A study of
the religious and cultural impact
of Protestant Christianity
on the Tutsi of Southern Rwanda

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the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

January 1971.
I declare that the dissertation herewith submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Winnebago is entirely my own work and has not previously been submitted for a degree in any other university.

[Signature]

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I give thanks to God for health and strength during the years of this study. I make my hope that also this work will serve the furtherance of God's Kingdom.
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**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
INTRODUCTION

Christianity, introduced into Africa simultaneously with white civilisation, came with the pronounced purpose of "lifting the African out of the darkness of heathenism". At that time - approximately 100 years ago - Africans were assumed to have no culture of their own. Undoubtedly, many non-Africans still cling to this belief. There were even doubts as to whether Africans had any religion at all, beyond purely magical superstitions. Christianity, therefore, came to replace heathenism, or, maybe even to fill a cultural and religious vacuum.

During a century of mission activity in Africa, Christian Churches have been organized all over the continent, and in many instances they are now entirely under African leadership. Nevertheless, it seems as though 'heathenism' is still a strong force, as witchcraft beliefs are said to be on the increase, and ancestral spirits are being approached also by Christians. (1)

It was, perhaps naively, believed in Church circles that customs and beliefs which had been consciously repudiated by a person would no longer play any important part in his thinking. After the acceptance of the Christian teaching that, e.g., ancestors are not to be approached by prayer and sacrifice, it was surmised that the Christian would no longer pay any attention to his dead forebears. In this connection, it is important to listen to Malinowski's statement:

"Every nominal Christian child learns a great deal about the influence which the ancestral ghosts exercise and the cult by which they can be propitiated. Under the stress of emotional crisis, the indigenous belief becomes stronger than the alien creed". (2)


(2) H. Malinowski, in Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa, p. xxix
During the last decade, many important studies were made into the field of contact between, for example, culture and the Christian Faith, both from anthropological and sociological and political angles. Investigations made by, for instance, Plincke, by the author, and Meyer among the Nama people of South Africa, \(^3\) clearly show the great impact Christianity had made upon respective society, but demonstrate also the evident discrepancy between professed belief and Tactical standards. Meyer's work illustrates the anomaly between tribal people, exemplified by the 'dead' Nama, and the Christians, called 'drowned people', frequently indicating that the 'tribal' people see it as a treason against their own culture to have any dealings with the Christian Church.

However, and perhaps, most apparent is that such trouble, at present existing in Africa, comes from the Christian Faith. \(^4\) Margaret Cuthell, with her insight into anthropology and psychology, records the growing influence of traditional religion, in the case of the Nama of the Christian Church. \(^5\) From an African theological viewpoint, African theology speaks for the Church in Africa, if it does not immediately change the attitudes towards the inheritance of African culture. \(^6\) and still speaks with conviction of the excellence of 'Christian Church'. \(^7\) Against such a background, current's expression of anti-racist-like spread and growth of the Christian Church in Africa until the end of this century appear both inscrutable and frightening. \(^8\)

\(^3\) A. Plincke, Selbstveränderungen der Nama, Herrmann, Wiesbaden.

\(^4\) M. Cuthell, Christianity in Africa as seen by Africans.


\(^6\) B.K. Levens, The Christian Church and African Sociology, in S. Grant, Avea, Christianity in Africa as seen by Africans.

\(^7\) A. Smith, African Religions and Philosophy, p. 23.
The present study is an attempt to go beyond 'official' Christianity, trying to dig below outer appearances and phonetic attitudes, possibly to find some of the fundamental causes of conflict which seem to be inevitable in Christianly-nested Africa. Or, in other words, to discover whether or not Christianity, as it is generally presented, meets the deeper needs of the African.

It might be utterly presumptuous to apply this small investigation to 'the Church', as it deals only with a small slice of African population, if it were not for the fact that the problems of the Church seem to be much alike all over the continent. However, knowing the limitations of my research, I do not pretend to do more than indicate a few facts as found among the Tennes people of Benin State, at several points of departure for a discussion which I feel is already much overdue.

I have, therefore, attempted to make this investigation as natural, and as much as possible a conceptual, one, trying not to find out what people feel and believe but what they actually do when going to church. Several structural aspects of culture and religion have been left out, although a certain structural framework is necessary in order to understand Negroes and their culture.

The main thrust of this study is a continuous comparison between traditional Tennes beliefs and attitudes with those found within the modern Christian community, with the object of establishing the character of and reasons behind misunderstandings, misunderstanding, non-conformity, and symptomatic developments.

The limitations of this dissertation should be pointed out:

1. It deals exclusively with the Tennes people within the

In a Roman Catholic-dominated country like Poland, this may seem strange, but it was necessary to make this limitation for practical reasons. From my personal experience of work among the Tewah people, it appears that questions within the Roman Catholic sphere may present consistency with different arguments, and possibly warrant a separate examination.

6. The main field-workers on which this dissertation is based, were made among those who were working in the Transval gold or coal area. This fact may seem mainly surprising, as such a field-worker people might imply a very specialized type of material, with all information being men in a specific, rather artificial life situation. I do not hesitate to state, however, that this limitation is even more important than may appear at first sight. Although, for practical reasons, such men supplied more accurate information, it should be noted that:

- they are in an almost of imagination to be regarded as specialized in the parochial sense, as will be shown later. They are more exposed to a kind of 'voluntary incorporation', meaning their will within the tribal sphere during their constant periods of residence. In spite of their temporary absence, they remain in a vital part of their native community.

Furthermore, I could count by 7 years of missionary work among the Tewah on an equal, somewhat balancing the potential liability of biased influence in the information obtained by other workers. Through an knowledge of the Tewah language and continued interest in their traditional customs and beliefs, I have during frequent visits to communities, been able to check and recheck statements and attitudes, as well as questions raised by the informant.

7. Three of the main informants were interviewed by their home country.

At present, many Tewah are living in some of the cities

The work is to be done in a planned and systematic manner. Commence by setting up a clear and comprehensive plan. Define the objectives and tasks to be accomplished. Establish a timeline and allocate resources accordingly. Proceed with the execution of each task, ensuring that all requirements are met.

- Organize the workspace to facilitate efficient workflow.
- Maintain a system of documentation to keep track of progress and findings.
- Regularly review and assess the project, making adjustments as necessary.

Throughout the project, keep in mind the importance of maintaining a focus on the overall goal. Be adaptable and prepared to adjust plans as new information or unexpected challenges arise. Stay engaged and committed to achieving success.
of knowledge, and possibly to support an occupation.

The age of the informants were distributed as follows:

Four in the group between 18 and 20 years, two in the range of 21 and 23, and one in the group between 24 and 26 years of age. Thus, the informants had grown up in an acephalous society where the influence of Christianity, or any other religious system, had been negligible. At the time of the interviews, all informants were of the predominant Christian denomination.

The informants were further categorized according to the geographical area they lived in:

- Villagers
- Farmers
- Merchants
- Craftsmen
- Missionaries
- Soldiers
- Students
- Poets

Only two of the informants were from the rural area, while three were ministers of the Protestant Church. Some were members of the six-year primary school system, while others had received no formal education. The informants were all of the professional middle class, characterized by their active participation in various fields.

The informants were acquainted with various ways of education, including a three-year university course, but they regarded the Protestant educational system as the most effective. By frequent, extended visits to mission schools through the years, some of the informants had developed a deep understanding of Christianity, and for giving opportunities to gain a proper perspective.

Without revealing the identity of the informants, they were prepared to express their feelings of gratitude to the...
people, who opened their hearts and minds to a much greater extent than I had ever imagined — even to the point of sometimes muted self-revelation. Their spontaneous spirit of cooperation made very little questioning necessary or expected, as I was immersed, more than expected, in observing all information voluntarily given.
Personal statement of purpose

As I am personally convinced that the Christian faith has a tremendous value in store for anyone who approached it in spiritual humility and intellectual openness, I am a missionary in Africa with the avowed purpose of helping Africans explore the full wealth of Christianity. It follows, therefore, that I regard the Christian Church both as a divine institution and an association of human beings.

In this investigation, however, I have attempted to divest myself as much as possible of my missionary bias, in an honest effort to approach the actual problems from an anthropological point of view, presenting the facts as found, without passing any value judgments on either side. In every attempt at explanation of various phenomena, it has been my purpose to leave questions rather than to give final answers or recommendations.
Abstract

The purpose of this study is to (a) establish such data of Tshwa traditional culture and beliefs as may be a living part of a Tshwa person's mind, and (b) investigate how the message of Protestant Christianity has been received into such a frame of reference. Right through the dissertation, I continuously compare our findings and suggestions with results of similar investigations in other parts of Africa.

As very little has been published about Tshwa traditional culture, I begin with a survey of the social structure of Tshwa society, indicating some friction because of outside influence. This is followed by a summary of Tshwa traditional beliefs.

The Protestant influence on the Tshwa is then presented from a historical viewpoint, and the initial response to this presentation is sought in an investigation of my informants' stated reasons for "wanting to become Christian".

An attempt to crystallize the "highest good" for the Tshwa is made in the chapter on "quest for life". It is suggested that 'sufficient life' is the Tshwa ideal which gives guidance and inspiration for action both within traditional and Christian context. It is observed, however, that certain trends gradually change this ideal in the modern setting particularly for Christians. This chapter introduces the main body of the dissertation, in which I investigate in several different spheres how the 'search for life' in the traditional meaning and the new Christian ideal of "the better life" interpenetrate each other, even within the same person.

The 'quest for life' is then followed through the area of worship, and it is found that, while 'life' traditionally is sought mainly in worship, this is only partly true in the Christian context. We continue this investigation in the field of sickness and health and observe that modern hospital treatment may leave the Tshwa frustrated spiritually and mentally even as it helps them physically. In the fields of
merely, it is found that Christian ethics introduces conflicts, as Tahwa people traditionally seek 'life' partly through right relationships within the group, while Protestantism insists on a break of such relationships as may be deemed harmful. It is also found that the contrasts in value conception potentially plunge Tahwa into inner conflict, when trying to apply Christian ethics.

The final appears to be investigated in death and accompanying attitudes, and we soon find that this area is more decisively marked by Christian influence than other parts of Tahwa life. In spite of a regular Protestant rejection of beliefs in ancestral spirits, it is probable that Christian teaching on 'eternal life' has strongly contributed to this remarkable change.

In a final chapter, I summarize some of the findings and draw certain conclusions.
MAIN "TSHWA AREA" in INHAMBANE DISTRICT MOCAMBIQUE

- Town or other place of interest
- Protestant Church centre

DZIVI name of tribe
1. THE TSHWA AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT

The Tahwa are a tribal group in Mozambique, occupying roughly the country between the two rivers Limpopo and Save - apart from European settlements, - with the important exception of the coastal stretch from Limpopo to Morrumbene, where the Chopi and Tonga tribes are settled. (See map). The majority of the Tshwa are concentrated between the Indian Ocean and the Changane river, i.e. within the administrative district of Inhambane, with population density increasing towards the coast. The region bordering on Rhodesia is only sparsely populated. (1)

Among themselves, the Tshwa distinguish three large groups, which I will refer to as tribes: The Dzivi, Hlengwe and Mhandla. First on the present scene were the Hlengwe, according to their own traditions coming from the Zimbabwe region to settle in what is now the Western part of the Tshwa area, probably towards the end of the 15th century. The Mhandla originated as a branch lineage (nyangwa = "gate") of the Hlengwe, which later settled around present Homoine. (2)

During the first half of the 17th century, the Dzivi moved to this same region from settlements either in present Eastern Transvaal, or Swaziland. (3) They started out by paying tribute to the chief of the Mhandla, but a Dzivi revolt resulted in the Mhandla being driven northwards, finally settling in the present Vilanculos region. Subsequently, the Dzivi chiefs became recognized as overlords both by Hlengwe and Mhandla. Gradually they confirmed their new sta-

(1) Atlas de Moçambique, p. 24
(2) E. Mucambo, Matimu ya VaTshwa, p. 5
(3) A. Mucambo, Mulaveteli wa ntumbuluko wa VaTshwa, p. 44
tus by the strategic location of new Dzivi settlements, forming a buffer zone between the Mhandla in the North and their own capital at Homoine. (4)

Two smaller groups should also be mentioned as belonging to the Tshwa, although they will play no specific part in this dissertation: The Nwamati, also called Makwakwa, traditionally placed South of the Hlengwe; and the Nuonge (dwambe) in their traditional homeland between the Dzivi and the Chopi. (5)

How this group of different tribes came to be known as Tshwa, and how the Tshwa language was formed can at present be only matters of conjecture. The fact remains that, through history, these groups became united to such an extent that present members identify themselves as Tshwa first of all.

It is obvious that these tribes are more connected through their present common language, Tshwa, (6) than by any wide claims to common ancestry. Dialects can be distinguished, according to the groups mentioned, probably pointing to the explanation that several smaller languages merged into one through the influence of the ruling Dzivi.

According to Doke's classification, Tshwa is one of the three languages within the so-called "Shangana-Tsonga" group. The two others are Ronga, spoken around Lourenco Marques, and Tsonga which is predominant in the region South of the Limpopo.

(4) A. Mucomo, op. cit., pp. 45 - 46


(6) The language is distinguished from the people by the prefix "xi-", while the people are designated by personal prefixes "mu-" in sing., "va-" in plural. Thus: Xitshwa = the language Tshwa; Mutshwa (plur. Vatshwa) = a Tshwa person.
river to within 50 miles North of Lourenço Marques. (7)

Thus, the Tshwa-speaking people are seen as part of the great "Thonga" tribe, (8) amply described in the Junod studies from the beginning of this century. However, in spite of the relationship between the mentioned languages and several similarities in customs, I maintain that Tshwa culture is so distinct from the "Thonga" that it warrants a far better treatment than being summarily dismissed as "the Northern clans". (9) Evidence points to stronger similarities with Karanga, Venda and Ndua than are found among the "Thonga".

It has been estimated that there are approximately 600,000 Tshwa in the area mentioned. The Chopi and Tonga groups are considerably smaller, not reaching a combined figure of 100,000, although many Chopi and Tonga are found living among the Tshwa, more or less assimilated into their culture. A numerically insignificant tribe is called Ronga, now living West of Massinga, in the midst of 'Tshwa territory'. As they have a language of their own, although only partly used, and distinguish themselves through certain cultural

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(7) D.T. 'ole, "Doke's classification of Bantu languages", in African Studies, Vol. 18, pp. 197-213

(8) For clarification, the following list is given:

*Thonga* = in anthropological circles commonly used joint designation of the Ronga, Tsonga and Tshwa peoples in S. Mocambique, purportedly introduced by Nguni rulers (N. Mbanze, "Ngango wa Mutshwa", p. 1)

*Tsonga* = tribal group living mainly South of Limpopo river in Mocambique, as well as in North-eastern Transvaal; often called "Shangaan".

*Tonga* = tribe located around town of Inhambane in Mocambique and along coast towards Vilanculos; mainly fishermen and traders; language quite distinct from "Shangana-Tsonga" group; also called "Koka".

(9) See e.g. H.A. Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, I, p. 269
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(9) See e.g. H.A. Junod, Life of a South African Tribe, I, p. 269
features, they are of great anthropological interest. In spite of this, they seem to have escaped any systematic research, so far. These Ronga are claimed to be the original inhabitants of a large part of the present Dzivi and Mhandla areas, but are now rapidly being integrated into Tshwa culture. In order to distinguish these Ronga from the Ronga people near Lourenço Marques, the former will be called "Massinga-Ronga" wherever they appear in this dissertation.

The Tshwa area forms part of the Portuguese province of Moçambique, with the administrative centre of the region in the town of Inhambane. The Portuguese arrived in the area as early as 1498, about the time when the Hlengwe moved to their present location. For centuries, Portuguese influence in this part of Moçambique was concentrated to certain coastal areas, around Inhambane, Sofala (close to present Beira), and at the mouth of Rio do Espírito Santo, where we now find Lourenço Marques. Their indirect material influence, however, was very important, as they brought along new kinds of grain and other useful plants, e.g. maize, cassava and peanuts, which were eagerly adopted by the indigenous people. (10)

Before 1900, the Tshwa tribes were more directly involved, from a political point of view, with the Nguni rulers, who dominated the interior of Southern Moçambique for the larger part of the 19th century. They were originally Zulu warriors who, under their leader Soshangane, had fled from the dominance of the Zulu king Dingane. (11) Theirs was a time of great upheaval in these parts of the country. Many Ndau people were transferred southwards from North of the Save River. This was also the time when many Chopi moved into Tshwa country and became assimilated into Tshwa life. (12)

(10) A.P. de Haiva e Fona, Doa primeiros trabalhos dos Portugueuses no Monomotapa, p. 26.
(11) J.D. Omer-Cooper, The Zulu aftermath, pp. 58-60
(12) Ibid., p.66
In the process of urbanization, the influence of governmental and economic forces began to be felt on a larger scale. This was partly in response to the rapid expansion of the urban areas and the growing need for infrastructure and services. However, this process often came at the expense of cultural preservation, as traditional ways of life were threatened by modernization.

The rural areas were also affected by this transformation. The cultivation of cash crops, such as sugarcane, towards the end of the 19th century, began to be replaced by the growing of food crops. This change was driven by the need to feed the growing urban population, and the availability of modern agricultural techniques.

The introduction of modern technologies and methods of farming brought about significant changes in the rural economy. The use of machinery, chemical fertilizers, and pesticides became more common, leading to increased production and efficiency. However, this also had its drawbacks, as environmental concerns and the health implications of chemical use became more apparent.

The impact of modernization on the rural areas was complex and multifaceted, affecting not only the economy and agriculture but also the social and cultural life of the communities. The process of modernization continues to shape the future of rural areas, as they adapt to the changing circumstances and find new ways to balance growth with sustainability.
The varieties of grain will yield better results in the autumn season, and different years, even 60. This refers to all parts of all provinces, including the province of the Eastern Cape. This statement is a significant threat against wheat cultivation.

To supplement the income from wheat agriculture, it has become customary for men from the villages to work in the gold and coal mines of South Africa. This migration began during the last ten decades of the 19th century, when the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley, and gold at Johannesburg, created the demand for cheap labor, which was available. Fairly soon, local laborers were organized in Southern Rhodesia, and at present, more than 30 percent of the entire labor force in South Africa is originated from the Southern part of Mozambique. The rest being Tshwane, Ciskei, and Bechuanaland. This implies that there are more than 100,000 men from the area mentioned are continuously flowing from their home country, and the number is constant, with the period and change between the period before in migration to and from the mines. This flow of laborers was greater during the 1880s. The relatively independent role played by the "Bantu" and in subsistence agriculture, often have been a contributing factor, especially during the first half of the century, but the lack of more opportunities outside of agriculture in their own areas or possibly the social and political environment, that often created by foreign intervention.

Cattle play an important role in the lives of the Tswana. There is evidence that the value of cattle was generally enhanced because cattle guaranteed wealth, and their cattle were possibly used for the payment of tribute to the government of South-West Africa (Namibia).

16) Atlas de Mozambique, p. 13

17) a. Mosteiro, O movimento migratorio de trabalhadores entre Mozambique e Africa do Sul, p. 29.
before their time. (16) At present, cattle are exceptions, but goats, sheep and hens are very common domestic animals. To supplement their meat supply, several Tshwa hunt in the bush, game being considered fairly abundant.

(16) A. Rita-Ferreira, op. cit. pp. 42-43
2. THE SOCIAL WORLD OF THE TSHWA

The political system

In tracing the history of the Tshwa, we find old tales that follow the Hlungwe far back into the time when they were still living in what is now Rhodesia. (1) Several of their big chiefs (hosi-ya-ngoma = lit. "chief of the drum") (2) are said to have been great warriors, making life miserable for neighbouring tribes. Some time after their moving to the present homeland, (3) the Hlungwe chief Shigomba decided to divide his chiefdom and give the eastern part of it to his son-in-law, Xivilele, who then became the first hosinya-ngoma of the Mhandla people. In spite of the Dzivi beginning their time in this area as subjects (valuveli) of this Mhandla chief, they also had their 'chief-of-the-drum', Yingwane. After their successful revolt against the Mhandla, Yingwane came to be regarded as the great Tshwa chief, and the chiefs of the other tribes paid tribute to him. This was the beginning of the Dzivi domination. (4)

Each tribe continued, however, with its own chief-of-the-drum, who ruled over his subjects. And they did not rule only people who claimed to be related to the chief. Different groups had been conquered during the course of history, and these were also counted into respective chiefdoms. We see, therefore, that even long ago it was true also among the Tshwa that...

(1) E.G. Hovebe, Matima ya Vatshwa, p. 5
(3) See map facing p. 1
(4) E.A. Hovebe, op. cit., p. 24, p. 27
membership of a tribe is determined... more by allegiance to a chief than by birth, and the unity of the tribe depends fundamentally on the common loyalty of the tribesmen to their chief". (5)

Every chief-of-the-drum had several sub-chiefs, who also functioned as the chief's main counsellors. Thus, at the same time as they were the great chief's servants, they tempered his absolute power through their council. The inferior status of these sub-chiefs - in relation to the chief-of-the-drum - emerges in the term used for their designation. They were called hos-tsi-ya-tala, which actually means "chief-of-the-rubbish-heap". Behind this name we see the importance of the continuous payment of tribute (kuluma), made by all subjects through the hos-tsi-ya-tala. No part of this was, as a rule, taken directly to the chief-of-the-drum, but was brought to the village of the sub-chief, from which selected parts of the tribute were forwarded to his superior.

Every sub-chief, in his turn, had his own counsellors (manyamphakana), who were each entrusted with a section of his sub-chiefdom and could act as judges in minor matters. It appears that "chiefs-of-the-rubbish-heap" very often were related to the "chief-of-the-drum", either by representing a certain nyangwa ("gate", i.e. branch lineage), (6) or through maternal or affinal kinship, and a nyamphakana often had a similar standing in relation to his hos-tsi-ya-tala. The political power was thus prudently supported by kinship bonds, utilizing the superhumanly sanctioned emphasis on unity of the kin-group in keeping the chiefdom intact. As these several degrees of chieftainship after establishment all became hereditary, the system obviously promoted a strong conservatism. (7)

(5) W. Hoernle, "Social organisation" in I. Schapera, Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa, p. 69
(6) A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde (ed), African systems of kinship and marriage, p. 14
In spite of a well worked-out system of chieftainship, no remarkably great rulers are known among the Tshwa. They never developed a strong centralized government similar to Monomotapa of the Karanga or the great chiefs of the Zulu.

As in other parts of Africa, a Tshwa chief had the sacred duty of representing his whole tribe before the superhuman Powers. This did not only imply a duty to sacrifice to his own ancestral spirits for rain and fertility of the tribal soil. His own life and health was seen as a symbol of the life of the tribe itself. As Hoebel has expressed it:

"In Africa, again and again, (the chief) symbolizes the tribal soul: a soul that must be hale and vigorous, else the tribe wanes and dies". (8)

This was particularly true concerning the chief-of-the-drum, but with passage of time and increase of population, some of his ritual functions came to be performed by the bohi-wa-tale in each section of the chiefdom. Thus, through the chief, all people in his chiefdom expected to find life-power (wutoi) for their land. This traditional concept is still of utmost importance in the life of the Tshwa.

Not surprisingly, this has become one area of continuous conflict since the introduction of Christianity among the Tshwa. My informants agreed that "chiettainship and Christian faith are impossible to combine" (9) and gave several examples of Christian men - even pastors - who had "lapsed back into traditional beliefs" after becoming chiefs. Old female members of the chief's patrilineage (vahahani) were said to put constant pressure on an incumbent who may hesitate about sacrificing to his ancestors: "Do you want to see your land die, and die yourself with it?"

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(9) Some informants even regarded chieftainship as a "sin". See p. 229
Another sphere in which modern conflict may be expected is the marital status of the chief. Reports indicate that chiefs of first and second rank are usually polygynous, and some informants indicate that a chief cannot be regarded as "great", if he has only one wife. Protestant Churches in the area have from the beginning taken a very strong stand against polygyny, this is another reason why traditional chieftainship and Christian faith are difficult to combine.

Probably, a chief's polygyny was formerly encouraged for political reasons by families sending a daughter as wife to the chief, to win political favour. (10) This procedure, however, was unknown to my informants, but, on the other hand, several made it clear that....

"... these days only chiefs can afford having more than one wife, because they get money all the time (through payment of tribute). The best they can do, then, is to use this money for nsho woolo (bridewealth). But for me, working for a salary, my money would get finished if I had to clothe two wives".

It should be noted that, while the chief represented all his people in his prayers for fertility, each lineage within his chiefdom carried on with its own rites addressed to its own ancestors. "The Great-one-of-the-lineage (dahome wa lixaka) was usually the leader in such undertakings. His leadership had no territorial significance. He personified the whole lineage and asked for life and health for his group, wherever its members may reside, especially in times of crisis.

The division of roles between chiefs and "great ones of the lineages" is probably even more conspicuous in modern times, as the former are now somewhat integrated into the Portuguese administrative system. As far as I can judge, great efforts have often been made by the white rulers to keep the traditional patterns of Tahwa chieftainship - al-

though the incumbents are bound to play a secondary role.

The chief-of-the-drum is now called Regulo and has, as a rule, quite a large area under him. His sub-chiefs (hosi-yatala) have now the title Cabo. These chiefs all draw salary from the Portuguese administration, and beyond that they are entitled to the tribute coming from their people (kuluva).

I am told that a man coming home from a period of work in the Transvaal mines will "luva" his Cabo by giving him 100 escudos (R 2.50). Other people staying in their villages pay some maize or cashew-nuts as their tribute. When wild animals are killed, certain parts must be given to the chief.

I am not able to say how the modern relationship between the Regulo and the Cabo is worked out, but a Cabo takes at least part of the tribute to his Regulo.

Every Cabo divides his district into parts (zipanzc) and installs counsellors (manghanakana) as his own sub-chiefs. These are "not even known by the Portuguese administration", i.e. they draw no regular salary. They are the collectors of tribute for the Cabo, and "they can come back home with something. As people do not pay tribute in beer any longer, but in peanuts, or cashew-nuts, he may sell what he has received as his part".

I am not fully acquainted with the present extent of jurisdiction of these three types of chiefs, but I know that they act as judges in certain cases and have some right to fine the culprit.

Although there is, in general, no reason to believe that chiefs over-step their authority, it is not surprising that their rights create a certain opposition among people. Informants showed evidence of a belief that the chief asks his ancestral spirits to send trouble among people in his chiefdom so that he may have cases to judge (and get paid). Two of my informants, independently of each other, volunteered a description of an installation of a chief (in different parts of the area), where a prayer with the following contents was said to be part of the ritual:
"Let them quarrel, let them beat each other, let them cut each other, so that there will be people coming to be judged... so that this chief gets something to eat...

"Xisola-bosile, oola u nkile" ("If you want to criticize the chief, do it from a distance") says a Tshwa proverb, which could be applicable in many other parts of the world. It is possible, however, that the attitudes expressed through these informants are not too uncommon among the Tshwa. It is also well-known that the Tshwa chief must protect himself against the witchcraft of anyone wanting to harm him. "A chief can get certain amulets (zithungulo) to prevent people from casting a spell over him".

The importance of the lineage

I have combined observations from my long acquaintance with the Tshwa people with statements from informants, to give the following outline of one aspect of the kinship system:

In traditional Tshwa society, the lineage (lxaka) is the most important kin group, to which this definition is applicable:

"An agnatic lineage consists of an original male ancestor and all his descendants through males of three, four, five or more generations. The lineage group consists of all the members of a lineage alive at a given time". (11)

Every Tshwa lineage is marked by the name of the man who counts as its founder. This name is called xibongo (related to the verb ku bonja = "to thank; to praise"), and is at the end of the list of paternal ancestors, which a Tshwa person normally can recite.

Such knowledge is obviously a means of strengthening an individual's identification with his kin group. It also establishes, for the living, the unseen ancestors as part of the lineage group. The most senior male member of a lineage, Wahombe wa lxaka ("The Great-one-of-the-lineage"), in the

(11) A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde, op. cit. p. 14
recognized leader of this group, but he is well aware that the "real" kin elders are watching from beyond the grave.

The lineage is the primary group through which Tswana persons expect "life" (vitality). It is therefore necessary that the lineage be maintained intact and united. This aim is furthered by keeping "right relationships" both with the ancestors and within the group. (12)

Such relationships between living lineage members, which may be expressed as a system of mutual rights and obligations, are mainly based upon the three factors of sex, age, and primogeniture.

Difference of status between the sexes is primarily based upon the fact that only men can continue their own lineage. "A woman belongs to the lineage of her father, but her children do not". (14) As a namani (actually a designation of "father's sister", but used in general for female members of the agnatic lineage), the woman will continue to play a role in her own lineage, even after her marriage. With age, this role can become very important. But the namani can never carry the name of her lineage over into new generations, nor can she be part of any line of succession.

Generally speaking, the higher a person is, the higher is his status, and consequently, the more respect he (or she) entitled to. The climbing up the status ladder among the Tswana is not frustrated or stopped as in a Western society; where retirement from a job which has given a person his status suddenly places him even in a much lower position.

In spite of this, primogeniture (welaminsi) is another principle that often overrules differences in life-years. This principle works vertically, making the generation gap a

(12) See chapter on "Quest for Life", pp. 104
(13) On "right relationships", see further pp. 325 fr.
(14) A. H. Bedeliffe-Brown and D. Forde, op. cit., p. 14
determining status factor. It also works horizontally, differentiating within a group of siblings, or between classificatory brothers and sisters. The generation of a man's father always has precedence over his own, even if some of his father's brothers (who are all called "father") may be younger than himself. (15)

The great respect for Father (Baba), which is instilled into every Tshwa child, is by extension shown to all whom a person calls "Father", as well as to all whom he calls baba-ni. (16) This includes all lineage members of his father's generation.

Furthermore, respect must be shown for any lineage member of the opposite sex. The lineage is bound to keep together, and just because of the necessity, no sexual relations of any kind may occur between lineage members, no matter how distantly related they may appear to be.

"The violent emotions engendered by sexual affection would blast and disrupt family unity built upon the earlier established filial-fraternal affections...... Overt sexual rivalry within the functioning kinship group cannot be permitted. (17)

For this reason, the Tswana concept of incest (xikaka) is extended to all who are members of the same agnatic lineage, and upheld by strong sanctions.

The seriousness with which members of a lineage regard sexual rivalry is also indicated by the custom called

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(15) This is quite possible in a context of polygyny:

(16) The word baba-ni probably means "little father". Junod states that baba-ni derives from the Ronga word rara ( "little father"; diminutive of rara = father), "as r often changes into h in Thonga phonetics". H.A. Junod, Life of a South African tribe, 1, p. 62?

(17) E.A. Hoebel, op. cit., p. 290
mumunyai. The principle of this custom is that no man of the same lineage should share the same woman. If this should happen, a curse will be hanging over their heads, and these men are not allowed to see each other any more.

Institutionalized respect and avoidance reflect potential strain in the relationships involved. This would be especially true in the father-son relationship but also in other connections within the lineage group. Witchcraft accusations often fall on a parent, particularly in cases of barrenness or abortions on the part of her brother's children. It is recognized that such conflicts are dangerous for the whole lineage group. Without lineage unity, life for its members is at low ebb.

Hoornaar’s words about the lineage in Bantu-speaking tribes are certainly relevant also to the Tshwa people:

"The lineage undeniably is the most important purely kinship group among most of the tribes, the group which exercises most social control over the people and within which lies the most intimate social contact and the most stable system of reciprocal rights and duties". (15)

Influences from outside, both cultural and religious, have diminished the importance of the lineage group among Tshwa. It will later be shown how Christian worship and ethics tend to remove the special importance of lineage unity and ‘right relationships’. (19) Simultaneously, a stronger emphasis on the conjugal family can be discerned.

Marriage and Family

Polygyny is a well-establish customary in the traditional Tshwa society. Not only for chiefs, but also for ordinary men, the traditional ideal is to have several wives. Hoornaar

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(18) W. Hoornaar, op. cit., p. 86

(19) See former pp. 226 ff.
Some like money more than anything else. There love to have lots of cattle... For us, wealth comes from giving and receiving." (20)

Traditionally two cattle were used here. The fairly even distribution of wealth was thus impossible. Furthermore, the marriage always has been based upon the exchange of lobolo (blood-wedding), availability of riches or the non-existence of wealth, competitiveness, the number of wives a man may have.

When marriage (lobolo) transfers from the core group of the future wife's people, a new relationship was cemented between the lineages. The man's kin gained potential child-bearing power, while the woman's lineage was compensated through lobolo, which could, in turn, be used to acquire a similar child-bearing power into that kinship group. (21) A marriage...avery...had the character of a contract between the different kin groups, with lobolo guaranteeing its continuity as long as the conditions implied by the lobolo were fulfilled.

Lobolo had become a 'child-price', as Jeffreys has pointed out (22). In case the wife for which lobolo had been paid should chafe, her lineage had the obligation to obtain similar lobolo to give children in her place. This was additionally provided for in the term of hlsana, by which one man's brother's daughter is called. This word is derived from the verb ku hla (to wash), indicating that this girl would be the normal chair of the lineage to

(20) F. J. Mbane, Ngange we hubheu, p. 101

(21) J. Jeffreys, The social of a Rain-Queen, p. 75

(22) J. Jeffreys, "O lobolo e o preço da criança" (Bom, de Santoven da Prov. de Nampitaka, XXX, No 132, Jul-Set., 1962)
be sent to wash the womb of her absent (father's sister) of the shame that follows sterility. This custom may, of course, be seen as a variation on the polygyny/contamination of death, clinging to the husband even had died, would be, in principle, the "washes" of hlaqana.

Nhazowo has through the ages played a large part as guarantee against easy divorce. A husband would expect his wife's kin to return the nhazowo without much reason. His own kin would also prevail on him to fulfill his obligations to his wife. If the nhazowo was taken, this insistence would, of course, be the man's decision and the wife would have had any more justice.

The concept of nhazowo ("washing") has been explained in some detail — and in the background too — changes and even a direct attack which has been exposed to since the introduction of Christianity. It is true that information from a large number of cases has indicated that nhazowo is still being paid in a majority of cases. There are modern instances where parents freely state that they will not accept any nhazowo payment for their daughter. Furthermore, some Churches in Mocambique have taken a definite stand against the nhazowo custom, pointing it clear in teaching that "good Christianity has nothing to do with this custom".

In spite of such declarations, however, the nhazowo custom comes back in another form: parents refusing to receive nhazowo than to let their daughters marry without it.

(23) See "Death and Life Eternal"...

(24) Although no official statement from the Presbyterian Churches working among the Tswana is known, particularly the Presbyterian Church, working among Ronga and Tanga, has taken a strong stand on this issue. It is remarkable that in the "Bengu movement", lovel ("child-worth") is the only Xhosa custom included upon! (A.A. Dube, The role of the Church in an Urban African society, pp. 6-7)
son-in-law. This may mean paying an amount similar to the traditional nzhowo-lo, but without the accompanying stabilizing conditions.

Another change in attitude is indicated by the fact that it is now mainly the young man's responsibility (not his kin's) to supply the money for his bride-wealth. The first contract period at the Transvaal mines is usually connected with this need.

Such a shift in responsibility reflects a continuous change in attitude towards the marriage connection itself. The bond between man and wife now seems to supersede the traditional one between their respective kinship groups. There is some evidence that this trend opens the door to more frequent divorces.

From a structural point of view, it would appear that a Tswana woman has her lowest status as a wife. She is an outsider in her husband's lineage group with many obligations and few rights. In general, a newly married wife is not much more than a servant to her parents-in-law, and indirectly to her husband. This agrees in principle with "the Zulu attitude that a woman is a minor and must submit weakly to her husband... and whose whole purpose in life is to serve and satisfy his and his lineage." (23) It should be pointed out, however, that the young wife normally has several other women - wives of her husband's brothers - to relate to on fairly free terms. This appears to be one definite advantage of the patrilineal extended family (27) in comparison to the conjugal one living in isolation from the kin (see below).

The period of "apprenticeship" (kukoro-lo) of the new wife

(23) Dr. M. Langi, Africa in social change, p. 276
(26) A. Vilakazi, Zulu transformations, p. 33
was also the time when she was introduced into customs and regulations of her husband's lineage. It also helped the young couple over the difficult time of transition, especially as far as food is concerned.

The wife's standing in her husband's lineage can, as a rule, be enhanced only through the children she bears. As a mother, she becomes the nucleus of a new "house" (yindlu) and will be honoured by her husband as well as by children and parents-in-law.

It is also as a mother that a woman becomes the important link to the warm relationship which is usually experienced between children and their maternal grandparents, as well as the mother's brother.

It is customary that a Tswana boy spends some years of his early childhood in the home of his maternal grandparents, or of his mother's brother. Both grandparents and mother's brother are called by the same term, Kokwane (plur. vakokwane), indicating that the same kind of behaviour is expected before them all. One informant recalled his maternal grandfather's love towards himself and other young relatives living in his home. "He always took good care of us, and he wanted to teach us as much as possible of sacrifices and other Tswana customs".

While children's relations with uterine relatives are thus free and easy, much respect and even avoidance is traditionally expected from the husband in connection with the same set of relatives. Such rules make relations particularly difficult with his mother-in-law and his wife's elder sisters, who were all called vakokati, while he may be on freer terms with the younger sisters of his wife, the tinhombe.

Some of these strict avoidance regulations have lost their rationale in modern times, and "it now happens that a son-in-law eats with his mother-in-law without even thinking about avoidance". Also in other respects, the traditional rules concerning family life are in a process of change. The custom of kukoroka is now, according to reports, completely
abandoned. "How they just got married and go to live at once wherever they wish".

An increased preoccupation with the conjugal family, at the expense of the extended one, is also an indication of changes which have come through the gradual introduction of money into the subsistence economic system of the Tswana. In the subsistence economy, every village harvested, at least in principle, as much as their neighbours. Monetary economy, on the other hand, distinguishes those who have from those who have not and fosters individualistic attitudes towards belongings. (28)

Such attitudes are further strengthened nowadays in the urban situation, where so many Tswana conjugal families live far away from their relatives, although they, in general, keep some contact with their rural kin group.

Modern specific emphasis on the conjugal family introduces great psychological pressure in case no children are born in a marriage. Informants' statements indicate clearly that offspring is still regarded as the necessary fruit of a union, although modern Tswana parents in general do not regard a large number of children as a particular blessing.

The traditional solution in cases of barrenness - as the wife's kin group sent another woman to "wean" her womb - is, of course, totally unacceptable in Christian context. All Protestant Churches in the Tswana area now - similar to most other Christian Churches coming to Africa from outside the continent (29) - from the beginning completely refused to

(28) Dr. F. Schuman, "The Impact of Money on an African subsistence economy", in Readings in Anthropology, ed. by A. de Maio and A. Schuman, 1978.

(29) O.A. Asombaga, "The Christian Church and African marriages", in Sam Beadle (ed), Christianity in Africa as seen by the Africans, p. 152.
accept traditional polygyny as a valid form of marriage. It is claimed by informants that the present picture presents easier and more frequent divorces among Tshwa Christians (for those who have not been married in Church, or by civil ceremony), and, on the other hand, many men taking a second wife "in secrecy".

