele, the young people's dance (which during the time of the ban was often produced as a substitute for the nyau traditionally accompanying mortuary and girls' initiation ceremonies). They point out that nowadays women and even young children are allowed much too close to the dancers, and can easily tell that the characters of nyau are not spirits but people.

This is in contrast to the Cewâ areas of Nyasaland, where the permitting or the banning of nyau has been left to the discretion of the Native Authorities. There the secrets are strictly maintained. For instance, when I made a trip to Dowa district, I found that my membership of a Northern Rhodesian nyau society was of little avail to me in my attempts to get information on Nyasaland nyau. Even regional differences in the details of nyau were attributed to my

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[8] Ibid., pp. 19-33.

not really being a member; and the information I was given was obviously superficial, expurgated and distorted.

4. Girl's Puberty Ceremonies (which in some measure coalesce with marriage)[9]

Common to both the boy's entry into nyau and the girl's puberty ceremonies is a set of terms. The neophyte is known as a namwali; though in a general context this term usually has the feminine connotation of 'maiden'; hence cinamwali or unamwali always refers to the girl's ceremonies, never to the boy's. In both cases there is a phungu (sponsor or companion) and a nyamkungwi (instructor or instructress, who is the local leader of the active senior participants). The mdulo beliefs, with their attendant taboos, operate—as will be seen presently—whether for a boy's entry into nyau or for a girl's puberty ceremonies.

The girl's ceremonies fall into two distinct phases, the 'little maidenhood' (cinamwali cacinono) and the 'big maidenhood' (cinamwali cacikulu or cisamba). The first is celebrated at her first menstruation; and the second, at an advanced stage of her first pregnancy. Considerable importance is attached to the first of these phases because, should her first menstruation have gone unnoticed and should she have become pregnant before the completion of the cinamwali cacinono (by ritual shaving), her condition would have been that known as cimbwilimbwinda, which was regarded as a threat to the territorial chief to the extent of blinding him (kudoola m'maso, 'to make holes in [his] eyes').

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[9]Based on numerous texts and interviews, but not on personal observation.

For this wrong he had to be suitably compensated; and the girl's husband, appropriately humiliated by publicly carrying a basket of human and animal faeces on his head through the village.

An informant describes the events at first menstruation as follows :-

> When a girl reaches puberty, she does not realize it herself, but one of her companions who has already reached puberty is the one to recognize what has happened. If she does so, she should go and call an elder to come and see. When the elder comes, she sees that the girl's cloth has blood on it. She takes her by the hand and goes with her to her hut. This person taking her by the hand should not sleep with her husband lest she should 'cut the maidenhood' and perhaps cause the girl to die. The girl's mother, too, should not sleep with her husband for the same reason. The girl herself, if she has a husband, should not sleep with him; but [sleep on] her cloth spread on the small side of the hut, her husband sleeping on the mat on the large side. And they should sleep separately for three or four days or even a week.

The person taking the girl by the hand is her sponsor (phu-ngu) for the rest of the ceremonies. She may be the girl's grandmother, her cross-cousin or her sister-in-law, but is never her mother. It is the sponsor's duty to take care of the girl generally, and to procure appropriate medicines for her. Until her menstrual flow is over, the maiden is secluded in the sponsor's hut, where she is instructed every afternoon, and from which she is taken every evening to the ash-heap (kudzala) where her soiled diaper is buried and a fresh one provided, and where she is washed and treated with medicines. Her instructions at this time include the injunction not to season 'relish' when she is menstruating but to get a child to do this for her as well as more general precepts such as the following :-

> Today you are a maiden. Desist from childishness; acquire adult character; know the work of a grown

> woman; don't disobey the elders lest, when you become pregnant, you lack someone to help you recover from the disease of pregnancy; become finally accustomed to hard work, for, when you are married, your husband must never sleep hungry; don't keep company with children but with your adult companions.

When the girl's first menstruation is over, she plasters her hut; and her sponsor kills a fowl and gives her medicines to eat with it. Then the maiden's relatives place some white beads on a bamboo food basket (used as we would use a plate, known as <u>nsengwa</u>, plur., the same) and take it to her husband's relatives, mentioning the importance of his 'eating [her] maidenhood' (<u>kudya cinamwali</u>), i.e., successfully having intercourse with her and thus removing her dangerous, 'cold' condition. They ask that one of his sisters should be sent to instruct the girl on how to assist her husband in 'the work of the house' (<u>coitus</u>) by 'dancing her loins as he dances his'. That night the husband sleeps with his maiden wife, and, early the following morning, throws out of the door a white bead which the sponsor has given him, thus indicating to her that he has succeeded in his task of removing his wife from danger. Some sponsors, wishing to be doubly sure on this important matter, make the girl put maize flour on her breasts and, the following morning, look for signs of it on the husband's chest.

If signs such as these indicate that the husband is impotent or for some other reason has not succeeded in having intercourse with his wife, or if the girl has no husband, she is in danger of 'getting cut in the chest' by contact with sexually active persons, for instance through eating 'relishes' that her mother has seasoned. It is necessary,

therefore, to call in some other man, preferably one of her cross-cousins, to perform this important duty. He is sometimes referred to as a hyena. One informant points out that he is well fitted to perform this task because, as an outside person, he is 'cold', this implying that he can be more effective in bringing her back to a ritually safe state than an ardent husband may be. This is the only part of my records that might support Mair's contention that 'the girl must be deflowered by a man other than her husband, known as the _fisi_ (hyena)'[10]. All my other informants contended that ideally it is the girl's husband who should 'eat her maidenhood'. Whoever it is who succeeds in 'eating [the girl's] maidenhood', husband or 'hyena', will be rewarded by her relatives by being given a fowl to eat.

The following day the maiden plasters her mother's hut, thus indicating to her parents that they may safely resume sexual intercourse.

After a variable period, which may be as long as five months, the relatives of the girl and those of her husband assemble a supply of bamboo food baskets (_nsengwa_) and reed mats (_nphasa_), and, when these are ready, the girl's mother brews beer. It is at this stage that _nyau_ dances are staged, the bamboo food baskets being used as gifts for stimulating (_kusupila_) the dancers to greater effort.

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[10] Lucy P. Mair, 'Marriage and Family in the Dedza District of Nyasaland', _Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute_, 81, 1951, 103-119.