The uncertainty concerning offspring is, in fact, the stated main reason why such a large percentage of the Methodist Episcopal Church constituency do not enter marriage by Church ceremonies. This fact is reflected by the large number of Tshwa Christians who remain as "members on trial", (30) as church marriage is a firm condition for becoming a "full member". (31)

The web of in-personal ties

In traditional Tswana society, the ideal was that kinmen lived together in a constant inter-relation of obligations and rights, depending upon the need and status ascribed by the structure of relationship. Thus, the neighbour (makanelane; plur. vako:lane, lit. meaning "the one building together") was ideally a kinsman, either of the same lineage, or through cognatic or affinal relationship. However, in several parts of the Tswana area, this kind of ideal situation was rather fictitious, and as time passed, it became even further removed from reality.

As people of other tribes entered a Tswana chiefdom with the intention to settle there, they had to pay their respect to the ruling chief by certain gifts (ku iuva), and they were then, normally, given land on which to build.

(30) Of a total constituency within the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1967 of 51,315, adult members "on trial" were 10,198. (Relatório Oficial da Conferência Anual da Igreja Metodista no Sudeste da África, 1967)

(31) This is a local regulation, not valid in Methodist Churches in other countries.
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The web of inter-personal ties

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(30) Of a total constituency within the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1967 of 31,383, adult members "on trial" were 10,111. (Relatório Oficial da Conferência Anual da Igreja Metodista no Sudeste da África, 1967)

(31) This is a local regulation, not valid in Methodist Churches in other countries.
As a rule, relations with such newcomers were friendly and peaceful. Hospitality to strangers is, as among other Bantu-speaking peoples, a traditional duty among the Tsha, and the close living together with neighbours often developed satisfactory patterns of mutual assistance.

Friction did arise, however, both between kinsmen and in relation to neighbours. Conflicts between father and son, or between mother-in-law and son-in-law, were, for instance, not unusual. Such friction, however, called for quick reconciliation along structural lines. This was possible as kinship obligations are defined in terms of more specific relationships than neighbourly obligations. Friction within the latter sphere could therefore not always be dealt with in an institutionalized way. This was particularly true when relationships were new and implied the 'proximity' of people of widely different tribes and customs.

This kind of friction is said to be quite usual in the modern urban situation. At a church conference in 1966, held by the Methodist Episcopal Church, the "living close to people of all kinds of tribes in the cities" was taken up as one of the serious problems facing modern Christian Tsha.

In the rural areas, work cooperation among neighbours, for instance in agriculture and house building, lessened any potential strain, and giving and taking in marriage increased communication between people of different groups.

Agriculture has certainly played an important part in easing relationships, as "all people digging together" gathered at the agricultural sacrifices several times a year. Sacrifices for rain were also made on a communal basis, rather than along kinship lines.

Companionship of a social nature was also found at occasions

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(33) See below pp. 234 ff.
of sacrifices, both agricultural ones and kinship rituals. Communal drinking — with the accompanying free talk — was a necessary part of any sacrifice. On these occasions, generally (women) on the part of the arranging headman was highly praised. Music and dancing often accompanied the drinking, except at specially solemn gatherings because of some serious curse (khoihoi) on the kin.

For the smaller group of a village, such social companionship was fostered, e.g., at the men’s conversations in the special place for men (kundumi), which surely gave satisfaction and a deep sense of belonging. The women’s gatherings at the place-of-the-pots (kumbari) together with the small children, when the chores of the day were done, for talking and story-telling, were equally full of both fun and depth.

Hunting expeditions together with men from the vicinity widened the sense of community not by providing togetherness and by necessitating a mutual trust in order to succeed in the hunt without hurting one another.

Companionship of a social nature did not always imply any obligations between the participants, at least not beyond the immediate occasion. Fellow-hunters had duties towards each other as long as the hunt lasted. Mutual assistance at work meant helping e.g., with building a house, and the reward came in form of beer — and conversation. But beyond that, few obligations existed towards persons outside of the own kin. The wholesome (generosity) could make some persons spend large parts of their belongings on food and drink at some feasts, but this was more for enhancing one’s status than fulfilling an obligation. However, attitudes similar to the rules about hospitality towards strangers were commendable in the case of needy ones in the neighbourhood. In times of hunger, mutual assistance extended far beyond ordinary neighbourliness.

Several proverbs summarize this kind of attitude: "A kusana vanuana ku ti yonai shuva" ("To help others is to lay up stores for oneself"), and "A kusana mungu kufunzisa"
"Not to give to a person is to bury him"). It was well to be prudent, however, so that the person you had helped would remember his benefactor. The proverb "Loku u hanyiso xisiwana, toema ndl-vc" ( = "If you save a poor man, cut his ear") is a relevant advice in this direction.

But when a severe accident, sickness or death struck the family, it was usually the kin-group that went into action. All such events were counted as cursing (makholombo), and sinister powers were discerned as active agents behind them. Often witchcraft was suspected in all these cases, and any involvement might lead to allegations impossible to disprove. Sickness and death were often believed to be caused by revenging spirits, aiming their attacks on the kin-group as such. Furthermore, death contamination was thought of as a contagious evil influence, which clings to everyone connected with the stricken people or village. (35)

Consequently, neighbours and strangers kept their distance in such times of distress. A sense of mutual solidarity between those living together could go far in times of other types of need, but in crises of this nature solidarity did not, by custom, extend beyond the boundaries of the lineage and affinal kin.

In such cases, the traditional Tohwa acted in a way similar to other tribes in Southeast Africa:

"One should not be interpreted as saying that the non-Christians are not generous or solicitous about strangers", Vilakazi says about the Zulus. "But the fact of the matter is that among Zulus there are certain duties which are the function of the kinsmen first and foremost and which people would be reluctant to perform for a stranger. Burying a dead person, for example; or visiting and providing creature comfort for the sick". (35)

(34) See further pp. 243-245

(35) A. Vilakazi, op. cit. p. 30; Cf. M. Hunter, op. cit. pp. 228 and 350
Some aspects of social life in mine compounds

As tens of thousands of Tswana men are always at work in the Transvaal mines, and most of my informants were interviewed while residing in some mine compound, it is important to establish some features of the social life in such a situation.

Each mine compound gets its supply of African labour through a widespread network of agencies. Recruiting stations for this purpose are placed at strategic spots in rural parts of Southern Africa, including Southern Mozambique until the 22nd parallel. In principle, a work-seeking man goes to one of these recruiting stations, signs a contract for one year's work in any Transvaal mine, and is subsequently transported by the recruiting company to the mine needing labour. Once at the mine, most Mozambique men seek to sign on for another six months of work, before being transported back to the home region.

Obviously, this closed recruiting system, with only limited possibility for the work-seeking man to choose place and conditions of work, aims at making the transfer from home village to work situation as swift and painless as possible. This type of migratory labour supply is no phase in an ordinary urbanisation process. At least as far as Mozambique labourers are concerned, it rather appears to be a conscious encapsulation effort, seeking to keep the men's minds constantly turned towards their homelands, while they sell their labour to the mine.

A mine compound is a self-contained unit. Most men spend all their free time within the compound area. Food is supplied by the mine, and shops specially stocked with items appealing to rural Africans are part of the compound unit. "Bars" with both European and African types of strong drink cater to the compound dwellers.

After the first few months of work, the major part of the worker's wages is sent directly to the recruiting station in
his home-region, to be paid out on his return home. This is another dominant factor in keeping the migrant’s attention directed towards his home country during his contract period at the mines. The "Deferred Pay" system leaves little cash in the man’s pocket, thus removing incentive to go to town for any extensive shopping. Restrictions on Mozambique compound workers to visit urban African townships further discourage communication with people outside of the compound area.

Migrant labourers in the Transvaal mines, thus, cannot be classified as urbanized, either from a structural viewpoint or a cultural one. On the whole, they are tribesmen who are integral parts of life in their tribal areas, temporarily absent "to fight with the stones", in order to improve their life in the home village.

Important similarities with the Red Xho man in East London can readily be found. But there are differences at least on two points:

a) Incapsulation of Red Xho in East London is voluntary. There is no power outside of his own cultural sphere imposing any encapsulation. For the mine workers, on the other hand, the whole labour supply system is geared towards an encapsulation process, in which little choice is left to the individual.

b) The Red Xho is 'incapsulated' in his own tribal culture and values, while the Trans compound worker, e.g., is rather kept within the influence of the larger geographical sphere of his homeland. In the compound, a Tehwa is generally classed with the "Nyamhaan" group (from the name of the principal town in the home area, Inhambane), together with Tonga and Chopi, and sometimes Teonga ("Shangaan"), who all understand some form of the Tehwa language.

In this connection, it is also important to observe that

(36) P. Mayer, "Townsmen or tribesmen", especially pp. 93-94
By close family ties the Bushmen females are usually housed together in one section of the compound. Twenty or so, or in fewer cases, more, live together in each room. All activities possible to women who work the region are shared in this room. One woman is regarded as room leader, responsible for many, but all women have to obey her in everything that has to do with the house living together.

By close family ties the females keep close together in all leisure-time activities. They eat, drink — and talk — together; sometimes they card and weave a blanket, working on creative embroidery or knitting a new jersey. Some are compound-acquainted and visit themselves as tailors, cobblers or barbers. In their daily routine they enter into communication with one of the men of the compound. But, beyond that, the network of bonds is not very extensive, unlike the close-unit ties. The network is not wide, but wide enough for personal relationships, living in other rooms or even compounds. On occasion, trips to visit relatives in compounds close by belong to the pattern. Such visits keep the people in the compound together with events at home.

Little diversification of occupations available to community is an important factor for keeping local units from mixing and forming relationships. (39) Dancing compounds are held regularly, but even there communication with any or other villages is probably very limited. Sports
activities sponsored by the mine attract a few, and classes are attended by some. But even there, the religion group in the area speaks the same language. Church activities in compounds induce some crossing of tribal boundaries, but, in general, churches are associated to speak language groups. This aspect will be further developed.
3. TRADITIONAL TSHWA BELIEFS

All through the exposition we will keep comparing traditional with the modern, in order to understand what is happening in Tswana life. Thus, more features of traditional religion and similar beliefs will be gradually introduced. It is, however, necessary to make a somewhat systematic presentation of the salient features of Tswana traditional beliefs, to give a background to subsequent presentations and arguments.

There has been no effort on my part to reconstruct Tswana religion and traditional customs as they might have been many years back, before European influence had had time to assert itself. What is described in this chapter has been found as a live part of the thinking of those men - most of whom are Christians - who served as my informants. Facts about religion and traditions coming readily from Tswana Christians may be assumed to be part of the frame of reference, into which they will fit everything coming to them from the outside.

For the Tswana, the world of religion is the world of spirits. Even if there are many religious symbols, like trees or stones beside for worship, drums "belonging to the spirits", and certain vessels only used for sacred purposes, idolatry as such is completely unknown. "Fetishes" or amulets do not fall into this category, as they are things manipulated but not worshipped.

The Tswana spirit beliefs do not mean, however, that they should be classified as animists, as this term implies belief that all things have personalised spirits in them. The Tswana believe in several kinds of spirits, all of them emanating from and directly re-
ferable to persons. But they do not believe that
trees, wells, stones, etc., have spirits living in
them, as the theoretical "animist" ought to do. (1)
The branches of a tree may be moved by a spirit, a
well may be ruled over by another spirit, and animals
may be sent by a spiritual force, but these spirits
are, again, the essence of a person, either dead or
alive.

For the Tshwa, spirits are not inherent in natural
phenomena, though these may be infused by a hu-
man, personal will. Similarly, a 'doctor' is believed
to infuse healing power into his medicines by saying
the 'right' words over them before use. In other
words, the Tshwa see a personal will behind most e-
vents. Nothing "just happens". There must be someone
"sending" the event for some special reason, whether
the "sender" is a witch or a spirit of a dead person,
either related or unrelated to the afflicted indi-
vidual.

It thus becomes evident that the Tshwa believe
in an ordered universe, although the elements of this
order may differ essentially from European cosmology.
The Tshwa expect the soil to give them food, and they
see no reason why their health should be unstable at
all, unless laws laid down in Nature, or certain per-
sonal relationships, have been violated. It would,
therefore, appear that Tshwa cosmological concepts
are ethically determined.

They also count on the existence of evil forces,
attempting to destroy the order of their universe,
but even there personal power is involved, making it
possible somehow to deal with the affliction in a

rational manner — although their reasoning is based on completely different assumptions than western scientific thinking.

The Power of the Sky (tilo)

When faced with events which seem to defeat explanation, as, for instance, lightning, or the birth of albinos, the Tshwa ascribe them to the mysterious Sky-Power called Tilo (= "Sky," "Heaven"). By doing so, they have, in fact, expelled the actual event from their ethical universe, into the mysterious realm where events happen without any tangible reason. Although such an affliction has been named by referring it to Tilo, this connection implies that no remedy can be sought, and no blame laid. The Tshwa proverb makes this clear: "You cannot fight with the Sky" (a kulwi ni Tilo).

Tilo is not spoken of very often, but it is nevertheless the important backdrop against which the other spirits perform their actions. This reluctance to speak about Tilo is reflected in the following example:

A Tonga man pointed out that during his childhood he and his brothers were admonished not to mention the name of Nungunyulu (which now is used as the Christian name for God, both among Tonga and Tshwa people but which is one traditional Tonga name for Tilo). Only the alternative names Nyamavala (= The One of many colours), or Nyakhombekulu (= The One with the wide face) could be used.

The primary reason why Tilo is not mentioned so often is probably the fact that there was no organ-

(2) It may seem most natural to translate the Tshwa word Tilo by the English equivalent "Heaven." However, "Heaven" is a loaded word to many people, immediately calling forth certain associations formed by various beliefs. To avoid our "reading in" Christian concepts into the Tshwa beliefs in Tilo, I have preferred to use the more neutral translation "Sky Power."
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ized direct worship of this Sky Power. Even if many traditional beliefs were verbalized and forwarded to new generations by teaching and telling, it should be observed that doctrinal teaching as such was no important element of Tulu religion. Doctrines were taken for granted, as part of Nature, or part of Creation (Ntumbuluko), and often mentioned in passing during the course of an evening's story-telling. Doctrines were also "acted out" in symbolic actions at the occasions of sacrifice. Furthermore, they were etched dramatically on the minds when mentioned by a diviner as the cause of a dreaded affliction.

As the Sky Power was not worshipped, and thus the belief in this Power was never reinforced by any symbolic sacrificial act, it is not surprising that some Tulu claim that they know nothing of Tilolo, except as a place "up in the sky." Still, I find that informants over 40 years of age all know of this Power, while the younger generation pleads almost excusably ignorant. Maybe the falling into disuse of traditional forms of story-telling, and the modern custom of sending children away to schools, outside of parental control and influence, contribute to this state of affairs.

Characteristics of the Sky Power (Tilolo)

The atmospheric aspect of the Sky Power is the most obvious one, being implied in names like "The One who speaks by himself," i.e., through lightning and thunder (kuzewelulayece), or "The One who thunders and rains" (ininzelakuna). Prayers for rain are normally directed to the ancestors (tigu-luva), but the strange rite of kole wo lava vula (special supplication for rain) shows that the final authority in this matter is the Sky Power. (3)

(3) see "Worship, sacrifice, and sacraments," p. 120
Lightning made people dread Tilo. It strikes anywhere, and nobody can feel secure from the attack from above. It does not necessarily follow that the Sky Power was thought of only as evil, even if one informant stated: "I see that the Tshwa formerly saw all evil as coming from Tilo."

As the ultimate giver of the 'cool' blessing of rain, Tilo was seen as the Supreme Life-giving Power, the ultimate source of everything necessary to exist life-sustaining. It would seem that this function was clouded in people's minds by the many ancestral spirits who were popularly conceived of as senders of blessings (and curses!).

A personal greeting might be formulated: "May the Sky provide for you so that you may live (many) days" (A Tilo a chwe yikele mbuva ru hanyi bi masiku). (6)

It must be stressed, however, that for most people the Sky Power was conceived of as a mysterious threat. It was the source of everything unusual or unexplainable. Their attitudes towards Tilo thus became ambivalent, leaning over, however, on the negative side.

While normal children always inspire gratefulness to the ancestral spirits, abnormal babies are commonly seen as signs of Sky Power activity. A certain person who had been born as a cripple "with the arms almost sitting on his thighs," was called "Va Tilo" (= From the Sky).

In the case of twin-births, I am not certain whether they are regarded as caused by Tilo or not. Junod does not hesitate on this point, seeing that twins were called "children of heaven" (vana va Tilo) among the Mwena people around Lourenço Marques. (6)

(6) Cf. description of 'cool' and 'hot,' pp. 214-15
I hold it most probable that Tshwa formerly also saw twin-births in this way, although clear evidence is hard to come by among modern Tshwa, even non-Christians.

Albino-births are regarded as caused by the Sky Power. The very word ndlati (= albino) is the same word as the one used for "lightning" in the closely related Tsonga language. The albino and the lightning are evidently seen as sent by the same Power. Strong evidence of belief among Tshwa Christians that albinos come as a result of spiteful actions and words against God, further strengthens this point.

One traditional name of Tilo takes the Sky out of the exclusively spatial context. It is the name Mutang, which has been explained as "Nya titanga tontlhe" (= "of all ages"). This name gives a clear indication of the One who is and has been from the very beginning, although the epithet "eternal" hardly would fit, as Mbiti reminds us that for Africans "time is a one-dimensional phenomenon, with a long past, a present, and virtually no future." Still, we find at least the germ of 'eternity' among the Tshwa, in their adverb: "The Sky does not die, but people do" (Tilo a gifi, kufa vanhu).

I am fully aware that the Tshwa belief in Tilo corresponds with similar beliefs among most other African peoples, although we find them pronounced in much greater detail in certain parts of Africa.

There is also a modern trend, both among African and European writers on Africa, to speak of the "Sky Power" of African beliefs in Judeo-Christian terms, simply using the name "God." I agree fully with the biblical reference used in this connection that

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(7) J. Mbiti, African religions and philosophy, p. 17.
(8) See further pp. 240-263.
God "in past generations ... did not leave himself without witness,"(16) and I hope that my whole treatment of Tshwa religion and culture will reveal my tremendous respect for the name. Still, I suggest that translating Tilo by the name "God" would only tend to confuse the issue, without bringing forth any practical advantages. Particularly as we are here attempting to compare new and old, I am satisfied that the rendering "sky tower" or even better retaining the Tshwa name Tilo, will best serve our purpose.

A richly varied world of spirits

Besides the "sky tower", there are four different types of spiritual beings populating the Tshwa world:

1. ancestral spirits (tinguluve);
2. spirits-of-revenge (mipfhuka or vanyusikuwa-xani);
3. foreign, positive and sickness-bringing spirits (zandili);
4. ghosts (zigonza or siphoka).

Of these, only the first kind are spirits belonging to my own kin. It is, of course, realized that all different kin-groups have their ancestral spirits (tinguluve), but I need never be concerned with the late grandfathers and great-grandfathers of other lineages than my own, as they know me as little as I know them. Tinguuluve are strictly kept within the own kin.

In spite of this, the dead of other lineages can exert some influence on my life. But in such cases they take on some new quality, or a special reason is explained, and the name of the dead changes. An ancestral spirit (mangu; plur. tinguluve) can never influence a person who does not belong to his

(16) Acts 14: 16-17 (NIV)
own kin. But under certain circumstances, this "spirit-of-a-dead" may enter a strange village to kill persons who are alleged to have done something evil against him or his relatives. This spirit is then no longer a nguluve. He has changed activity, address and name, and has become a mupshukwa or nyamukwakani ("spirit of revenge").

Ancestral spirits (kunguluve) are often believed to send sickness to their people, but there are also other spiritual beings which are particularly obtrusive in this respect. Besides sickness sent by the mentioned "spirits-of-revenge," certain sicknesses are ascribed to mndiki, who, in general, are spirits of foreigners dead long ago.

Even among Europeans, ghosts are believed to be spirits of dead persons "coming back." The difference one notes among the Tswana is that their ghosts (ziroe) are not spirits of their own dead, but again appearances of dead persons belonging to other kinship groups. Many interesting data could be related about Tswana ghost beliefs, but in this thesis I will leave them out, as they have no strong bearing upon the subject at hand.

What has been so far confirms in principle Junod's observation that shikwemby (ancestral spirit) among the Tsonga and Konga peoples: "Every human being at his death turns into a shikwemby and becomes an ancestor-god for his descendants and a hostile spirit as regards his former enemies."(11) Ancestral spirits (kunguluve)

Every Tswana person who dies becomes a nguluve (= "spirit of a dead of my own kin"). His connection with his kin group is at least as strong after his death as before. He remains an integral part of the kinship system. Death seems to be regarded as

(11)H.A. Junod, op. cit., 11, p. 77.
His influence to grow, and stronger, and the reasons for his actions are beyond question.

It is recognized, however, that spirits of dead children and of persons who did childless, have less influence than other tinguluve:

"A dead child cannot ask its father for a sacrifice. Nor could a childless spirit be sacrificed to. To whom should he go and request food and clothing? Such spirits would have to eat left-overs."

Thus the plight of the childless person was clearly illuminated, simultaneously pointing out the tremendous importance of having children of one's own. "A dead childless brother could go to his brother and ask for attention," but this clearly implied a secondary position.

The most important of all tinguluve are the father's father and his father's father's father of the kin elder, always being the most honoured guests at the big, periodic sacrifice during the winter season (shanka 7a horme), or at the baniha (occasion for "weeping for the dead"). Thus, the social order was maintained, and reinforced, by paying special attention to the top figures of the own family or lineage. 12 However, when some crisis occurred, the object of the sacrifice of propitiation would always be specially motivated by the divining bones, and most informants agree that there was some special nguluve in their various lineages who was known as a trouble-maker, wandeling (through the bones), and getting, far more attention than other ancestral spirits.

"A person who has lived an evil life is counted as a nguluve after his death, but he will be a troublesome nguluve. The divining bones will always point to him in connection with some troubles."

12 Dr. E. Forrest, "Some reflections on ancestor worship in Africa" in African systems of thought, p. 123.
...it could be found, it would be dug up because of having trouble, and now kept trouble (Tovin among the K...). It was posed by the family (K...), the tail, and the thing could be a descendant: that this verb is "to lie a snake" as an example of a snake lying. It was possible, it was difficult to report when people...
All such reports, and, on the other hand, observation that the spirit-of-a-dead must go

close relative for immediate attention; one evidence
of the mutual inter-connexion between the ancestor
spirits and their posterity. The living looked to the
tinguluve as their collateral source of life and
strength. They trusted their tinguluve for help in
all respects. Good health in the family as well as
among the domestic animals was a sign of ancestral
blessings, and a narrow escape from an accident
would be ascribed to the ancestors' watchful eye.

A special case of blessing, mentioned by most
informants, was finding something unexpectedly.
Even today, finding money in the street or on the
path seems immediately to direct the thought to the
tinguluve, and such money must not be spent unvailly.
It should be shared with one of the elders in the
family, preferably the father, or invested in livesto-

When everything went smoothly, the attitude
toward the tinguluve was a happy one. But when
sickness came to man or beasts, when the fields
were scorched by a scorchless sun, or when hopes for
offspring were thwarted, this attitude changed to
reproach, "Tinguluve is lazy" (~"The ancestors are
quarreling") was a common expression, when signs of
this nature were found, and the diviners help was
sought to find out what needed to be done to avert
the danger. If it was found that the tinguluve
were causing the trouble, they were usually sug-
picted through a sacrifice. (15)

Although "the tinguluve are kept strictly with-
in the own kin," one special set of these spirits
has an influence that stretches beyond the bound-
aries of their own lineage. The tinguluve of the

(15) See further "group, sacrifice and sacra-
ments," pp. 117-120.
chief's lineage have territorial significance in their capacity of "owners of the land." Thus, rain and other fertility blessings are primarily expected from them, and sacrifices for rain and agricultural success are directed towards them on behalf of all people within the chiefdom, irrespective of kin membership. Everyone is therefore expected to contribute to such communal rites, which are separate from the rites of life crises performed along kinship lines. This dichotomy is observed also among other peoples in Africa:

"At planting time, each local community carries out rites to ask for rain and good crops, and these are community rites in which the mizimu (ancestral spirits) are not involved. But each family, though it contributes beer for the general rites, also privately asks its own mizimu for assistance." (16)

Later on in this dissertation I will attempt to demonstrate that the dichotomy between communal (or calendaric) rites and crises rites of the kin group may even have influenced the Tshwa in their response to Christianity. (17)

Tinguluve and the Sky Tower (Tilo)

Among a few Tshwa of today I have found the notion that the tinguluve were not worshipped at all, but used exclusively as media for worshipping Tilo, the Sky Tower. (18) Personally I believe this is a modern adaptation, but there is evidence that the tinguluve were believed to have ready access to Tilo and were thus regarded as mediators between living humans and the remote power of the Sky. The following prayer, recollected by

(16) E. Colson, Plateau Tonga of N. Rhodesia, p. 5.
(17) See p. 273-75
an informant, certainly implies cooperation between these powers: "You timuluve, stand up together with Mandani (one of the names for Tilo), and fight for us!"

Only one ceremony is on record where there seems to have been a direct approach to Tilo without the timuluve as intermediators. This is the so-called kole wo lava vula (special supplication for rain). It should be observed that this ceremony was performed only in times of unbearable drought and first after all other rain ritual resources had been exhausted. [19]

Foreign, possessive and sickness-bringing spirits (Mandiki)

While timuluve are closely intertwined with traditional Tshwa life, two other spiritual agents have become naturalized into Tshwa culture, in spite of having a somewhat foreign flavour. The first kind of these spirits is the ndiki (plur: manndiki), which can be classified as a "foreign, possessive and sickness-bringing spirit." Mandiki are at present recognized as being quite common in Tshwa country, and sickness is consequently often divined as being caused by these spirits. On the other hand, I have never heard that mandiki have been accused of causing somebody's death.

Any Tshwa informant would know that mandiki originate from the Zulu and Ndau peoples, with the main stress on the latter. During the troubled years of the 19th century, many Zulu and Ndau warriors died in the Tshwa area, often without possibility of a proper burial. [20] The spirits of

(20) "One day while visiting a place where a battle had been fought I came across a number of skeletons ...", J.T. Hogue, G. Harry Akinew, A Pioneer Missionary, p. 75.
these warriors are believed to cling like black-jacks to persons who happen to step on their graves, and such persons come back home sick. Sometimes this kind of sickness is a form of mental derangement, sometimes it is a serious shivering, but the type of sickness is not the determining factor, as any kind of illness may be diagnosed by the diviner as coming from mandiki.

Also among the Ixulu people "mandiki" are known, and they are likewise claimed to be of recent origin, "coming from the North."(21) It appears that similar beliefs are common in a large part of Africa, as the masabwe among the Shona and the esabe of the Tonga (Zambian) are all claimed to be spirits "of a foreign man or woman who died there."(22)

Nowadays most mandiki are believed to have had several "hosts" since the time of warfare, and when a possessed person dies, his mandiki hover around looking for another suitable host. It is recognized that certain persons are more prone to becoming possessed than others. "Mandiki love some persons." Such mandiki which are temporarily without a human host are believed to fly close to a path or road, often at a crossroads, ready to settle on the right kind of person. One informant gave a drastic illustration as to how "mandiki" tend to cluster at certain places: "As one man after another goes to the same place to urinate, the 'free' mandiki are drawn to gather at special spots."

Mandiki are always talked about in plural, because it is believed that a possessed person always

(22) F. Mallett, Bushmen Religion, p. 24; E. Colson, op. cit., p. 4.
has more than one ndiki. In popular belief, there seems to be an ongoing process of growth in kinds and numbers, similar to such a process in Rhodesia. (23) Several animal spirits have come into the picture among the Tshwa, for instance the baboon spirit and a hyena spirit. There is also the "ndiki ga xilungu" (= the white man's ndiki), not indicating that a white man could be possessed by ndiki, but that a ndiki emanating from some white man may cling to a possessed person!

It was claimed that a "ndiki ga xilungu" made a certain person eat only rice (no maize or cassava) and forced him always to be dressed in a jacket and to keep playing the guitar! (20) This is so much more remarkable, as other ndiki are said to fear everything "that belongs to civilisation." School books and most written or printed material seem to call for mandiki's presence. The Bible is greatly feared. It is also said that any lamp being lit when there are mandiki around will be put out by the spirits. Only "ordinary" fire can be tolerated.

This seems to be one of mandiki's weak spots, where counter-measures are said to have been taken by persons wanting to be free from these spirits.

The obvious conflict between mandiki and modern civilisation suggests the possibility that the spirit possession connected with this comparatively new cult may be a cathartic expression in the face of frustrations brought by cultural and religious pressure from outside. The evidence that mandiki-possession actually is on the increase, and that traditional 'doctors' nowadays usually appear in the 'new' form of vanyanisoro (sing. nyamusoro), i.e., pos-

(24) Cf. Ibid., p. 90.
sessed by mandiki, is no direct proof of this explanation but provides basis for a working hypothesis well worth further investigation. (25)

A mandiki-possessed person is no longer his own. He has to follow the will of the spirits, who often speak to him in dreams, because he knows that sickness will come if he disobeys. Many are said to spend large sums of money on strange pieces of clothing and other paraphernalia, which are believed to indicate the kind of mandiki which has the person in his power. It is also commonly believed that mandiki make the possessed person do many things contrary to his own will. It would seem that, in such cases, he acts as an unknowing medium. As a 'doctor' performing under the influence of mandiki, he would claim total amnesia in regard to the period when "the spirit is upon him."

This is not the time for an investigation of mandiki possession from a psychological viewpoint. I find, however, that Margaret Field's research into spirit possession in some supplies potentially important clues to this phenomenon, as she sets the "dissociated mind" at the center of her discussion. (26) However, it is imperative to remember that this is an 'explanation' completely foreign to Tswana (or "African") culture, and, while I admittedly search for rational explanations, I reiterate Amoaa's exhortation that "we should be able to acknowledge that the spiritual reality in which the African believes is a reality." (27)

(25) Cf. U. S. Lee, op. cit., p. 133, where the author suggests a similar reason for changes in language used by mandiki-possessed.
(27) Ibid., pp. 97-98.
Establishing a relationship with mandiki (kutwaziya)

When the diagnosis has been confirmed that foreign, possessive, sickness-bringing spirits (mandikis) have settled on a certain person, the patient will first be told to get clothing of a certain kind, and to use certain drugs of a special design. Subsequently a date is set for the actual treatment, called kutwaziya. This word is clearly connected with the Zulu word "ukuthwana," used as a designation for 'possession' by ancestral spirits. It means a 'coming out,' or 'emergence,' as of the new moon or the reappearance of a planet or constellation. The corresponding term, kutwaziya, is in the causative form, and would mean "to make (something) occur." The treatment is, therefore, not what is generally implied by the word "exorcism," which would indicate the expulsion of the spirits. It is rather concerned to "make the mandiki come out," so that a relationship can be stabilized with them and they may be able to "start working" through their new host. It is assumed that the initial sickness caused by the mandiki, will disappear as soon as the mandiki "feel free to work" again.

At this curing juncture, the nyamusoro (see above) work himself into a dissociated state of frenzy, created through the steady drone of the special ndiki drum, the deafening clatter of the tinjilele (tins filled with dried corn), and his own and his acolytes' repetitive singing. His body begins shivering (kuchuruka) and in a trance, he begins to

(29) In principle, these clothes are to show from what tribe the mandiki are, e.g., the Ndebele or Zulu tribe. Nowadays there are certain types of cloth, available in shops, called "mandiki-cloth."


speak with a strange sounding voice. He has then 'caught' the patient's mandiki (or, at least one of them), who are forced to reveal their names.

This element of finding the name of the spiritual agent, which will be observed also in the case of 'spirits-of-revenge,' is of crucial importance for the continuance of the treatment. The same urge to know the name of the spirit is seen behind the necessity to ask the divining bones to reveal what spirit or Power is causing the affliction. Lienhardt found a similar concept among the Dinka in Sudan:

In divination an attempt is made to specify a Power as the grounds of a particular human condition. Until its name is known, it remains as it were latent and undefined within the affective condition of the suffering individual, and action cannot be taken to remove it or propitiate it until it has been identified."

(32)

When the names are known, the mandiki (through the diviner) immediately proceed to give their new host their rules for "peaceful co-existence." He is told to erect a special altar (a forked pole) in his hut, where he must perform regular sacrifices to his mandiki. He is also ordered to smear himself with red ochre (ntuunki) as a sign of his new relationship, and is given rules of behaviour according to the nature of the mandiki.

This treatment obviously leads the patient into a completely new type of life. He will, as a rule, not be able successfully to combine the role of "ordinary" Tahwa with his role as 'possessed,' and after some time, he will probably emerge as a nyanusoro ("mandiki-doctor").

Spirits of revenge (mupfhukwa or Vanyamikwaxani)

The second type of spirit, not fully traditional in Tsonga life but now very common and important, is the so-called mupfhukwa (plur: mipfhukwa). It should be classified as a "spirit-of-revenge," closely connected with witches and with the influence of mandiki-possessed 'doctors' (vanyamisoro).

The name mupfhukwa is derived from the Tsonga verb ku pfhukwa (Tshwa: ku vukwa, or ku vuxwa = to be waked up), and indicates "a person who is being woken up," i.e., from the dead. Another name for the same phenomenon is nyamukwaxani (plur: vanyamikwaxani) of unknown etymological derivation. We will here use the shorter form mupfhukwa.

All Tsonga agree that the mupfhukwa originally came from the Ndau people. This tribe has a reputation of 'specializing' in occult phenomena, and their influence became strongly felt during the latter part of last century. It is recognized that many traditional 'doctors' in Tsonga country are of Ndau origin. In the case of mupfhukwa, there is a close connection with the similar "revenging spirit" among the Shona in Mashonaland. This is called nozi (= danger?) and is reported to have the same general characteristics as mupfhukwa.

The Mipfhukwa-system

Although commonly known, the belief in mupfhukwa is rather complicated, and it is probable that several of the informants were unaware of the "system" involved, even if they knew the different sides of the phenomenon. Through comparison of several informants' accounts, it has been possible to arrive

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(33) Cf. mandiki, p. 42
(34) N. Gelfand, op. cit., pp. 69-70.
at the following picture, which I also have checked with my most knowledgeable informants:

There are certain *mipfhukwa* medicines (*tisiya ta wupfhukwa*) obtainable from certain 'doctors,' which can be inserted under the skin. These medicines are said to be found mostly in the Vilanculos area, possibly because of close proximity to Ndau territory. In general, it is older men who seek this kind of medicine. Men are hardly ever said to "wake up" as *mipfhukwa*.

It is believed that a person cannot live long after having had *mipfhukwa* medicine inserted in him. "The medicine wants to work."

Treatment with *mipfhukwa* medicine is always done in secrecy, as persons seeking this always have a grudge against somebody else. Such treatment is regarded as a preparation for revenge which cannot be had during his lifetime. Furthermore, if this revenge should not hit the person concerned, it will reach his family or *kiri*-roup, aiming at its utter destruction.

The reason for revenge by way of *mipfhukwa* is most often witchcraft (*uluvi*). It is said that a *mupfhukwa* comes to a certain village because someone of the residing *uluvi* has 'eaten his flesh,' i.e. killed him by *uluvi*. After death, the person who has taken the *mipfhukwa* medicine now has the upper hand and punishes the relatives of his 'killer' until they pay his special attention.

Another reason for this kind of revenge after death is said to be theft, which has always been regarded in a serious light by Tshwa. A person having taken a blanket from somebody else was said to be afflicted by the owner coming back as *mupfhukwa*, and had to repay the value of the blanket several times over.
The first sign of a person's "waking up" after death is repeated sickness among his own living relatives. A diviner (znqulwana) is then called in, and he may "catch" the spirit of the dead person in question. This spirit then speaks through the diviner, explaining that he is so-and-so, father or grandfather of this or that in the village, and that he has come back to seek asking them to take special care of him. He then requests a hut to be built for him in his father's village, and a young relative, usually a boy, is not made to keep this house in order.

Subsequently, a small hut is built in the village, and the diviner indicates which person should be the caretaker. A sacrifice is then performed at one side of this hut, to bid a special "welcome back" to the waking relative. He has now come back to his village by "kumuluwe," i.e., by ancestorhood, but he is not regarded as an ordinary nguluzu, as these spirits normally do not make themselves noticed by these methods. It is important to observe that this spirit is neither called nor regarded as mpfuhuka in his own kin-group.

When the sacrifice has been performed, the sickness in the family is expected to end, and the "owner" of the spirit, i.e., the present living leader of the kin-group residing in the village, may send the spirit on errands: "Go to so-and-so because they have taken men from us!" etc.

Thus this spirit-of-a-dead can be sent by his relative on sinister errands and cause havoc in another kin group, as well as go where he himself wishes to take revenge on his own evil-doers. It is also claimed that such a spirit can be used by certain vuloyi (witches), but this seems to be a deviation from the normal "mpfuhuka-system."
The beliefs have purposely been explained as simply as possible, so that the various connections may appear clearer. There are, of course, many deviations from this system, particularly in the order of events. The witch doctor (vayoi) (vupana) makes use of miriho (the witch) for their own purposes, but usually from motives. Another deviation is the practice of the people in the village from whom the miriho has lived to have done, may be continuously fulfilled, as they have never heard of any spirits coming back to them "by ancestorhood" (hi aumahu). The order of events in the system has often become reversed.

Although this process may be lucrative for the people of the village, it is not allowed to do. Instead, he works with his own people. When a proposition offers him some name, he must call a "river" and present all money to the spirit he desires to benefit by the "part for this and part for that," and the spirit gives his replies through the mouth of the sorcerer. Another interesting observation is that an ancestral spirit who has come back has reason to be the village of his descendants is vanquished by some to oppose attacks by miriho on his own people. This is certainly setting fire.

The key role of the divine/medical practitioner is thus clearly emerges from the essential as the miriho system. Undoubtedly a case among particular issues to actual and potential biomedical in the community plays its important role in reinforced the miriho beliefs in times
Treatment in cases of afflication by spirit-of-revenge (muphukan)

In a dissociated, 'conversed' state, the甭µ-doctor (nymusoro) 'catches' the offending spirit, which proceeds to tell the enquirers -- through the diviner -- his home and home village. He also explains that he has been to take revenge on them and their kin-group, giving his reasons for this revenge. On further questioning by the afflicted party, the 'caught' spirit-of-revenge states his conditions, on which he says he will be willing to renounce his right to further revenge.

Three items needed to be obligatory in these conditions: 1) a sum of money; 2) an animal to be sacrificed, usually a goat; 3) "the head of a woman" (bloko ya sunha), meaning a girl from the afflicted kin-group, who will be dedicated to the spirit-of-revenge as his 'wife.' The amount of money may vary in each case, 'performances mention sums in the range of R100. The girl to be 'dedicated' must leave her home village for a completely new type of life.

The nymusoro will then lead the party from the afflicted village to the alleged home village of the spirit-of-revenge (muphukan). On arrival, the party is said to be greeted by the villagers. The nymusoro then 'visits' the spirit again, and he explains their purpose of coming. The structure of ritual then calls for the village leader to accept the money, and he sacrifices the goat at the side of the spirit's hut. The girl is simultaneously dedicated to serve the spirit in his new village.
Persons dedicated as "caretakers" of the special spirit-hut. A boy of the spirit's own family is often set aside for this purpose. In such a case -- a relative of the spirit -- would be encouraged to be in close touch with the spirit, he would naturally have to be of the same sex as the spirit himself. The second person, however, coming from outside, is always of the opposite sex, as she is regarded as the mate of the spirit.

These 'dedicated' young persons are charged with the upkeep of the spirit hut, keeping the fire going, etc. Generally they sleep in the hut, but when the girl reaches puberty and normally is given in marriage to a member of the spirit's kin-group, she will stay in her husband's hut. These caretakers are said to lead normal lives, taking part in all activities in the village. Sometimes they dress in white and are covered with red ochre (tebew-sabi), but this seems not seem to be an integral part of the ritual.

When such a boy grew up, or the girl was wanted by her family for a normal type of marriage, they could be "cleansed" in a special ceremony and replaced by someone else. This act, in respect of a girl, is described in another connection in this dissertation. (35)

Waloyi -- the craft of witches

The power, strongly influencing the thinking and action of the person, is waloyi. This word is usually translated "witchcraft," but I beg to differ.

(35) See "Lore and power of the witch," p. 146
the attention to the fact that "magic in general" is no synonym of vuloyi. It rather expresses "the craft of witches," implying that certain persons, particularly women, have special occult power which they use to the detriment of others, and, simultaneously to some advantage for themselves. Such persons are called valo (sing. novi), which we would translate "witch" or, in applicable (few) cases, "wizard." Vuloyi, then, denotes the power, knowledge and activity of the novi.

The most harmful of witches' activities seems to be the removal of "the power and the taste" from food of various kinds. A novi (witch) can make so that we drink this tea and eat the bread but we won't feel satisfied, nor taste anything. Or, if we have meat and a novi gets hold of it, we may eat but never get filled, nor will the meat taste anything. And beer treated by a novi does not make you drunk at all . . .

This presumed power of removing the essence of food or drink has no connection with the poisoning of food, sometimes attributed to witches. It seems rather to be in line with the alleged novi activity of kutshivela ("to transfer power"). Then, e.g., a farmer discovers that his own maize does not grow well at all, while his neighbour's fields carry a good crop; foul play is suspected. The assumption is then that the successful farmer is a novi who has used his power of kutshivela to transfer the power of growth from his neighbour's fields to his own.

Persons thought to possess strange and sinister powers by which they may live an easy life at other people's expense are hated and admired at the same time. Thus, vuloyi are said to be clever (va tilhiri-hile), and the proverb "Votlhariha va hanyi hi nyuko wa zipumbu" (= "The clever ones live by the sweat of fools") would indicate a grudging admiration for the
valoyi. They are set apart as people who, through their special powers, can score more than their share of the coveted blessing of 'life.'

The word nori may sometimes be used without any evil meaning implied, to indicate a certain person, who is particularly skilled in some field. However, stories of suspicion and hatred against the one who seems to be getting more than his share are very common. There is the young man who was able to build a stone house before his own father could do the same. We hear of the man coming from the mines in Transvaal with more money than golden. As he buys cattle, sheep, and builds a better house, there is jealousy and suspicion among the neighbours, and evil consequences for the successful one. Even as they arouse suspicion because of their alleged valoyi, other persons use the same kind of power to plot their destruction.

This is the inevitable explanation among people, when a successful person gets into trouble. He may get sick himself, or his wife has a spontaneous abortion, or the house gets destroyed by fire. valoyi at work, of course!

This pattern would suggest that valoyi activities mainly spring from two sources:

a. Selfish desire to enhance one's own life at the expense of others;

b. Jealousy against others when this success is denied oneself.

There is the mother-in-law sending sickness on her son-in-law because his wife gets nice dresses while she is not given the same attention. There is the childless sister allegedly using valoyi to kill her sister's newborn baby because of her hysterical jealousy. There is the old woman sending a feverish sore on her grandchild, because its father did not give her a pound on his return from the mines....
How does a witch operate?

There are mainly two types of activity ascribed to the valovi (witches), besides 'being slipped' and the power of automatism:

1. **valovi (witch)** can fly by night. Several informants told of cases where they had been attacked by some sick or mentally ill person in the dream. They woke up screaming, and put it down as the enemy's alleged attempt to strangle them. In another case, the woman concerned in the dream, only to convey a message about a sickness afflicting the sleeper. In all cases they were seen flying naked.

Their flying range seems to be rather limited. Three miles was a possible distance (indicated by well-known places), but ten miles was considered too far for a valovi. "She could not get back before sunrise."

A flying valovi --- enters into some other village and leave sickness or even death marks of his activity. "It is the valovi's job to eat the flesh of people." It is easy to imagine what such a person, whose body shrinks, can be thought of as "eaten" by valovi. It is all done systematically, and help must come very quickly to the diviner to consulted.

2. Valovi can use animals as their servants. The most common animal in this respect seems to be the hyena, owl and polecat, but snakes and lizards --- and even flies --- are mentioned. The hyena can be sent to catch goats, while the owl figures mainly as an evil men. The sound of a xikhova or niliphiliphube (owl) in the valley --- when the sun has gone down puts an immediate score into people and can be interpreted in only one way: there is valovi in the village. Pole-cats were said to have robbed certain fields of grass and, while neighbouring fields (belonging to the alleged witch) were untouched by the intruders, and fliers may be used to suck human
fat from sores, enabling the noyi to attain magical
dominion over the person in question.

One variation of (2) is when the noyi herself
is believed to change into a certain animal. Hyenas
and owl were mentioned in this respect, and there
does not seem to be any clear distinction between
the two methods.

3. Valoyi are believed to send certain
sicknesses without any tangible means at all. This
may be a slight variation on the main theme, as
this type of valoyi are said to have a certain medi­
cine inserted into your body so that any person
who hits them or does any evil act against them,
gets sick before sunrise. "A va biwi" (= "They
must not be beaten"). Such persons do not take
revenge themselves, but sickness -- for instance
some change in the presentation of the skin --
comes without fail, and there is no cure.

4. The least expected activity of a noyi -- but
also the most terrible one -- seems to be the use
of poison in the food or drink of her victim. This
kind of valoyi is sometimes distinguished from the
types mentioned above and referred to in English as
"cery" as distinct from "witchcraft, (36) but
so far I have only known of this type among the
Kikuyu as one variety of the witch's activity. (37)

Obviously such intricate beliefs in the power
of witches have produced methods of how to deal
with such potential threat. Some of these methods
will be described later on in this thesis. (38)

(36) Cf. J. Middleton, and E. H. Reeder, Witchcraft
and Sorcery in East Africa, p. 2.
The historical picture

The Tonga and their people had many contacts with people outside of their own area before the end of the nineteenth century. Eighteen-seventy-three was remembered as the "year of Mzima," i.e., when the diamond mines in Kimberley were opened and even before that, the migration had begun to plantations in the British colony of Natal.

Undoubtedly, upon returning from their experiences in the South African mines or the sugar plantations in Natal, the Tonga would relate of "the religion of white men," and some had already adopted the new faith. While the first experience of Christianity for many, the Tonga must have been a second or third hand acquaintance with Roman Catholic practices as they could be seen in the town of Inhambane.

It is only reasonable to suppose that a few Tonga in and around the town of Inhambane had been baptized in the Roman Catholic church at the time when the first batch of missionaries appeared in the region. However, it is an historical fact that no real mission effort had been started among the Tonga or the Tswana region in the late 19th century.

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2. When the British governor of Natal, Shepstone, agreed to the concentration of Setaheke as king of the Nguni, in 1873, he negotiated a special treaty with him to facilitate the passing of Thonga from southern Mozambique through Zulu territory. This Shepstone, analysis of a social situation in modern Zululand, p. 33, as quoted in Alvo-Verreiro, Movimentos migratórios de trabalhadores. de Mozambique e a Africa do Sul, p. 17.
It was during the last fifteen years of Kingdom rule that the first Protestant missionaries entered the Tshwa area. The American Board of Commissioners and Foreign Missions sent some representatives from their settlement in Natal to investigate the possibilities of establishing new mission work farther north, along the coast of the Indian Ocean.

The first mission station in the new area was built near the Inhambane Bay in 1883 at Mongwe, north of Maputo, where P. Ermale began work among the Tshwa people, who made their living mainly as fishermen. Other missionaries left the fairly safe coastline and ventured into the bush country west and northwest of Inhambane. Thus, W.C. Wildox settled at Makumbe, and M. Jackson was welcomed by the great Tshwa chief Mukhambi to build on his ground near the live spring of water which was the Mukhambi line- age's sacred place (Tsonga Dizine).

Only slightly later than the "American Board representatives, some missionaries sent out by the Free Methodist Church of America arrived at Inhambane (1885). The first was the Kelloggs, and a young man, H. Agnew, who immediately proceeded to establish their work south-west of Inhambane, at a place called Komeni on the border between the Tonga and the Chokwe. After some difficult years of constant malaria attacks and several malaria deaths among their missionaries, the work was largely left in the hands of a few African converts, being visited annually by Agnew who had taken refuge to the Transvaal. (4)

Toward the end of the 19th century, the African Catholic Church also began a new missionary

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activity, and in 1900 the number of Roman Catholic missionaries in active work in Mozambique had grown to 67. Progress of Africans must have been slow, however, as Padre António da Silva reports that the total number of confessions of all Catholics in Mozambique was 1,655 in the year 1909, compared to 550 confessions in 1863.

Also for the non-African missionaries, progress was very slow, and disappointment mingled with lack of missionary personnel prompted also the "American Board" to withdraw its missionaries from the Inhambane region in 1875, moving them back to Natal. The missionary, Dr. From Inhambane, refused to leave the people at Inhambane, and during his rest period in America, he was accepted as a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church (not to be confused with the African Methodist Episcopal Church), under which he returned to Inhambane in 1893. During the years of missionary absence, however, the work had not stagnated. One of the earliest converts, Tismowe Navessa, had taken charge of the little school and church at Nakodweni and inspired somebody else to do the same at Cambine. Thus, Inhambane returned to a more hopeful situation than the one he had left three years earlier. In 1897, the Methodist Episcopal Church in U.S. sent more missionaries to Inhambane, and from the turn of the century the Methodist work grew rapidly, centered around Cambine and Chigue near Inhambane. 15)

As soon as African mine workers began flowing to Johannesburg, two mission societies already at

work in South Africa entered the nine compounds to
preach and teach. The three Methodist missionaries
agreed established Wesleyan mission work in the com-
 pounds in 1877. Their efforts proved successful, par-
ticularly among Khoikhoi, Xhosa, and converts
from different parts of the Eastern Cape region contrib-
uted to the spread of Christian influence in their
home-country. In the beginning of the present century,
the Christian mission workers were able to re-settle
permanently, this time at Khamelela, near Inhambane,
the same grounds as Limpopo.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church waited until
1913 actively to renew the mission work in nine com-
pounds around Johannesburg. Since then the work
has spread to a number of areas in southern Transvaal,
partly by means of YWCA and converted in the
clubs, and partly by some initiatives to extend the
work to the areas between northeast of Cambrini,
until it now reached the Kwekwe in the north
and extends beyond Pomfret and Kaboto in the
northeast. The Seventh-day Adventist Mission meanwhile
opened work in the Randfontein area, at Rahoyi (1923),
another mission organisation entering the same re-
 gion because of its sanatorium work here was the
Methodist Mission Board, which in now established
in the vicinity of Harare. The American Board Mission has also come here to the gold field the same
way and now has settlements in the Nomasiong
and Various regions.

Even allowing for the "non-Methodist" denomina-
tions, it appears the one Protestant influence on
the Zulus has been firmly established. The Methodist
Episcopal Church has carried the major share of the
work through the years. The "come-up" is the
Zulu Seventh-day Adventist Mission which is completely separate from the Methodist Episcopal Church as far as organi-
The Methodist Episcopal Tense hymnal is now being used by all Protestant denominations in the region. The translation of the Bible into the Tense language was done through Methodist missionaries, and the early establishment of schools and printing press contributed greatly to the overall influence of the Methodist Episcopal Church. As this work accelerated before other Christian missions were activated in the region, it is no wonder that the Methodist Episcopal Church is well repressed in the life of the Tense.

It is almost certain that as the purely African independent churches exist in Tense country. The handful of knowledge of the shuffling back and forth between the independent churches and the close ties have ample opportunity of getting into contact with independent churches both outside of mining compounds. Still, the federation or unionist types of churches appear to have very few representatives in the southern part of Mozambique. The early Portuguese policy of keeping splinter groups from spreading in Mozambique has probably worked as a strong deterrent. Of the splinter groups to exist, however, by no means, only one splinter group has emerged in the South region. This is the "Ihara Hau Hahnan" (the Church of the African Light), which broke away from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1916 as a "second" yesterday. The Ihara Hau Hahnan is still working in southern Mozambique as well as around Beira and Maputo, but it does not seem to have any important influence. (7)

(7) Administrator C. de Arellano, however, lists as many as 11 federation and 11 independent churches native to the province of Mozambique (J.H. Companys, "Christianism in Africa", p. 175, Companys).
In this proposition, we must acknowledge the principle that Christianity is the foundation of the principles of the Christian religion. The overthrow of this principle will destroy Christianity, and the overthrow of the Christian religion will bring about the downfall of society. We cannot, therefore, accept the doctrine that Christianity is not essential to the survival of the Christian religion. In fact, if we deny the importance of Christianity, we must also deny the importance of the Christian religion. It is not possible to exist without the Christian religion, and it is not possible to exist without the Christian religion. Therefore, we must accept the doctrine that Christianity is essential to the survival of the Christian religion. In conclusion, we must acknowledge the principle that Christianity is the foundation of the principles of the Christian religion.
was presented to them, and will be taken in the
form of partly inaccurate notes and observations, based
upon information from missionaries and Tana Collec-
tions, as well as on personal experiences.

Using the Tonga Language

Without entering into judgment, it can certainly be said that, with missionaries of new type of
white men entered the lives of the Tonga and the
Tanea. These men used to settle on the west side
of the island, not too far from the sea, thus living closer to the Tonga than the
than most villages (where men) dared to do. They built
their houses differently from the Tanea hut, of course,
and carried much provisions from places far away, but
several of them have to live in the house like the
Tanea and themselves, far away from other villages.

From a Tanea viewpoint, the strangest fact of
all was possibly that those white men talked to the
Tanea in a different way. They tried to understand
what Tanea were saying in their own language, following
here and pointing there, asking the eternal questions:
"What's that?" "What's this?" Even if the Tanea
thought that the missionaries pronounced their language
in a strange way, it did not take very long before
there was more and more communication between
his and the Tanea people who were living close by. The
missionaries employed a couple of boys to help him in
the house, and they also became his constant language
interpreters.

Fairly soon one of the missionaries, mistakenly
began the art of teaching Tanea into writing, and
the little printing press of Vakatavou, a few miles
west of Deserine, began producing the first Tanea...
spelling charts. Rev. Busley then started the first school at Cambine, soon after the mission work had begun in the area. A few boys came to learn "how to write," and papers could open their own language.

Teaching

Naturally, the mission work was used before it was written in order to get the Christian message across to the Tshwa around Moshake and Maodwe. Story-telling is still greatly loved by the Tshwa, and the call "karidwanani wa nambani!" (he MMP: here comes a story!) stirred up an immediate interest in a group of Tshwa people. They did not mind listening to the new kind of stories that the missionaries had to tell. But there was strong resistance as missionaries made it clear that they wanted the Tshwa to leave their old ways and traditions and learn more about the central figure in the missionary stories: Jesus. The old generation was adamant; they did not want to become "waman" (white men). They made it difficult even for their sons when these wanted to go to school. One witness for this recalls that boys had to be employed for some odd jobs on the condition that men would spend three hours a day in school. Even if he read, about 1800, however, he was permitted to the same writer that the school at Cambine had more than a hundred boys from the village in the neighbourhood. (11)

Even if many boys learned to read and write, it is estimated that only about ten persons became converted to Christianity during the first ten years of Protestant missionary activity among the Tshwa.

Meanwhile, the New Testament was being translated.

to the Tshwa language by Gilcox and Richards, cor-
ing together with the converts Tizora Navesa and Davida Maperre. When the first edition of the Tshwa New Testament came off the press at Makoaweni, this meant an entirely new world to all boys who were learning to read. It also gave a new impetus to the literacy work already begun. Tizora Navesa was born leader, and his influence over the boys at Mocodoene (as Makoaweni now is written) and Cabine became decisive for many, and the number of converts started to rise. Several boys and women went to outside villages as evangelists. But their first

- task in the new situation was always to gather the boys around them to teach them to read. Thus each village school was started, and it is probable that some chiefs recognize the opening of schools in their villages as a prudent and advantageous step for improving the relations with the White authorities. (12)

These schools became focal points in the spread of the Protestant mission work among the Tshwa until the Portuguese administration in 1923 withdrew the rights of Protestant missions to have any schools outside of their officially registered centres (school). All primary education was then put into the hands of the Roman Catholic church, according to the agreement between the Vatican and the Portuguese State. Thus, we find that the observation of Pedro António da Silva is correct to a point as far as the beginning of Protestant missions is concerned: "Their most important activity in the school and the printing press." (13)

(12) Fr. L. Anderson, Churches at the grass-roots, p. 67.
(13) Mapochine, p. 88.
Christian villages (titu-titu)

In close connection with the village school, Christian worship was introduced into the village and Christian ethics were taught. Some people who insisted on the traditional Tahua ways and customs moved away from the village. In other cases a group of Christians moved from their old surroundings and built a new Christian village. Such a village was often planned altogether different from the usual Tahua pattern: two rows of houses encircled upon the village "street," and the village leader's house and the little church (doubling up as a school building) were at the top of the row. This type of Christian village (titu-titu) has disappeared long ago, but such close living to other with other new converts must have had tremendous importance for the spiritual and cultural growth of the inhabitants, as well as for their ethical discipline.

"In that faith of yesterday, living in Titu-titu, it was not easy to do what one wished to, said one informant. "Because the Evangelist (village leader) was like a Chief (Sabo). He knew his people well. He showed every one of us where we were allowed to build, and we had to build in straight lines like believers (1). It was not easy for a person in such a place to go to a traditional sacrifice. If you were not present in church (every night), he demanded to know the reason. But today it is easy to go astray, because we do not live like that any more ..."

In these Christian villages, missionaries encouraged tree-planting of many kinds and certain better agricultural methods, but it was not until the 1920's that proper agricultural training began with a missionary specially qualified for this task.
Hygiene teaching

Hygiene was another primary aim of the Protestant missionaries. The medical mission was in the field until 1910, but, treating of sores and teeth of the elementary hygiene in a missionary routine much earlier. Religious cleanliness became another important sign of a Christian village, and the message of digging latrines went literally along with the one of Christian truth. It is still quite common to hear a report on how many latrines have been dug during the last winter, when the Methodist Quarterly Conference was in session in some eastern congregation.

It was along those lines that the first leadership training courses at一名 were started during the time of our first assistant (who was called in to Nikola as Basiafiado School of cleanliness) and were taught how to teach and to teach the people along with hygiene. These courses gradually developed into proper general training courses, and teaching of hygiene was taken over by the medical personnel at the Leticia hospital at Chicuna and the medical outpost at Janine and Shali (Chalillo).

It is interesting to note that at least some important Portuguese medical course were the first emphasized up till the point as signs of Protestant missionaries not being as anxious to have souls for eternity as Catholic missionaries are.

"The first are (Catholics) are troubled by not being able to make more and more native converts, as they have all have their native immortal teaching service. The Protestant missionaries do not have this worry, as they concentrate more on the earthly life, even if many of them do not forget the eternal life."(14)

Judging from the top priority presently given by Tshwa Christians to the religious value of 'eternal life,' it would seem that this observation is not valid as far as Protestant missions in the Inhambane region are concerned. Evidently, practical teaching and the preaching about 'eternal life' went hand in hand in this Protestant venture. (15)

The Bible

Although schools and literacy work figure largely in the Protestant beginnings in Tshwa country, it is evident that the Bible has been the focal point right from the start. The aim that kept the work going by making Tshwa a written language was to "make God's Word, the Bible, known to the heathen Tshwa." This was also the ultimate aim of the literacy work. As soon as a pupil had finished the first Speller, he was introduced to the New Testament.

A tremendous interest seems to have been aroused by the printing of the first Tshwa edition of the Old Testament in the beginning of this century. Later it has been discovered that so many grave mistakes were included in that edition that it was impossible for the modern translator, Rev. J.A. Ferguson, to make a revision of the old edition. He insisted that a completely new translation was the only possibility. (16)

Nevertheless, the first Tshwa Bible was so loved that many Christians of the older generation refused to recognize the 1955 translation. The

(16) An entirely new translation of the whole Bible was prepared under the guidance of J.A. Ferguson and printed in 1955 by the American Bible Society.
the Bible became known as "The Book" (Bhuku). Nowadays, the new translation has taken over completely, and the Bible is a best-seller among Tshwa, particularly in the Transvaal mine compounds, even if the price corresponds to two days' wages for a young worker.

Protestant missionaries were, however, not satisfied by only producing the Bible in the Tshwa language. They also taught the Bible very diligently. Village leaders were urged to use it regularly in morning and evening worship in their villages, and sets of Bible lessons soon appeared in the little monthly paper *kuca k'ikiso* ("The Dawn of the Morning") which was distributed free of charge. This paper has been issued regularly since 1904. Several books and booklets were produced during the first quarter of this century, and with very few exceptions they dealt with certain topics or themes of the Bible.

As the Protestant missions to the Tshwa operated in a spiritual climate that was -- at least on the white side -- entirely dominated by the Roman Catholic Church, the strong emphasis on the Bible is easy to understand. Unhesitatingly, Protestant missionaries felt as their bounden duty to "open up" the Bible to people living in a country where it still remained a closed book, except to priests. Protestant Catholics were taught to base their absolute security in the Holy Catholic Church, Protestants, on the other

(17) This is also the point at which Protestant Missions have been criticized by official sources. José Júlio Rongalves, in Protestantism in Africa, says: "As we speak of simplification we do not mean adaptation. They (the Protestants) practice this, too as we have shown, but we are equally one phenomenon in which Protestantism did not use adaptation, and whose consequences certainly were not brilliant: the indiscriminate distribution of Bibles, not adapted to the pre-existent African mentality, but of this have surged different manifestations of an Africanized Protestantism." (Vol. 17, p. 248)
hand, based by tradition their absolute security on the Bible, believed in as "the infallible Word of God." Thus, the doctrine of verbal inspiration of the Bible guided Protestant missionaries in their teaching. No theological or historical criticism of the Bible was taken into account, as most missionaries to the Tshwa would have classified themselves as "fundamentalists." Even a few missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the past and several more at present could not be counted into the fundamentalist group, the main doctrinal influence in the Tshwa churches is still very definitely based upon the doctrine of verbal inspiration.

The doctrine of Sanctification

As the Protestant influence on the Tshwa has come almost exclusively from Methodist sources, the Methodist doctrine of sanctification has played a significant role in forming the Christian faith among these people. Strangely enough, the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church from the time of the beginning of Methodist missions in Mozambique has no doctrinal statement on this issue, which has through the centuries been regarded as the key Methodist doctrine. However, the 1968 "Book of Discipline of the United Methodist Church" has the following statement on "Sanctification":

"We believe sanctification is the work of God's grace through the Word and the Spirit, by which those who have been born again are cleansed from sin in their thoughts, words, and acts, and are enabled to live in accordance with God's will, and to strive for holiness without which no one will see the Lord." (18)

(18) Book of Discipline of the United Methodist Church, 1968, p. 47.
Sanctification is the belief that the whole personality can change and become totally engaged in a constant effort of living according to God's will.

It seems that this central Methodist doctrine had at least three direct consequences for the missionary teaching among the Tshwa:

1. Entrance into the new faith could only be through the gate of conversion, which preferably should be according to a certain pattern, including coming forward to the place in front of the pulpit for prayer and tearful repentance.

Evidently, it was soon clear to missionaries (and to some Africans) that this method could be used without any "change of heart" being involved. A few quotations from H. von Reisse's journal concerning his labours in the mine compounds illustrate this point:

"One meeting 11th present, and one with 40 present. Second meeting a Church preacher present. Meeting mostly of Zulus. Sixteen came forward. Do not know how many were in earnest ..." [19]

... from 10 to 5 p.m. at Knights Deep, about 75 present. Good time. About a dozen forward. Three were in earnest, I am sure especially so ..." [19]

While we are not told what criteria were used to determine how many conversions were "in earnest," it is obvious that such 'dedication' early became a form associated with Protestant worship. [20]

2. The new convert had to make an absolute break with his old life. Missionaries taught that everything belonging to Tshwa customs and traditions

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was "inspired by semen" and would have to be left unconditionally. The convert was required to look at his old personal and social life as evil. (21) Tendentiously he should move to a "Christian village," so that his transfer from one way of life to a completely new one could be facilitated.

3. Great emphasis was placed upon God's commandments, "The Law." The new ethics was completely to replace the pagan one, and the ethical field was soon to become the most important one for Tahwa Christians. What we now see as a strong legalistic trait in the whole Tahwa Protestant community may partly be a negative reflection of the emphasis on the doctrine of sanctification, although the problem of legalism in Christian churches appears to be a continent-wide issue. (22)

Preaching, sacraments and place of worship

Most elements of worship were transferred directly from the American scene. As in many other African countries, hymns were translated by missionaries from the English language, and American tunes were introduced. According to the overseas Methodist tradition, the worship service lacked strict liturgical order, the main elements being sermon, singing and prayer. On some occasions, testimonies from believers (non-preachers) became part of the service. Possibly, such unstructured "free worship service" was

(21) Such an attitude abandoning everything African is deplorable from a modern point of view, but seems understandable in its contemporary setting. One pioneer missionary, cut off from outside contact, felt that "all was new and wild and strange to him, and they saw no human beings day after day but uncivilized Africans in their degrading and repulsive appearances." (J.T. Hogue, op. cit., p. 56.

(22) See "Law, sin and salvation," p. 284.
particularly stressed in this country, in contrast to the Roman Catholic elaborated liturgy. Free prayer (i.e., not bound to any written formula) became a significant part of Tshwa Protestant worship. Even such liturgical elements as candles or robes were, in the beginning, frowned upon.

Preaching was from the start the most important part of the Tshwa Protestant worship service. Very soon after the conversion of the first Tshwa men, some of them were allowed to 'preach.' It must soon have become the goal for many men within the Christian community to reach the stage when they could call themselves *vawumayeli* (preachers) and have the right to stand up in a local meeting to open the Bible and give his exhortation based on the Bible verse he may have selected. The *vawumayeli* also had the right to lead the group in prayer and, consequently, a similar position as the "Great-one of the lineage" (*Wa home wa lixaka*) in approaching the supernatural Powers.

The pulpit had the most prominent place in the simple church buildings that were constructed in the Christian Tshwa villages. It was called *xiluvelo* (= "place where you pay your respects to the chief"; from *ku lua*). (23) Quite possibly, this name was attached to the pulpit because this was regarded as the place from which the "Word of the Lord" went out to the congregation, and consequently, this was also where repentant sinners came to bow down "before the Lord" and ask for forgiveness. (24)

(23) Junod mentions that the main hut in a village, i.e., the headman's own, where "people come to pay homage to him," is called *shilulelo*.

H.A. Junod, op. cit., 1, pp. 312-313. Mr. Junod's chapter on "Religious world of the Tshwa," p. 3.

(24) Note that the Tshwa word for "Lord" is *注意到*, which literally means "Chief."
In a century characterized by a move towards a more democratic society, the pulpit was put at the altar on the short walls of the church, indicating the new emphasis on preaching. In front of the pulpit would be a table — instead of an altar — on which the preacher's Bible and sermon might be placed. Occasionally, the elements of the service (including the host) would be arranged.

Outline of the interior arrangement

1. Place for two
   2. Pulpit
   3. Lectern
   4. Table, sometimes used for Lord's Supper
   5. Chair for preacher
   6. Bench for village elders
   7. Altar steps for preacher and village elders
Evidently a few traditional Tshwa customs were considered safe enough to be kept, as the seating arrangement in a Tshwa rural church from the beginning seems to have followed the principle of the Tshwa hut, where the left side as one enters is regarded as the women's part, while the right hand side is to the man.\(^{(25)}\) If there were benches in the church, these would be used only on the right hand side, for the men, and the Christian elders of the village had their honoured place on both sides of the preacher, facing the congregation.

In keeping with the principle of non-liturgical worship, the importance of sacraments was, in general, toned down. This was the case particularly in regard to the Lord's Supper, which was served only occasionally. This state of affairs may have been caused, at least partly, by the lack of persons allowed to administer the Lord's Supper, as for many years nobody else but ordained missionaries were permitted to do so. It could also be another sign of a conscious desire to distinguish Protestant worship from the sacrament-attached Catholic liturgy.

Nobody was accepted as member of the Free Methodist or Methodist integral Churches without baptism, and this sacrament was from the beginning preceded by a lengthy period of instruction. This instruction was soon taken over by African leaders, who thus rapidly attained the responsible position of having to judge whether or not a convert would be ready to receive baptism. When an ordained missionary was visiting the neighbourhood, the local African evangelist presented his baptismal candidates for the sacrament. Sometimes such occasions developed into mass baptisms, where as many as 160 persons might be

baptised in one day.

To conclude

Protestant Christianity presented itself to the Tshwa with the three-pronged approach of "Preaching, Teaching and Healing," which has been used in mission situations all over the world.

Practical methods, as teaching literacy and providing small booklets in Tshwa, were primarily used by missionaries in order to gain the confidence of the people. The preached message was connected with the daily life in the villages, through lessons in agriculture and hygiene. Special efforts were made to get close to the Tshwa by always using their language, and Africans were early used as assistants in preaching and teaching.

The ultimate aim of the missionaries to proclaim the Christian message and to establish Christian congregations was the keynote in all work. This is where some peculiarities of Methodism became conspicuous, for instance in the doctrine of sanctification, the great emphasis on preaching, and the organization of converts into 'classes' led by lay preachers or "exhorters." In the absolute demand on the converts to renounce all traditional customs and beliefs, Methodist missionaries shared the common attitude of their day.

Through the years, many tens of thousands of Tshwa have responded to the message primarily proclaimed by the missionaries, and become converted. Churches have been established, and Africans are now in responsible positions of leadership. The election in 1964 of the first Tshwa bishop within the Methodist Episcopal Church of Mozambique. Bishop

(26) J.A. Persson, op. cit., p. 53.
Escrivão Zunguze, represented an important step in this process.

On the other hand, there are undoubtedly many thousands of Tshwa who once became Christians but have left the Church again, and many others who would barely count themselves as nominal Christians.

As we in the following chapter ask the question what prompted many Tshwa to transfer their loyalty from their traditions and customs to Christianity, we will further on seek to find out what kind of attitudes and beliefs were fostered among the Tshwa through this type of presentation of Christianity, and possibly why many after a superficial acquaintance with the Christian faith have turned back to their traditional beliefs.
We have seen how Protestant Christianity was, and is being, presented to the Tshwa people. Now we must find some answers to the question why many of these people choose to become 'believers'.

Before the introduction of Christianity, religion had never been a matter of choice for the Tshwa. Worshipping the ancestors and obeying the laws purporting to come from them was as natural heritage to the Tshwa as the soil on which they walked. Sacrifice, agriculture, hunting, childbirth, laws - all these were part of their ntumbuluke (= "that which developed by itself", i.e. "nature", or "creation"), and as such they were all factual matters, never subject to 'belief' (xikhola). New features brought into the religious and ethical system by the diviners (e.g. Ndau teaching about revenging spirits) were easily assimilated, as they were only additions, fitting snugly into slots apparently needing to be filled.

To be sure, foreign cultural influence had already been felt, particularly by those men who had gone to work in Natal or Transvaal. (1)

But Christianity challenged the Tshwa to make a clean break with their entire spiritual and cultural heritage, to take the step away from their ntumbuluke and become 'believers' (nakholwa). Surely, this was like walking into the unknown. And still some Tshwa made the change.

What prompted the first Tshwa Christians to take this step? Was it the reputation of White people to be powerful, that helped arouse a curiosity, particularly among young men? Anderson's observations about beginnings in the Congo give an affirmative reply to this question. (2) Did thus non-
religious motives figure largely in early Tshwa conversions, or did some Tshwa become Christians because the religious or ethical message of the missionaries struck a responsive note in them?

True answers to these questions are not to be found, and speculations will not lead us very far. Let us therefore look at the present picture, trying to establish the reasons why some Tshwa of today become Christians.

A sample of 20 informants does not give enough background for any statistical calculations. Furthermore, all my informants were men, and I am therefore not presuming to know what would prompt Tshwa people in general to want to become Christians. Nevertheless, I submit that my fieldwork among Tshwa men in mining compounds, stretching over a period of almost 20 years, gave me ample and intimate insights into these men's way of thinking, which may be of greater value than any statistics in this field. My 20 years of missionary work among the Tshwa may also be mentioned as a supplementary source of information.

Nine of my informants grew up in Christian homes, i.e. at least one of the parents was Christian, and there was a definite Christian influence in the home-life. The eleven informants coming from a non-Christian background did not experience any conscious Christian influence at all in the parental village, except in two cases. Of these, one had a brother who had become Christian, while the informant was still a child at home. In the second case, the parents - in spite of being non-Christians - urged their sons to go to school, and one elder brother had already gone before the informant.

As we are not aiming at statistical accuracy, I have also recorded the answer given by the only one among my informants who never became a 'believer'. He was once 'very close to joining the Free Methodists' but was kept back as he became 'sick because of mudiki'. My reply is recorded in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Background</th>
<th>Reason for Non-Belief</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Non-Christian</td>
<td>Brother became Christian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Non-Christian</td>
<td>Parents urged to go to school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Non-Christian</td>
<td>None, but close to Free Methodists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

80
Reasons for wanting to become Christians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Wanted to read and write</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Prompted by a dream</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 'Attracted by peace and fellowship' (Quoted at wahlengill)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Prompted by pastors</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 'Attracted by Christian singing'</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 'Promoted by a certain Bible-verse'</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 'was helped at hospital'</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 'Attracted by hogtime'</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                                                                 | (1)          |                   | (11)             | 20    |
comments on "Reasons for wanting to become Christians"

1. "Wanted to Read and Write"

It is not surprising that "reading and writing" tops the list of reasons. Many Shwa still find it difficult to distinguish between Akholo (faith) and Ikola (school). Teaching how to read and write was the first regular activity of Protestant missionaries among the Shwa. Today, the crowds of boys and girls going to school in Mozambique are, of course, just as eager to master these primary tools of learning as young people in other parts of Africa. In most cases, 'going to school' also means a specific connection with the sponsoring Church, either this is Roman Catholic or Protestant.

In the mine compound in the Transvaal, the rooms where Christians are allowed to stay together are often referred to as "school". And every illiterate newcomer to such a room - at least a Protestant one - is taken on as a new pupil in the small literacy class.

Reading and writing are seen as the key to the new life described as Xilungu. This word with the same stem - lunyu as in mulungu (white man) comprises all that is connected with the white man's world. Or - in other terms - it takes in everything that does not belong to traditional Shwa culture. Above all, Xilungu means a world where money is of primary importance. Therefore, it is perfectly understandable if young men, who have missed their chance of going to school during boyhood and, consequently, cannot normally expect well-paid jobs, see the literacy class of the Protestant mission as a glimmer of hope.

Part the produce "school Christians", i.e. persons who agree to church going, etc., in order to obtain certain educational advantages?

(3) See chapter on "How Christianity was introduced" p. 65.
To my knowledge, no statistics are available following up the careers of boys and girls who have finished their primary studies at the Methodist school at Camina or Chiclen. Indications are, however, that a large percentage of these students do not maintain any vital interest in church activities once they have left school. It is possible that the obligatory church attendance for young students is somehow connected with this subsequent lack of interest.

In the nine secondary schools young men undoubtedly enter the 'Christian' fold with the implicit purpose of only learning how to read. They may even have been conditioned by their fellows against any further acceptance of 'the faith' (Christianity). Then, there are many who, on non-Christian reasons, simply fail to attend when the First Speaker is listened to on the other hand, many continue in the Christian group.

The factor of education and education as an important attraction of Christianity is by no means limited to the Tswana. Probably, this factor accounts for a real merger of African thinking Christians all over the continent. This was found by Anderson in the Congo. (4) and Taylor says that "to a great extent Christianity has become a classroom religion." (5) Thus, from a Christian point of view, this factor may have considerable value, eventually creating the impression that the Christian faith is a necessary gate to higher education but without this relevance in ordinary life.

4. "Promoted by a Dream"

In the traditional context, ancestral spirit (binalo) may send these dreams through dreams. This may express itself as a warning, a prophecy of a coming calamity or

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(4) F. Anderson, op. cit., op. cit.
Dreams have an immediate, undoubted importance to Tehwa. What they have seen in a dream is just as real as anything seen in broad daylight. Furthermore, the dream is often conceived of as an order, a basis for action.

The situations of the four informants stating that a dream prompted them to accept the Christian faith all suggest that some period of preparation had preceded the actual decision. The "Christian dream" did not come out of the blue. It was rather a culmination of some kind of personal crisis. Two examples may suffice:

a) A man was living in a "heathen" compound room, in spite of having had several contacts with the church in the home village. One night he dreamed of home and suddenly he heard a voice calling out: "You must believe! You must believe!" The next day he moved to a "Methodist" room in the compound. Later, another dream made it clear to him that he should become a pastor.

b) In 1949 I experienced what it is to be visited by God. It was in Witban... in the... hospital there. I was one of those involved in the train accident at Waterval-Boven.

And I fell asleep. I felt like God showed Himself to me... not that I saw Him but I understood that He was very near and His voice said: "You shall not die. You will see your family again. Now you shall sing the song No. 154".

After that dream there was no doubt any longer. I had been living in a "Christian" compound room but just hanging on. Now I knew that I could never leave the faith!"

In spite of their previous contact with the Christian Church, these dreamers were still hesitant about becoming

(6) No. 154 in "Thalsi le Iwageli", the Tehwa Methodist Hymn-book:

A Jehovah nza ku lava
Kumanga ku wena,
Nzihe nza wa ku Rasa,
Nza wu lava lezi.

O, Jehovah, I want to do your will.
Give me the Holy Spirit,
I want it now.
Christians  It is not clear, however, whether the push provided by the dream created stronger faith or stimulated a decision for fear of possible consequences.

The decisive urge experienced in the dream seems to indicate that dreams continue to play an important role among Christian Pahwa as in the traditional community. This is borne out by many dream tales coming from my informants. Orders given to a person through a dream - either it is "to pray constantly" or "not to hesitate about going back to the mines" or "not to drink water from a cup of enamel" - are all taken seriously and must be immediately carried out.  

3. "Attracted by peace and fellowship" (kurula ni umion.)

A. Kurula ("Peace")

The Pahwa word kurula means "peace, quietness". In connection with a person it can get the meaning of "poise".

What an outsider sees of kurula in the Christian group, attracting him to enter it himself, would appear to be some quality that in his mind distinguishes Christians from the group to presently belongs to. Naturally, this depends to a large extent on his personal experience. A critical event - e.g. a bitter conflict or some treatment that seems unjust - may inspire a person to seek for an escape. The Christian Church might, in such a case, seem to offer a suitable alternative.