When the beer is _cale_ (a day off maturity), the reed-mats are taken along with other gifts, such as fowls and beer, and presented to the proprietor of the right to hold _nyau_ and _cinamwali_ (_eni thambwe_), who passes some of them on to the territorial chief.

From the first day of brewing beer, the girl is instructed and she and her husband do not sleep together. When the beer has matured (_wakupsya_), the old women of the neighbourhood, under the leadership of the instructress (_nyamkungwi_) take her to the headman's hut, where she and her husband are placed on a mat and have their heads shaved; after which people give them beads, money and other presents and instruct them on the conduct they consider appropriate in a grown married couple. The instructions refer especially to how the girl should attend to her husband's every need, and how she should be sexually responsive lest he should complain that he sleeps with a dead person who has not been properly trained. She is enjoined to entertain his guests so that he may be entertained when he visits them. He, in turn, is urged to support her and not to commit adultery when she is pregnant.

That night the couple are instructed to go early the following morning to 'kill grasshoppers', which means that they are to spend the day together in the bush, eating together, shaving each other's pubic and axillary hair, and having sexual intercourse. Having spent the day in this manner, they return to the village after dark, where the sponsor has already made a fire and drawn water for them. The sponsor asks to see the grasshoppers they have killed, and they show her semen that they have kept for this purpose. She leaves their hut ululating (_kuimba nthungulu_).

About two months after this the girl becomes pregnant, and her relatives inform her husband's relatives, who provide her with a cloth. Later, the girl's relatives prepare some castor oil (nsatsi) and inform her husband's relatives that the girl's pregnancy is now far advanced. The old women are then called to her hut to begin the second phase of the ceremony, known as cinamwali cacikulu or cisamba. Under the direction of the nyamkungwi, they make her remove her blouse, and tie her cloth around her waist. Then they take her to her mother's hut, where they remove all her clothes, and, by pouring castor oil on to her genitals, divine whether her baby will be a boy or a girl. They then prepare her for the trauma of childbirth by telling her,

> This is a womb [pregnancy]. It will cause you much pain. On the day you are ill from it, you will forget your husband. You will then say that you have given up sleeping with him [for all time], and that you just want to die. You won't want to eat food, but will just feel pain and cry out, 'Mother, I, your child, am gone today', and your mother will begin to weep. Others will tell her to stop crying because her child will be well.....

Then all who have been in the hut at this time wash themselves with medicines for four days; and the girl herself washes with them for five days.

Both phases of the girl's puberty ceremony provide occasions for the old women to sing songs. Many of these are, even from the Ceŵa viewpoint, obscene (zotukwana), and this is one of the reasons why missionaries have opposed the cinamwali ceremonies strenuously.

The foregoing describes the traditional forms of these ceremonies. Nowadays they are greatly abbreviated, consisting of little more than seclusion during first men-

struation, during which the girl is treated with medicines to make her fecund and instructed on the more important aspects of 'the work of the house', such as being sexually responsive and the duty of husband and wife to shave each other's pubic and axillary hair.

5. Mortuary Rituals and Nominal Reincarnation[11]

These two types of rituals do not necessarily coalesce. Names of people other than headmen may be handed on, not as a matter of course and thus as a normal part of the mortuary rituals, but rather because their shades have made it known that they do not want to be forgotten. This means, then, that a nominal reincarnation either may form part of the normal sequence of mortuary rituals, especially if the name concerned is that of a headman, or it may occur long after the death of its holder, who has manifested his or her discontent at being forgotten.

When someone dies, the steps immediately taken are ones primarily determined by beliefs in sorcery, described in Chapter 7, and by the need to provide helpers and sympathizers with hospitality. The corpse, grave and graveyard are doctored against the depredations of sorcerers; and, where the deceased was an important person, a vigil is kept at the grave for two or three nights after the burial to prevent them from exhuming and eating the corpse. A conspicuous feature of the burial that is not connected with

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[11]Based on numerous texts and the observation of many mortuary rituals and of one nominal reincarnation (see Plate XXI, facing p. 243). A good source on this subject, the one from which I have taken the apt translation 'nominal reincarnation', is B. Stefaniszyn, 'African Reincarnation Re-Examined', African Studies, 13, 1954, 131-46 (see above, p. 277, Footnote 15).

beliefs in sorcery is the fact that all who have gone in procession to the graveyard wash their legs on the way back to the village in order to remove the contamination of death.

On the morning after the burial, the heads of the chief mourners, usually women such as the widows or sisters of the deceased, are shaved, and cloth mourning bands (mi-laza, sing., mlaza) are tied round them.

Three to five weeks later, beer, known as mowa wa-bona, is brewed, and when this is a day off maturity, a libation of it is offered in a pot placed in a hole dug in the deceased's hut and then broken with a hoe handle. This offering is aimed at settling his spirit as a helpful shade (mzimu, plur. mizimu) rather than allowing him to remain a haunting and troublesome ghost (ciwanda, plur., viwanda). The following morning, the beer now being mature, the mourning bands are removed and the hair that they have kept as a sign of mourning is shaved off. Mourning is now over. During the mourning period, the mourners have been 'cold' and have abstained from sexual intercourse. This taboo is now lifted.

Dancing, such as nyau or ciwele, starts with the brewing of the beer and increases in intensity, and, in the case of nyau, changes in form, with the progress of the beer. My informants said the aim of the dancing was to help people 'to forget' (kuiŵala) their loss of the deceased. Rangeley, in reference to nyau, says :-

> The first two days obviously bring the spirit into the open, the next three placate it and then send it away. The sixth day is the.....day of shaving the heads and

> this is the finale after the placation of the dead is completed, at which Njobvu and Nswala [the elephant and antelope nyau zolemba models] appear, the senior of the nyau[12].

Such a sequence was far from obvious to me—possibly because of the changes brought about by the banning of nyau in Northern Rhodesia, and the fact that it was produced as a rare treat rather than as a regular means of facilitating mortuary rituals.

About a year after the death of an important person, an anniversary feast (caka = 'year') is held. It follows much the same pattern as that of the ceremony just described.

Where nominal reincarnation forms a part of the sequence of mortuary rituals, it may occur either with the mowâ wabona, a few weeks after the burial, or, more likely, at the caka, a year later. Otherwise, beer is brewed specially for it.

A connected account of the nominal reincarnation of a headman, involving the choice and installation of his heir, is contained in these notes of an interview I had with Chief Mkanda Mateyo of the 'Northern' Cewa :-

> When someone dies, they bury him and mourn. Then, after some time, they decide that they should forget him because, as we say, 'when water is spilt, it cannot be picked up'. They therefore start making beer. Dancing starts with the pounding of the grain and increases in tempo until the beer is ready. This is the first beer and is made a few weeks after the burial. Before dividing the beer, they shave the hair of the mourners. At this time the elders meet privately to discuss who is to be the one to succeed the deceased.
>
> It is at the second beer that they 'throw' (-ponya) the headmanship. On the first day, when they are pounding grain, the dance begins. On the second day, when they are cooking the beer, the dance is still on. On the third day, when they repeat the cooking, the dance is still on. On the fourth day, when the beer

[12] '"Nyau" in Kotakota District', p. 46.

cools and ferments, the dance is still on; and this applies to the fifth day, when they are pounding malt and have finished cooking. On the sixth day, when the beer has matured, there is a great deal of dancing. At this time the elders ask each other privately about a successor to the deceased. In order of seniority, each ancestress of a 'breast' is asked whether there is anyone in it who might succeed, and is given an opportunity of commenting on each of the possible candidates mentioned. In this way, agreement is reached among the women, and the men take over the discussion and arrive at a decision.

They then take a white cloth embossed with silver, and ask a friend of the chosen candidate to call him--on the excuse that the beer is being taken out shortly. The chosen candidate may be eating stiff porridge (nsima) with the meat killed at a time like this as a 'relish'. His friend usually lets him into the secret, and he refuses voiciferously to take on the headmanship. (Of course he wants it, but he wants to create a good impression.) They then give the cloth to his cross-cousin or grandmother, and she goes to where he is eating or drinking and pretends to converse (kuceza) with him; but stealthily she gets up, and, on the pretext of looking for a gourdful of beer, goes behind him and places the cloth on him, shouting, 'So-and-so here!' (using the name of the deceased). Then they all lift him bodily and carry him outside and put him on a mat, his wife with him if he has one. On the mat they place two plates, one for him and one for his wife; and the people come to instruct him and his wife, placing a small gift in the appropriate plate as they do so. They say that he should be without ŋkhanza, the tendency to beat people without reason, to curse them and judge them too quickly—without hearing all possible sides. They tell him that there are many bad people, good people and fools, and that he must rule them well. They say that, if they come naked to him, he must clothe them; and, if hungry, feed them.

The record of this interview may now be supplemented with details from that of one I had with A Cifulilo, the wife of A Gamaliele of Cimbuna village. She mentioned that, when the beer is cale, they take a gourdful to the territorial chief, this being necessary, however, only if the name being handed on is that of a headman; and that, if this ritual coalesces with that of mowa wabona, some of the cale beer will be poured into the hole in the deceased's hut where the hair the following day is to be buried. She added the following to the list of admonitions given him

on the day when the beer is mature :-

> Leave the heart of childishness; take a big heart; look after people; give up violence; if people come to you with trouble, you must investigate it properly.

A Cifulilo made the interesting observation that it was clear that the shade of the deceased did not possess the neophyte (again the term namwali is used), since it could still go on troubling people even after the name had been 'thrown'.

In most of the accounts given me and in the one ritual that I observed, a white cloth was placed on the neophyte, and this was said to symbolize a pure heart, 'to be pure' and 'to be white' being the same verb in Ceŵa (kuyela). Sometimes white beads are mentioned, and some informants say that placing such beads on the neck of the neophyte renders him 'cold' and necessitates his abstaining from sexual intercourse.

The following case history describes the less spectacular kind of nominal reincarnation in which succession to office is not involved (see Fig. 30, which is abstracted from Additional Genealogy No. 4 in Appendix F (facing p. 421, above), the reference numbers of which have been retained :-

> After Cipite I (B.2) had died of stomach trouble in 1948, the son, Guze, of her daughter, Esinati (C.12), died. They consulted a diviner who found that the child had been taken by the shade of Cipite who wanted her name not to die. Guze was survived by two younger brothers, but no sisters. They therefore chose Ezelia (D.42), the sister of my informant, Miseki (D.41), and the member of another 'breast', to receive the name of Cipite because they had no one in their 'breast' to whom they could give the name.
>
> The neophyte's mother's mother, Mwanida (B.10), made beer; and, when it was cale, in the afternoon they took white beads and placed them on Ezelia's neck. As they tied them on, they shouted 'Cipite here! Cipite here today!' Then they left her and her husband in their hut. It was dark by then. That night they

poured _cale_ beer in a hole in Cipite I's old hut and a mixture of maize-flour and water (_msunje_) at the base of the big _msolo_ tree near the graveyard. As they poured, they said [to Cipite's shade]: 'You've left us today. We've mourned today'.

Next morning, they took both the new Cipite (D.42) and her husband and settled them on mats outside. They covered Cipite's face with a white cloth and then began instructing her and her husband. Two plates had been put near them for gifts. Esinati (C.12), the mother of the dead child and the daughter of Cipite I, started. She gave Cipite II a rooster and said, 'Look, you are Cipite now. She is not your [classificatory] grandparent : you are she'. She gave Cipite's husband sixpence, and advised them jointly to desist from violence, not chase away children, have a big heart like that of the one who went before, and [apparently forgetting to emphasize her new relationship with the neophyte] requested Cipite II, when she cooked food, not to stint her [classificatory] mother [herself, though now, under the new system of relationships, she was Cipite II's own daughter].

Similarly the other people present, about forty in all, gave them presents and offered them advice.

The informant asserts that his sister's character has changed since she received the name. Formerly, he said, she was mean; now she is generous.

Records of two rituals of nominal reincarnation made by one of my assistants, Mr Raphael Almakio Mvula, in his home village, that of Chief Cimwala, show two features not already mentioned. Firstly, both were occasions on which a number of neophytes together received names, as many as thirteen on one occasion and a plural but unrecorded number on the other. Secondly, they showed the importance of songs in the stage of instructing the neophyte. Two songs in particular tended to recur :-

> My cave has returned;
> Let us shelter from the rain.

and

> Where my mother has trodden,
> There are thorns.