Objective evidence in this respect is difficult to isolate. In a compound, negative reasons for leaving the

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traditional surroundings are more explicit than positive ones for joining the Church. Statements like "I was afraid of being beaten", "I wanted to keep my things from being stolen", "I did not want to be forced to buy liquor", or "I wanted to escape from being used by a woman" have all been made by several young men, asked to explain why they transferred to a "Christian" compound room. The fact that the four activities mentioned are actively censured in most Christian groups suggests the reason why the Christian room was chosen as the alternative.

However, these four statements should not be seen as proofs that all these activities escaped from are integral parts of traditional Tswana culture. Drinking, certainly is, even if new types of liquor introduced through contacts with Europeans may have new effects on the users. Fighting, particularly in connection with drinking, is not uncommon in traditional context, even if fighters may be driven away from the place of sacrifice, in order "not to destroy the omambu" (act of worship). But theft and homosexual activities were certainly severely censured even in traditional society. More common stealing nowadays must be partly blamed on modern individualistic concepts concerning belongings. Possibly, the absence of magical threats against the potential thief has removed a psychological bar against stealing. The reasons for more liberal attitudes among compound dwellers towards homosexual relations may, in addition to the unnatural, long separation from female company, be sought in the absence of effective moral sanctions from the kinship group.

(8) A. Mucomba, op. cit., p. 94

(9) Ibid.

(10) For section on "Some aspects of social life in mine compound", p. 87, for difference between 'incentivation' of mine compound dwellers and red unions in East London, for clear moral sanctions of kin still exert great influence.
Another is witchcraft allegations, sometimes resulting in bitter feuds between witnesses and defendants. Some informants gave examples of conflicts arising over accusations brought because of witchcraft accusations supported by (or, alternatively, straying from) a diviner. It is recognized by those that some spirits can be controlled through Christian prayer, and that Christian persons are judges accused of using witchcraft against enemies, the Christian community would more peaceful in comparison.

It is therefore probable that the humane (peace) which connects some people into Christianity is, at least initially, by the absence of some harsher elements (traditional or moral) than a positive appreciation of any Christian virtue.

Relationship

Returning to the part of this attraction, expressed by the word relatedness, we are not only dealing with the initial process of three informants for assessing Christians. It is interesting that a large number of informants saw as the main purpose of the encounter, which to you regard as most important in Christianity. To any therefore, necessary to penetrate this concept in greater detail.

The term was relatedness is usually translated "fellowship." Yet, this is a rather vague term, the real meaning of which we cannot discern between the poles of superficial acquaintance and deep mutual commitment, according to what different individuals may read into the concept.

Etymologically, the word relatedness is derived from the root in Greek, meaning "to be together," indicating a strong and close relation of relationship, not making it into a creative experience. A group of hunters, for instance, had
wuhlengeli, particularly if they went out to kill a lion that
had been harassing herds in the vicinity, or to kill an
elephant which had destroyed the fields. Women working to-
gether to brew beer for some ceremony had wuhlengeli and
people joining forces to defend themselves against a common
enemy had a strong sense of wuhlengeli. [14]

As many words of the Tshwa language have been infused with
new shades of meaning because of their being used in a Christ-
ian context, it may be raised that the same has happened to
the term wuhlengeli. [14] There is also the possibility that
persons outside of the Christian community would recognize
certain elements of Christian wuhlengeli, which insiders do
not regard as of decisive importance. We will scrutinize this
concept in several different categories, in an attempt to
approach some kind of definition of Christian wuhlengeli.

a. Wuhlenceli as situational association for social purposes

On becoming part of a Protestant Church, a large sector
of the traditional social life was cut away for Tshwa Chris-
tians as they were now forbidden to take part in kinship fu-
tions and communal gatherings.

Ordinarily, social association among Christians means
getting together in church for worship and singing, and con-
versation before and after the meeting. The non-liturgical
form of worship probably contributes to a more intimate inter-
relation between partakers than a strictly liturgical ritual.
Lay participation in preaching, exhortation and testimony,
especially in the small rural church, provides for a kind of

(13) A. Muombo, *Nkutsulani we Matimu ya Vatshwa*,
p. 18 ff

(14) "Bandla", originally meaning "men's meeting place"
in now the term for "church"; *xiluvlei*, meaning
"but of village headsman", is now "pulpit"; *kuluuma*,
meaning "being straight" is now "righteousness".
social relationship which may be reminiscent of gatherings around the evening fire in the men’s place (bandleni) or for the women at the place of the pots (khombarini). [15]

There have been few positive efforts to create any special forms of social fellowship within the Church, except in work among children and youth. One young leader for girls, speaking in a conference, expressed the need for more exploration in this field: “When we girls have our meetings, we play and dance and do what older women have done before. But we must do this, and we must get guidance of how to play and dance in a Christian way”.

Even if informants confirm that “frequent gatherings in a peaceful and joyful spirit” make a distinction between Christian and traditional association, it would appear that such situational companionship is no decisive factor in constituting Christian wuhlenghi. On the other hand, situational association among Christians may possibly be characterized by a certain spirit because of wuhlenghi experienced at a different level.

b. Wuhlenghi beyond the boundaries of kinship belonging

From a Christian (and “western”) viewpoint, it is often seen as a positive value that Christianity helps a man break out from the limitations of his kin-group. From another angle, however, such broken kinship relations may cause continuing friction and conflict within the Tswana community.

If purely social criteria are used, the only reason for wanting to break away from the kin-group may be the desire to flee from its mutual obligations. A man may want to “live his own life”, free from the responsibility that kinship-belonging imposes on every member of the group. This process, facilitated by modern communication and mobility, is fairly well known also among the Tswana. Persons availing themselves of this opportunity are aware that “they reject certain of their

traditional obligations, thereby losing rights associated with them.

But modern economic activities provide the possibility of rejecting one's kinship responsibilities without starving to death. The group member may come to regard himself as economically independent at least as long as he can be useful to the modern economic system. If he, meanwhile, has been "washed off" by his kin-group, such independence may lead him to serious trouble when he is unable to work.

I suggest, however, that these are not the criteria for Tswana Christians to break away from the kin-group. There are examples of such escapes, but, on the whole, it appears that Christian Tswanas retain a sense of social and economic obligation towards their kinsmen, although the kin-group acknowledged by them may be reduced in scope. Frequent visits of Christian mine workers to their non-Christian kinsmen in different compounds are an indication that kinship usually still plays an important part.

Nevertheless, such social relations, in general, stop short at the religious question. Several informants mentioned pressure on them from relatives to take part in kinship functions, e.g., sacrifices in ancestor worship. If they had refused, friction had ensued. One informant stated explicitly that "he had not have away from his Father's villa" because of constant pressure from his father's side. Thus, when a religious criterion is essential to kinship relationships, the Christian usually breaks away. Consequently, he will have to seek fellowship in the group which determines his way of action.

Some informants spoke highly of the "non-kin" Christian fellowship which "does not look at the form of a man", but accepts a person irrespective of kinship obligations. However, any association which builds its existence solely on the break-up of other groups may suffer because of its negative


(17) C. A. H. Mayer, Christian and Tribo-men, p. 132
foundation. It can only become of positive value when supplied with new norms and purposes, which are accepted by members as valid.

The peculiar situation of the Tswana Christian seems to be that he is caught in a loyalty crisis between the social aspects of his kinship structure which he accepts, and the religious ones which he renounces. As, from a traditional viewpoint, these two aspects are inextricably intertwined, the Christian is probably seen as a rebel, who has rejected his kinship-belonging in toto. What this implies in a community which has not yet provided any alternative social structure except what can be found in a system foreign to Tswana culture can only be vaguely perceived.

It appears, therefore, that a wuhlenge ("fellowship") solely built on the criterion of being beyond the boundaries of the kinship structure is, at least at present, a destructive force in Tswana society, potentially leading an individual into a crisis of identity. I would judge that, in a wider context, the so-called process of "de-tribalization" is, therefore, potentially destructive in a social sense, as it is primarily a negative phenomenon. It is conceivable that the ethical flux resulting in criminality of an ethical totally unknown in traditional society - which now seems to characterize parts of the urban African population in Southern Africa, is rooted in the declining importance of kinship structures and sanctions.

From this viewpoint, then, the Christian wuhlenge, unbond by kinship limitations, seems primarily as an escape, a substitute for the fellowship normally found in the kinship group. What distinguishes this wuhlenge, however, from the process of "de-tribalization" is that new norms accepted as the foundation of association have obviously infused a positive spirit of relationship, providing a sense of new identity and belonging to a larger reference group which is defined both by ethical and social criteria.

(10) Cf. E. Ranton, op. cit. p. 115
In a mine compound group, e.g., where, in general, new association patterns have to be formed, it appears to be easier for persons of different kin groups, and different tribes (although within the same language group), to relate within a Christian context than in a non-Christian one. Through long association—neighbourliness ordinarily even cut tribal or lineage differences also between non-Christians, but in a situation where men continuously see new-comers from other clans or tribes entering their own community, have observed that frictions quickly arise.

Tribal frictions are certainly not completely absent in the Christian compound group, either. But, as the "non-kin" rule holds in fact, though translated into a positive virtue, the Christian community appears to have a certain social machinery at its disposal, aiming at bridging tribal differences. The weekly joint compound services of Christian men from all of the language group—irrespective of denomination—are probably a strong positive force in this direction.

In spite of the professed non-tribalism, it would seem that outside of the language group is extremely limited even in the Christian compound community. An instance of limited communication—contacts made across languages during work hours seems to have no bearing on Tsilwa Christians' leisure activities. Living arrangement in compound seems to encourage this attitude.

It is, in fact, possible that the Church group in a compound is seen as a kind of amalaha group, although the terms of reference are widened in the sense of "village" Tsilwa in eastern London. A man living in a compound with the claim that he belongs to one of the Church active in his home region will,

(1) "Tsilwa social world", p. 43
(2) At least once a week, "new-ones" arrive to the compound from various tribal areas
(21) Compound social life is described on pp. 26-29
in general, have no difficulty in getting accepted into the company of the respective Church group in that compound. Obviously, the language is here important for association, but the essential "home" criterion is the Church, offering wuhenzi even to persons previously unknown to other group members but manifestly conforming to the accepted norms and behaviour of the group.

It thus appears that Christian wuhenzi is mainly based on accepted norms as criteria of association, rather than on any "breaking away" from kinship belonging.

c. The wuhenzi of group action

It remains to see whether the interpretation of the word wuhenzi implied by the etymological derivation from the verb kuMte, "to do together", is valid in relation to "Christian fellowship". Traditional examples of this interpretation were related in the beginning of this section.

As a positive sign of wuhenzi ("fellowship") among Christians, working together, for instance in building churches, was quoted by some informants. Missionary activity like providing agricultural training at Sambine, hospitals and schools, are other examples of what Christians do together. Another popular example of wuhenzi is the recent building of water-tanks in a part of Nkwa country (Murenga) where drought always has presented a problem. That makes this project especially significant is the fact that it was wholly initiated and mainly financed by Tshwa Christians.

These examples of Christian wuhenzi indicate the possibility of working together to improve the community.

Frequent group activities in the work of worship or lessons (both of religious and practical nature, e.g. hygiene) add to the sense of belonging among Christians. In several local situations, both in compound and in the home country, in-groups of Christians develop with very frequent mutual associations, mainly connected with joint church activities. Such

(22) M. Mayer, op. cit. 94, 99-101
developments depend largely upon efficient local leadership.

It is well known that joint action of certain groups of people can provide a strong sense of togetherness and mutual satisfaction. This often finds expression in the term "team spirit". Thus, women brewing beer together have a sense of joint accomplishment which binds them together, at least temporarily. Likewise, the members of an orchestra often experience the joint satisfaction and joy of performing together. Nevertheless, this is fundamentally a situational association, which does not necessarily carry any obligations at all outside of the temporary joint action.

This is the point where I find that the joint action of a group of Tswana Christians differs, at least in principle. It could be said that Christians joining forces in building water-tanks act in this way because they have wuhlenge. The "fellowship", then, is not situational, generated by the action, but the action may be seen as a fruit of the group feeling. No doubt, this wuhlenge, manifesting itself in creative group action, is one aspect of the "attraction" on people outside of the Church.

d. Wuhlenge of the group apart

For the outsider, joint action, peaceful togetherness, and even what may be interpreted as certain freedom from kinship obligations, are probably the elements of wuhlenge ("fellowship") among Christians that appear attractive. For a person on the inside of the Christian community, however, these values may be conceived as growing out of the common bond between all those who have manifestly accepted the same conditions and norms of association. In other words, the principal criterion of Christian wuhlenge is one of identity with the group apart. It follows that the bond of fellowship within such a group is strengthened in accordance with its members' degree of acknowledging their common norms and goals. But, in spite of these potential differences in degree, the essential bond harks back to the voluntary act of joining the group.
The same criterion can be applied, for instance, to a political group with specific, partly ethically determined conditions of membership, and well defined goals. Such groups all tend to be totalitarian, embracing all aspects of life, into which the group attempts to apply its ideology.

The distinction between such different "groups apart" lies in the character of the norms of association, which, in the case of Christians, can be assumed to be fundamentally based on the message of Christian faith and ethics. However, as Banton has pointed out, "these norms can never be entirely new. If they are to have meaning, they must have some relation to people's experience of the world". Consequently, Christian wu倫engeli among Tshwa is different from the corresponding "fellowship" in a European group of dedicated Christians, because of each group having selected those elements in Christianity which are particularly meaningful in its own cultural context.

Nevertheless, we know as a fact that the norms of association within Tshwa Protestant Churches have, to a very large extent, been determined by forces outside of Tshwa indigenous culture. We may, therefore, reasonably expect tension and even conflict as long as such dual selection determines the standards of the group.

I find it clearly demonstrated that such conflict exists among Tshwa Christians, sometimes even making group members apply a double standard to their actions. This is one expressed reason why many baptized Tshwa never take the step into "full membership" of the Church. If they did, and subsequently fell below the professed standard, they would be punished by a loss of status, usually reversing them to the position of "baptized, preparatory member".

Several areas of such tension and potential conflict will be investigated in the following chapters of this dissertation.

(23) H. Banton, op. cit. p. 11
Undoubtedly, it is in the case of serious accidents, sickness or death, that wułengeli ("fellowship") among Tshwa Christians best expressed itself in meaningful action. These are critical periods for the afflicted individuals, in which the kin group traditionally is fully involved.

As Africans nowadays are often far away from their kin, the latent threat of such crises may build a feeling of insecurity. This is probably the main reason why Burial societies have become popular among African people in cities.

With not enough kinmen around, one has to trust one’s own financial contributions to a common fund, in order to secure a proper burial.

The serious accident most frequently mentioned by informants is fire and consequent total loss of belongings. As fire is often considered to be caused by witchcraft - or, in the case of lightning, by Pilo, the Sky Power - people outside of the kin group would naturally be reluctant to take any measures. However, three different cases of fire, where Christians from large areas had contributed with gifts and cash donations, were mentioned as examples of wułengeli. These Christian Tshwa probably interpret the accident in the same way as non-Christians, but different attitudes towards action in such cases distinguish the two communities from each other.

The inter-relation between Tshwa traditional medicine and modern medical treatment will be dealt with in the chapter on "Pursuit of Health". In connection with the concept of wułengeli among Christians, particularly women, I refer to the well documented custom of visiting the sick for prayer and

(20) Tshwa "social world", p.
(23) P. Mayer, op. cit. p. 1
(24) "Traditional Tshwa beliefs", p. 23
(27) Vilakazi, ndisla transforming, pp. 23-24
assistance. This custom is well borne out also among men in mine hospitals. Several informants mentioned special prayer vigils for sick Church members. Examples where the Church group had collected money to help a sick person to the hospital at Chicuque were mentioned by two informants.

When death occurs in a Christian family, kinmen do their share, but they usually leave it to Church leaders to perform the funeral. It is customary for Christians of various denominations to attend the burial of one of their number, irrespective of kinship belonging, or status. In cases of death of Christian men in a mine compound, the whole group of Christians from Southern Mozambique are called upon to attend the burial as well as a memorial service. It is also customary to make a collection, partly for the 'funeral tea', partly for the family of the deceased.

f. Conclusions

It is not true to say that all dealings between Christians are done in a spirit of genuine mutual solidarity. Strife and envy have their place also in the Church. But, the fact clearly emerges from the material, that Tohwa persons within a Christian community, having to some extent rejected the obligations and responsibilities of the family group, become members of an enlarged reference group, in which new criteria for solidarity are used, and to some extent an increased sense of solidarity and同志 is achieved, where the sense of mutual solidarity has become partly accepted standards to be the main element in Christian solidarity.

4. "From the family"

It is clear from the outset that informants giving the information that they were prompted by their parents to join the Church, were against those who grew up in Christian homes. They were baptized as infants and became accustomed through the
For such persons, the positive features that make Christianity attractive to non-Christians may not shine as brightly. They seem often to concentrate their attention upon the negative features of the Church, e.g. the moral code that in Tehwa context tends to be extremely legalistic. This may be one strong reason why many Tehwa growing up in Christian homes seem to lose interest when they become old enough to decide for themselves.

In the case of one informant, the lure from the "outside" became too strong for him. Not far away from his home, "modern dancing" (kukuma bunji) to the sound of gramophone records was arranged every Sunday. Week after week he and his brothers slipped away from the house after dark. In spite of being beaten severely by their father, (a Church lay leader), when their escape was discovered, they persisted. To get money to pay for each tune, they took eggs from the family's hens which they sold to some whites living nearby.

Finally, his brother got such a hard beating from their father that they were "afraid of getting killed if the beating continued. So they relented, and my informant adds: "FATHER promised me a new white shirt if I joined the Methodist youth group. So I did. And I am happy now that I left the dancing, because there are so many who get venereal diseases at such places."

It is open to question whether such prompting produces permanent results. In the inferred case, the person in question began to see that there were certain side-effects involved had he insisted on his own way. In other cases, however, too strong prompting undoubtedly has produced opposite results, particularly among young people who have had some educational opportunity.

5. "Attractiveness of Christian Singing"

The difference between traditional singing and Christian singing is clear. Christian songs in the Protestant sphere have been
decisive power in a particular holy verse in some connection with the "dream cases". There a certain song figured largely, and in another dream the text Romans 12:1 was said to be the turning point for the man in question.

In this case, the informant "found the faith under a table. I was sitting with some other boys, idly talking, when I suddenly caught sight of a slip of paper under the table. It was a torn page from the New Testament, where only one verse, Matthew 7:19, was readable. I read it, and was amazed at the Great Person in the Sky who is able to burn all the male trees (those which do not bear fruit!) in the forest. I wanted to know more about that Great Person. So I went to the believers'.

Undoubtedly, this man had had some previous Christian influence, in spite of growing up in a non-Christian home. His brother had become a Christian, and the very fact that he could read indicates that he had had at least some contact with a school.

I do not exclude the possibility that this is the "conversative story", which this person, who later became a pastor, has told many times in sermons and testimonies. This does not decrease the value of the information, but it is possible that the form of the story has been influenced by many tellings.

7. "Was helped at hospital."

As far as I know, no statistics are available to show how many persons might have been influenced through a mission hospital to become Christian. Possibly, there are many who see the Christian message "materialized" in the care and cure at the hospital. This could be a kind of interaction between preaching and teaching in the home village and the curing of the sick.

However, it probably does not take long before the patient locates the curing power exclusively in the white man's medicine, or the skill of a certain physician rather than connecting it with the Christian message. It will be found out that
any hospital can be of help to sick people. (29)

In this actual case, the informant had lung TB. His constant coughing made him consult a diviner, who advised him to divorce his wife, as she was killing him through wuloyi (witchcraft). As he hesitated, somebody advised him to go to Chicuque mission hospital. There he got treatment, and as he was getting better he was told severely by the doctor that he had to stay away from drinking liquor. As he "knew his weakness in regard to liquor", he decided to go to church regularly, "so that the believers should help him keep sober". Obviously, he had kept his intention alive.

The medical advice given in this case had no specific Christian flavour. What prompted this informant to become converted was his immediate need to change company at home, as drinking is an integral part of Tshwa traditional society. The Protestant Church was the suitable alternative, as drinking is severely censured both in the Methodist Episcopal and the Free Methodist Churches.

3. "Attracted by hygiene!"

"I saw that the Christians had a different way of washing themselves," is the literal quotation from the old informant, who was the only one in my actual sample, who did not take the step away from his traditional way of life. He stated that he had been "close to join the Free Methodists" at a certain time, but he had remained a non-Christian.

Hygiene teaching was started early by missionaries among the Tshwa. (50) Even today, it is a regular feature of a quarterly conference, when rising delegates from several villages, have a report from the 'Hygiene Committee' (Kosveti ya mosinaelele), indicating the number of latrines built.

(29) The role of mission hospitals will be dealt upon in the chapter on "Fairwell of Health".

(30) See "How Christianity was introduced", p. 68

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during the quarter, or the sides of the water holes in the vicinity. In some areas, the Church groups have obtained special shovels, designed to dig the deep holes necessary for this purpose.

The Church has also kept teaching the Tshwa that water for drinking must be boiled before use, to help prevent some sicknesses, notably bilharzia. Teams of teachers, sometimes sent out by the Church to visit villages, have continuously advised both Christians and non-Christians how to help themselves to prevent malaria, bilharzia, or other intestinal parasites, as well as TB and venereal diseases. A major effort to prevent the further spread of bilharzia was made some years ago at Combine, when facilities for washing and cooking were built completely separated from the infected river. Against smallpox, large vaccination campaigns were early performed by personnel at mission hospitals.

Another feature of the work for better hygiene is the teaching of child-care, and providing opportunities for mothers to keep their children clean. Early teaching on child-care, Maternity wards early became part of mission hospital establishments.

Even if the man in this actual case did not become a Christian, it is highly probable that many Tshwa through the years have been attracted to Christianity because of hygiene teaching. But it is just as certain that this factor is of small importance as an "attraction" nowadays, as modern hygiene, also in the Tshwa area, has lost the character of being a 'Christian speciality'. Ideas of hygiene have been spread through teaching in nine compounds, as well as in all types of schools. Government-built maternity centres are a

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Unfortunately, it cannot be claimed that work to prevent bilharzia and intestinal parasites has met with great success. There is evidence that bilharzia is spreading in the area, and one authority estimated that 50 percent of the population are infected with some kind of intestinal parasites.
common sight along roads in the Tshwa area, and toilet hygiene is getting common in all types of villages.

This modern spread of hygiene does not alter the fact that Tshwa Christians consider cleanliness, both personal and communal, as a sign which necessarily must be part of Christian living.
The wutomi concept

"Suddenly I realized that I had forgotten to tie my wutomi around my head when I washed after the bath. My heart began beating hard, I felt sweaty and almost dizzy but I rushed back to the river to search in the grass. How I jumped for joy when I found my wutomi and I promised myself never to forget it again."

The informant, now a Christian man, vividly recalled the memory from his childhood, indicating in his manner of telling how important a certain amulet had been to him. It had been his wutomi, his 'life', given to him by a n'angu (diviner and/or herbalist) during a period of sickness.

Wutomi is the highest good for the Tshwa. This word is usually translated 'life', 'health', but it also includes everything that the Tshwa experiences as good for himself, his family, his crops and domestic animals. Loss of wutomi most commonly means loss of health. But it is as true that a healthy man who has lost his only donkey or who sees his oxen within a blazing sun, will feel that his wutomi in not what it ought to be. Then sickness comes to his family, his wutomi is gone once more, and quarrels and enmity with people close by are other factors lowering the wutomi.

Wutomi, then, has (at least) the following integral factors:

a) Healthy life for self, family, kin group and neighbours;
b) Procreation, and fertility of fields and domestic animals;
c) Appropriate status increase and right relationships;
d) Appropriate increase of property.

By extension, certain agents which are deemed too further or greater 'life' are also given the name wutomi. This is why the above-mentioned amulet we called by this term. Similarly, the testicles, from which life-giver issues, may be called wutomi.
It seems almost impossible to capture the *wutomi* concept in some English word. "Life" covers it partly, and we may come closer to reality by the qualification "complete life". But we have not yet come to the heart of the matter.

I judge that the Tshwa expression *wutomi* is similar to the Luba concept which inspired Placide Tempels' expression "vital force". The principle for enhancing *wutomi* is probably the same as what Edwin Smith called "dynamism". Neither of these two commonly used terms, however, seems satisfactory as far as the Tshwa are concerned. It is interesting to observe that some African specialists on religions, writing recently on African customs and religion, are questioning these terms in a wider context.

I do not intend to enter into a full discussion of these terms, but a few observations may be relevant: It appears that the expressions "vital force" and "dynamism" give a mechanized picture of the life of a person, at least as far as the Tshwa are concerned. It is particularly difficult to see the person, the person being a "force". Either a person is participating in a life-stream or life-power, tapping the resources available to all human beings, and to all nature. From this life-stream coming from the Sky-Power (Tlhoha) and existing in ntumbulako ("Creation" or "Nature") ideally upholds and passes strength to the person to his descendants. There is also constant inter-relation between the life-stream in the person and in the part of nature to which he is connected. A few quotations from the Tshwa may illustrate this:

(1) Concerning 'right relationships', see pp. 14-16 and p. 225 ff. for details.

(2) L. Tempels, *Basuto philosophy*, p. 30

(3) E. Smith, (ed), *African Ideas of God*, p. 35


(5) Tsh. 944, op. cit., 9: 30
"If the tree of sacrifice withers, my watomi is gone in that village."
"My watomi is low when it happens that my goats or cattle die."
"If a man commits adultery, his sin can make his little child sick."

In view of this, it seems that Vincent Mulago's expression 'vital participation' conveys distinctly the principle underlying the quest for watom in Tshwa.

Maybe the analogy of an irrigation system can somehow clarify this idea of 'vital participation':

a. The life-stream of ntumbuluke, originating with Tilo (The Sky Power) is the main river, available to all nature;
b. Every lineage has its canals to this great stream of life, the ancestral spirits being the 'flood-gates'.
c. The individual participated in the life-stream solely through the canal of his lineage and of the lineage 'owning' his land;
d. The stream passes through him to his descendants, etc.;
e. Life (watomi) is measured through clear connections;
f. Life is increased by the opening of canals, either 'stream-deficit', as through other branches diverting life to themselves.

'Sufficient life' is sought.

The main reason why 'dynamism' does not fit well into the picture is that it seems to imply a forceful, creative, and continuous development, which is, in fact, the opposite of the quest for life that I have found among the Tshwa.

Applying to the daily question "wa konya ke?" ("How are you?", i.e. "Do you live?"), a Tshwa person says "wa konya" ("we live") or "wa konya" ("we have life", i.e. watomi). Often he adds two words "ka hit wa konya" ("we haven't got them")

The point in these examples is that Tswana customarily do not use expressions denoting "good health" or "perfect condition", as a European may do. The ideal state for the Tswana is the normal, the sufficient (wutomi gi eneleko).

Too little of wutomi means a negative "no-life" (wutomi gi hava). In fact, people often say "we have died" (hi file), when they experience "no-life". On the other hand, it is not true that too much of this coveted substance (wutomi no vele) is not welcome at all. It is rather a curse on a person being told that he has got "much life". "Nyawutomi nzi moyeni!" ("You of / much / life!") is a serious curse, which may be used to a hated, unsocial person, particularly if he seems unduly successful. Significantly, an interchangeable expression (wutomi) (wutomi) is wutomi ("live", from ku hanya = to live).

In the Tswana quest for the standard, the normal, the sufficient, excesses in any direction are thus regarded as evil. The following diagrams may help to make the wutomi concept clear:

"Much-life"
(wutomi gi
tala)

Sufficient
life
(wutomi gi
eneleko)

"No-life"
(wutomi gi
hava)

Too long.
Too much.
Too successful and not "helpful".

Death for self, family, kingship, neighbours,
Prevention and Fertility relics, cradles.
Appropriate status increase; right
relationships
Appropriate increase of property

Sickness and Death
Parasites; drought - hunger
Accident and loss
Wound relationships; loneliness

We do not know exactly why the traditional Tswana are put a restraint on the quest for life. It may be assumed that it was caused by a constant feeling of insecurity. Life was -
and is a continuous battle against sickness, loss and death. Under such circumstances, it would be foolhardy to challenge the superhuman power by striving to attain a higher level than the 'sufficient' one.

Nevertheless, I would judge that the quest for unity of the group living together was the main reason for desiring 'the normal', 'the sufficient'.

'The Past believed firmly in a vital communion or lifelong solidarity between members of the same family or clan... Every effort must be directed to the preservation, maintenance, growth and perpetuation of this common treasure. The pitiless elimination of everything which hindered this end, and the encouragement at all costs of everything which furthers it: this is the true word in Tewa customs and institutions, wisdom and philosophy". (7)

To preserve such a unity, it was imperative that no one should have more than his appropriate share.

In this quest for 'sufficient life', the Tewas are in line with several other African peoples, for instance the Akan of Ghana, of whom it has been said:

'There is a traditional pattern of life, itself the nucleus energy, sustained by spirit-souls and gods, expressing itself in clan institutions and behaviour patterns... The appropriate appellation, the necessary artificing, makes the status one, itself the perfect pattern for men's life. Thus there is the concept of spiritual guidance towards, not of gross spiritual delineation from the divine world, but only a traditional pattern of life, to be accomplished through piety and obedience". (8)

'Piety and obedience' played a primary role also in the life of the Akan. In the ancestral spirits were seen an "نفسة" (fanisi), regulating the flow of wealth into the lineage; it seems to follow that the 'right relationships' sought for

as part of the goal of 'sufficient life' were also instruments to reach it. After investigating whether Christianity has changed the traditional ideal of 'sufficient life' we will probe into the role of divine worship in attaining this ideal.

Tswana Christian Search for Life

From a Christian viewpoint, the Tswana quest for wutomi seems to indicate that the concept "abundant life", playing a prominent part as an ideal in Christian teaching, would be most acceptable to Tswana. This concept is usually interpreted by missionaries as the infusion of ethical strength, courage and joy through a new relationship to God through Christ. For a Christian, 'abundant life' opens new possibilities, through "the vigour of its health, the splendour of its adventure, and the exciting possibilities it opens within the year of anyone".

Yet informants, however, give the indication of understanding that the concept 'abundant life' had the above-mentioned implications. In general, I found the following two interpretations of this concept:

1. A "way of life", occurring partly in negative terms as "leaving the old passions and behaviour", partly as "following the love of Christ". This way of living was seen as alignment with a practical point of views in new insights into "how to live pleasantly" and "how some of children" were included. Several informants referred to this new way of living as a "wonder life" (wutomi en-weakane).

2. The most common view was that 'abundant life' means "life after death", or "life without end" (wutomi en-viringa). To prove further into the Tswana Christian understanding of the "quest for life", it is relevant also to investigate the

(9) John 10:10

(10) Interpreters' Bible, Vol. 4, p. 605.
Tshwa interpretation of Jesus as Saviour. In the Tshwa language, the word Saviour has been translated Muhanyisi. This term is derived from the causative form of the verb hanya (to live). Thus, Muhanyisi means "The One who causes to live". In secular connections, the same word may be used of someone saving another from drowning. I have also heard it applied to a doctor, who helped a certain person to regain health.

What does it mean to Tshwa that Jesus is Muhanyisi?

Two different informants answer:

"To begin with, I say that he was the one who gave His life for our sake, so that we receive life. Our ancestors lived their lives, too. But there was nothing further which they looked forward to. When a man died, he was finished. They just thought he was dead. But we believe that when we leave this world, we have another life which we receive because of the coming of Jesus. Thus, when we speak of Jesus as Muhanyisi, it means that He gives us eternal life."

"He does not give us the kind of life which shows itself when we walk... I believe He gives us life in our spirits... in what we do... in accordance with what He showed us (of better living) while He was on earth."

While statements from the majority of my informants agree with the first of the above quotations, the second must be regarded as an exception. It is quoted here to indicate the range of interpretation of "life" in Tshwa Christian context, and as from a Christian viewpoint - the degree of understanding the "new life in Christ". It should be noted that also here the concept of "a better life" (yotomi go chukwanga) is referred to.

The designation of Jesus as Saviour (Muhanyisi) is generally understood as Lifegiver after death. My material leads me to conclude that Jesus is not believed to play an important part in most Tshwa Christians' quest for life here and now.

It therefore appears that this quest for life 'here and now', also among Christians, is essentially cast in traditional
However, it would appear that a more fluid ideal, continually being modified by further outside influence infiltrates the Tshwa way of life, both for Christian and non-Christian.

It is probable that intensive research on this very point would reveal greater modifications in some areas than in others. We speak of variations like age, status, education and sex which also indicate different patterns. What we have isolated and frozen an institutionalised ideal, which is undoubtedly a sum of individual variations. Given the numerous serving of traditional Tshwa society, these were taken to a larger whole. With the increased presence of movement, and more influence by Christian and Western civilization, the range of variation inevitably increases. It would appear that we are left with a more fluid ideal, continually being modified by further outside influence infiltrates the Tshwa way of life, both for Christian and non-Christian.

In the words of Verwoerd, the traditional ideal is still the point of reference or to be "the highest ideal".

In his words, four tenants of status should be noted:

1. There is a change of emphasis, which introduces certain modifications within the "traditional ideal" at the expense of others. Some emphasis is being put on kinship relations outside of the immediate family; and, on the other hand, the traditional concept of "right relationships" between persons is receding from the place of primary importance.

The qualifications "appropriate" concerning status as an increase in the importance of property has conditions by the necessary relationship between civil rights, age, and traditional concepts.
of propriety. Influence of education and outside modes of living is rapidly corroding these values, with the consequence that increase of status and property is now more commonly expected on grounds of education and efficiency.

Barrenness remains a curse also among the majority of Christians, while the stress on a large number of children as a particular blessing is becoming weaker:

2. "Much-life" has become more attractive. The line between 'sufficient life' and 'much-life' is much thinner than it used to be. Undoubtedly, traditional sanctions on too great a success still play a role. But less importance of kinship relations and 'right relationships' has established a trend towards individuality. There is also a tendency to measure success more in materialistic terms.

3. Certain 'modern' additions are being made to the traditional ideal. These are described in rather diffuse terms, as "modern living", "better ways of taking care of the family", etc. Education is another important addition, mainly expressed in straight academic terms. 'Practical education' has not yet been given a similar status value.

4. Religious additions: While 'right relationships'

between persons are being deprived of their primary importance, the relationship with God has been given a decisive position. Even if this mainly comes to the surface in a negative sense, as "Sin against God", the significant fact is the stronger religious emphasis on the 'right relationships' concept. The social aspect of this factor now applies more to relations with persons within the Church than outside, even if neighbourliness is a highly praised Christian virtue. However, such 'right relationship' does not seem to have the same moral urgency as in a traditional context. For the Christian, the 'moral imperative' is now the "Law", (12) and the decisive

[12] variously referred to as 'The Law of God', "The law of Christ", or "the law of the Church".

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relation in this respect is with God and/or with the leaders of the Church, in so far as they are considered custodians of "the Law of Christ". (13)

Judging from the emphasis made by informants, the most important religious addition to the traditional ideal of wutomi is the Christian concept of 'eternal life'. It is open to question whether this should even be included at this point, as it falls, in fact, completely outside of the scope of the traditional 'sufficient life'. I have reason to believe, however, that this concept figures largely in the thinking of many Christian Tshwa as part of the 'better life' (wutomi pa chukwana) which they look for in Christianity. (14)

The important religious value of this Christian concept is further borne out by statements from other Bantu-speaking peoples. Monica Wilson says about the Nyakyusa Christians:

"The supreme attraction, mentioned again and again as the reason for conversion, is: 'There is life'..., and it is life in a world to come rather than 'more abundant life' here and now that is spoken of". (15)

It is evident from the above that new values present themselves to a Tshwa person becoming a 'believer', either as additions to the old, or as alternatives. Great potential differences appear between the pulse of 'better life' and the traditional ideal of 'sufficient life'. A conflict between the traditional 'vital participation' and more modern (Christian?) stress on the role of the individual, already recognized in the decreased importance of the kin group outside of the immediate family.

(13) This whole matter will be developed in detail in the chapter on "Law, Sin and Salvation".

(14) 'Eternal life' as a Tshwa Christian concept will be taken up for detailed discussion in the chapter on "Death and Life Eternal".

(15) M. Wilson, Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa, p. 187
Even recognizing these differences, however, it must be remembered that these two groups among the Tahwa, Christians and non-Christians, are both embarked upon a continuous quest for life (wutomi), and that their basic values are quite similar.

In our continued investigation of "The Tahwa Response to Christianity", we will attempt to make clear in which areas and by which means this quest is being sought, and to what extent satisfaction appears to be obtained, either through traditional or Christian methods. This part of the dissertation will follow these lines:

a) The next chapter, "Worship, Sacrifice and Sacraments" deals with the establishing and keeping of right relationships with superhuman powers through ritual action, both within traditional and Christian context.

b) The chapter on "Pursuit of Health" probes into traditional concepts of illness and cure, particularly 'social' causation and healing, in comparison with modern and Christian concepts.

c) Moral norms and social relationships are investigated in the chapter on "Law, Sin and Salvation", penetrating into the ontological reasons of the conflict between traditional and Christian ethics.

d) The final chapter connected with 'quest for life' goes into the aspects of "Death and Life Eternal", indicating how the Christian concept of 'eternal life' has, to a large extent, changed attitudes towards death and accompanying taboos.
Traditional worship

In the traditional Tswana society, right relationships were both preconditions for and integral parts of 'sufficient life' (wathisthi or more). Such relationships had both a social aspect and a mystical (religious) one, even if the Tswana did not consciously make this distinction. In their minds, the tinglulue (ancestral spirits) were as much part of the lineage as their living descendants. However, the ways of relations with the tinglulue were distinct from other social associations.

As the tinglulue were regarded as beings who could approach the Sky Power (Tlo) with requests, it follows that they were channels for the life-power issuing to the whole environment ("Creation, Nature") from the Sky Power, and were part of this tshambule as well as soil, rocks and animals. Broken relations with the tinglulue could result in the clogging of the life-stream canals, with "no-life" as the result. (1)

Right relationship with tinglulue had a moral aspect as well as a ritual one. The laws governing the lineage, including rules (thumelisa) as well as behaviour patterns, were regarded as recent heritages from the ancestors and had to be obeyed. Their moral part of 'right relationships' will be discussed in the chapter on "Law, Sin and Salvation". It is the ritual aspect of relations with the tinglulue that interests us here the moment.

The question whether the ancestral spirits were actually worshipped, or only approached as part of the kin-group has lately arisen up more discussion. Some African writers

(1) See pp. 106-107
flatly deny that ancestors ever were worshipped, maintaining that all worship was directed towards God, even in the cases where the ancestors were actually approached. (2) Others indicate that "the idea of mediation where the ancestral spirits are mediators between Omuhulu (God) and men, is very imperfectly developed. The spirits to be worshipped are the ancestral spirits".

In the case of the Tshwa, some informants have been quick to point out that the worship bestowed upon the tingluye was really meant for Tilo (The Sky Power). On the other hand, there are those who claim that their people "did not know Tilo at all" and that all worship was aimed at the tingluye.