APPENDIX I

TRADITIONAL DETECTION AND EXECUTION OF SORCERERS

1. A Formal Accusation Followed by the Poison Ordeal[1]

Kuponya phelele means to make a challenge. A phelele is a token, and may be any small object, such as a stalk of grass taken from the under-side of the thatch of a hut or a sorghum stalk. The accuser comes to the hut of the accused and throws the token down—in the presence of witnesses. As he does so, he accuses, i.e., he says, 'You're a sorcerer, and tomorrow you are to drink ordeal-poison (mwabvi)'. The accused person picks up the token and says to those present, 'Look, I've picked it up. If I am a sorcerer, I'll purge with mwabvi tomorrow'. This means that he accepts the challenge. These things are always done in public. All that day the accused person refrains from eating anything but soft porridge (phala).

The next day they all go to the dambo. With them they take a pounding mortar (mtondo) and wooden drinking cups (nbizi, sing., the same). A woman pounds the mwabvi bark [a woman just because it is domestic labour]. Then they pour water on to it, after which they sieve it through a basket sieve (khunto). Then the accuser repeats his formal accusation and the accused again replies to it. Then they hold the drinking cup for the accused, who drinks—deeply. Then, if he is a person and not a sorcerer, he vomits (-sanza), poo, poo [ideophone]. When his relatives see that he is vomiting, they rejoice and give him more, to show for certain that he is not a sorcerer. By then he has to be held and is so weak that all he can do is turn his head after drinking in order to vomit. Then someone stops the drinking, saying, 'You'll kill him if you go on'. By this time, his relatives are dancing with joy and they ululate (-imba nthungulu). They then say, 'But what about this man who accused him? Let him drink!' And they make the accuser drink.

If a person is a sorcerer, he doesn't vomit, but purges. Long ago they killed him there and then, or he might even die from the poison itself, especially if the mwabvi used was of the Nyasaland variety (cinkhundu), which kills sorcerers—or other guilty persons submitted to the ordeal, such as adulterers and thieves—outright.

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[1] My translation of a text written by Headman Adani Kamphodza.

2. Burning of Witches and the Poison Ordeal among the Maravi in 1831[2]

These people have very few public spectacles; the main one, and also the one that most rouses their enthusiasm, is the burning of a witch, whose execution is carried out in the following way :- The culprit, being entirely naked, whether it be a man or a woman, is laid on the ground on his back, at full length, and is tied to four stakes which are well driven into the earth; they then pile firewood over him, in the shape of a bier, some nine to eleven feet in height; the clothes he covered himself with are hung up like flags on the nearest trees. When the pile is ready, it is set on fire from the feet-end, this cruel auto-da-fé being accompanied by much shouting and beating of drums; and, when everything is reduced to ashes, they withdraw in tumult. Generally these superstitious and barbaric executions are carried out next to the most frequented paths, and everyone who passes by throws a stone into the place where the fire was lit, so that with the continuation of time a heap of them is formed; some which I saw were fairly high.

Witches are always convicted by the Muave test; there are two kinds of Muave, producing different effects, and both are taken from the bark and cellular tissue of the tree they call Muâua. The act of taking this ordeal is a spectacle which draws a large attendance. The accused who has to undergo this test is shut in a Nhumba [hut], naked, and the most careful watch is kept on him from sunset on the day before the ordeal to the moment when the latter takes place; and he eats nothing during this whole interval. While the accused is shut up, the Ganga [native doctor] goes to cut the Muave, taking the bark from the east and west sides of the tree; and, after crushing it somewhat, he leaves it infusing in a sufficient quantity of water until dawn on the following day, when he boils it all in a public place, and, when it has boiled considerably, the drink is ready. Then the accused is led under custody to the Ganga who presides at the ordeal.

The following description [see Plate XXX, facing p. 309] will give an idea of how this ordeal is carried out. The vessel which is on the fire with the Muave usually contains some eight to twelve quarts of liquid, to which have been added about fifteen pounds of bark, which lets off a reddish colour. The accused, who has only his waist covered, thrusts his hands on his hips, and bends forward, holding the little fingers of another negro with

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[2]A.C.P. Gamitto, O Muata Cazembe, Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1854, pp. 128-32, translated from the Portuguese by Mr L. Ivens Ferraz. The generic term 'witch' has been used in order to keep to the spirit of the passage, which was written long before anthropologists made a technical distinction between witch and sorcerer.

his own little fingers; and in this posture the two begin to swing their arms, and the accused to make a public confession, in a loud voice, of everything he has done, omitting and even denying what he is accused of, and he always concludes by saying with reference to the accusation, 'But if I committed such Milando [offences], the Muave will bring me to justice'. And in the same posture and swinging the arms in the same way, he bends his body further and starts drinking the Muave, which the Ganga goes on giving him in a bowl, from the middle of which he drinks it with his lips, repeating the dose three or four times, during which he drinks over three quarts. This operation usually ends at about eight o'clock in the morning, a time when the sun is already considerably strong. The accused, then leaving the finger clasp, starts running round the village, as the ordeal is always held near it, and the whole crowd of spectators follows him, running and singing. This exercise lasts until the drink is expelled from above or from below. In the former instance he is free, and adjudicated as innocent; and then they throw maize-flour on his head, and accompany him with dancing and singing; while the accuser or accusers run away with their party, in order not to be maltreated, or even killed, by the relatives and partisans of the accused in the impetus of their rejoicing; and the Ganga himself, although his life is not in danger, takes the precaution of immediately running away, to avoid being insulted.

In the second instance, if the Muave is expelled from below, it is those of the party of the accused who run away, because it is thought that he is proved to be a criminal; and, instead of flour, they throw ash on him and, with a great deal of furious shouting, lead him away and guard him safely to be burned the next day. It happens, however, although rarely, that the accused appeals for a second Muave, giving as a reason the omission of something in the confession. The Maraves say that, when there is this circumstance of an omission in the confession, the throat of the accused is closed so that it does not allow anything to come out, and that for this reason the Muave is expelled from the opposite end. In the second Muave taken, they almost always vomit, which is no doubt due to their state of weakness; and in this case the accused is free and adjudged innocent and, as such, compensation is to be made by the accuser.

There is another kind of Muave, which is more used in the land of the Marave. It is prepared in the same way and administered with the same formalities as the preceding one, differing only in that it is taken between two paths, one leading to the cemetery, the other to the village; and the accused says, at the time of the confession, and being about to drink it, 'If I am guilty, that is my path (pointing to the path to the cemetery), and if I am not, it is this one (showing the path to the Muzi [village])'. He then takes the drink, and starts running round the village, and if while he is running he expels the drink through either way, he is adjudged innocent, but if he falls as if dead the crime is proved, and he is carried off to be burned.

It has been observed that in this case life does not disappear, but that all capacities are suspended in the accused, and that, if he is taken to the shade, and water is poured on him, after a few hours he comes to himself, and finally gets well. But among the Maraves he is thought to be dead, and is burned as soon as he falls.

Every negro who drinks Muave, whatever its effects, puts on very much weight, and acquires an admirable robustness and lustre of skin, which shows that medicine could make good use of this drink, if properly administered.

The Muave is applied not only to prove witchcraft, but also whenever there is an accusation without sufficient proof, or even with it, if the accused denies the charge; and in this case, either the accused himself asks for it in order to justify himself, and then there is not so much responsibility on the plaintiff, or it is proposed by the latter, which only happens when he is absolutely certain of the fault committed by the accused. If the Muave justifies the accused, the latter goes to receive from the accuser a compensation which will satisfy him. And as there are no rates for these Milandos, it is the will of the one and the possessions of the other which act as law. The Maraves do not use violent means of extorting a confession, or proof, when no proof is known, and the accused denies the evidence, no matter how good the grounds for suspicion : they resort only to the Muave, and as long as it does not establish in their minds the reality of the guilt, the accused, who is held in safety, is always treated affably; as soon, however, as he is condemned he starts being maltreated and insulted.

All these barbaric scenes are spectacles to which the Maraves crowd tumultuously, always shouting and repeating songs.

As soon as the maize starts ripening, which takes place in June, the Batuques begin; this is the name the kafirs generally give to the drum beating, dancing and singing; however each amusement has its style and particular name, such as Catéco, Gondo, Pembera etc., etc., which only practice can distinguish. These Batuques, which last until October, the month when the new crops begin, keep the Maraves entertained throughout this time, during which life for them is nothing but drinking Bádua, dancing, and singing, in a continuous state of drunkenness.

APPENDIX J

ADDITIONAL TABLES

TABLE XII—BELIEVED INSTANCES OF SORCERY CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO NATURE OF QUARREL (IF ANY) PRECEDING THEM AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SORCERER AND VICTIM

Attack Believed to Be Linked with :-	Social Relationship: Related Matri-lineally	Related Non-Matri-lineally	Unre-lated	Total
Quarrels over :-				
obligations defined by kinship or by general norms	11 + 3*	1	-	12 + 3
ownership and control of cattle	7 + 1	4	-	11 + 1
other property and rights, e.g. money and land	6 + 2	2	1	9 + 2
sexual jealousy, adultery and divorce	1	12	5	18
politics, e.g. headmanship or a large following	11	2	2 + 1	15 + 1
unspecified issues	5	1	1	7
Total preceded by quarrels	41 + 6	22	9 + 1	72 + 7
Preceded by no quarrel	18	9	1	28
	59 + 6	31	10 + 1	100 + 7
Victim not specified				1
Total reconciled with Table XI				101

*In seven cases two issues were mentioned. The additional issues have been included in the figures following the plus-sign.

TABLE XV—100 CASES OF BELIEVED SORCERY CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SORCERER AND VICTIM, WHETHER THE ATTACK WAS PRECEDED BY A QUARREL, AND WHETHER THE SORCERER WAS OR WOULD HAVE BEEN CLASSIFIED AS A 'KILLER-FOR-MALICE' (M) OR A 'REAL SORCERER' (R) OR WHETHER SUCH CLASSIFICATION IS UNCERTAIN (U)

Social Relationship	Quarrel Preceded Attack			No Quarrel Preceded Attack			Total		
	M	R	U	M	R	U	M	R	U
Kinsmen:									
Matrilineal:									
Different segments	23	2	-	-	7	-	23	9	-
Mother's brother-sister's child*	7	-	1	-	2	1	7	2	2
Own siblings	5	1	1	-	1	2	5	2	3
Lineal, e.g. mother-child*	1	-	-	-	4	1	1	4	1
Total matrilineal	36	3	2	-	14	4	36	17	6
Non-matrilineal:									
Father-child*	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
Spouses	4	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	2
Involving a co-wife	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Affines	6	2	-	-	2	1	6	4	1
Others	9	-	-	1	2	-	10	2	-
Total non-matrilineal	20	2	-	1	5	3	21	7	3
Total kinsmen	56	5	2	1	19	7	57	24	9
Non-kinsmen	8	1	-	-	-	1	8	1	1
Total	64	6	2	1	19	8	65	25	10
Victim not specified							-	-	1
							65	25	11
							25		
							11		
Total reconciled with Table X							101		

*Including the reciprocal of the relationship shown.

APPENDIX K

A POSSIBLE BASE FOR ACCUSATION RATES

In Chapter 9, pp. 355ff., we considered the problems raised by attempting a comparison of the absolute frequencies with which accuser and sorcerer are brought together in various categories of social relationship. If there are, as we note from Table XXVII, facing p. 353, approximately twice as many accusations between persons belonging to different matrilineage-segments than between persons belonging to the same segment, are we to take this as indicating that the former type of relationship is characteristically twice as tense—or even more tense—than the latter? It seems to me that such reasoning would be invalid; for it does not take into account the sizes or other features of the respective universes of interaction in which tense relationships develop.

Even if we consider size of universe alone, we can show the danger of making comparisons of unstandardized frequencies. Let us proceed on the null hypothesis that no one type of relationship is characteristically more tense than another. This would mean that Ego's tense relationships would constitute a proportion, p, of all his relationships regardless of their distribution by type. Supposing that p is one-fifth and that Ego has five own siblings and twenty classificatory siblings. He might, on the null hypothesis, develop tense relationships with one own sibling and four classificatory siblings. Thus, the frequency of

accusations in a particular relationship category may be accounted for on the basis of the null hypothesis, and cannot be taken as an index of the social tension characteristic of that category—unless the variables due to Ego's having as many different universes of interaction as he has types of social relationships are controlled, size being only one of the possible differences between such universes.

The distribution by relationship type of Ego's tense relationships must, therefore, be standardized at least for size of universe of interaction before obtained differences may be attributed to the different tension-producing propensities of the relationship categories in which they fall.