My standpoint is that the concept of tingluye as mediators between men and the Sky Power is well established among the Tshwa. However, the living, active religion of the Tshwa was directed towards their tingluye, and I see no reason why this attention should not be called "worship" (kakhalela).

Unity of traditional worship and sacrifice

For the Tshwa, worship and sacrifice are one and the same. Beans could represent the tingluye, cryptically. Maybe "concrete worship" is a suitable term for this fact. Whether it is a question of even a goat to be killed, the concreteness is the same.

One expression of such concrete worship is the simple depositing of some tobacco "at the head of the sleeping place", or a handful of food at the ground before eating. Such customs are not individual, as far as is known, but they seem to represent personal worship in traditional context, however, performed only in the case of other me-

(2) J. Muli, Africa in religions and philosophy, p. 26

(3) J. Muli, Africa in religions and philosophy, p. 47

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Nevertheless, joint worship is the heart of traditional Tehwa religion. Whether the group comprises kinsmen only, as at sacrifices because of sickness, or the whole community is gathered for a rain sacrifice, the superhuman world is approached together. Unity among the worshippers is also important. On some occasions, it is necessary to confess all grudges and quarrels, so that they "do not spoil the sacrifice". At all times, fighting is forbidden at a time of worship. The unity of worshippers is upheld also in a negative sense, as persons knowing that they are ritually unclean are trusted to stay away from the sacrifice, which otherwise would be spoilt through their impurity.

There are two general categories of sacrifice: kinship rituals and communal ones. One kind within the first category may be called "rites of life crises", as the need for them arose from some impending danger within the kinship group. The other kind of rite within this same category of kinship ritual are the "memorial rites" held to commemorate some important kinsman who had recently died, or the whole host of ancestral spirits. Communal rites always refer to applications and to need of rain and prosperity. They are called "rites of the field". There were also other simplified versions dealing with war, dance, etc., but these were in working order with present Christian rites, and will, therefore, be left out of the discussion.

**Rites of life crises**

Whenever sickness, severe accident or death occur in a family, the diviner has to be approached. The result read in the divining bones clarifies to the Tehwa the reason for the actual misfortune. If it is divined that a certain nguluwe (ancestral spirit) is angry, the bones will also tell the

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\[117\] This aspect will be further developed in the chapter on "New, Old and Salvation". See p. 214-215.
appropriate manner of approaching this trouble-maker, in order
to re-establish right and peaceful relationship with him (or
her), and thus to bring back status quo to the afflicted group.

A sacrifice is always necessary in such cases, and the one
is on the headman of the lineage, or the father of the family,
to prepare for this according to the diviner’s instructions.
Required ingredients ordinarily include strips of various
cloths, to be tied around the sacrificial tree, to "clothe"
the spirits; a goat of a special colour, or a fowl, to be kill-
ed according to the verdict of the divining bones; and beer
made of millet (wunutau).

The most senior male member of the afflicted kin-group,
or an old woman (female member of the patrilineage), (9) per-
forms the sacrifice turned towards the sacrificial tree in the
village, while all gathered kin members silently take place be-
hind. The officiant tells the deceased father and maternal
grand-father of the reason for the gathering, asking them to
call the other spirits, which has been indicated by the divin-
ing bones in favour of the afflicted. He then establishes
ceremonial contact with the present spirits by spitting a mouth-
ful of beer on the ground, and proceeds to kill the sacrificial
animal. It is noticeable how this ritual depends upon the
existing social relations.

Prayers offered by the officiant are always extemporaneous,
although the general order of these seems to follow a pattern,
and certain phrases are used at all similar occasions. The
contents of these prayers are very matter-of-fact: "Here is
beer. Here is meat. Here are cloths to cover you". This
presentation is followed by an invitation to the spirits to
partake of what is offered. The ministry of the kin-group be-
cause of the actual stoicmation in their person, and the of-
ficant requests "sit down" (wunutau) for all relations. He then
ends his prayer by asking the spirits to "lie down" and not

(9) See “The Social World of the Tcham”, p. 14
trouble their kin any more. (6)

After proper preparation, the meat of the sacrificed ani-
mal(s) is eaten by all partakers. Beer drinking is also an
obligatory part of this meal.

If it proves impossible at the occasion to find the pro-
scribed ingredients for the sacrifice, a solemn ritual promise
can be made through the process of kariketu, implying that
the requested sacrifice will be made as soon as circumstances
will allow. At this ceremony, some strips of cloth are tied
round the sacrificial tree, and certain signs of the intended
sacrificial animal, e.g. some feathers of a hen, are stuck in-
to the ground.

Memorial rites

During the winter season, while agricultural activity is
low, the whole lineage comes together for a great memorial
feast. This is called 'the great sacrifice' (tøete wo moe),
or the same name is used as for such occasional sacrifices
which are offered to commemorate some recently deceased kin-
ners (teni). At the 'Great Sacrifice', several animals are
killed. The division of the kill is managed by (a relative) who
is the efficient time as the ceremony supplies the de-goat,
and other dinner parties with food.

At the most pronounced occasion preceding of the whole kin-
group, 'The Great Sacrifice' obviously fills other functions
than purely religious ones. It is an important occasion for
social occasions. Plans for inviting sacrifices are sub-
jects of conversation. As Kinmen from a distance also make
an effort to take part in this occasion, undoubtedly it also
functions as a means of news exchange. Nevertheless, it is
the religious ceremony that calls the Kinmen togethe.
has, in principle, many similarities with the sacrifice of the rite described above. The main special features are the following:

1. Water plays a special role. The officiant squirts water from his mouth into the face of the sacrificial animal before he kills it with the spear. Water is also sprinkled on the ground in front of the sacrificial tree, where the meat is to be put. "Matuka ti-ti ti- ku ku kape, bi kuna watomi". ( ="Water says 'cool, cool', (so that) everything is quiet, we get life".) (7)

2. The blood of the largest (or, in the case of a chief's lineage, a ram) sacrificed by the officiant, must be "extinguished" (ku timela mataki) by the blood of a female animal. Ordinarily this is provided for by the second animal sacrificed being a female. It would seem that this necessity to 'extinguish' the blood, or to 'cool' it, arises from the potential danger of 'heat' (kushis). (8)

3. The officiant's prayers on this occasion address themselves to his father, grand-father, great-grandfather, etc., as far as many of supernatural ancestors are remembered. These are then requested to 'call all the others to come and share in the feast'. Furthermore, prayers are not, in general, deal with actual present need. There is thanksgiving for blessings during the year past, and askings for "wato ni makateka", little and vanished, the off-spring within the lineage, and fertility of person and domestic animals. Let 'male sicknesses' stay for many. (If sickness, let it be 'female ones', for which we can find help...). (9) Let hyenas and lions stay

If sickness, let it be 'female ones',

in.... (9) Let hyenas and lions stay

(7) The important concepts of 'heat' (kushis) and 'coolness' (kushis) will be explored in detail in Chapter 2, pp. 214-215.

(8) See footnote No. 7

(9) Hyenas (ku timela) and 'male sicknesses' are strong and difficult sicknesses, for which remedies are hard to find. Smallpox (ku timela) is one example.
4. The climax of the 'Great Sacrifice' is the act of pouring out the pot (ku halata ngelo). One informant described this in the following manner:

"There is a big pot into which they throw all kinds of grain, millet, maize, etc., and some meat from the goats that were killed, together with intestines and many (10). Then they pour water and beer into the pot and stir. Then all of that lineage who are mourning for their ancestors take hold of this pot, everybody. And they are as many, some hold on to the ones standing in front of them, because if you hold somebody who has contact with the pot, you are also holding the pot.

Now, as they take hold of this pot, to pour it out right there, to the tingsulu, they pray. Everyone of them opens his mouth to say what is in him, and asks for life. There is a big noise, because they pray for themselves."

This interesting form of prayer, which strongly differs from prayers offered by the officiant, as every kinsman here has the possibility to express himself, will be further discussed in the section on "Christian worship". (11)

1. The act of eating the sacrificial meat is done in a special order, each kinship category eating in a group by itself. Certain parts of the animals are ascribed to certain categories. There is also a definite assumption that this meat is eaten together with the animals.

6. Pieces of skin from the sacrificed animals are cut out and tied around the wrist of everyone partaking in the ceremony. (12)

Several of the quoted features obviously serve to stress the ideal unity of all kin members. Some re-affirm the super-

(10) Half digested grass found in goat's stomach

(11) See p. 136

(12) Cf. M. Hunter, op. cit., p. 260 ff.)
human sanction of the existing social structure, and it becomes clear through the ritual that life is to be found only within and through the kinship context.

The memorial rites directed to some nkulule who had recently been counted among the living, were usually held either approximately forty days or a full year after the death. This sacrifice was called tshulhu and proceeded similarly to 'The Great Sacrifice', with the necessary variation that the number of animals was reduced, and prayers were given a slightly different address and contents.

I have not observed that the bunjha represents a "welcoming back" ceremony (ukubuyise) as among the Zulu and Swazi; but I would not exclude this possibility. \[13\]

Rites of the soil

The reference group in the case of life crises rites is the kin. In all rites of the soil, it is the neighbourhood - a territorially determined group of people. It is true that the 'rites of the soil' also direct themselves towards ancestral spirits (timulule), but they are here addressed primarily in their capacity of being 'owners of the land', and not as supernatural caretakers of a kin group.

In principle, the reference of the soil is vested in the chief's person, as the living representative of the chief who ruled before him. "We are in the soil", as bunjha expresses it. \[14\] Nevertheless, we must never forget that he is in reality a 'carver-representative', acting on behalf of the real owners, his ancestors, who lived on and are buried in

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\[14\] H.H. Joad, Life of a South African tribe, I, p. 105
ownership can never be automatic or make one automatically the owner of the soil. Or rather, ownership can arise both from a juridical viewpoint and a ritual (mystic) viewpoint. The Massinga-Ronga tribe have been the owners for at least 150 years. But they do not have the ritual right of ownership. If somebody outside comes with the intention to settle, the chiefs shall have the right to give them a portion of land to cultivate so to build one (subject to rulings of the Portuguese administration). Thus they have the juridical right of ownership.

But, when it comes to sacrificing for rain and fertility of the soil, they are bound to call a person from the Massinga-Ronga tribe to perform the ceremony. This is to acknowledge the ancestors and the soil in spite of their descendants having been subjugated by the Tete long ago.

Parts of the Tahwa area, where the Hlengwe and Dzivu have been settled for a longer period of time, the Tahwa chiefs have both juridical and ritual rights of ownership.

The Calendaric rites of the soil are: (a) planting cereals; (b) the 'biting' (kuluma) ritual when the new crop is ready for harvest, and (c) thanksgiving ritual (kunyika subonga) after the harvest.

In the Massinga-Ronga community, all people dig pits and prepare their fields for planting. Take part in the Calendaric ritual, as they are considered essential for good harvests.

15) In Vhulunculo, the Mhona lineage sacrifices for the Tete Massinga, the 8th.
the whole agricultural process. The principal set of rites is performed close to the chief's homestead, and this becomes the signal for similar performances at several places in the surrounding area.

Leadership of the calendric rites is in the hands of the chief, or his ritual representative before the local owners of the soil. This ritual performer may also lead the ceremonies in certain other places, but this task seems often to be delegated to other old men in good ritual standing with the local ancestors. Some informants called such a leader amanapi (medical practitioner), but this feature seems not to be decisive.

The place for these ceremonies is constantly at the foot of certain trees "out in the fields". Such a tree, whatever kind it may be, is called licoke, a name which speaks of fertility. (16)

Grain of various kinds are used for sacrifice at the licoke, both at the time of planting and at the harvest festival. At the latter occasion, all kinds of produce from the fields are offered in thanksgiving to the owners of the soil. Beer brewed from the new year's crop is then another important part of the ritual. It is emphasized that no animals are killed at these celebrations, "beef should not be eaten in the fields".

At the time of planting, maize is also magically treated. This annual rite is known as kubalululile. It is said to protect the maize from the evil influences of witches. Every partner in the khopho ceremony plants some "treated" maize in one corner of the fields. The shoots are then regarded as being magically "treated".

Grain are ritually thrown into the kubalululile ("killing") ceremony, when the new crop is ready to be taken. All growing plants that were magically treated through the kubalululile

(16) Cf. the expression "ISTELEHI ylimph" ("She is pregnant")
rite are then "released" from the magic sanction. A ritual eating of "wet maize", e.g., (mi-faki zo tsokana) is the signal for common use of the new year's crop. Certain kinds of trees, e.g., the khanyi-tree, (17) are also protected by ritual sanctions, and the new fruit has to be properly "bitten" before it is considered safe for use.

Hoes are also given a place in calendrical rites, notably at the time of planting. They are then dedicated at the ilateke tree. The efficient "writer" (ty. twana) on these with medicine, and they are then left by the tree overnight.

Prayers offered at calendrical rites generally take the form of "reporting" to the 'owner of the soil'. They are told by the efficient that "we intend to start digging", or "we are now beginning to eat this year", etc. There are, however, also petitions for normal rain, for blessing of the hoe, and "let not the hoes wet anyone". The harvest festival includes joyful prayers of thanksgiving.

Another feature of the calendrical rites worth noting is that no diviner has any role to play in this connection. Evidently, these ceremonies are no fixed parts of the seasonal rhythm that no further confirmation or new instruction is needed. The date is quite opposite at the rain rites, which may be regarded as 'rites of crimes' of the whole community.

Rain rites are considered of great importance in the traditional Zulu community. Consequently, no power to perform them can be delegated, as in the case of the calendrical rites. They are performed generally at a chief's village when an initiative divinatory process has established their necessity. Some informants claim that everyone cultivating in the district, for which the rain rites are being performed, has to make a contribution to this occasion, either in cash or in kind. (18)

(17) S. C. Loder: Zulu H. Junga, op. cit. 1 p. 397

(18) Cf. statement by Colson quoted on p. 41
The main rain rite is the sacrifice to those ancestral spirits, who are considered 'owners of the soil'. This sacrifice may consist of both grain and some domestic animals, all according to the instructions of a special diviner. It is more than probable that other rain rites, of a more magical nature, accompany these sacrifices, (19) but these were either considered unimportant by informants or are not well-known to 'ordinary Tshwa'.

However, the special ceremony of kule lu la vula ("ritual to seek for rain") should be properly recorded, for at least two reasons:

a) It is seen when all other resources of rain ritual have been exhausted;

b) It is the only known traditional Tshwa ceremony which seems to be an attempt to approach directly the Power of the Sky (Tle), in order to ask this powerful source of the (true) rain, and thus of 'life' (toni).

The kule lu la vula rite has until recently been performed in times of drought. Informants in their twenties mentioned having heard of this ceremony taking place during their boyhood, but they also affirmed that it had not been performed since they grew up. The following description is composed of information from several informants, although the second paragraph is a complete statement from one informant:

All women past child-bearing age (vaxiqamqani) gathered at a place far away from any human, and every member was obliged to stay inside. If some woman in the neighborhood had believed to have had an abortion and buried the foetus itself in deep destruction, she was forced to lead this company of women to the secret burial place. There the woman, now naked or dressed only in grass skirts, danced the dance of the foetus and cried in a weird movement procession to one drum beat every 6 or 7th beat. There, whatever of burial models and plagues was an important part of kule we la vula.

"Then the whole group of old women continued their weird dancing, accompanied by their own obscene songs, in which they poured forth their utter misery. They cursed the Sky (ku yu, u1, tlo), shouting "You who just live and live!" (Muhanyi nei wena! Muhanyi nei wena!) They threw dirt towards heaven and bent over to show their nakedness to the Sky Power - the strongest curse available to a Tshwa woman. Then Tilo had to drive them away, and he had nothing else but the rain to use as his instrument. Thus, after this ceremony, it always rained."

Among other things, we see here another example of the danger caused by 'heat' and the whole rite is geared towards the removal of this curse from the country. Therefore, only non-menstruating women qualify for this rite, and 'heat'-producing wrong variants are prohibited.

One important difference between ordinary approaches to the tinguluwe (ancestral spirits) and this rite directed to the Sky Power (Tilo) should be noted. While a certain feeling of awe and respect characterized some parts of the sacrifices to tinguluwe, here the curting of the Sky Power is the basic note. The stark contrast between the human misery and the 'much-life' of the Sky Power is sharply brought into focus.

The purpose of this strange "prayer" therefore seems to be to arouse angry action on the part of a temporarily inactive Sky Power, rather than to evoke his sympathy. One Christian Tshwa commented: "Our fathers knew that God exists, but they mostly did not know how to worship Him."

Observations regarding Tshwa traditional worship

I find that the general aim of the various types of traditional Tshwa rituals is 'liet' (natural) for self, kinship, neighbours and land. As these rites - with one exception -

(26) For a detailed discussion of the 'heat' concept, see pp. 714-715
are directed towards departed kinsmen or former inhabitants of the land, there is the underlying assumption that this "life" should be similar to conditions known to the ancestors during their own lifetime. This gives a strong conservative emphasis to the rituals. Accusations or innovations are not requested. It is rather statutu quo, "sufficient life" (wotomi gi eneleko) that is craved.

It is important to note that, as the Tshwa seek "life" in and through the respective group, they also face adversity together. No individual is left entirely on his own, except if he voluntarily cuts himself off from his kin group (or is shut out because of being suspected of witchcraft).

This group approach to the superhuman world constantly affirms the existing social structure and undoubtedly facilitates and strengthens 'right relationships' between group members, both in terms of moral and actual reality. The participants develop a bond of fellowship and therefore esprit de corps which provides mutual support each towards the other.

Recorded acts of individual worship are limited to certain elderly persons, closely linked to recently deceased kin elders. I suggest that such attention should be interpreted in terms of personal attachment, or as an extension of particular filial pieté. The ritual closeness to the totemic (ancestral spirits) of the person approaching them on behalf of his kin-group may also inspire an individual to continuous personal attention. In this context, it is significant to note that elderly Tshwa persons are sometimes called by the same term as above, ordinarily reserved for the spirits of the depart-

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(22) V. Gordon, "Sacrifice" in Dickson-Ellingworth, *(ed.), Biblical revelation and African beliefs*, p. 73.
A pragmatic approach towards worship is evident among the Tshwa. Every act of worship has a definitely stated purpose, and certain results are therefore expected from such an act, particularly as it has always been called for through the divinatory process (except calendric rites). A seasonal regularity marks the calendric rites of the soil, but even then the different purpose of every act is explicit.

There is an abundance of symbolic ingredients and actions in Tshwa traditional ritual: Water, and 'extinguishing' of blood, to obviate 'heat'; ceremonial spitting (24); cloths to cover the spirit; communal meal eaten together with the spirits; hoes and seed being dedicated; fields magically 'fenced in', etc.

Similar to rituals of many other peoples, ceremonial killing of animals is an integral part of Tshwa traditional worship, except in calendric rites. The importance of blood, therefore, raises several questions, for which my material provides only insufficient answers. It may be assumed, however, that "blood provides the fullest ground for bridging the gulf which has been caused by evil". (25) This is why it is especially important in rites of life crises, through which 'curses' (khono) have to be removed. "A curse requests blood" (khomo, gi khalalakhulu).

As blood is recognized as the 'root of life', it also "revivifies the object to which the offering is made". (26) The several animals killed at "The Great Sacrifice" would seemingly provide such a revivification for the large host of ances-
tral spirits. As the blood penetrates into the soil, the abode of the ancestors, it also becomes a living link between the people of the lineage and their **tinguluve**.

As to frequency, traditional sacrificial rites are still being commonly performed. Some evidence points to the possibility that rain rituals are somewhat losing their importance, although exceptional drought - as in 1970 - calls for great communal efforts in this respect. Also the rites of khoholo are reportedly not as universal as they used to be. Memorial kinship rites, on the other hand, are still regarded as regular and important, particularly in the case of chiefs' lineages. Informants agreed that chiefs who refuse to perform such kinship rites will have extreme difficulties in keeping their true status among the people. The kind of rites, however, which seem to continue most universally in use, are 'rites of life crises'.

In spite of the mentioned conservatism, certain modifications of the described rituals may take place because of various outside influence, but there is nothing to suggest that the significance of rites is in any process of immediate change among non-Christian Tehwa. In spite of the common saying that 'the tinguluve are afraid of traces', i.e. modern clothing (a tinguluve ti neva mabulingu), modernization of ways of living, which by no means is limited to Christian Tehwa, has seemingly not diminished the importance of the ancestors to any great extent. This refers particularly to the ancestors of the own kin. In this respect, I find the Tehwa situation very akin to what Mitchell and Mayer found in Salisbury and in East London, than to Nau's experience among the Tswana. (28)

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(27) This could also mean that the cult of the tinguluve demands strict adherence to traditional regulations, also as regards dress.

(28) J.C. Mitchell, "The meaning in misfortune for urban
We have established that worshipful attendance to the ancestral spirits, by prayer and sacrifice, is the condition sine qua non for attaining 'sufficient life', the highest good for the Tshwa. As this same ideal is included in the Christian value of 'a better life' (wutomi go chukwana), it would seem logical that Christian worship among Tshwa also aims at reaching the goal of 'life'. As we now turn to scrutinizing Tshwa Christian worship, it is my intention to show how, and to what extent, this assumption is true.

Christian worship has, ideally, both a private and a public side, each one complementing the other. Many Tshwa Christians pray privately, particularly in times of distress, and family worship is used in certain cases. But, on the whole, most Tshwa Christians depend for their regular worship entirely on meetings, and services in church, i.e. public, or group worship.

Regularity is a hallmark of Tshwa Christian worship as in the Christian Church everywhere. Festive seasons provide special emphasis, but the Sunday service is the main source of spiritual nourishment. Many of those who live close to a church take part in the daily morning prayer at the crack of dawn, usually led by some lay leader. A weekday evening meeting is part of the pattern, depending somewhat on local circumstances. Class-meetings for prayer and spiritual education occur frequently, and class sessions for the teaching of


(29) See chapter on "Quest for Life", p. 107

(30) See "Quest for Life", p. 111
baptismal candidates are partly used as occasions for worship. (31)

Liturigical order

The free, non-liturigical worship, which distinguished Protestantism from the Roman Catholic liturgy, (37) is still the principle in these areas; however, is nowadays more a mark on certain items within the service than of the actual order. In this respect, it appears that the Free Methodists keep closer to the original freedom than the Methodist Episcopal Church, but this is only an impression on my part. As the Methodist Episcopal hymnal "Hymni la Ivangeli" ("Hymns of the Gospel") is accepted and used in all Tshwa Protestant churches, I assume with good reasons that the order of worship printed there is rapidly becoming standard in the whole Tshwa area.

"Order of Worship in the Church"

(May all services begin at the appointed time. When all people enter the church, may they kneel and pray in their hearts.)

1. Hymn from Hymni la Ivangeli. People standing.
2. The Apostles' Creed to be read by all, standing.
3. Prayer, ended with the Lord's Prayer, Preacher and people kneeling.
5. Lesson from the Old Testament: If a Psalm is used, it shall be read antiphonally, people standing.
6. "Gloria" to be sung, people standing.
7. Lesson from the New Testament
8. Announcements and Offering
9. A hymn, people standing

(34) The same pattern is seen in Congo Christian churches. (35) See S. Anderson, Churching at the Grass-roots, pp. 75-76

(35) See "Introduction of Christianity", p. 73
Even if many worship leaders feel free to introduce occasional changes, the Apostles’ Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, the Gloria, the Doxology and the Benediction are fixed items of this order of worship, and constitute a fair amount of regular liturgy. Furthermore, the ‘psalm’, indicated in item 5 above has become rather regularized, as this follows the list of several Psalms from the Bible which have been selected for ‘daily reading’, one for each day of the month. These Psalms are printed in the hymn book and are always read antiphonally. The fact that they are usually referred to as ‘the Day’ (Siku), indicates that they have become another fixed part of the liturgy.

Singling out preaching:

The free elements of worship are hymns, New Testament text, sermon and prayers, and the items of announcements and offering.

Some preachers, ordained or lay, have special gifts of music, which they utilize in bringing new and varied songs and hymns into the service. In certain places, particularly on mission stations, choirs help to diversify the church music. Variation of presentation, and freedom of selection are thus real possibilities. Nevertheless, there is a tendency to keep the choice of songs and hymns in worship services down to a minimum. Certain hymns of Tisamua ta Ivangeli appear to be very popular, while the bulk remains essentially unknown to most church hymns. This may be a usual occurrence in other countries, but when the total choice is narrowed down to the 200 hymns of Tisamua ta Ivangeli and the few from

"Rinzelani", (34) this tendency comes into a different perspective.

It therefore seems evident that the hymn-singing element in Tshwa Christian worship is in the process of becoming a more fixed item of liturgy.

The New Testament text is usually the basis for the sermon. However, many Tshwa preachers nowadays come to prefer using several sermon texts, often utilizing both Old and New Testament. Here the preacher has complete freedom. No set texts are prescribed.

A systematic study of text selection and sermons would certainly reveal many important features of theological trends within Tshwa Christian churches, but no such research has yet been undertaken. However, the manner of selection, and preparation of sermons often points to a certain interpretation of the work of the Holy Spirit. Texts are often seemingly selected on the spur of the moment, (35) and several conversations with both ordained and lay Tshwa preachers in the Transvaal lines revealed that preparation to preach means 'to be open to the immediate guidance of the Spirit', during the actual delivery of the sermon. Some have simply scorned any systematic sermon preparation. "You should not preach your own words but what comes to you from the Holy Spirit".

Several Tshwa ministers do have a different understanding of preaching and its preparation, but it appears rather common that Tshwa Christian worshippers are given sermons which are not "prepared" in the usual sense of the word. Obviously, this opens a great possibility for the recurrence of favourite texts and tunes. (36)

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(34) "Rinzelani" (= "Wait!") in the name given to a small booklet of hymns and songs, issued by the Free Methodist Church.

(35) Cf. B. A. Pauw, op. cit. p. 139

At the end of the sermon, a common emphasis of practice is on 'ku ti nyikela' ("to dedicate oneself").

Often, it occurs that one or more persons go forward to kneel in front of the pulpit, sometimes approaching while singing a song of prayer. Once kneeling, the person dedicates himself; often praying loudly, weeping, seeking forgiveness for his sins.

At a point, such an event is the signal to the whole congregation to kneel, usually continuing the song that has been started, and subsequently everyone in the church is praying in groups bowing their heads, while others gesticulate freely; everyone obviously completely concentrated on his own inward prayer. The song, 'Forgive my sins', and 'The Lord is my shepherd' are frequently used.

There may be a sense of complete freedom of expression, and no individual reference to necessarily taking place in this or joint prayer.

'Dedicating himself' in this fashion may be a reference to 'become a believer'. More specifically, 'dedicate themselves, maybe oneself in the service of humanity, or in some capacity to our guilt. In this way, such a mention to serve as a type of publicaton is to no specific reference to a sinful heart, (C. 20).

After joint prayer, initiated by a person 'dedicating himself', directly aided by the preacher. Special attention is paid to the person and his sins, and he goes back to his seat while the congregation rises from its kneeling position.
in certain local churches to name only those having 'precipitated themselves', but in my experience this may only happen during special 'evangelistic campaigns', where the emphasis is on conversion.

Prayer in public worship

Joint prayer of the type described above has perhaps developed through the introduction of certain patterns of expression. It is not impossible, however, that the Christian adaptation of the joint prayer at the time of 'the pot being filled out the pot' during the 'Great Sacrifice' and a sanctification of the meal in this occasion, everyone putting his mouth to say what is in him (to the spirits), and asking for life. There is a parallel (see 1 Es 3:18).

Two patterns of development are here possible as explanations: (a) Joint prayer of a pentecostal type possibly introduced by certain missionaries may have aroused a strong and immediate emotional response in some Christians because of identification with a traditional ritual. (b) New converted groups in a highly emotional fervour, may have been unconsciously led to utilize a traditional pattern to express their need in meditation. Being identified (by missionaries) with a new practice of a certain Christian group, it was subsequently accepted within the Church.

All acts of prayer in Christian public worship are performed in an orderly fashion, without being bound to set formulas. 'Free prayer' is still a significant mark of some Protestant worship. Nevertheless, certain features keep recurring, such as the use of formulas and repeated patterns.

(38) See 1 Es 3:18

(39) See Introduction of Christians
The privilege of leading in prayer is mostly reserved for ministers and lay leaders. In small groups, this pattern may be abandoned, and even young people may occasionally be prodded to pray aloud. But these are exceptions. It would not seem improbable that the traditional Tswana custom of an elder praying on behalf of the group is the model. (40)

In spite of the spontaneity of prayer, certain items and phrases can reasonably be expected to occur. Thanksgiving and praise to God is prominent. Particularly in Free Methodist context I have observed the use of a set phrase "Alo bohorla" ("May 11/1.e. the name of Jesus be thanked!"). The immediate response from the group to this expression is "Amen", whereupon the person leading the prayer continues. The same phrase may be repeated several times during the same prayer.

Furthermore, no Christian Tswana prayer seems complete without mentioning the sick, both in general as "those who suffer in hospitals", and some particular cases. This refers also to the frequent occasions when prayers of two or more lay leaders immediately succeed each other within the same worship event. A very common petition is also "Give us life!" (Mo mako oloha).

It is generally understood that "enough life" is not something to be especially prayed for. Life is rather accepted as "the reward to all who faithfully serve God until the end". (41) Petitions for "life" are therefore assumed to move in the same general realm as the traditional ideal of "sufficient life", where health, procurement and fertility of the soil have a prominent place. (42)

Prayer is mainly addressed to God - seldom to Christ.

(40) See pp. 116 ff.

(41) Cf. John 11:44

(42) See p. 127
even if it always ends "in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord". The epithets "Father", "Almighty" (Nyamintnmu) or "Lord" are used interchangeably, together with other names of God (Nungun^ilu). Some persons keep addressing God in prayer as "God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob", or "God of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego". Even at the risk of over-emphasizing similarities with traditional Tshwa customs, I suggest that this is a reminiscence of the usual address at a Tshwa sacrifice, where all ancestors are called by name to attend.

Role of prayer outside of public worship

Prayer (kukombele) is by no means limited to periods of public worship. It is the single item that seems to be the essence of Christian worship among the Tshwa. Thus, of course, is in agreement with very general observations concerning religious experience.

"Where prayer arises and with the soul in motion", writes James in his "Varieties of the Religious Experience", "we have - even in the absence of prayers and plans forms a living religion". Later on he continues: "The conviction that one really accomplishes something through prayer is the nucleus of living religion".

In the Tshwa context, prayer was certainly not introduced through Christianity. It was a natural and integral part of traditional worship. While it seems these Christians to direct their prayers to the instead of their (inhalive), the Church has also made prayer far more common, and it has been partly freed from the institutional and emotional links with the act of giving worship. In accordance with the Protestant doctrines of "the priesthood of all believers", Tshwa have

(43) James. ibid. p. 196
(44) See p. 120
(45) W. James, "Varieties of the Religious Experience", p. 431
(46) ibid., p. 473
(47) I refer to, p. 19; Revelations 1:6
been taught that any Christian has the right to approach God directly through prayer.

Judging from conversations with Tswana Christians in mine compounds, I do not believe that private prayer has yet begun to play a significant role in being a source of spiritual inspiration. This is still primarily sought in joint worship. However, when feelings of acute guilt have been aroused, private prayer appears to be the main key to recover spiritual equilibrium.

Several informants affirm that they confess their sins in private prayer to God, whenever they understand that they have committed a sinful act, and pray for forgiveness. A few mentioned that, in certain instances, they had been praying several times, for a number of days, before they understood that 'they had been forgiven by God'. Obviously, similar prayers are offered during the periods of joint prayer, in connection with 'dedication' (See above). It is to be noted that, in all these cases, confession of sins is done only to God. (48)

Prayer sessions for seriously ill persons are obligations keenly felt and observed by Tswana Christians. Several informants gave personal examples of intensive prayer periods for someone sick in the family, or in the Christian community. In many cases, it was noted that the prayed-for person was undergoing medical treatment. One informant gave the following description of prayer sessions for seriously sick:

'There is no great difference between prayers for sick, and ordinary prayers. It is mainly that, when we offer our daily prayers, we remember our whole life (physical), but at these special times, our hearts pray for and suffer on behalf of the one who is sick.'

(48) This aspect will be further investigated in the chapter on 'Law, Sin and Salvation'. See p. 235.
Our lay leader tells us that someone in the village is suffering, and we begin a day of prayer. On that afternoon we go to the home of the sick person to pray.

Before we begin, we have to abstain from food, and we must pray for ourselves, too. We are also told not to have any intercourse with our wives.

I remember four times when I took part in such prayers. Once we prayed for a woman who had been bitten by a dog. Another time, we prayed for our lay leader's child, who had severe headache and influenza. Were in Johannesburg, we went twice to hospital to pray for friends who had been wounded in mine accidents.

We note here the element of ritual purity, necessary for the prayer to be effective. This is the only known occasion when prayer must be further 'strengthened' in this manner, although it is possible that strong feelings of guilt, provoking a Christian to periods of private prayer for forgiveness, may also dictate conditions of ritual purity to an individual. (49)

Special occasions of worship

Besides the worship regularity tied to the week, a certain seasonal activity is followed. The main items are:

1. Christmas, often accompanied with a dramatic presentation of the Nativity, and a feast meal. In Christian compounds generally, the whole Christmas season is a time for daily numerical meetings, for singing, prayer and drama rehearsal.

2. Also on Palm Sunday and Easter, the dramatic presentations of the Gospel narratives is well utilized. Palm Sunday processions are common, and sometimes the Good Friday and Easter events are dramatically portrayed. In certain places, apart from special preaching and prayer services, groups of young people take up the community early on Easter morning with songs commemorating the resurrection of Christ.

3. A Thanksgiving festival (umshikhu kubongi) at the...
end of the agricultural season (May or June) is another joyous occasion. Products from the fields, and domestic animals, are then presented in church as thanks-offerings for the harvest. It is obvious that this is a case of Christianizing a traditional rite, (50) and it is often reported that this festival attracts more non-Christians to church than any other occasion.

4. *The Right Against Drink* is marked by a special 'abstinence weekend' in November. At that time, the cashew-fruit will soon ripen, traditionally introducing the season of drinking the strong cashew liquor *(sogw)*. The dramatic abilities of *Tshwa* are utilized once again, and special songs make the lessons penetrating.

5. Certain periods within the year are dedicated to 'revivals' (*tivux lelo*). Usually a week is then used for daily meetings in church. A special theme is the focus of devotion and teaching, and, as a rule, fund-raising for a particular purpose is part of the 'revival'. The weekend immediately following the revival week is the climax, with services of dedication and offerings. Usually, group prayers and singing continue all through the night between Saturday and Sunday.

6. 'Conferences' also play the role of Christian festivals. Each church has its 'quarterly conference', where all local church work is reported and discussed. Large crowds of both believers and non-Christians gather for both meetings and worship services usually become occasions for evangelistic messages. (51)

The next application on a larger scale is to the 'Annual Conference' (generally held during the winter season), where delegates from each parish in Mocambiquem the Transvaal meet for a week with all ministers of the church. The last Sunday of the Annual Conference has lately become a very popular reviving point for groups of Christians also from long distances. Almost continuous were meetings and that day in the great Christian festival of the year.

**Christian Memorial Services**

One feature of the Annual Conference is the memorial ser-

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(50) See p. 123 ff.

(51) Cf. B. L. Hauw, pp. 134-135
on the Sunday morning. Another "was certain that the meat
we ate had been offered to the tinguluve".

The hesitancy of some ministers in regard to tinguluve, and
the words from my informants, would confirm that private
memorial services among the Tehwa are at least potentially
synergistic. As this rite has its roots both in traditional
Tehwa custom and in the Roman Catholic usage of "masses for
the dead", it seems as if tinguluve entered the Protestant
context through the backdoor and rapidly gained popularity.
As far as I am aware, little positive guidance has been given
Tehwa Protestants in this sphere, except for the old rule
that "worshipping the ancestors is sinful". The whole matter
of Christians' attitudes towards their ancestors will be
further discussed in the chapter on "Death and Life Eternal".

Christian agricultural rites

When the Spring rains have begun to fall, Christian
farmers take their hoes and some seed to church at dawn of
their first day of planting. Prayers are offered for the seed
to grow, for sufficient rain, and for the work with the hoes
to be blessed. In one instance I was told that seed and hoes
are taken to church at night "to sleep there", and to be
fetched again at the special prayers offered the following
day.

It is evident that this agricultural rite, together with
the thanksgiving service (kupyla mokhomen) have been directly
transferred from the traditional context and given a Chris-
tian direction. The role of the ancestors (tinguluve) as
givers of "life" (matsebi) through rain and fertility of the
soil has been consciously transferred to God. As the Tehwa
traditionally ascribed the ultimate power of giving rain and
fertility to the Sky Power (tšiša), the actual change, in this
case, is possibly rather slight.

(52) See p. 257-260
Most informants had not taken part in any special Christian prayer sessions for rain. "Rain is frequently mentioned when we pray in church," one informant said, "but I do not remember being called to a special rain prayer." During certain times of drought, however, as the first half of 1970, I have had reports of periodical prayer meetings for rain. It would appear that the extent of such activities depends largely upon local leadership. I am not aware of any special forms or rites used in this connection.

Sacraments

Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Free Methodist Church are divided, according to the established order, into 1) 'listeners' (meaningfully), 2) preparatory members (variously), and 3) 'full members' (also of various). The 'listeners' are nearly inside the core of the community, beginning to take part in regular worship and to obey Christian ethical discipline. When they have been found faithful in attending church, they are usually accepted into the local leader into preparatory membership and begin studying the catechism (seems an unscripted) together with others preparing for baptism.

This study consists mainly in hearing by heart certain answers to questions as basic items of Christian belief: God, man, Jesus, capital and salvation through His, plus doctrines regarding baptism and communion.

During the time of preparation, great stress is also laid on the candidates acquiring Christian ways of behaviour, and regulations of church membership, particularly the matter of 'giving'. The part of the instruction, 'Christian behaviour' is usually accepted as evidence of a conversion, and, at least in many congregations, the record of regular giving during the time of study is regarded as an important sign of a 'change of heart'.

Such a period of preparation usually extends over several months, and on the evening of a baptismal service, all candidates
are examined by lay leaders and presented to the minister. All who have "passed" the examination and satisfy the leaders in regard to Christian ways of living, will then be baptized in connection with the Sunday service. The method of 'baptism by sprinkling' will be used. Baptism by immersion is prescribed as an alternative form in Methodist Churches, but I have not yet witnessed such a baptism among the Xhosa.

As baptism is the rite without which no one can become a full member of the Church, it can be classified as a rite of transition. In times past, a person being baptized would drop his original name and adopt a Christian one. Thus, he became a new person in a concrete sense. Nowadays, most children are given Portuguese names in their childhood - often in addition to a Tshwa name, which is known only to an inner circle - and the name change at baptism has therefore largely lost its significance.

In general, it seems that baptism is moderately desired among Xhosa as among other peoples of Africa, (44) because it is still regarded as an inevitable step into modern society, but above all, it is a necessary transition within the church structure. After this sacrament, a person 'has the right to call himself a believer'.