On pp. 355-57, above, we considered the difficulties involved in constructing a paradigm from which suitable second terms or bases for comparable accusation rates could be derived; and came to the conclusion that, on the basis of material available for analysis in this study, such a step would be impossible. Had it been possible, we would have had a series of theoretical estimates, each of which would have served as a foil, a denominator, or a second term, to the absolute frequency of accusations falling within a particular category of social relationships. This would have permitted us to judge whether such a frequency was the expression of the characteristic social tension of the relationship concerned or merely of the size of the universe of interaction provided by it.

Another possible solution to our problem is to take, as a foil, a figure that is derivable from the case material

itself, i.e., to express the proportion of accuser-sorcerer relationships falling in a particular category as a ratio of the proportion of accuser-victim relationships falling in that category. This method has, however, so many obvious shortcomings that I have not considered my exposition of it to be appropriate for inclusion in the text of this thesis. At the same time I feel that this is a real problem demanding solution if our empirical checking of hypotheses in the sociology of sorcery and witchcraft is to be made more precise; and I offer this appendix as material that might be used in a discussion between anthropologists and statisticians aimed at resolving the problem set out in its first two pages.

One of the shortcomings of the method here proposed is the fact that accuser-victim relationships lack the inert nature usually found in a base for rates. This is because they are subject to social definition. Ceŵa social norms condemn sorcery in general, and consequently say nothing about whom one, as a sorcerer, should or should not attack; nor do they lay down whom one should accuse of sorcery. In the incidence of sorcerer-victim and accuser-sorcerer relationships, norms are, therefore, a constant, negative factor.

In contrast to this, in the incidence of accuser-victim relationships, social norms probably constitute an important and variable influence. As we have seen in earlier chapters (for instance, Chapter 4, p. 195, and Chapter 6, pp. 254 and 256), Ceŵa norms are clear about the duties of matrilineage members towards one another, more particularly about the duties of leaders and would-be

leaders towards their followers, actual or potential. A 'junior guardian' must, among other duties, undertake the investigation of misfortunes that befall his dependants. He must play the rôle that we have defined as that of accuser in those cases where sorcery is found to be the cause of the misfortune. When asked who it is who should consult a diviner, Ceŵa usually designate the own brother of the victim, and probably have the 'junior guardian' in mind. Although (as Table XXXIV, facing p. 463, partly shows) this dogma does not represent exactly what happens in practice, the fact that social norms such as this affect, in some measure at least, the distribution of accuser-victim relationships in the categories used in Table XXVI (on p. 458 in Appendix J) may make them questionable as bases for accusation rates. On the other hand, it might be argued in favour of their use as such bases that their fluctuations are functions of one of the variables (C, traditional circumscription of interaction) in our formula for social tension.

In adopting the procedure described, we shall, in effect, compare the incidence, in categories of social relationship, of the hostile link between accuser and sorcerer with that of the affiliative one between accuser and victim. We shall examine each category to determine whether it is characterised by a predominance of accuser-sorcerer or of accuser-victim relationships or whether it shows a fairly even balance of the two. If accuser-sorcerer relationships predominate in those categories that, for reasons of social structure, may be expected to be tense, our hypothesis that beliefs in sorcery facilitate the expression of structural tensions will, in a general way, be confirmed.

TABLE XXXIV—COMPARISON OF THE DISTRIBUTIONS OF (1) ACCUSER-SORCERER AND (2) ACCUSER-VICTIM RELATIONSHIPS IN THE MAIN CATEGORIES OF TABLE XXV

ype of Social Relationship		(1) Accuser-Sorcerer f	(1) Accuser-Sorcerer %	(2) Accuser-Victim f	(2) Accuser-Victim %	(3) Percentage Difference (1)—(2)	(4) Significance of the Difference (Critical Ratio)		(5) Ratio of Percentage (1) to Percentage (2) Where Difference Significant	
ated by kinship or affinity:										
trineally related:										
ame segment	(a)	12 (15)	15.19 (13.40)	18 (30)	27.27 (33.33)	-12.08 (-19.93)	1.79	(3.38)^{xxx}	-	(0.40)
ifferent segments	(b)	25 (37)	31.65 (33.04)	16 (20)	24.24 (22.22)	+ 7.41 (+10.82)	0.99	(1.70)	-	-
ndeterminate	(c)	4 (4)	5.06 (3.57)	14 (20)	21.21 (22.22)	-16.15 (-18.65)	2.94^{xx}	(4.07)^{xxx}	0.24	(0.16)
lated, but not matrilineally:										
eminally:										
o same segment	(d)	1 (1)	1.27 (0.89)	6 (6)	9.09 (6.67)	- 7.82 (- 5.78)	2.19^{x}	(2.23)^{x}	0.14	(0.13)
o different segments	(e)	5 (6)	6.32 (5.36)	- -	- -	+ 6.32 (+ 5.36)	2.08^{x}	(2.23)^{x}	0.0	(0.0)
thers		1 (1)	1.27 (0.89)	1 (1)	1.52 (1.11)	- 0.25 (- 0.22)	0.13	(0.16)	-	-
	(f)	7 (8)	8.86 (7.14)	7 (7)	10.61 (7.78)	- 1.75 (- 0.64)	0.36	(0.17)	-	-
ffinally:										
o same segment	(g)	7 (12)	8.86 (10.71)	2 (2)	3.03 (2.22)	+ 5.83 (+ 8.49)	1.45	(2.36)^{x}	-	(4.82)
o different segments	(h)	11 (16)	13.92 (14.29)	3 (4)	4.54 (4.44)	+ 9.38 (+ 9.85)	1.90	(2.33)^{x}	-	(3.22)
thers (including spouses)		4 (10)	5.07 (8.93)	5 (6)	7.58 (6.67)	- 2.51 (+ 2.26)	0.62	(0.59)	-	-
otal	(i)	22 (38)	27.85 (33.93)	10 (12)	15.15 (13.33)	+12.70 (+20.60)	1.84	(3.37)^{xxx}		(2.55)
related	(j)	9 (10)	11.39 (8.93)	1 (1)	1.52 (1.11)	9.87 (+ 7.82)	2.33^{x}	(2.44)^{x}	7.49	(8.05)
mmary										
otal: matrilineally related (a+b+c)		41 (56)	51.90 (50.00)	48 (70)	72.72 (77.78)	-20.82 (-27.78)	2.56^{x}	(4.05)^{xxx}	0.71	(0.64)
otal: related, but not matrilineally (f+i)		29 (46)	36.71 (41.07)	17 (19)	25.76 (21.11)	+10.95 (+19.96)	1.41	(3.02)^{xx}	-	(1.95)
otal: unrelated (j)		9 (10)	11.39 (8.93)	1 (1)	1.52 1.11	+ 9.87 (+ 7.82)	2.33^{x}	(2.44)^{x}	7.49	(8.05)
rand Total		79 (112)	100.00 (100.00)	66 (90)	100.00 (100.00)	0 0	-	-	1	1
dd cases in which:										
accuser was victim himself		-		12						
accuser accused himself		2		2						
accuser was not specified		20		20						
victim was not specified		-		1						
otal reconciled with Table XX		101		101						
nalysis										
elonging to same matrilineage segment (a)		12 (15)	15.19 (13.39)	18 (30)	27.27 (33.33)	-12.08 (-19.93)	1.79	(3.38)^{xxx}	-	(0.40)
elonging to different matrilineage segments (b)		25 (37)	31.65 (33.04)	16 (20)	24.24 (22.22)	+ 7.41 (+10.82)	0.99	(1.70)	-	-
elonging to, or linked seminally or affinally with, the same matrilineage segment (a+d+g)		20 (28)	25.32 (25.00)	26 (38)	39.39 (42.22)	-14.07 (-17.22)	1.81	(2.59)^{xx}	-	(0.59)
elonging to, or linked seminally with, different matrilineage segments (b+e+h)		41 (59)	51.90 (52.69)	19 (24)	28.79 (26.67)	+23.11 (+26.02)	2.81^{xx}	(3.74)^{xxx}	1.80	(1.98)

Table XXXIV presents the two distributions for comparison. That of accuser-sorcerer relationships has been derived from Table XXVI (on p. 458 in Appendix J); and that for accuser-victim relationships was obtained by sorting the cards on which the cases were summarized into sub-categories identical to those of Table XXVI, and summing the frequencies obtained. Percentages rather than absolute frequencies are compared because, owing to the fact that in twelve cases the accuser was the victim himself and in one case the victim was not specified, the total for accuser-victim relationships amounted to sixty-six instead of the seventy-nine for accuser-sorcerer relationships.

The percentage difference for each category of social relationship has been calculated (see Column (3) of the table). A positive difference indicates a predominance in the category concerned of the accuser-sorcerer relationship; while a negative difference indicates a predominance of the accuser-victim relationship. Categories thus may be placed on a continuum ranging from a high positive difference, indicating a predominance of hostility, through zero, indicating an even balance of hostility and affiliation, to a high negative difference, indicating a predominance of affiliation. Note should be taken, however, only of those differences that are statistically significant; and, since the significance depends in part on the numerical magnitude of the difference, those categories in the middle of the continuum—those with a fairly even balance between proportions of accuser-sorcerer and accuser-victim relationships—need not occupy our attention.

The significance of each percentage difference is given, as a critical ratio, in the column immediately following it (Column (4)). Critical ratios are marked according to the usual convention of a single asterisk for 'moderate significance' (.05 $\rightarrow$ p $\rightarrow$ .01); a double one for 'high significance' (.01 $\rightarrow$ p $\rightarrow$ .001); and a treble one for 'extreme significance' (p $\leftarrow$ .001). We shall take into account only those differences that are significant at or below the five-per-cent level of probability (i.e., CR $\geq$ 1.96). It is in respect of only those percentage differences reaching this standard of reliability that the ratios in Column (5) have been recorded.

Adopting the interpretation of the percentage differences that we have outlined, and observing the statistical standard that we have set up, we may now comment on some of the ratios shown in Column (5). We shall first of all examine those that have a bearing on the instance of the hypothesis (see Chapter 9, pp. 346-56) we are testing, and leave the others for later discussion. It should be noted that positive percentage differences (indicating hostility) correspond with percentage ratios of more than one, and that negative percentage differences (indicating affiliation) correspond with percentage ratios of less than one.

Our concern at present is the extent to which the comparison of proportions of accuser-sorcerer relationships with those of accuser-victim relationships reveals differences between the situation when the partners belong to, or are linked with, the same matrilineage segment and the situation when they belong to, or are linked with, different segments. An inspection of the analysis at the foot of

Table XXXIV shows that there is a consistent tendency for the proportion of accusers and sorcerers to exceed that of accusers and victims when different segments are involved (i.e., positive percentage differences) and for the opposite to be true when the same segment is involved (i.e., negative percentage differences). However, although none of the eight differences contradicts this general trend, only four of them are significant (in all cases to at least a high degree, $p < .01$).

Provided that there is no fundamental objection to the procedure we have adopted for relating raw frequencies to a base in order to make them comparable, these results warrant the rejection of the null hypothesis that the higher rate of accusations of sorcery between persons belonging to or associated with different matrilineage-segments is due to chance sampling fluctuations. And a possible alternative to the rejected hypothesis is that there is a higher rate of accusation between those in inter-segmental opposition than between those belonging to, or associated with, the same segment, a conclusion which is in keeping with our general hypothesis that accusations of sorcery are expressions of structural tensions. However, the proviso at the beginning of this paragraph is crucial, and is a point on which my statistical advisers have as yet been unable to give me a definite opinion.

The proposition that we have just tried to test is but one instance of the hypothesis that accusations of sorcery arise under certain defined conditions from social tension, which, in turn, is a function of socially unrestrained personal competition for highly valued goals. Let us

apparent that its overall hostile character may be attributed to hostility between affines rather than between non-matrikin related by seminal or other ties, the difference with full counting (see line (i) of the table) being extremely significant; and the ratio, 2.55.

The third major category, unrelated persons, forms but a small proportion of the sample. However, within it, relationships between accuser and sorcerer so exceed those between accuser and victim that the (positive) percentage differences are moderately significant according to both methods of counting 'multiple' cases; and percentage ratios are 7.49 and 8.05.

This brief survey provides a few pointers to other instances of our general hypothesis. It suggests that, in the context of sorcery, the mother's brother-sister's son relationship is more often affiliative than hostile; that affinal relationships are more often hostile than affiliative; and that, in the rare instances when unrelated persons are involved, they are linked as accusers and sorcerers rather than as accusers and victims.

SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE CEŴA

Notes: 1. This bibliography contains a few references to other 'Nyanja-speaking peoples' where similarities to the Ceŵa are close.

2. The following works are listed in both this and the General Bibliography :- Barnes, 1951 and 1954; and Marwick, 1952a.