The function of baptism is understood as purification from sin. Water can remove the dirt and filth. Several informants stressed, however, that the sacrament must be received in active faith and dedication (the knowledge of salvation). Otherwise, "it will have no effect". Questioned what will happen to those who 'fall into sin' after baptism, informants answered: "Then they will know that they have sinned and have an open door for forgiveness in prayer and through Holy Communion".

What parallels, if any, with baptism can be found within the traditional Tshwa system of worship?

Water is used for instance at the "Great Sacrifice" (mbamela ya fusion), to "wash" the blood and hair, in general, regarded as a symbol of "purity" (lutimela). This quality describes the state of ritual purity as distinguished from the contaminating state of "heart" (kuhira). An also medicated water was sprinkled by the m'gama (medical practitioner) on all kin-men contaminated by the death contagion. It can be surmised that the symbolic use of water in the sacrament of baptism is readily accepted.

A significant parallel to the function of baptism as a purification rite is found in the act of purification by the blood of a girl who has been dedicated to a 'spirit-of-revenge' (muphukuva). This purification by blood in respect of a young woman who was to be married outside of the muphukuva's kin, was vividly described by an informant:

"... They went there. They had called a m'gama, and they prepared two roosters, one white and one black, and a goat.

To start with, the m'gama killed the two roosters, sometime in the afternoon. He explained to the muphukuva, 'Your wife has grown up. She is getting married now. But we give you another one who will stay with you.' As he sacrificed the two roosters, the m'gama dedicated the new young girl.

Then they took blood of the goat. They then held the roosters, and they cut the chicken, and one held the head. Then the m'gama put the goat, while saying, 'We cleanse you, as atonement (to avenge), so well into your marriage, so well as to pay every thing, until the goat's blood was finished.

The m'gama was calling with the goat, as all the blood streamed sour our face..." When they had finished, all the

154) "An anthropological study of the Limpopo River Valley", p. 547

155) "Traditional Tswana Beliefs", pp. 52-53
The woman was washed in blood. She had to wash her body with the blood still on her. In the morning she was washed with water and washed her, to finish with the blood on her head as well as on her body. She was then given new clothes, and the name took away the old one.

Similarly between these two sets of rites, and baptism may be compared to the ritual of circumcision for boys and the 'entering the house' for girls, and baptism may be compared to the ritual of circumcision for boys and the 'entering the house' for girls. In both cases, the passing from a lower stage of life to a higher stage, or from a state of purity to that of impurity, is symbolized by the shedding of blood. In both cases, there is no suggestion of circumcision having supplanted any of the above-mentioned traditional rites. I have no reason to think that it has taken the place of the circumcision of boys, which is still performed in a medical clinic.

Orienteering, op. cit. p. 106.
The sacrament of baptism is celebrated by sprinkling among Tswana Protestants (and Roman Catholics of course) presents a rather matter-of-fact picture, where the intellectual preparation and understanding far more conspicuous than the symbolic act. It seems appropriate to question whether this form of baptism satisfies demonstrated Tswana desire for symbolism. It is worth noting that "adult baptism by full immersion is adopted by most (in Africa)". (59) Zionists in Zululand "point out that most Mission Churches only the forehead is washed and anointed whereas sin and pollution adhere to all the body". (56) While literal interpretations of the role in such partiality for immersion, it would appear possible that baptism by immersion is more meaningful according to Africans. Parrinder concludes that "the mass reason why all Churches (as opposed to adult baptism by immersion)."

This section on sacrament of adults, at present representing approximately half of baptisms performed, at least in the Methodist Societies. The other half are baptisms of infants born in Christian homes. In these cases, the parents or the church and in the Christian Faith. According to the Methodists, a godchild shall be entered into the church

(59) G. Parrinder, Religion in the Tswana, 11
(60) G. Parrinder, op. cit.
(61) G. Parrinder, op. cit.
(62) In practice, the godparent is usually someone in the community with strong Christian convictions and is expected to play an active role in the child's religious development.
about the age of twelve. But there is evidence that several young baptized persons are not given any systematic teaching of the Christian faith outside of what they learn from sermons and Sunday School lessons. The fact that no ceremony has yet been adopted to climax the teaching of baptized children—like ‘confirmation’ in certain Churches—probably decreases the incentive among Church leaders to pay serious attention to such instruction.

While Baptism is a sacrament which a person uses only once in a lifetime, as he is made part of a new community, Holy Communion is a repeated act by which this community is kept together through a mystical bond, which ties members to each other, and to the Divine Power.

Both Sundkler and Mb`ti have observed that Holy Communion (or “The Lord’s Supper” / Xililelo nx Mbeti / as it is usually called among Tswana Christians) has lost much of its importance in so-called independent Churches. (63) Baptism, on the other hand, is extremely important in those connections, to the extent that it has become an often repeated ritual of purification. It is interesting to note that, in such independent Churches, Holy Communion has also been made into a rite of purification. “The Eucharist perhaps proves that the most important thing about Communion is the meaning of the ‘foot’, (64)

In many Protestant Churches, sacraments have always been regarded as of secondary importance in the life of worship, while preaching of the Word seems to be the first place. This aspect may be particularly conspicuous in situations where Protestants find themselves administered by Roman Catholics. In Mozambique, where an attitude towards sacraments (particularly the Holy Communion) was instilled in Protestant Christianity, was introduced in the area. (65) Also for practical

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(63) J. Mb`ti, op. cit., p. 21
(64) Ibid., p. 56
(65) “Introduction of Christianity”, p. 43
reasons - as ordained missionaries only were allowed to
affricate - celebration of the Lord's Supper became limited
to certain large gatherings visited by some missionary. Even
today, when all fully ordained African ministers have the
right to serve this sacrament, the early established frequency
pattern is still prevalent. In certain places, the Lord's
Supper is celebrated every month, but usually is served
only once a quarter.

In spite of such infrequency, it is important to note
that Holy Communion is held in great awe and respect, whenever it is celebrated. "It is the Christians' midnight (act of
sacrifice)".

Nothing particular needs to be said about the ritual it­
self, as performed among the Tswha, as this faithfully follows
the liturgical direction translated from the Methodist Ri­
tual from America.

In the Tshwa interpretation of the Lord's Supper, three
aspects stand out:

1. Purification from sin;
2. Remembrance of the death of Jesus Christ;
3. Communion with Christ.

The element of "purification from sin" is primary. The
Communion table is the place where sins can be left". One
informant qualified a similar statement by adding that "bap­
tized persons only can have their sins forgiven in the Lord's
Supper". Again, baptism as seen as the condition for enter­
ing the community, of which the Lord's Supper is a continuing
privilege.

A few informants mentioned that every communicant should
take time before the Lord's Supper to pray and confess his
sins before God, "so that all your sins are forgiven when you
approach the table". The significance here should not be pri­
marily attached to the time factor, but to the fact of confess-
ion. This is the crucial matter, without which no purification can be expected. Thus, I have found no evidence of any magical belief ascribing 'supernatural power' to the elements of this sacrament. (66) Anderson mentions "the dread of unconfessed sins" on taking part in the Communion, (67) and this is the probable reason why some Tshwa see confession to God as a necessary preparation. It should be observed that confession again is only made privately "before God alone":

"If you eat the Lord's Supper without being purified (na u nga basangi) you will get into trouble", is an expression, however, which points to a different kind of preparation. We are here brought back to the belief that 'hot' persons could destroy the sacred act, not only for themselves but for all partakers. (68) Informants as well as some ministers state that a menstruating woman, for instance, ought not to take part in a Communion service. Other forms of 'heat' should also be avoided on this occasion. However, some added the modern note that "nowa laye people are not so strict as they should be about these things". (69)

This element of ritual purification brings up a comparison between the Lord's Supper and shamba (act of sacrifice). The same kind of ritual purity is expected on both occasions.

Two other important parallels can be drawn between the shamba and the sacrament: 1) They are both acts of remembrance; 2) The element of communion with superhuman powers is conspicuous both in the traditional sacrifice and the Tshwa Christian understanding of the Lord's Supper. It was found also among the Nyakyusa, that "Holy Communion... is felt to


(67) E. Anderson, op. cit. p. 100

(68) See pp. 214-215

(69) Cf. B. Sundkler, op. cit. p. 216
replace... the sacrifice and the communion with the shades". (70)

The difference between these two acts, apart from ritual
details, lies primarily in the different objects of remem-
brance and communion. A further fundamental difference is
found in the Christian doctrine that 'sacrifices are no more
necessary'. The very sacrament of the Lord's Supper is, in-
deed, a continuous remembrance to a Christian that "Christ
died for his sins". (71)

A further striking parallel between traditional rites and
this sacrament is found in the expression of one informant:
"The Lord's Supper is the eating of mifa-jungo of the believ-
ers". (72) As the partaking of this medicated porridge at
the ritual death purification is traditionally believed to
remove the death contagion (khombe en kufu) from the kin
group, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper would purify every
partaker from contamination of sin, which is the 'death con-
tagion' barring non-believers from attaining the 'eternal
life'.

The symbolic act of eating strikes a resonant note in
Tshwa people, as eating together, in fact, has the deep
significance of a covenant. At the ritual act of reconcilia-
tion between two quarrelling parties, eating and drinking
plays a decisive role, (73) and we have already seen eating as
an obligatory part of each sacrificial rite. The symbolic
meaning of eating the Lord's Supper as an act of reconcilia-
tion with God and a renewal of a covenant within the group
is therefore readily accepted by Tshwa Christians as meaning-
ful.

(70) M. Wilson, "Ceremonial rituals of the Bantu", p.176

(71) Hebrews 10:12-14

(72) See chapter on "Path and Life Eternal", p. 249.

(73) See chapter on "Pursuit of Health", p. 183
A statement by Mulago on this point seems to indicate that such symbolic meaning of eating is commonly understood in other parts of Africa:

"Communion through food only takes place between those who are, or wish to be, on peaceful, friendly or brotherly terms. Eating from the same dish or drinking from the same straw, means entering into interaction with someone else, letting his vital influence be exchanged with one's own. That is why a man under tabu would contaminate all who ate or drank with him. (74)

'Sacrifice' in Christian context

When Christian worship is compared to traditional Tsawa worship, one is struck by the fact that the 'concreteness', so significant and obligatory at the traditional sacrifice, seems to have been completely removed. Tsawa Christians worship much more regularly than their non-Christian counterparts, but they appear to some extent to belong to church. Is Christian worship then completely abstract?

The former section on the Lord's Supper pointed out that, from a doctrinal angle, sacrifice is no longer necessary in a Christian context. This doctrine exonerates the Tsawa Christian from traditional obligations, simultaneously refuting all arguments that ancestors might need to be approached in a traditional manner. The term 'sacrifice' (euph., or suchw.) as part of Christian teaching, is only used in a figurative sense, e.g. "present your bodies as a living sacrifice" (Rom. 12:1), or "the sacrificial offering of your faith" (Phil. 2:17).

The concept of sacrifice, however, is used in the realm of 'Christian stewardship', through which all Christians are taught to give regular support to the Church. The ideal of 'tithing', i.e. giving a tenth of one's income 'to God' is met before the eyes of Christians, but it is recognized that

(74) V. Mulago, op. cit., p. 150
very few take this challenge seriously. (This, of course, applies not only to Tshwa).

In similarity with Church practice all over Africa, the main local support in Tshwa Churches is built on a "ticket system", with an established, monthly or quarterly, amount which every member is expected to contribute. In Mozambique, this amount is now 15 escudos, (37 cents) a quarter. In the Transvaal mines, where cash is more readily available, the comparative figure has for long been 90 cents per quarter. A large part of the miners' contributions is sent to supplement the economy of the Church in their home country.

It should be added that a system of voluntary pledges has recently been introduced, counting the existing obligatory amount as the minimum pledge.

On top of monthly or quarterly dues, every member is expected to contribute to some special collections, frequently connected with 'revival weeks'. The most popular of these is the offering at the Harvest Thanksgiving (kuyika kubunga). It should be noted that this last occasion mainly calls for collections in kind.

It would seem that even those who faithfully discharge their monthly or quarterly duties in regard to the Church never get anywhere near the expenses involved in the traditional system of sacrifice. Liberal giving does not appear to be necessary in the Christian context. Even the set rates "are difficult to keep" according to some informants - an observation that agrees well with my own experience of work among Tshwa Christians. Such a spirit is strongly contrasted against reports from, e.g. the 'Bhengu Church' in East London, where "members feel 'proud' to spend so much money in church, and they spend, in general, more than in other churches". (76)

(75) See e.g. E. Anderson, op. cit. p. 67 or B.A. Pauw, op. cit. p. 61

(76) A.A. Drob, The role of the church in an urban African society, 11 p. 75
It must be added, however, that a slight increase in per capita giving has been noted over the last few years, at least in certain areas. But the fact that the Church was regarded by Tshwa as an endowment, supplied and continuously supported from sources outside of their control, has without doubt been a crippling factor as far as local giving is concerned - however necessary the mission support from abroad has been, and continues to be.

Several other observations should be noted as potential reasons for the apparent disproportion between Christian 'giving' and sacrifices in the traditional context:

1. Regularity in giving is a foreign factor. In a situation of subsistence economy, regular giving is necessarily a great difficulty, as harvest periods (in good years) provide abundance, while relative poverty is the norm of other parts of the year.

2. The system of giving is long as 'the Law of the Church'. This 'Law' is not regarded as obligatory in the same sense as the traditional Law, considered as arising from the ancestors. It is neither supported by any supernatural sanctions against the offender, nor by its appeal as force like the law of the Portuguese administration. This 'Law of the Church' appeals to the dedicated spirit of the believers, while somewhat retaining the customary flavour of a law imposed from outside.

3. Individual giving to the Church is confronted to the traditional group responsibility, with the group on the rider to provide for a larger part.

4. There is, of course, equally no suggestion that traditional sacrifices were necessarily given in a spirit of open willingness. Yet, as the fee to the Shikwe (wizard) was a necessary condition for 'healing the body', the sacrifice itself - made according to the requirements of the deriving haman - was an absolute condition for restoring 'life' to the
kin group. The name observation is valid concerning other expenses, which may be requested by the bones in a critical situation: for propitiation of a 'spirit-of-revenge' or some mandiki (Sickness-bringing spirits) even if these fall somewhat outside of the present discussion. (77)

This leads me to note that the primary obligation on traditional Tshwa to 'give to their ancestors' is connected with 'rites of life crises'. The amount of giving in connection with communal rites ('rites of the soil') is insignificant and peripheral. I believe, therefore, that one main reason for inertia in Christian 'giving' lies in the fact that Christian worship is seen as a 'communal ritual' and has not yet entered into the sphere of 'crises rites'. In other words, the question of 'life' or death does not hinge upon the gift to God.

**Observations on Tswana Christian worship as compared to traditional**

It is obvious from the preceding parts of this chapter that Christian worship is far richer in intellectual and doctrinal contents than the traditional. The emphasis on Bible reading and preaching with all teaching of doctrine and appeal to the understanding of the worshipper have no counterparts in the Tswana act of sacrifice. Whatever doctrine taught in the traditional context was given as the moral of stories told by the evening fire, or as mythological background to a crisis as revealed by the diviner. Regular appeals to the intellect for the understanding of mythical and doctrinal foundation of religious beliefs are not found within the traditional pattern.

Symbolic action and teaching, on the other hand, have an insignificant place in Protestant context, while traditional worship abounds with symbolic expressions of contact with the

(77) About these rites, see pp. 150 and 152
world of the spirits. Agricultural Christian rites at
planting and harvesting have preserved a similar symbolism
as the traditional ones; sacraments are symbolic representa-
tions of mystical bonds with the Divine; dramatic presenta-
tions at Christmas and Easter are concrete, non-intellectual
expressions of faith. But, in the regular Christian worship,
it is only prayer, and sometimes the collection, that can be
classified as symbolic. As church buildings also in general
are very sparsely decorated, it is true that the "service
tends to rely almost exclusively on the ear and is in danger
of being too intellectualistic". (78)

From a Christian angle, this seems to be one point of
potential failure in any attempt to liberate Christian wor-
ship from foreign dress. It is even possible that a spiri-
tual superficiality may be covered by such an intellectualis-
tic approach. Taylor's vivid expressions are relevant:

"By confining the kingdom of God within the protec-
tive walls of the conscious and the rational, (The Church)
has left unexplored the great depth of the subliminal, and
unrealized the glory of the elemental energies of man". (79)

In spite of being foreign to Jamaican culture, regularity
seems to have gained a great importance among Jamaican
Christians. "To go to church and to worship" (ku enyen enan
ni ku kosi) is the main rule to be kept by every 'believer'. "If I
continue faithfully going to church to worship, I am sure that
Jesus will give me eternal life when I die". Such convictions
were expressed by several informants.

Thus, we perceive a shift in the meaning of 'worship' it-
self. Every act of worship traditionally had a special ex-
plicit purpose. This would also be true of some special oc-
casions within the Christian context. (80) But, generally,
the regular Christian worship develops into a habit which is seen as meritorious in itself, not unlike a similar concept found among many European Christians. With the Christian emphasis on constant 'fellowship with God' (81) as a given, this new meaning of regular worship is readily understood. But it should be pointed out that this stands in sharp contrast to the traditional concept that any contact with the spiritual world outside of what has been called for through the diviner was not only superfluous but actually dangerous. Obviously, the Christian espiritual world is approached less fearfully than the traditional one.

A similar observation was made among the Nyakyusa:

"There is a gap here between the pagan conception of 'driving off' the similar 'negative spirit' and the heroes lost by 'breeding over' a man they bring madness and death, and the Christian idea of union with God'. (82)

About regular worship, however, some informants added that going to church "by custom only" (hi kutojololo) or just "by following somebody there" (hi xidiinga) may not help at all. 'Faith', and particularly 'strong faith' (kukholwa ka ntamu), would be necessary to make church-going effective.

'Dedication' is therefore required as an integral part of true worship. (83)

Each 'strong faith' is not limited in a doctrinal sense. It is rather 'faith in the power of God'. A Christian should believe that God can make his known to all attacks of evil powers, and the spiritual forces above the village firm against all evil designs of witchcraft.

This search for God's power may be seen as part of the

(81) W. G. W., "Jesus and the Christian's God", Ephesians 3:19

(82) W. G. W., "Traditional ritual among the Nyakyusa", p. 187

(83) See p. 137
'quest for life', dealt with in detail in the previous chapter. Traditional Tswana worship is the condition for attaining the ideal of 'sufficient life', and it has already been indicated that 'life' (wutomi) is also asked for in many instances of Christian worship. Particularly when praying for sick persons, this concept is uppermost in the worshippers' minds.

Going one step further, however, we find in informants' statements that such prayers are mainly regarded as supplementary to hospital treatment. Naturally, herbal and/or magical medicines figure largely in traditional healing, and the crisis sacrifices (with prayers for 'life') may therefore be seen as supplementary, too. But there is one fundamental difference: Tswana rites of life crises aim at removing the cause of the sickness, as this is understood in accordance with traditional custom. The pronounced purpose of Christian prayers for the sick, on the other hand, is to supplement hospital treatment in removing the sickness itself, without bothering about the causes as interpreted in the Tswana frame of reference. This difference, which I find crucial is the reason why I maintain that no true rites of life crises are found within Christian Tswana worship.

I find it, therefore, demonstrated that the Christian ideal of 'a better life' (wutomi go chuk) is only partly sought through Christian varieties. Both health and fertility of the soil are nowadays partly related to improved knowledge, increased status and property can be found through cleverness and diligent work, opening the gate to the coveted 'modern living'. Education is, of course, sought through schools or pre-sets or adult education. (35)

What aspects, then, of 'the better life' are sought through...

Christian worship

Sin against God was seen as a new kind of "no-life", as demonstrated in the previous chapter. I suggest that all other ingredients of "no-life" are regarded by Christians as consequences of sin against God. Thus, 'right relationships' with God becomes the key to avoiding 'no-life' and opening the possibilities to reach - through various agencies - "the better life". Obviously, this same 'right relationship' is the necessary condition for attaining 'eternal life'.

The main function of Tshwa Christian worship, then, is to establish and continue such a relationship to God which is regarded as 'right' according to Christian understanding. Various elements of worship services are clearly designed for this purpose, and a direct approach to God through private confession and prayer (often connected with Holy Communion) is seen as the way to restore a broken relationship.

It will be further investigated in the chapter on "Law, Sin and Salvation" (86) whether, and to what extent, this stress on 'right relationship' to God has diminished the importance of 'right relationship' with fellow men. In the case of kinsmen, Tshwa Christians obviously do not pay the same 'right relationship' with God, pursued directly or through the Church, obviates the necessity of seeking 'life' through the channel of senior kinsmen.

It seems, therefore, that Christian worship - and Christian belief on the whole - removes the emphasis from the vital participation, which was seen as the leading principle of his traditional world-view. (87)

Even if most Tshwa Christians worship in groups, it is therefore evident that much more stress is laid on the individual.

(86) See pp. 104-296

(87) See p. 106
dual in the Christian context than in traditional worship. Yahweh persons are called as individuals by the Protestant Churches to 'dedicate' themselves. It is the personal response rather than an existing structure that is the foundation of the Christian Yahweh worship.

Thus, 'vital participation' with spirits, people and nature is the principle of traditional worship, while the individual search - in fellowship with other Christians - for a better, unending life is the mark of worship in the Christian context.
8. THE PURSUIT OF HEALTH

Introductory survey

In the Tahwa quest for life, health is, of course, a primary factor. *Wutomi* ('life') is often used to denote "health", indicating the great appreciation of this state.

In a modern society, health is deemed the normal state, and acute struggle against sickness in, in the case of an individual, normally a temporary affair. Among the Tahwa, on the other hand, it would seem that full health is more an exception than the rule. It is even possible that certain types of ill-health are not recognized as sickness, as they may be seen as part of daily life. Chronic malaria seems almost universal, and many intestinal parasites sap the strength of Tahwa persons. One mission doctor in the Tahwa area has estimated that at least 60% of the population suffer from some kind of intestinal worm.

All rivers in the Tahwa region are infested with the specific kind of snail which acts as host of bilharzia-producing parasites. As rivers are generally used for bathing, washing of clothes, and as sources for household water, it follows that a majority of the population are suffering from bilharzia, which, i.e., affects the urinary system. There is a possibility that bilharzia may be one cause of the liver cirrhosis ("hardening of the liver"), a lethal illness which is much more common in the Tahwa area than, e.g., in U.S.A.

(1) Hookworm was especially noted.

(2) A mission doctor mentioned that he had seen only three or four cases of this illness during several years of study and practice in U.S.A., but in the mission hospital at Chiquita, mainly serving the Tahwa and Tonga tribes, he had had one hundred cases of liver cirrhosis in one single year.
Syphilis and gonorrhea have spread through contacts with white 'civilisation', and tuberculosis of the lungs has probably increased because of more frequent contacts with people outside of the highe spheres, and possibly because of hard mine work. However, tuberculosis has a long history among the Tshwa, having a devastating effect on people whose power of resistance has been weakened by other illnesses and under-nourishment.

Smallpox has a special place among the diseases of the Tshwa. It used to come in the form of terrifying epidemics, and in spite of great efforts in vaccination of the population, smallpox appeared in epidemic form at several instances during the 19th century. It seems now to be decreasing, however, and maybe it is even disappearing among the Tshwa.

Another difficult disease is leprosy (Hansen's disease), and a leprosy camp has long been the only place where persons with this disease could live. Thanks to modern treatment, however, leprosy is now being cured in many cases, and, hopefully, may soon become a dreaded disease of the past.

One more condition which appears to be significant in the health picture of the Tshwa is the common occurrence of ailments. While this is generally not regarded as a disease, the Tshwa think of it in this category.

Similar patterns of sickness would probably be found all over Africa, as testimony from, for instance, Rhodesia and Ghana indicate. "Most people have some chronic ailment and endure it with fortitude as long as they are stably adjusted". Furthermore, certain conditions of living and environment often make these sicknesses more serious than necessary. The pursuit of health, for Tshwa and other Africans,

(3) The leprosy camp at Teleo, near Chicuque, run by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

(4) Margaret Field, *Search for Security*, p. 107
is, therefore, a perpetual struggle against heavy odds.

Malnutrition - or an unbalanced diet - is one ubiquitous reason why various illnesses meet with such weak resistance. Hygienic rules play none, or very insignificant role in this struggle. The danger of contagion in the case of leprosy and tuberculosis is recognized, and certain isolation of patients seems to be the rule. However, effective isolation is almost impossible in rural conditions.

The spread of intestinal parasites is encouraged where toilet hygiene is limited. A barefoot person therefore invites hook-worm, etc., often nullifying the results of recent hospital treatment. Rivers are often used as toilets. Thus, eggs from the bilharzia parasite, developed within the urinary system, enter the water, and the various schistosoma affect.

Some screening of new houses is being done, as a precaution against the malaria mosquito; but, in general, the Tshwa seems to pay only slight attention to this hazard.

Apart from organic illnesses, anxiety figures as a potential reason for many ill-health conditions, which sometimes cannot be specifically diagnosed. No research has been done among the Tshwa in this respect, but observations indicate that Margaret Field's statements in regard to people in Ghana, seeking help at 'shrines' is applicable here also, at least to a large extent:

"The majority of the... complaining of sickness do not appear to have anything organically wrong, but they are in anxiety. They complain of palpitations, pains all over, headache, trembling, faintness, and darkness in front of their eyes". (5)

The common fear of witchcraft, emerging in frequent allegations, is an indicator of deep-rooted anxieties. Reports from informants also tell of fairly common mental disturbances in the form of depressions and transient acute psychoses.

Traditional Conception of Illness

What is the Nature of Sickness?

Folk-medicine everywhere uses rather vague terms in describing sicknesses, attaching the complaint to the ailing part of the body, or describing the character of pain. In some cases, "pain all over" may be the only possible expression. This would be true also in countries which are highly developed from an educational viewpoint, while, of course, more specific perception of the actual illness varies with the individual.

A definite diagnosis is not only after proper investigation by a qualified person. I find a similar process in the Tahwa community.

Expressions used by sick persons are, for instance:
- "Nd ni mi ilo" ("I have a head") = headache;
- "Nd ni mi loo mna" ("I am affected by the inside") = stomach trouble;
- "Nd ni mi akitaia" ("I have a piercing pain") = often some sickness connected with the chest;
- "Nd ni loo mnaa" ("It is biting in there") = colic pain.

Some responses to naturally receive, in a limited anatomical knowledge, which ordinary Tahwa persons apparently share with people of all cultures. It is probably reinforced by the fact that sick persons are often emotionally disturbed and have difficulty in thinking objectively.

In spite of such ignorance, there are definite names of several clearly distinguishable sicknesses, commonly used only after diagnosis by a medical practitioner (n'anga):

- akamina
- akambu
- akamunza
- akukweti
- akupa
- akupi
- akupita
- akualu
- akupitam
- akupi a
- akupi b
- akupi c

(All internal)
(External)
(Cholera, or scarlet fever)
(Syphilis)
(Ulcerous)
(Chronic, of any serious lung disease)
(Typhus)
(Hanta)
(sickle-cell disease)
Nevertheless, these names do not say *what* the sickness consists of. They are rather names of symptoms. It is, in effect, apparent that Tswana have a very slight interest in the "What?" question.

Two general observations, however, should be made about potential answers to the question "What is it that ails me?":

a. Blood is generally seen as the seat of life. Therefore, it figures as a primary factor in case of illness.

One very common expression is "**vanya re babyako hakana akhata ni vuna zi kusane**" (= "people who are sick because the blood and the flesh do not agree"). This is used for sickness in general and would indicate a conflict between the body and its life-giving source. Often this conflict is acutely felt when "the blood is boiling" - one expression for fever. (7)

b. Several conditions are connected with a "snake" *(nyaka)* which is believed to live in the abdomen. A similar belief seems to be shared by some neighboring peoples, for instance the Vaenge and Loyeshe. (8) Serious diarrhea (gastro-enteritis) among children is called **nyakani** (= Ts. "the little snake"), and is ascribed to the activities of such a snake, as well as social convictions which, we are reminded by medical authorities, "at their age are commonly caused by round-worms". (9)

Tswana also perceive of a "special" snake, causing epileptic fits *(hanna va hichiga)*. How this snake enters the body and why it does this to certain persons and not to all, seems to be matter of uncertainty.

The banality among Tswana not to be proscribed with the "Khany" - question of illness - distinguishes their conception of illness clearly from that of modern medicine. While the explanation that "the tsetse entering the body make a person

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(8) D. Earthy, *Valiance Woman*, p. 62-63; Krige,
*op. cit.* 312

(9) H. Field, *op. cit.* p. 119
sick" is of fundamental value in modern medical treatment, the two main questions for the Tshwane remain:

a) "Why did the bacteria enter?", and

b) "By whom were they sent?"

Why does sickness come?

The commonsense of the Tshwane tells them that some sicknesses have perfectly natural and obvious causes. Dirty water or spoiled food are seen as potential causes of stomach complaints. Mukuhluwane (several types and degrees of influenza, and often one stage of malaria) is blamed on sudden changes of weather and temperature. The relationship between heavy drinking and physical weakness is fairly generally recognized. The fact that contagion is understood as one cause of leprosy and tuberculosis has already been mentioned, but it is significant that no proper isolation seems to be called for in the case of smallpox or scarlet fever.

As the diviner/medical practitioner (n'anga) is approached on behalf of the sick person, however, "natural" causes will very seldom be found. The diviner's verdict moves rather within a different category of values, often finding the cause of sickness in a social relationship of some kind. This may be the relation to the kin-group as a whole, in its capacity of embodiment of common values expressed as "taboo regulations". Or it may be an offense against the 'right relationship' with a certain person, either living or dead. I will refer to the first of these assumed relationships as "breaking of taboos", and to the second type as "sinning".

Prohibitions against eating certain kinds of food are enforced by the assumption that such eating would cause immediate sickness (unspecified). Thus, e.g., children and women before childbirth, are not allowed to eat eggs. Liver is called "the meat of the elders" (nyama ya madota) and thus strictly reserved for persons of that category. Several taboos in connection with the burial and ritual purification after death are potential causes of illness.
apart from the fact that the power of resistance against any
disease is for every kin-member at this time at low ebb. (10)

The most common sickness-bringing taboos connected with
death are, however, tied to the property of the deceased.
All things owned by him must be properly purified and appro-
priately divided among his right heirs. Anyone breaking this
taboo, is automatically under the curse of xivenze (an ex-
pression used concerning improperly inherited articles), and
will fall ill.

Within the sphere of sexual transgressions, there are two
different kinds of taboos, or rather two types of consequences:

Certain taboos bring sickness, or even death, on the
offender himself, while others bring a curse upon the family
(nate or children) of the trespasser.

In the first group, we find the prohibition against sexual
relations with a menstruating woman. Hernia (sina), certain
urethral trouble, or swelling of penis or testicles (kense)
are regarded as direct consequences of breach against this
taboo.

The second taboo of this kind concerns relations with a
woman who has had an abortion or who has not yet been ritually
purified after the death of her husband. These two types of
illicit relations are believed to lead to the worst kind of
malignant (chowal, chhelewa, nilepe, etc.),
where death will inevitably follow. (11)

Among the taboo violating woman's own family, it
is more severe punishment against absent (skáku). (12)

(10) see "Death and Life Eternal", p. 264
(11) These taboos are well known also to some neighbouring
villages. Among the length 37 percent of the
deaths of men during a certain period were attrib-
uted to this means created decease. (Kries, op. cit.
p. 221)
(12) see "The Social Worlds of the Taboos", p. 18
It is also taboo for a man to have relations with another woman during the time immediately after birth, while the wife is "mungora". (12) Similarly, it is taboo for a woman to have intercourse with another man while she is yet nursing. Breaches of both taboos will bring sickness on the child.

The authority of the n'ana (diviner/medical practitioner) and his treatment is upheld by the notion that disobedience against his regulations will bring disastrous consequences. Particularly in cases where the n'ana has been requested to provide a 'medicine' which is presumed to work on another person for a special, sometimes dangerous purpose, the regulations must be followed in minute detail.

An interesting aspect of such a taboo is that the punishment seems to be mental derangement, and not primarily physical illness.

On the borderline between taboo and "sine" we find certain prescriptions connected with the state of "kuha" (kuh). (11)

None of these taboos (ziyilayila), particularly those connected with death or sexual transgressions, have certain social implications. On the other hand, broken social relationships, understood as causing sickness and other misfortunes, are generally referred to by Tswana as kuwaba ("sinning"). It emerges, in fact, that "sine" for the Tswana is mainly to be found in the social realm. (15)

Among the most dangerous sickness-producing sins are anger, adultery, theft, and - of course - the practice of witchcraft.

(12) The new mother remains in a marinal state until the ritual of "strengthening the child" (gutlhume mungora) has been performed. This is done one month after the birth, and is fundamentally a confirmation of the husband's fatherhood.

(14) As the concept of 'heal' will be dealt with in the chapter on "Law, Sin and Salvation", few details are taken up here.

Anger often produces a serious break-up of relationships between individuals or groups. This danger among Tshwa, however, usually follows certain lines of the kinship structure, and it is uncommon that it reverses the direction. When, for instance, a father is angry with his child - even if the 'child' is an adult - this is regarded as part of normal procedure. Such anger would not, as a rule, have any dangerous consequences. But if, on the other hand, a grown-up child is angry with his father, there is danger at hand. This may cause bitterness (xiviti) in the father's heart.

It is easily perceived that filial anger in a patrilineal society would potentially disrupt the social structure, and it is believed that the ancestral spirits "see the tears of the wronged father" and respond by sending sickness on the angry child.

Adultery in Tshwa vocabulary (wuhwyl) does not mean "extramarital relations". It is not seen primarily as a sexual sin, but rather in the category of theft. Thus, intercourse between a married man and an unattached woman is not classified as adultery. But when a man has relations with somebody else's wife, for whom mzhowolo (bride-wealth) has been paid, a serious breach of tribal law is taking place.

Relationships in two directions, at least, are disturbed by breach through adultery. The injured party, i.e. the cuckolded husband and the kin-group of the woman, can be propitiated along structured lines, by paying of an obligatory fine (wukode). Furthermore, any child resulting from the relationship will be counted as belonging to the injured husband, but there is also a curse hanging over the offender. If the woman in question becomes pregnant, she will have a very difficult birth, and the man may bring sickness and death upon his own family.

All theft obviously demonstrates a spirit which makes normal relationships impossible. This crime has for long been hated among the Tshwa, and one of the strong injunctions that informants were given in their childhood was "not to steal".
When a child shivers from fever (often because of malaria), this is usually taken as a special sign from the ancestors (tingabe). Recurring dreams about dead people are interpreted as messages: when the sickness coincides with certain conflicts within the kin group, it is unthinkingly interpreted as ancestral punishment. It can be assumed that the living is aware of kinship tensions and open conflicts.

Nevertheless, it is held that the ancestors do not, as a rule, enact events upon their descendants. It is in their own interest that their living relatives should remain alive and healthy in order to perform the necessary sacrifices. If there is a serious breach of kinship law, however, death is soon upon the culprit; this leads an ancestor to curse the next person, the spirit may be driven by leading the ancestor. "The punishment must be removed."

Misthinka (sing. misthinka) are spirits of dead, who are thought to come up because of certain "medicine" and are bent on destroying entire kin-groups outside of their own, i.e., those for whom they have found reason to hate. Thus, they are "spirits-of-revenge". (17)

The first sign of misthinka activity is a village in sickness, often according to the set pattern of two or three persons falling ill at the same time. If such persons are brought to hospital, they may get well there and get better. But, as they come back home, the sickness flares up again, until they call for a misthinka. If a misthinka is not committed very soon, it is feared that sickness of this pattern inevitably will lead to death, as a misthinka was come to kill. (18)

When it happens that several persons of the same family in Kingasa die in quick succession, the suspicion seems...

(17) See "Central Traditional Beliefs", p. 36.
(18) In this respect, these spirits are unlike the man-dik, which are not believed to kill.
automatically to fall upon miphuka activity, and again a
nuigma must be called in for urgent appropriate treatment,
so that further deaths might be avoided.

The diagnostic pattern indicating sicknesses caused by
mandiki, on the other hand, is not as distinct as in the
case of spirits-of-revenge. As these foreign, possessive,
and sickness-bringing spirits (19) are believed to come in
search for a new host, their presence is not seen in lethal
sicknesses or death. It is not a question of punishing
because of a broken relationship, but establishing a new
one.

Symptoms characteristic in many countries of spirit
possession - hysteria, pronounced anxiety, continuous shiver­
ing and other motor excitement (19) - give rise to the bulk
of mandiki diagnoses. It appears that also other sicknesses
ascribed to mandiki, as, for instance, acute lameness of a
leg, or "pain all over", may belong to a psycho-somatic
category. A sudden onset of the sickness is one of the
criteria casting a suspicion on mandiki as the active agents.

The majority of misfortunes, including accidents, illness
and death, are according to my informants usually blamed on
the activity of witches (alihi). On the other hand, few
special categories of sicknesses or symptoms can be discerned
in this case. Apparently, any conflict situation, either in
the kin-group or in the neighbourhood, lends itself to a
witchcraft allegation. I have found only one specific symptom
-festering sores - leading the thought more surely than any­
thing else to the dreaded activity of witches.

When, finally, an illness is regarded as hopeless, tra­
ditional (often see the Sky Power Tilo) is the active agent.
"Wait for Tilo to act! Maybe you will live, maybe you will
die...." When a sickness has thus been declared "from Tilo",
no treatment is, in general, of any avail.

(19) See "Traditional Tohwa beliefs", p. 42
The same applies, in general, to such mental disturbances that are said to be from the Sky Power. The expression "Mkhe hi lippa la Tilo" ("He has been hit by the wing of the Sky") is often used about persons who display symptoms of mental illness, simultaneously implying that no cure is possible.

Observations concerning traditional concepts of illness

As we keep probing the traditional Tswana frame of reference, now in connection with their "pursuit of health", it can be clearly established that ill-health is, in general terms, seen as punishment for certain acts, which are conceived of as evil. Illness does not "just happen". Both in purely social terms, and where certain spiritual agents are involved, the majority of illness cases are traced back to some broken relationship. Thus, sickness is commonly understood as socially conditioned, based upon some 'social sin'.

Most reasons for sickness are obviously known to the Tswana only post-factum, as revealed through the divining bones. It also emerges from my material that the guilt associated with the sickness by the diviner is often felt because of the actual sickness, rather than because of the committed sin. In other words, the current 'evil' action is sometimes not clearly experienced as 'sin' until some sickness raises the question as to potential guilt.

Undoubtedly, there can exist a powerful inter-dependence between moral teaching and fear of consequences, even working completely in the subconscious. Particularly in cases of serious breaches of taboo, it is probable that the fear of the dreaded consequences actually produce the expected sickness. A quotation from the Mende in Sierra Leone is appropriate:

"... the whole process of moral education of the Mende, in this instance on sex-relations, produces in them a built-in mechanism which causes the illness. That is to say that their conscience disapproves of their action and they fall ill". (22)

Particularly in certain organic illnesses, material or 'natural' causes may be perceived by the Tshwa. But my research leads me to the conclusion that such 'natural' causes are considered as secondary at least. This agrees with findings among many other peoples of Africa, as this statement from Ghana confirms:

"The Zande concept of dual causation therefore insists that, in all particular cases of disease, there is likely to be a social, as well as a natural, factor involved: and that, in some cases, the social factor is dominant". (23)

Margaret Field gives several practical examples of such social causation, exposing the role of conflict as the malignant agent:

"Simple-hearted people are prone to fall sick when displeased at finding they have acquired their trust. Several men came, sick and worrying, because wives, whom they liked wanted to leave them...