3. If an item is not in English, the language in which it is written is indicated in square brackets at the beginning of the note referring to it.

4. Square brackets in the title show what part of it has been omitted in the abbreviated form (if any) used in footnote references subsequent to the first reference in each chapter or appendix.

5. The places of publication of lesser known journals referred to are as follows :-

Die Basuin . . . . Bloemfontein
Die Huisgenoot . . . . Cape Town
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Op die Horison . . . . Cape Town
Theoria . . . . Pietermaritzburg

ANON.

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[Afrikaans] A selection of proverbs in Nyanja.

n.d. Mdulo, No publisher or place of publication. Probably as for previous item at a date early in the twentieth century.

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GENERATION[S]

A B C D E F

A

1. Khasu (d)
2. CIKWENI CATHA (d)
3. KABUULA I (d)
4. Mdaziciinga (d)
5. Cibuyuyu (d)
6. Mnyelampini (d)
7. Mwathilamo (d)
8. △ (d)
9. KUCITHIMBA (d)
10. Solopia I (d)
11. KUMKWAKA (d)
12. KAMIJKHUIJKHA (d)
13. Cilandeni (d)

B

1. ○ (d)
2. MGWINDA (d)
3. Canganila (d)
4. ZIYAMBE (d)
5. Kumuonekela (d)
6. Mnowana (d)
7. Kuliale I (d)
8. △ (d)
9. Msalota (8)
10. KABUULA II (8)
11. Mpenyetsa (d)
12. KAMBAUA (d)
13. CAONEKA (d)
14. Citseko (d)
15. KALIZA (d)
16. Khumbiza (d)
17. CAPONDEWA (d)
18. MIKUTI (d)
19. Mziwonji (d)
20. (d)
21. Milani (d)

C

1. Mwainga (1)
2. DAUTI (d)
3. DAMBULENI (?)
4. Mwalase (?)
5. MASEWELA (d)
6. Loda (5)
7. KASIAMATUTU (5)
8. Tuggase (25)
9. BANKAMI (d)
10. Zaggose (d)
11. COLE (d)
12. KALIKUWE (d)
13. Cikweni (d)
14. JEREMIAH (d)
15. Likisina (ov)
16. ○ (?)
17. KAYELA (?)
18. Lowase (34)
19. TASOKALELO (34)
20. MENYANI (d)
21. Mlelamanja (50)
22. OBISTALA (50)
23. DEVELIASE (27)
24. Ndawase (ov)
25. Elizabeth (ov)
26. Mulumbenji (ov)
27. Tilawilenji (ov)
28. Tidziwenji (ov)
29. Sodonia (27)
30. Kiliwe (d)
31. WIZIKOTI (?)
32. Mailesi (d)
33. IDANI (?)
34. Zelesi (lnr)
35. KENALA (lnr)
36. Takhala (11)
37. GALANTIA (lnr)

D

1. BILIADE (lep)
2. Bete (lep)
3. Edinala (lsr)
4. △ (lsr)
5. Aitole (9)
6. SANDALAMI (9)
7. Tishuphike (1)
8. △ (ov)
9. Besi (3)
10. ZITYOLA (ov)
11. Aineli (2)
12. YALULANI (2)
13. CENJELANI (lsr)
14. ZIELESA (lsa)
15. Kuliale II (hv)
16. FUNGULANI (hv)
17. Solopia II (lep)
18. KULADANI (lep)
19. Tamelanji (lsr)
20. MSAGANIZA (lsr)
21. PATULANI (ov)
22. Maizasi (d)
23. YELESANI (lsa)
24. Eledia (23)
25. ANDALASONI (23)
26. CINGAIPE (lsa)
27. Esenea (19)
28. Tikulilekuti (24)
29. GALATIA-KAPIKA (24)
30. Gelita (37)
31. SANGULUKANI (37)
32. Emelia (26)
33. Besi (8)
34. Adalaida (18)
35. KALEKUMANJA (18)
36. ○ (ov)
37. LIMBIKANI (lep)
38. Labeti (22)
39. LAIMONI (22)
40. DEVELIASE (13)
41. Elesia (34)
42. Moila (34)
43. Eze (34)
44. BATIZANA (35)
45. BLAHIMU (25)
46. △ 47. △ 48. ○ (mv)
49. ○ (mv)
50. Serenia (33)
51. TANDIZANI (ov)
52. TSAKULILEKO (40)
53. △ (fml)
54. □ (fml)
55. KEFA (11)
56. MASIKU (11)

E

1. KUMULANI (?)
2. Evelina (?)
3. Dotia (fml)
4. □ 5. □ 6. □ (fml)
7. Pembela (mzl)
8. Masambilani (x)
9. ASONI (9)
10. Caiwe (fv)
11. CENJELANI (5)
12. FUNGULANI (fv)
13. Veli (5)
14. BAZLIO (5)
15. MAKADANI (lep)
16. Violeti (31)
17. Sitelia (25)
18. JAPANI (25)
19. Mwesanji (25)
20. Salavia (25)
21. CANDIWO (23)
22. YELESANI (19)
23. Esita (19)
24. Lowase (38)
25. VINILENKONI (ov)
26. Ezelia (41)
27. SIMON (41)
28. Dolika (34)

F

1. Ailosi (31)
2. Ngaiwe (26)

LEGEND

SEX	Name Not Recorded	Name Recorded
Male	△	PATULANI
Female	○	Kuliale II
No Record	□	

DESCENT

Generation seniority from left to right

Sibling seniority downwards

Matriline:

Phili

Mwale

Others

MARRIAGE etc.

Marriage (matriline drawn heavily)

Childless marriage

Divorce (children lie on side of parent without custody of children)

Separation

WHEREABOUTS (indicated in brackets)

Numbers refer to hut plan on right

d = dead
f = father ('s)
h = husband ('s)
m = mother ('s)
n = nearby
o = own
s = section
v = village
w = wife ('s)
z = sister ('s)
? = no record
l = labourer
ep = Eastern Province
nr = Northern Rhodesia outside Eastern Province
sr = Southern Rhodesia
sa = Union of South Africa

Examples:

nv = in nearby village
nvs = in nearby village section (of same village)
fml = with father and mother at work
mzl = with mother's sister at work
lsr = at work in Southern Rhodesia

Fig. 4—Genealogy of Jeremiah's and Mwainga's Sections and Hut Plan of Jeremiah Village, January 1953