Kinship disputes even more than marital disharmony emerges as a potent cause of that anxiety which destroys the balance of physical well-being."

"When a sick child is brought to the shrine, the priest invariably seeks for strife between the parents, a circumstance in which, it is held, no young child can thrive". (24)

As we thus confirm social causation of sickness in Africa, the remarkable fact is that this is the traditional conception of disease. Even if we do not attribute the same

(22) H. Sawyerr, "Sacrifice" in Dickson-Ellingworth, p.2

(23) H. Melchert, "Healing as a psychosomatic event" in Witchcraft and Healing; S. M. Wilson, Communal Mythos of the Nyakyusa, p. 161.

psychological and physiological understanding of psychosomatic sickness causation to a Tshwa n'anga, as to a "Western" physician, it means that so-called primitive medicine in this respect has been somewhat ahead of developments within medical science. The case for psychosomatic causation of several illnesses is now well established in modern medicine, but this is a fairly recent development in comparison with traditional African practice.

I suggest that at least as far as the Tshwa are concerned, the prominence of social causes in popular understanding of diseases arises from the basic need for unity within the society. Every conflict between members of the community (kin-group or neighbourhood), is a potentially destructive element, of the same order as disease, and consequently, note are a threat to the unity of society.

Even if Tshwa would not always distinguish between the cause of sickness and the active "sending" agent, it is helpful for our further investigation to note that this agent is very often understood in spiritual terms. Therefore, traditional cure means, in most cases, some dealings with superhuman powers. With special reference to 'right relationships' with the ancestral spirits, Sundkler's discovery in Tanzania is illuminating:

"I was interested to find, among the Colomos of Central Africa, that man's word 'to heal', okulupu, also means 'to sacrifice'." (26)

After an investigation of the role of the diviner/medical practitioner among the Tshwa, we will demonstrate how traditional conceptions of disease influence the curing of illness. We will then compare these conceptions with modern medical activities among the Tshwa, while seeking to establish the attitude of Christians in their pursuit of health.

(25) C.R.H. "Sickhouse behaviour among the Yoruba" in "Witchcraft and Healing", p. 37
(26) B. Sundkler, op. cit., p. 221
The role of diviners and curers

The n'anga

In the maze of social relationships with their great conflict potential, most peoples have found that some authority with decisive power is vitally needed. A chief deals with overt crimes and such social conflicts that develop into blows. But he is not capable to enter the field of hidden conflict or mystical events. The indispensable key to this sphere is the diviner.

A diviner (muhlisi, lit: "the one who reads the bones") usually combines his divinatory role with work as medical practitioner. He is thus a n'anga. But it would be unfair - to the n'anga - to compare him with a European physician, in his different roles as diagnostician and performer of the cure. A Tswana n'anga is more like the hub of wheel, being at the centre of all critical events, private or public, in the neighbourhood. His office is also, in a structural sense, the upholder of the community and its morals. The ideal n'anga is the champion for 'sufficient life' for the society as a whole. The Tswana express this eloquently in their proverb: "Life' is to be found at the bones" (Kelele at le motse tshlobelo).

It is readily seen that such an social picture is found in few individuals, but the Tswana assumption is nevertheless that a diviner is to be trusted, until proved wrong or unrealizable. The institution of divination answers to a deeply felt need among the Tswana, and this need evidently removed some material hesitation as to the personal qualities of the incumbent. The diviner/n'anga operates to a large extent in a sphere which for a lay person is veiled in mystery. He is also, usually, approached when the client is in a state of emotional affect.

It is at such impressionable times of personal crisis that the diviner reminds the Tswana of their time-honoured tribal customs and beliefs, and whenever anything new is
added to the wealth of traditional beliefs, it will come through the gate of the diviner.

Speaking in a similar vein about the key to understanding the great importance of the diviner in Ndembu society in Zambia, Turner says:

"Since diviners are consulted on many occasions, it is clear that their role as upholders of tribal morality and rectifiers of disturbed social relationships - both structural and contingent - is a vital one in a society without centralized political institutions". (27)

The classical Tswana divination is made with "the bones" (tshiclo; etymologically derived from the verb ku hlola = to examine). The diviner's collection of astragalus bones from several different animals, plus certain sea shells and some pieces of special wood, are thrown out on a grass-mat, and the diviner points with his rod, explaining what the bones say. Every "throw" is preceded by a question directed to the bones. Each possible category of people in a village or lineage, living or dead, is represented by a special bone or shell. (28) There are four possible positions of each bone, every one having its special meaning, and the answer to each question is determined by this position, as well as the position of the 'bones' in relation to each other.

Naturally, the diviner also uses his intimate knowledge of people in the neighbourhood, and his personal intuition. Thus, the divination is never reduced to an automatic procedure. Turner's observation illuminates this aspect:

"Diviners try to elicit from their clients responses which give them clues to the current tensions in their groups of origin. Divination, therefore, becomes a form of social analysis, in the course of which hidden conflicts are revealed so that they may be dealt with by traditional and institutional procedures". (29)

(27) V. Turner, The Drums of Affliction, p. 51
(28) Ancestral spirits (tingulwe), e.g., are represented by the astragalus of wild pig (also called ngulwe); chiefs by a sheep's astragalus; a piece of khanyi-wood stands for dangerous medicines, etc. Cf. Junod, II. 543-548
There are also other types of divination among the Tswana. The kind of n'anga who operates under the influence of mandiki (nyamusuro) divines in a dissociated state of mind. He is said to "catch" a certain spirit, which introduces itself as "the spirit of so-and-so", speaking in a completely different voice - and sometimes a different language - than that of the diviner. This type of divination is of particular use when activities of mandiki, or minshuka (spirits-of-revenge) are suspected. The "caught" spirit is then believed to be the sickness-or death-bringing agent, and he tells the clients (through the diviner) what they must do, in order to rid themselves of the affliction.

When the cause of crisis has been established, the diviner/n'anga proceeds to explain what ritual and medical cures are necessary. Some informants stated that it often happens that the diviner refers the actual treatment to another n'anga (according to the message of his 'bonds'), particularly if someone is known as a 'specialist' in certain illnesses.

**Herbalists**

Apart from the divining institution and the traditional n'anga, there are also certain persons, mostly old men or women, who are known as possessors of special knowledge of medicinal herbs and plants. Such herbalists are often consulted, and some of them are recognized as 'specialists' on the cure of certain diseases.

**Traditional Role**

It has been demonstrated that most afflictions are seen by Tswana as having a moral cause, and sometimes a secondary cause.

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(29) V. Turner, op. cit. p. 46

(30) Such herbalists are sometimes used openly in Christian context. See pp. 200-201
"natural" causation. It is to be expected that traditional cures attempt to eliminate both types of causes, with stress on the social, in order to re-establish 'life' to the individual or the community.

We find that traditional cures can be classified in the following categories:

1. Prophylactic treatment, which primarily addresses itself to defence against witchcraft attacks;

2. Restoration of broken relationships, either social or with superhuman Powers. This is doubtless the most important category, without which no other treatment is believed to have any lasting effect. Sometimes this cure aims at establishing a new relationship, and in certain instances it is ever seen as prophylactic;

3. Purification rites, which may be seen as complementary to the former category; and

4. Medicines.

Prophylactic measures

Among all peoples, elementary preventive medicine is taught in the family. In Tshwa society, this would include - on top of general admonitions to look out for snakes and to be careful in crossing the river - instruction in Tshwa customs and taboos. Many of these were traditionally taught to the girl at the time of her first menstruation, when her father's sister (abkan) stayed with her several days in a special hut. The boys were given similar instruction, partly by their fathers, partly in their initiation camp (mangi), where circumcision was accompanied by long periods of teaching. The instruction in customs and taboos was always tied together with explanation of respective punishments.

Many kinds of sicknesses could obviously not be avoided by knowledge alone. Against spectres, sandik or revenging spirits, no prophylactic measures would avail. But a certain defense against witchcraft appears to be possible. The individual may be protected by an amulet (xithumula), which is
specially prepared by a n'anga (medical practitioner) in each individual case, and may contain nails and hair of the person in question, together with certain magical substances.

No Tshwa village is complete without a n'anga having surrounded it with his magic fence. This "strengthening of the village" (ka livina mati) is done as the n'anga digs down his medicines at certain spots around the village, which is then regarded as immune against witches' attacks.

The most common prophylactic treatment in modern medicine is vaccination. This may usually be regarded as a "white man's invention", but it is claimed that the Tshwa had certain medicines used as a kind of vaccination. Particularly when children were going on a trip, the mother would use her phonjo - the term for such preventive medicine - as an ointment, in order to prevent any sickness to fall on her children while they were away.

Restoration of broken relationships with spirits

The three types of spirits which regularly enter into the diagnostic picture are tinguuluve (ancestral spirits), xithoro ("spirits-of-revenge"), and mandiki (foreign, possessive, and sickness bringing spirits).

When the divinatory process indicated that relationships with tinguuluve are broken, whatever sacrifices that may be practiced are, in general, presently arranged, spiritually promised. These rites have been described in some detail in the chapter on "krana", sacrifice and sacraments. (31)

Urgency may be felt even strongly when spirits-of-revenge (xin您可以) are alleged to have caused the affliction. The ritual treatment will then proceed according to the pattern described earlier in this dissertation. (32)

(31) See pp. 117-119
(32) See "Tshwa traditional beliefs", p. 31.
The three main items in this rite: (a) a sum of money; (b) a goat; (c) a girl to be dedicated, have no visible bearing on treatment of the actual affliction. But they can all be surmised to play a role in restoring the relationship with munshukwa, the girl being the constant guarantee from the afflicted kin-group of no more attacks of witchcraft, or theft.

When the diagnosis has been confirmed that foreign, possessive, sickness-bringing spirits (mandiki) have settled on a certain person, it is urgent that the new relationship between mandiki and their new host be regularised as quickly as possible. This is done mainly through the kutwazisa rite, also described earlier. (33)

This 'treatment' leads the patient into a completely new type of life, with new customs and obligations. It even gives him a new religion, as his mandiki now take precedence over his own tingi. It is believed, however, that no more sickness or distress will be brought on this host by the mandiki as long as some special relationship is observed.

Confession

Similar to powers of spiritual sickness-bringing agents, urgency may be felt also when only living persons are involved, because the curse (kudiki) allegedly accompanying some breach of law or taboo is greatly feared. Such confession is often made as a "prophylactic" measure.

As the spoken word of confession is believed to have the power of removing the potential curse, it is possible that confession was traditionally used at a great number of offences. I have recorded five or six, on which confession is regarded as obligatory in the traditional context:

1. After adultery,
2. At childbirth, if a woman has been adulterous;

(33) See "Tswa traditional beliefs", p. 46
...when all midwives and women are present. 

After the ceremony and later,

it is said that the man will be examined by an expert man who will determine if the patient is in good health. In the middle of the night, the man will be taken on the crossbar of the village, accompanied only by a few men. He is expected to

If he is well, he will be allowed to return to his village. The midwives will then step in to make sure that he has had his meal, and

If he is not, they will perform the necessary rites.

...for there was a very difficult confidant, and the mediums were asked to the mid-wives.

Among the midwives, the medium was respected and it was customary to give him a small amount of money and wish him well with the warning not to say anything to the mediums.

It can be seen that mediums and other intermediaries were heard not only by the mediums.

This was the mid-wives' role in the ceremony of reconciliation after death. It should be noted that mediums varied concerning their role in reconciliation at the time of ascension. 

...in the reconciliation was a that is relationship, as
been broken because of filial anger (36) is made at the rite called *muchahelela* ("to sacrifice for each other"). Usually, two hens are killed at this ceremony, and beer (or liquor) is shared by the two parties. The younger—a son or daughter—confesses his guilt, and the senior asks the ancestral spirits to remove the curse resting on his child because of his own bitterness (*xiviti*). It is obvious that the ancestral spirits are believed to listen to this confession, as well as the senior kinsman.

(5) When smallpox comes

A certain medicine called *hesua* was used to relieve smallpox. This is a fluid taken from the stem of a special bush, used for anointing the eyes of a person suffering from smallpox, or for rectal injection.

But, as it is held that smallpox is a direct punishment for sins, confession is the obligatory and decisive treatment. The elders of the village come to the sick-bed (evidently without realizing the danger of contagion), or to the person of a sick child, to hear the confession. This may reveal anger and jealousy and sometimes crimes, but, according to informants, it invariably included acts of witchcraft, and often sexual transgressions. (37) In the same, I was told, the gravest sin had been incest, and it was believed by the informant that the confession could not remove the curse of such a terrible sin. But confession of witchcraft had often made smallpox turn away from the village.

Even at the ceremony, it is usual that the confessing person takes water in his mouth and spits it out on the ground with the "phu"-sound before making his statement.

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(36) "Xiviti" is explained on p. 170

(37) Cf. statement from Zionist Churchers: "No confession is regarded as complete until sexual transgressions are mentioned". B. Munkler, *ibid*, p. 11
This would indicate that the confession is made before both living and dead. (See also below, on "Spitting"). (38)

Not only the Tshwa connect smallpox with superhuman action. In several parts of the world, this disease is seen as a terrible divine visitation. This has been found in India, and similar beliefs are reported from Nigeria, where the Yoruba hold that smallpox is sent as punishment by the god Shopanna:

"Most people recommended palm wine, both as drink for the patient who, they said, should not be offered water (1), and to placate the spirits of the smallpox deity. Some advocated a sacrifice to Shopanna, an offering of beans cooked with corn to be placed outside with the palm wine. (39)

It has not yet emerged through my research whether the Tshwa regard smallpox as coming from Jilo (The Sky Power), or from the ancestors. But the disease is clearly seen as arising from the mystical realm. Although this apparently is a universal concept, the Tshwa method of treating it through confession has not been specifically found among other peoples, except the Ronga and Taonga of southern Mozambique. (40)

(6) Observations on Confession

In confession, the factor of catharsis is obviously an active ingredient. By releasing fear and feelings of guilt, such catharsis may mean a turning point in sickness and may bring a healthy atmosphere to a village, otherwise possibly rent by mistrust and mutual accusations. This observation applies, of course, to a large extent to all types of restored relationships.

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(38) Cf. H. Wilson, Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa, p. 108

(39) M. V. Maclean, "Hospitals or Healers?" in Human Organization, Vol. 25, 1966, 151-159

(40) H. A. Junod. op. cit. II, 469
Confession of sins seems to be used all over Africa as a means of restoring normal and healthy relationships between kinsmen and neighbours. The power of the spoken word to remove anger and hidden resentments is regarded as vital. The power of emotional release through confession in depth has been dramatically described in the case of an Eskimo shaman treating his patient.

The power of emotional release through confession in depth has been dramatically described in the case of an Eskimo shaman treating his patient. (42)

The matter of confession, in traditional and Christian context, will be further investigated in "Race, the anti-Salvation". (43)

Ceremonial spitting

A further method of removing the curse when a certain relationship has been broken is to "spit".

My main example of such ceremonial spitting comes from the life of such young people who are dedicated to the spirit of-revenge (mu'ufhukwa). Usually, a boy from this spirit's own kin, and one or several girls from afflicted kin-groups are set apart to take care of the spirit's hut. (44) Their special standing is emphasized by a rule that nobody is allowed to scold or beat them. If somebody should transgress this law - even if the children have deserved a scolding - he is forced to spit the boy or girl in the head, as an act of reconciliation, or else the spirit is believed to cause punishment.

One informant, who was himself dedicated in this way as a young boy, continues:

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(42) Thompson, "An Eskimo shaman purifies a sick person", in Lassasberg, op. cit., Reader in Comparative Religion, pp. 410-414

(43) See page 235 ff.

(44) See "Traditional Tswana beliefs", pp. 52-53

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"I could not beat anybody else, either. I was told severely not to hit anybody. I only sat. I was not even allowed to carry a stick. But, if another boy hit me, they would tell him, go and spit!"

It is probable that ceremonial spitting is used in other contexts, too. Thus, the spitting of water into the face of the sacrificial animal, (45) the spitting of beer on to the altar at times of sacrifice, and even the spitting of water before a confession would seem to have the same fundamental meaning of reconciliation.

There is another suggestion, coming from the Nyakyusa, that such ceremonial spitting is, in fact, a symbolic act of confession, "bringing out all anger that is within". (46) The spitting would then, to the eye, have the same role as the voice of confession has to the ear.

**Dealing with witchcraft**

When preventive measures have proved ineffective, and witchcraft activity has been divined as the cause of some misfortune, the first measure is to establish the identity of the witch. The culprit may be pointed out by the divineing bones or one in "smelled out" (bufemia) at a session where the nyamamoro ("mandiki-doctor") dramatically selects his victim. There may also be a further trial by drinking a strong potion (kunawa shone), and the guilty one is, it is said, felled to the ground by the magic drink. This last method, however, appears to be little used nowadays.

In treating witchcraft, Tavese society balances on the borderline between restoration and purification. In other words: the primary desire is to restore the culprit to normal social usefulness, by some act of reconciliation, but the evil in witchcraft appears to be almost irredeemable, and the

(45) "Worship, Sacrifice and Sacrament", p. 120
(46) M. Wilson, op. cit. pp. 160-161
The community therefore needs to rid itself of the abomination. It is probable that some gradation of evil takes place and guides the treatment.

In ancient times, a condemned noyi (witch) was killed by being impaled, or forced to hang herself. Nowadays, if separation (purification) is deemed imperative, she may, I am told, be expelled from her kin and forced to live a pitiful existence, probably dying in utter loneliness and misery.

The usual modern treatment, however, is an act of reconciliation. When the witch is "known", the divination process also reveals why she is causing the trouble. The alleged witch is then visited by the afflicted party, with money or other gifts according to the diviner's message. The proper gift is handed over, against a solemn promise from the witch to remove her spell.

Purification rite

It has been demonstrated that Tswana understanding of contagion does not agree with that of modern medicine, although the two sometimes may coincide. A concept similar to contagion, however, which may be described as a "communal curse", gave rise to a need for joint purification. I have noted such ceremonies in connection with "death contamination" and after a smallpox epidemic. Purification after death within the kin will be described in detail in the chapter on "Death and Life Eternal", (48) and will, consequently, not be taken up here.

Purification after smallpox takes the form of a thorough cleansing of the village, and a sacrifice. The whole village is swept, inside houses and outside. All inhabitants are ceremonially washed in medicated water. All used clothes of persons who have been ill are then taken to a "cremation", where they are burnt together with the gathered dust and filth from


(48) See pp. 347-248
the village, plus the medicines left over after the washing. A sacrificial killing of a hen or a goat takes place on the same spot. Unfortunately, informants have not been able to tell, to whom this sacrifice is made.

The symbolic elements of cleansing are obvious in this rite. Furthermore, one observes that the "curse" is left at a crossroads, where any passer-by may pick it up and carry it away.

There are probably other significant elements in this rite of purification. I would suppose that the extinguishing of all fires and rekindling them again, as reported from the Nyakyusa, also takes place among the Tshwa.

**Medicines**

In several of the methods of treatment already referred to, medicines have been mentioned as one ingredient. Obviously, the "natural" causes of sickness must be dealt with in a different way from the "social", and it should be recognized that several Tshwa herbal medicines have a curing effect on certain illnesses. On the other hand, many 'medicines' in Tshwa context do not have any counterpart in scientific medical treatment. 'Medicines' for luck in hunting, fishing or job-seeking fall in this category. There are also the sinister 'medicines', alleged to cause a person's spirit to wake up after death as a mupihwana. (49)

In the Tshwa idiom, 'medicine' is muri. But most commonly, informants refer to various kinds of medicines as "matuka" (leaves) or "timinya" (trees; branches). This affirms that most traditional medicines are leaves, herbs, or parts of certain trees, e.g., roots or bark. "Magic substances" play a definite role, and I should imagine that their predominance

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(49) M. Wilson, op. cit. p. 117

(50) See more on "spirits-of-revenge", p. 48
varies from one n'anga to another. Certain products from the sea are used in this way, as well as blood and other parts from animals.

The application of Tswana medicines is made orally, rectally, or by insertion under the skin (kuthhovu). Anointing with medicine is also heard of, but insertion ("injection") figures most commonly in reports.

One indispensable part of treatment with medicine is the spoken word, through which the n'anga infuses the necessary power and "tells the medicine" how to cure the patient. This is probably a common concept in Africa, as confirmed from the Yoruba:

"Incantations must always accompany the taking of a medicine since the ingredients are powerless in themselves. Without the spoken word, their potency is never activated, they will remain inert, useless material objects. The incantation makes explicit the purpose and power of the mixture and expresses precisely why its constituent parts have been chosen". (31)

Finally, it should be remembered that some Tswana herbalists specialize in the use of certain herbal medicines without openly utilizing magic.

Changes wrought through Christian and other outside influence

Hospitals and hygiene

In the chapter on how Christianity was introduced among the Tswana, it was said that "Protestant Christianity presented itself in the form with the three-pronged approach of 'preaching, teaching and healing'". In the beginning, the healing activities were emphasized, according to the most crying need, and severely limited because of lack of qualified...

(31) C.H.U. Meeke, "Sickness behaviour among the Yoruba" in Witchcraft and Healing, p. 57

(32) See further on historical development, p. 68
personnel. But with the coming of the first medical doctor to the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1910, medical work became more regular. Mission hospitals have since been constructed at Chicuque, near Maxixe, Nhaloi near Massinga, and at Combine. Clinics have been established at some other places, at least temporarily. Maternity wards are included in all hospital units.

The Portuguese government has established several hospitals and medical posts in the Tshwa area, with an important regional hospital in the town of Inhambane. Medical centres (centros de saúde) are now situated in Maxixe, Domoinu, Morrumbene, Massinga and Vilanculos, i.e. all administrative centres of the district, while medical posts and maternity wards are to be found in many different parts of the area. (53)

The teaching of hygiene and elementary preventive medicine was begun early within the scope of Protestant missions, but it can hardly be said that any regular teaching of Public Health is now part of the work of the Churches.

One form in which practical medicine is taught to the public through Church agencies is the baby clinic on certain mission stations, which have become popular meeting places for mothers in the vicinity. This is where, once a week, mothers and babies are offered postnatal care, and such practical advice finds ready recipients.

Probably, a great deal of hygienic knowledge and elementary understanding of preventive medicine finds its way to the Tshwa area through the many thousands of men who take part in "first aid" courses in the Transvaal mines.

Present attitude to sickness

As we begin exploring what present attitudes are in connection with the pursuit of health, we are reminded again of the

(53) Ation de Mozambique, p. 35
great number of variables according to individual background, exposure to outside influence, and personal experience of sickness and healing. What we can establish are certain trends, patterned by the opinions of informants, correlated with my own experience and outside anthropological observations. In the main, these trends refer to 'believers', although it is recognized that the border-line between Christians and non-Christians in these respects is rather fluid, as non-Christians are continuously being influenced from outside of their own culture in matters of hygiene and treatment of sickness.

No doubt, many more Tswana nowadays know "natural" causes of sickness than in the past. The knowledge of bacteria is spreading, although in popular thought these sickness-bringing agents are more associated with visible dirt than with microbes. One informant, for instance, was convinced that tuberculosis bacteria had entered many people's lungs through the dust stirred up during digging or plowing. In water, visible contaminations may cause concern, while bacteria or microscopic parasites are more difficult to believe in. However, boiling of water before drinking appears to be fairly common, especially in Christian families.

The role of vaccination against smallpox is readily accepted, even if this sickness is still generally regarded as a special punishment for sins. One informant affirmed that "vaccination does not help at all, if the person has committed sins like witchcraft or adultery".

The venereal diseases syphilis (gava) and gonorrhea (shokote) are commonly associated with contagion through sexual contact, although one informant insisted that syphilis can be transferred "by using the same soap". They are often referred to as "sicknesses of adultery".

Of the traditional "natural" causes, the "snake" (nyoka) still has an important place. It is said that nyokani ("the little snake"), term for gastro-enteritis and/or convulsions in infants, can only be treated by Tswana doctors (jin'anga).
as it is caused by a 'snake'. Mothers who in spite of this bring their small children to hospital because of convulsions, complain bitterly if injections are given as part of the treatment. They are afraid that the 'snake' will be embittered by the injection and make the child even worse. Men in compound groups have in general proved sceptical when taught in hygiene lessons that no snake can be living inside a human being. Some informants stress the belief in the nyoka ya zichira, the special 'snake' believed to cause epilepsy. According to them, this 'snake' is especially active at the time of a new moon:

"Yes, there is a snake inside the man. Here in the compound there is a child of mine, born by my elder brother. His wife was killed by this snake.

The "epilepsy snake" (nyoka ya zichira) can kill a person by throwing him down and he dies immediately. Sometimes it will make him fall into the fire, or into the water. He will have no chance to escape. The water will kill him..."

Among Tswana Christians, some traditional taboos (zivilayi) have lost their significance, particularly those connected with food and - to some extent - death. Sexual taboos, on the other hand, still figure largely as giving rise to the same ailments as in the past. (54) In the case of ritual taboos and those associated with run'anga ("traditional art of divination and healing"), attitudes seem to vary.

The demand for being 'ritually pure' when attending Holy Communion (i.e., not being 'hot') appears to be upheld by several pastors, but there is disbelief as to the effectiveness of this demand. Furthermore, I do not find the notion among Christians that a break against this taboo would cause sickness, but "a person who takes communion while 'hot' has a debt before God".

As far as run'anga are concerned, their tabooed regulations are upheld to the extent that Christians approach them

(54) See p. 168

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in times of affliction. This matter will be dealt with further on in this chapter.

Social sins, for instance, anger, jealousy, adultery, and theft, are no longer directly connected with sickness to the same extent as before.

It is true that the anger of an older person, or of a person of a higher status, is still feared within the present middle-aged generation of Christians, but this seems to be founded more on potential displeasure than on fear of sickness.

Anger is thus definitely regarded as evil, but not for the same reasons as before. Bitterness (xiviti) in a non-Christian father because of his Christian son refusing to take part in kinship functions, would be completely disregarded, for religious reasons.

Severe scolding and cursing (kurukatela) was often referred to by informants as a serious social sin, which they urgently would pray God to forgive. The implication was that such cursing could make God send punishment in the form of accident or sickness. Some evidence points to the possibility that this sin is considered most serious if committed against a fellow Christian, but this cannot be adequately confirmed at present.

Adultery is, of course, recognized as sin against the Law of the Church, and, if discovered, it will lead to severe consequences in terms of church discipline. The belief that it would lead to sickness in the family appears to have weakened, or at least to have completely disappeared, unless it is coupled with breach of some taboo, as, for instance, adultery with a woman who has recently had an abortion.

Even some certain traditional beliefs regarding sickness causation thus have not disappeared, though some of their ancient power, and
Christian beliefs and other traditional spiritual beliefs

Christian beliefs and other traditional spiritual beliefs are one part of the Christian frame of reference. However, I have observed and recorded by an overwhelming majority. Sickness is often seen as a result of witchcraft, and the symptoms and feelings of witchcraft have been studied by many scholars as a result of witchcraft in the village. (58) The case is still very well known.

The same observation, as far as witchcraft is concerned, is well documented from all over Africa. (56) Mbiti writes:

"The majority, if not all, fear it, and many of them have encountered it in their normal life. This has a mystical power in its nature; whatever it is, it is a reality, and one with which African peoples have to reckon." (59)

58) NWI, p. 172

56) R. M. Mabwati, Alien Religion and the Christian
59) NWI, p. 196
It appears that, among Christian Tchwa, these two types of traditional beliefs have been least influenced by the new Faith. This may indicate that beliefs in witchcraft and in spirits-of-revenge respond to deeply felt needs among Tchwa, to explain—and thus make manageable—influences on lives which they regard as utterly threatening.

It can also be suggested that, from a Christian point of view, this state of affairs is due to the attitude missionaries in general have taken in this respect. Witchcraft and beliefs in "evil spirits" have been dismissed as "irrational", "someting in your imagination", or "the works of Satan", and the common advice has been "not to think of such things". The obvious result of this attitude has been one of withdrawal.

The impossibility of Tchwa to accept this missionary attitude has led to the interpretation that witchcraft and evil spirits were something strictly their own: They are seen as burdens which had to be borne by them alone and which were completely out of reach of a white man's perception. However, in public, Tchwa Christians adopt the Christian attitude towards these beliefs, and, consequently, witchcraft and revenge spirits are hardly even mentioned in a Protestant context, let alone being faced constructively.

Here again, it seems that a similar attitude has been almost universally taken by missionaries, and probably most whites. All over Africa, non-Africans express their doubts about the sincerity of whites in this respect; an American, Wilson Ford, even a Christian Nyasa, woman told her: "You just imagine like all Europeans, you do not wish to admit belief in witchcraft, you are just pretending". (19)

A Christian African from woman criticized this missionary attitude at a deeper level.

"The Christian Council pamphlet on witchcraft . . . took the position that witchcraft was not a reality.

but only a psychological delusion. Anybody who knows African Christians intimately will know that no amount of denial on the part of the Church will expel belief in supernatural powers from the minds of the African People.

What often happens as a result of such denunciation is that a state of conflict is created in the mind of the Christian, and he becomes a hypocrite who in official church circles pretends to give the impression that he does not believe in these things, while in his own private life he resorts to practices which are the results of such beliefs. (59)

In the case of foreign, possessive and sickness-bringing spirits (mamrika), the missionary attitude has been completely opposite to the one regarding witchcraft and spirits-vengeance. Evidently, a definite spiritual force has here been recognized. Mamrika seem to have been equated to demons, mentioned in the Bible, and scriptural examples of exorcism of demons have probably initiated the work among Protestants of exorcising mamrika by prayer. (60)

Such exorcism is still occasionally reported, but it seems to be less common than some years back, while, on the other hand, actual "conversion" by mamrika is said to be on the increase. Some informants described this alleged decline of Christian exorcism as the fact that "some persons have a special power in this respect," a Methodist pastor, formerly active at Handiki, was especially mentioned by several informants in connection with "exorcism by prayer." But this kind of praying is now mostly done by leaders, according to several informants.

The fact that "spontaneous prayer-exorcism" can be performed in "ordinary" Christian congregations is, however, confirmed by the following statement by a pastor-informant:

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(59) L. A. Amodeo, "The Christian Church and African Heritage" in New Delhi, Christianity in Africa as Seen by Africana, pp. 123-131

"When I was at Maxavele on a Christmas Day, a woman possessed by mandiki was present in the congregation. I preached about the child Jesus who had come to destroy all the customs of our grand-fathers... That woman stood up and came forward crying. We had prayer, and I asked her, What makes you cry? She said, I cannot worship because I have mandiki.

Then I said to her, What is your desire? She said, My desire is that I leave the mandiki and follow the Gospel. I said, Do you have things dedicated to the mandiki (ziphailela)? She answered, I have. - Will you let me take these and burn them? She said, I will.

A little later I took along an evangelist. We entered her hut, took the mandiki - things and went out along the path, to a crossroads, had prayer there and burned them. Then we broke down the house (where she had worshipped the mandiki) and burned the pieces. We took her brass-rings (mairinsa) and threw them far away. When we had finished, we had prayer again.

Then I said to her, When you hear the mandiki-drums again, don't go there! Your task is now to follow the Gospel, to love meetings and to go to church again and again. If you leave the church and stop worshipping, the mandiki will come back to you. - Even now she is following the Gospel. She has not yet left it".

(2) God sends sickness

God sends sickness - or allows sickness to come from Satan - as punishment for sins. This belief among the Tshwa Christians appears to be fundamental in their new attitude towards sickness. Many European Christians may have a similar understanding, but in this case it may be the Tshwa traditional belief of the ancestors punishing their descendants' sins by sickness, in a Christian dress.

A few informants insisted that "God does not send trials on Christians, to test their faith. These trials come only from Satan". But, in the main, I found no clear distinction here. One said, "God brings punishment, but he does not kill through His testing". "Mazilipox was mentioned several times as punishment coming from God. 'This may come over you because of some serious sin, like adultery'.

It is also part of the Christian concept that cripples and
Albinos are sent by God because of the parents' sin. One informant gave the following example from a neighbour of his:

"A father of an albino baby, whom I know, was totally overcome by grief, as he saw his child. He cursed himself and his wife, and was even angry with God. The midwife asked him to calm himself, as his anger might be punished by God through yet another albino child.

After some time, his wife bore him another albino baby. Then the father was totally stunned. But soon he went to buy some clothes for his two albino children and began speaking of them as his own children. The next time his wife became pregnant, she bore a normal child."

Punishment for sin may even kill, as "God is the one who measures the days of every man". This is one key-phrase which makes it possible for Tshwa to reconcile that witches and spirits may be the active agents, while God is actually allowing the punishment to come. One informant formulated it this way:

"As many people are so clever, witchcraft must be real. But what I do not believe is that witches can kill a person unless God has already called him, i.e. that the days of that man were finished!".

Another expression, obviously frequently used when some severe affliction has struck a Tshwa Christian, is: "God has forsaken me". (Mungungulu i nzi tshikile). This points again to the belief that God may open the door for some other agent to carry out certain punishment. This agent would most often be seen as Satan, and there is evidence that witchcraft and "evil spirits" are sometimes regarded as Satan's instruments.

**Christian attitudes to cure**

When Christian Tshwa get sick, they often want to be treated at some hospital. The steadily growing flow of patients to hospitals in the Tshwa area confirms this observation. Many non-Christians nowadays also follow the stream to hospital treatment.
However, traditional cures still play a significant role.

No specific research has - to my knowledge - been done in order to find out how large a percentage of hospital patients in the Tshwa area have also been treated by Tshwa traditional doctors (tin'anga). One missionary doctor, active in the region for more than 15 years, estimates that approximately 80 percent of his patients show definite marks of having been treated by a tin'anga before going to hospital. (61)

As the majority of these patients are normally counted as Christians, such a statement would indicate that a large number of Christian Tshwa seek help in a hospital after the tin'anga has failed to treat him satisfactorily. It has also been reported that certain tin'anga actually "refer" their patients to hospital for definite parts of their treatment, for instance an operation, later to go back to the tin'anga to complete the cure.

Similar observations are reported from other parts of Africa. Welbourn says that:

"... in Uganda it was estimated in 1962 that 90 percent of those admitted to the children's ward at Mulago hospital in Kampala first reported to the hospital at the instance of a banana diviner, who himself dealt with the "magical agents" he regarded (in many cases, I believe, quite honestly) as ultimately responsible". (62)

It should be noted, however, that in the case of the above-quoted estimation regarding the Tshwa, no distinction has been made between herbalists and actual tin'anga. As herbalists, in general, utilize only the pharmaceutical qualities of certain herbs or parts of trees, they are placed by Tshwa Christians in a different category than tin'anga.

I know of at least one instance, where an evangelist, also known as a herbalist, was called in openly to apply his

(61) Personal communication from R. Simpson, M.D.

(62) F.H. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 14
medicine on a person who had been unsuccessfully treated at hospital. According to the pastor supplying the information, the patient was considered to be dying, and "no modern medicine was of any avail. Then I asked permission to bring in this evangelist, and the day after his treatment, the patient began to get well".

Even allowing for a number of Christian Taiwa going to herbalists in times of sickness, informants' statements confirm that several approach Taiwa. A few relevant quotations:

"Oh, there are many Christians who go to Taiwa. Among those many who seek Taiwa for help, there is one or another who runs to hospital for treatment."

"A Christian mother, whom I know, went to a diviner to find a button who could cure her children. She had two sets of twins, and all had fallen ill on the same day."

"There are such sicknesses which doctors (modern) fail to cure. Then, go to a Taiwa doctor and he will help. This happens many times..."

When questioned on this point, several persons, among then some Church leaders, claim that "only those who are not really conveted resort to traditional forms of cure. When a Christian has strong faith, he will never think of going to a Taiwa." The report of a Christian village leader who withstood the strong pressure from his kin-group and his wife, who all wished to find out from a diviner "what was killing them", an one of his children had suddenly died, is an example of much "strong faith". It is to be noted that this last pattern is a traditional symptom of spirit-of-revenge (influenced). Undoubtedly, many more examples of this character could be found.

Nevertheless, it is well demonstrated that a large number of Taiwa Christians utilize traditional cures in case of sickness. This would seem to lead to a loyalty crisis.

"Taiwa; on the other hand, quote an opinion "that the ability to sustain a dichotomy of mind in the approach to his mixed cultural environment was the African's greatest asset.\"
in his new situation". (53)

My investigation leads me to the opinion that Tswana Christians in critical situations are actually plunged into a conflict of conscience, particularly when the symptoms give rise to the suspicion that witches or "evil spirits" are involved. In other words, the dividing line in connection with *wun'anga* ("traditional art of divination and healing") does not primarily run between Christian and non-Christian, but between those who utilize *wun'anga* with a good conscience, and those who are afraid of being detected.

An illuminating comment on the running battle many Christians in critical situations are fighting with their consciences and sense of loyalty, was given by two informants mentioning three new causes, by which Christians may attract sickness:

1) You may become sick of fear, if you hesitate about eating *mit'anele* or not (in death purification, see p. 240).

2) You may get sick because of sacred rituals to a *n'anga*.

3) You may get sick from wearing a *xitsungulo* (protective amulet).

In short: Sickness may now result from the very customs that Tswana traditionally regard as protective! From a Christian viewpoint, the test of strength would then be between "strong faith" and weak. The following analysis, however, rather points to a different categorization.

**Analysis of the question "Hospital or n'anga"?**

It would be completely wrong to state that modern medicine treats the sickness without bothering about the cause. Still, I find that this is the point where modern medicine fails to meet the total need of the Tswana people.

One reason is the obvious difference between scientific views of sickness causation and traditional concepts of the same. To the Tshwa mind, modern medicine is so deeply concerned with the "What?" question, that for them, the more vital questions of "Why?" and "By whom was the sickness sent?" are ignored.

It would appear that modern medicine has by its very nature of being a rationalistic science removed sickness from the mystical realm, in which Tshwa traditionally look for its main cause. Simultaneously, it has given medicines and drugs a leading role in all curing, while introducing a new element of the same rationalistic and material category: surgery.

It is also possible that, although psycho-somatic causation is well established factor in modern medicine, it plays an inferior role in diagnostics in the Tshwa area, because of limited knowledge of Tshwa psychology. As in Africa "the psychic factor in psycho-somatic medicine is becoming a matter not of individual psychopathology but of failures in interpersonal relationships", it would seem that this type of diagnostics in Africa necessitates sociological and anthropological insight, in addition to medical. The matter of "externalization" of guilt (See next chapter) also presents possible complications.

The rationalistic attitude towards sickness which accompanies modern medicine has also been largely adopted by the Church. "The church hospital" is the Christian way of finding healing. I do not disregard "prayers for the sick", which are recognized as a Christian duty, but it has already been pointed out that these are mainly regarded as supplementary to hospital treatment, and in no way present any alternative. Nor do they consciously enter the area of spiritual or social sickness causation.

(64) F.B. Welbourn, op. cit. p. 19
Thus, by allying itself with modern medicine in unrelenting opposition against traditional *wu:n'anga*, the official attitude of the Protestant Church in the Tshwa region has led to a side-stepping of the issue of religious, psychological and social sickness causation, which to the Tshwa is of primary importance.

I find two main results of this rationalization of sickness:

(a) Certain types of sickness are regarded as outside the reach of modern medicine.

(b) It encourages Tshwa to continue approaching the *wu:n'anga* to find spiritual causes of illness.

In determining "what types of sickness cannot be treated at hospital", informants revealed that this categorization does not follow the time or symptoms but rather that of assumed underlying reason. It should also be noted that the efficacy of hospitals as such is not known into question, but that certain causes, according to the Tshwa viewpoint, cannot be dealt with by a scientific medical process. The following statement brings out these two important points:

"When a man is sick because of 'custom', i.e., somebody has made him sick (as in baby-sick), he cannot be treated in hospital. Several persons may have the same kind of sickness, and the majority of these may be cured at hospital, but in this case the hospital fails. We may have headache and gett medicine from the doctor but he does not get better. Only a Tshwa doctor (r'shuma) can help him, because the sickness has been sent on him."

But, on the other hand, if the hospital fails in treating you, when you have not been made sick by somebody else, then a *wu:n'anga* has no help to give, either."

Most informants agreed that causes of witchcraft, spirit-of-revenge (*ulungwus*), and foreign spirit (mandiki) should be treated by *wu:n'anga*. One pointed out the acute danger for a person afflicted by *ulungwus* in going to hospital. "If he does not hurry to find a *wu:n'anga* and goes to hospital instead to get cured, the hospital will make him die. And somebody else will follow immediately..., until they begin to see..."
what is the matter'. This confirms the observation in Ghana by Williamson, that "in a crisis a person turns to the 'appropriate power'. (65)

One veteran-informant objected that people cannot know of such 'mystical' remedies unless they go to a diviner, and concluded that, 'If only people would keep away from the diviner, these old beliefs would soon fade'. We are reminded, however, that certain patterns of symptoms seem to lead the suspicion in definite directions, (66) and in such cases the diviner's role is more to confirm the diagnosis than to reveal.

Of specific illnesses that are believed to be completely cured by traditional doctors, while modern medicine "can only temporarily relieve the complaint", a case (nkukum) and observation (empirical) are used frequently mentioned. In these cases, reference is made to "cure" rather than to actual illness. The difficulties in connection with hospital treatment of Ngamwam have already been demonstrated. (67)

b. My material adequately proves that "to the African mind, disease is closely linked with religion". (68) As modern medicine removes it from the religious-mystical realm, these patients tend to search for the spiritual cause in another context. So far, the Protestant Church seems to have ignored this aspect, except in the context of 'prayer for the sick'.

Confession, mentioned by Williamson, (69) is also in Protestant context, an exception.

"We had prayer for a friend of mine, whose penis had

(65) S. G. Williamson, op. cit. p. 182

(66) See pp. 178-181

(67) See p. 19

(68) J. K. Tuminez, Religion in an African City, p. 151

(69) ibid. 155

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swollen because of playing with a menstruating girl. This boy had been treated with "Tshwa branches" (medicines). But, as his father was a class leader, and he was a Christian himself, the pastor was called for prayer. But "they did not tell the pastor who had the prayer anything about the nature of the sickness, or the treatment".

Another example:

"We who pray for a sick person do not know anything else but praying for him. But he himself will know what to do... by going to the bones (diviner)".

Some informants mentioned that certain persons "had been prayed for by the Zionists and become healed. And now they continue to worship with the Zionists". Even if such remarks without exception were given in a condescending tone, it is clear that Tshwa Christians recognize the different attitudes towards healing between their own Church and Zionists. (70)

In a different context, I have stated that "no true life crises arise are found within Christian Tshwa worship". (71) This could indicate that the Protestant Churches are skirting the issues involved in Tshwa traditional concepts of illness. Obviously, this is a factor that tends to strengthen, or at least to keep at bay, the role of the person in the spiritual aspect of illness, while, on the other hand, the belief in his medicines has persisted and become the strong reputation of "medicine from hospital".

Christianity presents itself as a great spiritual force. But, it may be suggested that modern medicine in its present image among the Tshwa, with which the Church so closely identifies its concept of healing, contributes to decreasing the spiritual influence of the new Faith.

(70) Cf. B. Sundkler, op. cit. pp. 200-201
(71) "Sacrifice, Sacraments", p. 199
Conclusions

It must be stated that the question regarding "Hospital or Home?" cannot be answered in the vacuity of consensus. Neither does "Hospital" or "Home" treatment and care really mean or imply even the smallest degree of clash or contradiction, when used traditionally. Both have been traditionally recognized by Christians, may play an equal and almost always complementary. Certain patterns of symptoms are referred to medical causes, which must be treated by medicinal methods, prescribed by a practitioner. Every single case of observation which has been amply documented shows that any part of Africa. Margaret Field writes:

"Though quite a number of people recognize their own patients with pneumonia, frequently say that patients with blood-thirsty fever must be in a hospital, they stand firmly on the theory that the patient's vulnerability to the disease is of supernatural origin and until the patient has been confirmed, the hospital efforts are against the patient." (16)

The Christian concept of "hospital" was often seen as "punishment for sin or sent or allowed by God." It appears remarkable that little effort has been seen to provide the Roman Catholic Church to meet the need of those who have supernatural causes of their sickness. It is with predominance based on those finding.

Some inferences state that "many Christians slide into traditional beliefs in ease of sickness and affliction." It is significant to note that the main method of treating sick Christians "suffering back" is by a church discipline that is more apt to cut off an offender from membership than to face constructively the difficult conflict of conscience which a sick Roman Christian often finds himself. (17)
Returning finally to the oft-quoted statement by Malinowski: "Under the stress of emotional crisis the indigenous belief becomes stronger than the alien creed", (73) I find it on the whole, confirmed by observations on the Tavera.

This will undoubtedly continue to be true, at least as long as Christianity remains alien to Tavera culture in its critically important areas of sickness, education and work, particularly by refusing to recognize the Tavera disease affiliation concept, which in the Tavera mind is the contact factor.

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(73) B. Malinowski, in Methods of Study of Culture: Contact in Africa, p. 89.
"A relationship is structured by the rights and obligations of the parties to it. Social change occurs when, and only when, new norms develop as to these rights and obligations, for until new ideas gain general acceptance and become norms any infractions of the existing code will call forth sanctions and result in a reinforcement of the traditional pattern" (1)

The Tshwa society is in a situation where norms at least of two different standards are commonly utilized. Within both "camps," ethical systems are at work, but through their constant inter-penetration, a sense of moral insecurity appears to be fairly wide-spread. Most Christian Tshwa, it would seem, presently have one foot in each of these camps, withdrawing from certain traditional actions for religious reasons while accepting other parts of the ethical code by using social criteria. It is conceivable that a person is censured because of a certain action in one section of society, while the same act calls forth praise in the other context. He may also find himself in an acute conflict of conscience, as has been pointed out in "Pursuit of Health". (2)

It seems, therefore, to be of great importance to attempt an analysis of ethical norms in traditional Tshwa culture, based upon information from my informants, and on my pastoral experience, and to investigate the inter-relation between these and the Christian standards, manifestly accepted by Tshwa Christians but nevertheless foreign to the Tshwa frame of reference.


(2) See p. 208
In this analysis, as in other parts of this dissertation, I have made a conscious effort to avoid any value judgments in any direction.

Good and evil

The concept of the 'highest good' of the Tanae has been dealt with in more detail in the chapter on 'Quest for Life'. The concept of 'sufficient life', and how Christianity has modified this goal to reach 'the better life', which included all elements in the traditional ideal, while changing certain specifics and adding a few new items. The most important addition is 'the eternal life', or 'unending life' (eternal bliss) which he sees as a guaranteed reward for every Christian who continues faithfully to worship and to keep the Law of Christ.

The traditional 'sufficient life' ideal included 'right relationships' as a priority element. It was said that, in the Christian ideal of 'the better life', the emphasis is not so strong as much 'right relationships' in social terms, but rather on right relationships with God. This trend should not be overly stressed, but one important aspect of it will be demonstrated further on in this chapter, in speaking about 'defiance'.

Good produces 'Life'

Another way of expressing the Tanae traditional ideal would be 'the normal', or 'a life fulfilling moral expectations'. Thus, one would normally count on within Tanae society: health, fertility, enough food, and satisfactory social relationships as 'good'. Fringe benefits, for instance a substantially improved house, are welcomed to some extent, but the fear of 'inferiority' is real, and checks the desire for

(3) See further pp. 108-109.
more wealth and success than is 'appropriate'.

From a functional point of view, then, 'good' is whatever contributes to establishing or upholding the 'sufficient life'. "Not until one has understood that for the African 'the ontological good is the ethically good' and one appreciates and understand the moral sense of the African and the direction of ethical pursuit", says Adegbola speaking from a Yoruba experience. In other words, the term 'ethically good' is not attached to certain acts or states of mind as an indelibly written label, but 'good' is what produces good results, conducive to 'life'.

It is 'conducive to life' for a man to have children.
Therefore, it is 'good' (and normal) for him to take another wife if his first wife is denied offspring. As a matter of fact, this is provided for through the nwowo (bride-price) institution. It is 'good' for a father to be able to build a large stone house which will enhance his appropriate prestige, but it is not good if the son does this before the father, as this would destroy the 'right relationship' determined by the rule of seniority. Sacrifices to the ancestors fall, naturally, in this 'good' category, and assisting the kin group to supply what is needed for a sacrifice, is necessarily 'good', as this helps to enhance 'life' of the group. Likewise, wealth is 'good', as they aim at improving health and 'life' of the person.

By the same token, 'evil' in the traditional sense is what decreases 'life' in the same functional meaning. Broken relationships within the kin-group or community are seen as seriously evil, as they potentially lead to 'no-life'.

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(4) E.A.O. Adegbola, "The Theological Basis of Ethicon" in Eichman-Ellingsworth (ed), Biblical Revelation and African Religions, p. 18

(5) Nwowo (bride-wealth) is further explained on pp. 17-18
Because of the relationships it breaks, and potential sickness in the family, adultery is seen as evil, but extra-marital relations as such are not evil, unless they produce a curse (khromo) because of some broken taboo.

We find, therefore, that an act will be regarded as 'evil' because of its evil results. Anger and its expressions are seen as dangerously evil, as they may call forth bitterness and sickness. Neglect of ancestral spirits is usually not seen as 'evil' until some sickness or accident reminds the kin group of its forgotten duties.

**Good is normal**

'Good' is equated with the standard, the normal, the expected behaviour, so it is believed that man normally is 'good'. Goodness, then, is nothing added to the character, like frosting on a cake. Williamson says, with experience from Ghana, "Man as he is, is man as the Creator intended him to be". (7) A man who lives and works for himself and his family and keeps his social relationships inside and outside his kin group intact, is, by definition, 'good'. Evil is then conceived as a breach against the normal, somebody temporarily going "below par" in committing an evil act. 'Good' might be compared to the state of health, while the evil act is the disease, temporarily disturbing the equilibrium.

Thus, there is no 'will' man according to Tshwa philosophy, except in one special instance. The witch is intrinsically evil, living and expressly working for the destruction of persons and society as a whole. As White expresses it:

"Those who practice witchcraft, evil magic and sorcery are

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(6) Several diseases are listed and explained on pp. 167-169

the very incarnation of moral evil". (8) This understanding was re-inforced by most of the informants through their strong belief that "a witch cannot be converted": As 'good' is normal, and she is opposite to everything normal, she is thus, by definition, evil!

At this point, outside the various evinements of alleged results of witchcraft activities, I find valuable guidance in the definition of 'good' from the Zambian in Zambia:

"What is good, for Mwewu, is the open, the public, the uninvolved, the minors. A man is said to be 'good' when he performs his duties from the 'liver', not from calculated policy with a sense of outward politeness under which malice is concealed..."

The breeding, hidden anger of the witch is the essence of evil, as this is a continuous source of disturbance and destruction of life-enhancing forces.

**Evil influences from the outside**

"Externalisation of evil"

All normal men is considered intrinsically 'good', his temporary evil acts cannot come from himself. The Zambian man, seeing the various results of his evil actions (in sickness or disaster), literally looks behind him to discover what evil force has been the active agent on his mind, leading him to commit a sin or break a taboo. We have already seen how these evil influences are conceptualised in certain spirits or ancestors. According to informants, witchcraft is what commonly happens, "turning a man to be the servant of the witch, in performing terrible acts".

This is an example of so-called "externalisation" of evil, which means that forces from outside lead a person...

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(8) J. Mbiti, _African Religions and Philosophy_, p. 215

(9) J. Turner, _Dooms of Affiliation_, p. 49
into evil acts, presumably against his own will. "The man is the object acted upon". (10) Another example is the 'possessed person', who is automatically exonerated from all that he does while 'possessed', as the spirits (mondiki) are the active agents. A similar "externalization" appears to be experienced by Tahua in their dreams, as visiting or speaking persons or spirits are considered as coming from the outside. Hence, the urgent importance of messages received through dreams.

According to the Tahua traditional point of view, then, evil action is the result of an evil desire emerging from a 'will' that is considered personal, but outside of the individual's soul. Consequently, even if a criminal guilt adheres to the person who acted, he can say to himself to find out "who sent the evil will upon him."

Some symbols for 'good' and 'evil'.

The main symbol used in Tahua expression for evil is 'Heat' (imdau). This is the dangerous opposite of the 'good' root with the life-giving power. 'Heat' is considered to be as evil as a venomous sun burning whatever grows in the fields, leaving people and animals to die. Symbolically, 'Heat' is generated by sexual acts or certain states having to do with the reproductive organs. Thus, castrating men and boys with 'heat', and for a month after childbirth, (11) and more than two more times during pregnancy, and in cases of war a man-slayer is 'hot' until he has been properly purified.

'Heat' is also experienced as the result of improper sexual acts known. All known sexualizations are therefore meticulously

(10) q. Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience, pp. 149-150.

(11) Until the line of "galawaq meansi" (strengthening the child) a ceremony which establishes the husband's paternity of the child.

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followed while burying a dead, so that the ‘cool’ rain is not prevented from falling, but certain cases need special care. After an abortion, the foetus must be buried in deep soil in order not to make the country ‘dirty’. The same applies, e.g., to a man who has died from miasma. (12)

The main common sense of theory, however, is created by the act of sexual intercourse, whether this is within the marriage or outside. The day after the sexual act, the two partners are ‘dirty’. But, without performing any special purification, that ‘taint’ disappears soon one night has passed without intercourse.

It is obvious that the ‘taint’ in itself cannot be seen as ‘evil’ in ethical terms, as人次般 men defined appear to be outside of the sphere normally considered moral. But, similarly to actions which are defined as ‘evil’ because of their magical results. ‘Taint’ is bad because it has a power of potential destruction. ‘Taint’ persons are prohibited from visiting sick, or a ‘new’ baby, and kept from taking part in a ceremony, because their ‘taint’ may disturb the forces of ‘life’ which or such ceremonies are particularly delicate. Similar exceptions of ‘taint’ are reported from several peoples in Africa. (13)

Some interesting facts are true about ‘taint’ also in the case of death, but it is more likely that ‘blackness’ falls upon the kin group among those struck by death. Such ‘blackness’ must be removed by special individuals with a purification. (14)

Black seems to have a stolen significance also among the Hamba, as ‘barren’. Black objects are often seen for witchcraft and the beasts are sick from it. (15)

(12) A fatal sickness, repeatedly caused by the breach of a serious moral taboo. See p. 160


(14) See: Death and Life Eternal, p. 267

(15) V. Turner, op. cit. p. 138
Another observation in this respect is that the skirt of Tshwa Methodist women's 'uniform' is "black to remind of the sins we have been saved from".

To be 'holy', 'pure' and 'right', on the other hand, is to be 'white' (kuhaka). 'Whiteness' is the blameless state, the 'cool' state which cannot produce any evil results. One may say that this is the symbolic equivalent of the most important blessing: rain.

'White' is used to translate the Christian term "holy", e.g. in Acts 15:30b (The Holy Spirit, lit. The White Spirit). Here again, it is noted that the goodness denoted in this case is on "par level". It is the normal state. Actions of good will prompt one to the 'whiteness', only confirm it. Thus, it is rather the absence of evil than a positive goodness.

"Kabiti" (shadow) is in the Tshwa culture a good element.

"A person who has shadow is like a big tree, in whose shadow I can rest and find strength." This is completely opposed to the understanding of "shadow" among most other peoples, notably the Lebanese, where "shadow" is, on the whole, dangerous, not to its primary intermediary host, but to others. (15)

Christian ethics introduces conflict

Compared to the Tswana functional moral (which Khiti would call 'dynamic ethics') (16), which denotes an act is 'good' or 'evil' according to its result it produces, Christian ethics appear 'static' or 'structural'. By Christian standards, an act is considered intrinsically 'good' or 'evil', regardless of circumstances or results. The Church says, e.g., 'Monogamy

(16) Krige, op. cit., p. 215

(17) I would not agree with this, as the word dynamic usually implies something forcefully creative.

J. Khiti, op. cit., p. 213
is good'. Thus, taking a second wife is 'evil', even if such an act might result in offspring. Extra-marital sexual relations are intrinsically evil, whether taboos are broken or not. They are against "The Christian law".

Another example is that modern medicine is 'good', while amulets are shunned as 'evil'. In this situation, many a Christian mother, I am told, is caught in a dilemma between using modern medicine 'which might upset the 'snake' in the child' and tying the string with amulets around the child's abdomen - with the risk of being "discovered" by somebody in the Church. The reasoning here seems to be that "the amulet which we see according to Lahwa custom as a life-enhancing item, certainly cannot evil the child'. Thus, the 'evil' is not in the amulet, but in the discovery and the shame that might result from it. One informant, then a lay-leader, told how he had had an amulet himself 'to protect him against dangers in the mine'. When he got sick, he suspected that "God might be angry with him because of the amulet' and decided to burn it. Another 'evil' was removed from the 'evil' results.

The conflict of conscience and loyalty is obviously real for a Christian man who is asked by his kinmen to contribute a goat to a sacrifice "because of trouble in the king group". By keeping within the Church Law, which summarily prohibits all connections with the ancestral spirits, he will refuse to have anything to do with the sacrifice, simultaneously lowering the 'life' of his kin, both by his refusal to take part in the life-enhancing ritual, and by seriously breaking the 'right relationship'.

The refusal of Lahwa men to himself in 'good' stands in sharp opposition to the Christian doctrine of man's intrinsic evilness. Christianity's is that all men 'like sheep have gone astray', (16)

(16) 1 Peter 3:18.
but that "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners". (19)

I have found nothing among my informants indicating that this conception of "original sin" is understood, except for some formulations from the catechism. Evil and sin are well known entities among Tswana, but only like dirt soiling the ‘whiteness’ of their normal state. That "man is born sinful" is a completely foreign thought to Tswana culture. In the same vein, Williamson writes about the Akan of Ghana: "Christianity in its doctrine of human sinfulness moves in a universe of thought and experience remote from the Akan’s". (20)

‘Goodness’, then, according to Christian standards is something possible to achieve only by way of ‘salvation from sin’. Even then, ‘goodness’ remains a goal rather than a reality. (21) There is evidence that Tswana Christians consider this ‘goodness’ as something reachable only in connection with the ‘eternal life’, and that all one can hope for right now is to keep away from such sinful acts that would spoil the record.

**Externalization in Christian context**

Although serious conflict between traditional and Christian ethics appears inevitable, the concept of externalization of guilt has been completely adopted within the Christian sphere. In traditional culture, Tswana externalize the incentive to evil action, mainly by referring it to witchcraft, or some evil spirit. In Christianity, the concept of Satan has lent itself to a similar interpretation, leaving the guilt at least partly externalized.

Several informants affirmed that ‘man is not evil. It is

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(19) 1 Tim. 1:1
(20) J.A. Williamson, op. cit., p. 141
(21) Cf. Matthew 5:18
the spirit of Satan that comes over him, whispering in his ear that he should do certain things. Thus, whether or not some evil acts depend on "how strong a man is."

Sometimes the temptation to do evil arises from within, and sometimes from without, as from Satan himself. The latter is often the case, and the guilt of the Christian who commits such acts often rests on himself. Thus, whether or not he commits evil acts depends on "how strong he is." The guilt of the Christian who commits such acts rests on himself. Thus, whether or not he commits evil acts depends on "how strong he is." The guilt of the Christian who commits such acts rests on himself.

Therefore, in the minds of Peshaware Christians, the superstructure upon the essence of trauma is not merely psychological and spiritual-revenge. Witches are supposed to have been used without and within, and their power is great. It is significant that an"appropriate" term was never mentioned as "servant of Satan" in their minds. The concept of witchcraft, particularly in the context of evil, seems to have escaped them. The same is true for "witnesses." Thus, in their minds, the concept of witchcraft, they have never been powers which from their generation to their enemy number one.

Law and Legalism

The nature of Law

In the previous chapter, where "the ontological good in the absolute sense" is described, the functional character of the Law was discussed. The Law is to help people to do what they must do for their own salvation. The only 'saved' discernible function of the Law is the necessity of unity within the kin-group, and/or neighbourhood, so that "life may be ensured," It can

(22) Cf. 11. 158
the spirit of Satan that comes over him, whispering in his ear that he should do certain things. Thus, whether or not a Christian commits some evil acts depends on "how strong faith he has". We are thus led back to the necessity of the Christian not only to believe in God but to achieve a "strong faith in God's power". Thus, the guilt of the Christian is, in general, thought of as coming of "some Satan", while the primary guilt for the action itself harks back to Satan and his spirit.

It seems clear that, in the minds of Tshwa Christians, Satan has become a superstructure upon the essence of traditional Tshwa evil, namely witchcraft and misfortune. Informants mentioned that "Satan makes witches and impotents, and even females belong to him". It is significant that ancestral spirits (tshulwa) were never mentioned as "servants of Satan".

It is noteworthy that the concept of witchcraft, particularly, as the essence of evil, seems to have escaped those Tshwa who were the "scientific" type that "knows it as it is". To unaware the reality of witchcraft, the informants deny the power over Tshwa reckoned as their "Number One".

Law and Lore

The return of the Law

In the same society, where "the ontological good is the eternally good", the Law has been enshrined functional normative at least "weakly". It is used to stop practices and keep "right" as the Tshwa understand it. The only "principle" discarding behind this Law is the necessity of unity within the kin-group, and/or harmonization, so said "there was no punishment". It can
be said, with Junod, that "the law (nayo) is the interest of
the clan." (23) Although unwritten, these laws "have become
accepted from their very nature, from the fact that they
satisfy the more fundamental and common needs of life in so-
ciety, as binding and obligatory." (24)

As we are mainly dealing with the ethical aspect of the
law, I do not intend to discuss it in juridical terms, except
to draw our attention to the fact that laws imposed from out-
side of Tshwa culture tend to be regarded as less binding
than their own. This has been observed among wage-workers,
as far as their obligations in conditions of wage, work
contracts, etc., are concerned. The obvious explanation lies
in the fact that the Tshwa do not regard these laws as
essential to life.

It may be relevant to point out a fundamental difference
between Tshwa and European law: While European law deals
essentially in terms of 'right' and 'wrong', Tshwa law deals
in the terms of 'good' and 'wrong', that is, ethical law and
juridical law under the Tshwa present the same name.
By the same token, a juridical law (from society) which does
not clearly demonstrate itself as promoting life is not
felt as obligatory in the same sense

Two different aspects of law work in the minds of Tshwa,
without there being any direct connection between the two:
Taboos (ziy/Shiyi), and the proper law (nayo; pl. nayyo).
On analysis, it appears that the law (nayo) deals with all
kinds of relationships between persons within the group, i.e.,
it presents itself as an integrative. It could also be said
that the law is identified with the concept of 'right relation-
ship', essentially in all Tshwa 'quest for life'.

(23) H.A. Junod, Life of a South African tribe, II

(24) L. Hirsinger, "Law and Justice", in: The Sanh-sk-ak-
ning tribes of South Africa, p. 243.
Taboo, on the other hand, deal with such relationships only in specific circumstances, while in several other cases they have clearly no ethical contents at all. This agrees with Adegbola's observation that "the tabu (word) prohibits indiscriminately, both morally and a-morally". (25)

The Law, then, regulates life according to structure and purpose of the group, while taboos are like road-signs of warning against a potential hazard, declaring an ordinarily lawful act dangerous at certain times, or for certain persons.

The Law of Christ

Is the question "What is it to be a Christian?", the most common answer to it from Christians is: "To follow the Law of Christ". While this law may be called "Law of God", or "The Christian Law", or even "The Law of the Church", it is clearly demonstrated that the Christian life is seen in terms of 'following a Law'. As this law is believed to lead to the ultimate goal of 'eternal life', it may be surmised that it is considered in the same obligatory category as their own traditional law.

The main contents of this law, obviously, is the Ten Commandments, which are supposed to be known by heart by every potential candidate. Some interpreters gave "the new Christian life" (26) to these answers, but more commonly, the gist of the Christian Law was: "To leave all old ways of life; to go to church; to follow God; to obey the Church laws". The latter of those two came up in one reply, mainly in the negative injunction that "A Christian should never be angry". From an ethical viewpoint, this puts a strong emphasis on the negative aspect of "leaving the old". Thus, the ethical content of the Christian law is often seen as a total negation of the traditional life, rather than, for instance, "The Sermon on the Mount".

(25) E.A.A. Adegbola, op. cit. p. 159
(26) Matthew 2:37-39
Legalistic outlook analyzed

A legalistic trend has been found in Christian Churches in several different parts of Africa. Thus, Anderson notes this fact in the Congo, while Bush and Snow make the same observation among the Kikuyu and Tswana. (20)

It must be noted that such a legalistic outlook is by no means limited to Christians in Africa. It appears everywhere, from a Christian viewpoint often seen as a sign of "shallow understanding of the Christian faith". Nevertheless, legalism in African Christianity seems to be an universal that some specific name may be suggested.

Some Christians are no exception to this rule. Legalistic teaching and preaching appears to represent the normal theme. In certain experiences, I have personally experienced that prudence on "the unmerited grace of God" may be even presented by certain leaders.

It has been suggested that

"For the First generation of converts a legalistic outlook about conduct on the part of the missionaries is natural. It helps them to define the separate identity of their converts. In the next generation, such an attitude, if uncontrolled, will be that of Africans themselves in order to maintain their separate role in their social environment." (29)

I agree exhaustively to the necessity of a clearly defined "separate identity" of the First Christian generation in Africa. Furthermore, as we come to names of legalism, the Methodist doctrine of "separation" (28) may be regarded as one factor contributing to a legalistic outlook, even if I know that this is not the intention of the doctrine.

(29) J.A. Bush, pp. 46, 1; p. 41; Paul, Religion in a Town- Chiefs, p. 615.
(29) pp. 56.
(29) p. 71.
as such. Influence, perhaps unconsciously, has also seeped in from the Roman Catholic doctrine of "merit", implying that certain religious acts may make a person more acceptable in the sight of God.

My material, however, leads me to the conclusion that the essence of a legalistic outlook lies in the context at such deeper levels. I suggest that the foundation of legalism in Churches in Africa, apart from certain aspects of Church teaching, lies in a different concept of man, sin and salvation, as this is in contrasted with the Christian doctrine of "justification by faith alone".

4. It should first be noted that religion among Yoruba was mainly expressed through symbolic action, while the doctrinal foundation of traditional religion was simply taken for granted. Thus, it becomes clear that Christianity as the new "Faith" (/Ikuku/) has been partly grasped as a set of doctrines, but also as a religion to be expressed in specific actions, considered as "Christian Law".

As the transfer to the new "Faith" was accompanied by strong psychological and social tension, it was necessary to reinterpret the new belonging in definitely stated terms. As these "laws" were conceived as "sanctions in life", i.e. "eternal life", they were interpreted as obligatory guidelines to the new necessary right relationship with God. Meanwhile, sanctions were feared as definitely recorded of necessary repentance.

5. The most important reason from my viewpoint, is that the Yoruba lived, evidently, the "Aristotelian" concept of man, sin and salvation does not leave much foothold for the Pauline doctrine of "justification by faith alone". (30) While this doctrine presupposes the "satisfactions of man in need of redemption", hence our normal man as 'sinner', and salvation as

(30) GT. Romans 1:17
freedom from such evil powers as may endanger or prevent the continuous quest for life. Thus, it would appear that the 
Taoists have no reason to fit the mentioned Christian 
document. Consequently, a Jesuitic outlook is not only 
explained. It even makes the only Jesuitic "Hamlet", by 
which the Taoists may get an initial grasp on the Christian 
Faith.

Similar theories are indicated from the Cong. in the 
statement. What the Congregationalists in the new religion is 
not a meritorious God, but rather a powerful God, who has the 
power to overcome the evil (Hamlet) of earth", (31). From 
Goa's animal the order:

"Christianity means of man's need, salvation from 
sin, and of God's redemptive will. This evolves no 
significant response in the new, and among new Christi- 
ans in the Church, there is slight appreciation of these 
truths.

This statement is based not only on observed facts 
in the Church, but also on many years of experience in theo-
logical training. The two most difficult doctrines to 
accept, and for the student to grasp, are those of sin 
and grace", (32).

As this doctrine has been seen as crucial in Protestant-
ism, (33) this observation seems to warrant further research 
from a theological and practical angle.

Sin, punishment and justification

Sin (sins) is viewed as sin of action rather than sin of 
being. Man is not by nature either 'good' or 'bad' ('evil')

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(31) Go, K., ibid., p. 100
(32) ibid.; William, op. cit., p. 101
(33) Both the Martin Lather and John Wesley, this doc-
trine, grouped around, was the burning-point in 
their lives and became the foundation for their 
"Protestantism" approach.
except in terms of what he does or does not do[2] I have found that this conception has been completely carried over by Tanaa into their Christian interpretation of sin.

Informants were asked "When did you sin last?". Such a personal question could obviously not be put until a good, trusting relationship had been built up between the interviewer and the informant, but once replied without seeming embarrassment. With only one exception, the answer referred back to some incident, recent or long ago, which had, at least temporarily, left a sense of guilt.

Most common were nausea, with nursing involved (Kurakete). One mentioned sickness because of having an amulet, supposedly to protect him from such accidents. Another had to refer back to the occasion a few years back when he had "finally given up his longing for modern dance (Kamina Musica). I once had not danced since that time, because I have not been sick or had any accident".

It is not my intention to stress these various kinds of sinners, considered sinful by the informants, and I did not probe deeper to find out whether or not this "really" was their intent also. Such questions were, in the context, irrelevant. The primary fact that "sins are actions" emerged unmistakably, only one informant, with some background from the Christian Church, spoke of the possibility that he may have sinners every time without even knowing it" - a concept that seems to approach the doctrine of "human sinfulness".

Sin against whom?

Social sin, already referred to, is defined as "breach of relationships", is directed both against the wronged individual and against the community as such. No human relationship can be broken without potentially endangering the unity of the group. As the ancestral spirits (tangutu) are the eun-
tadians of kinship unity, social sins are regarded as ultimately directed towards them. Consequently, punishment for such sinful acts can be sent by the tingtuve.

At this point, it is important to stress that, although the tingtuve are approached by sacrifices and prayers, thus being considered in a somewhat divine category, they are above all regarded as elders still vitally belonging to the kin-group. Mbili's term "living-dead" for the recently departed ancestors (35) and Gelfand's use of the term "spiritual elders" (36) fit well into this argument. The term "social sin", involving breaches of relationships with tingtuve as well as with living persons, will then be seen appropriate.

In the case of taboos (ailelayila), the direction of a breach is not so clearly defined. Informants referred to them only as "old rules", and there was no seeming understanding of from where the punishment of a broken taboo would be forthcoming. No doubt, there is a feeling that a broken taboo releases an immediate and automatic consequence like touching a live wire, and the taboo power is not recognized. Radcliffe-Brown gives the following comment:

"My own observation of the Polynesians suggests to me that in general the native conception of the change in his ritual status as taking place as the immediate result of such a breach of the rules, and that it is only when we proceed to rationalize the whole system of taboos that we think of the gods and spirits .... as being concerned". (37)

On analysis, however, I maintain that breaches of taboo are directed against "the kin-group as a whole, in its capacity as custodian of common values". (38)

(35) J. Mbili, op. cit., p. 3
(36) M. Gelfand, Ghana Religion, p. 21
(37) A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Myth, Ideology and Function in Primitive Societies, p. 159
(38) See "Threat of Death", p. 187
particularly as it is seen that 'curse' (makanda) arising from the breach of some taboo are potentially disruptive and destructive elements in the life of the group, this explanation would seem strongly supported.

Ritual sin may be regarded in the same category as taboo, as they are not tied to moral concepts in the same way as social sins. Ritual sins could also be viewed 'ritual impurity', dealing almost exclusively with persons approaching the sacred acts of sacrifice in the state of 'clean' (lukasa). Likewise, individuals contaminated by 'death conception', thus being 'diseased', are prohibited from taking part in any sacrificial act, except those arising from purification from death conception.

The social danger of ritual sin is clearly demonstrated by the belief that the entire community is rendered ineffective by the partaking of a ritual person, and that the blessing expected as fruit of the sacrifice may turn into a curse.

On analysis, it may appear that all sins, even potentially evil ones, committed by qualified persons, ultimately are bound to have a social effect, either affecting an individual or the group as a whole. They are all attempts against the unity of society.

It is particularly significant that very few sins are regarded as 'sinned against the deity' (vilo). Only a few of wrong 'sins' could be considered as 'the cause of evil in the community' (vilo without the blessing of the deity). But this comes into focus only in cases of extreme emergency, when the Role of the cult is also the only role one called for, all other procedures being then exhausted. (39)

Similarly on this vilo postulate indicates that no broken relationships were involved between one and vilo, as there was neither any particular guilt, nor any attempts at purification or restoration, but rather working of the bonds, who was then 'in order' (vilo) to grant, may the performer, using his inc...
In stark contrast to Tshwa traditional views, Christianity sees sin primarily as 'sin against God', whether this refer
to so-called 'original sin' or sinful acts wilfully committed. Social effects of sins are, of course, recognized. The larger part of the Ten Commandments themselves deal with social relationships. Nevertheless, social effects of sin are considered as secondary to the broken relationship with God.

Among Tshwa Christians, some confusion of concepts is discernible, as they, in general, unconsciously apply inherited social criteria to sin, while the Christian inner-structure inspired religious criteria to be used in their thinking about guilt and revelation. Further to confuse the issue, there is evidence that social sin would primarily be expressed in terms of wrongdoing against other Christians, or against the standards of the Church group. Outside of the Church, the religious issue again asserts itself as a decisive factor, determining for the Christian whether a relationship ought to be broken or kept intact. It would seem that the conscience conflict within a Tshwa Christian from a traditional home would be well-nigh unanswerable were he to be challenged to violate the commandment to 'honour your father and your mother' for religious reasons. Nevertheless, I am made to understand that in certain instances breaches against kinship relations may be highly condemned or strengthening the 'right relationship' with God and His Church.

It would hardly be true to state to say that Christianity among the Tshwa has totally replaced 'social sin' with its emphasis on sin as religious, but it emerges clearly that the religious criterion is overshadowing the social one, taking precedence in all cases of doubt.

To sum up, I find a tendency attempting to push all sin into the religious sphere, making it more an affair between man and God than between man and man. Ethical rules are 'the law of Christ', and then religious first, and social second at best.
Obviously, all reversals to old traditions are also sins in a religious sense, never determined by social criteria.

Old sins and new

From a Christian point of view, gradation of sins is always a risky undertaking, as it lays stress on the act rather than on the inner spirit of man. It would seem that the 'Mangy Church' in East Africa may have acquired a more deeply Christian attitude towards sin than is usually found among the Tumaini.

"In the assembly it is believed that all sins ranging from a white lie to murder are of the same magnitude and that the code of repentance is the same in every case".(40)

On the question whether there are certain sins more evil than others, the acts of killing, adultery, and theft were mentioned by most interviewees. Killing was generally regarded as worst of these sins, for that leads away the soul of the man", while theft followed adultery very closely in the estimated gradation. Other sins mentioned in connection with this question, 'laying of cripple' came first, followed by idleness, acts of entertainship (1) and (2)

It is important to observe that all sins mentioned in this list (with the exception of entertainship) are considered as very evil sins in the traditional context. They are all clearly within the category of 'social sins', although Christians may regard them first of all as sins against God.

The evidence that entertainship may even be mentioned by some in terms of sin, points to a potential conflict between Christianity and the institution of traditional chiefhood. (41)

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(40) A.A. loc. cit. p. 231. 33. p. 155

(41) ibid. p. 239.
with traditional customs was very easy compared to their
difficulty in leaving bhunga, in order to become Christians.

Sins have consequence.

Crimes of the type listed among "worst sins" were severely
punished in ancient times. A thief might be killed for
his crime, but more usual was the cutting off of "the hand
that cut and killed". Alternatively, the ears were pierced
that he may no longer see other people's belongings. Cases
of adultery were punished by cutting off the ears, at least
of the man. If the cuckolded husband was of high status, on-
ly death could expiate the crime. (43)

Such overt and direct punishment was preceded by investi-
gation by the chief and his counsellors. But sins, as we
have seen, (44) also have more immediate consequences, which
imply that no human detection is necessary for evil to reap
its penalty. Diseases and accidents are the general striking
the guilty. "You cannot be sick or have an accident if you
have done nothing evil", said one informant, expressing the
opinion of all. Indirectly, this universal concept has
served as an effective deterrent through the years, making
people hesitant, at least, to enter some forbidden areas of
action.

The concept of general relation between sin and sickness/accidents has existed. Tawee has their interpretation of
Christianity; Seco and others see illness as punishment for sins. (45)

(43) A. Wistrand, "In Tahiti", p. 24: J.A. Persson,
"Krisalifter och Oustralunder 1. Inhuimata", p. 72

(44) See "Pursuit of Health", pp. 170-171

(45) This account is developed in pp. 198-199
There is, however, a great difference between the Christian God of Love as source of such punishment, and the impenetrable consequences from a broken taboo or sin against kinship relations. It is believed that God forgiven when man confesses his sin to him in prayer, even if some informants told of several days of prayer before they "felt that (they) had been forgiven". In general, even forgiveness does not necessarily involve special gift or action, similar to sacrifice in the traditional context. Forgive in any other person involved. To can be an affair "between God and myself".

Almost has observed among Zain Christians "a higher disintegration of morals which follows upon the atomization of the individual and the displacement of societal sanctions." (46)

To East Africa, a similar moral disintegration is referred back to the declining importance of the ancestor cult:

"Mischief was denied that ancestral spirits had any relations with the living. This was to cast doubt on the spiritual solidarity of clan society and to take the first steps toward distorting it. The sense of moral obligation was consequently, decreased." (47)

The process of individualization may lead into ethical anarchy in any community, doubly so in societies where the units of the group have been stressed in every avenue of life. Were this process, in some cases, is intensified by a trend toward "universalism", particularly in the growing number of women, where the younger generation has had school education, many Zain Christians find themselves on the border between the internally structured religion and the burgeoning waves of secular experimentation, rightly or wrongly identified with "millenialism". (48) An idea of the pragmatic superhuman consciousness has largely been removed through the understand-

(46) A. Wilkens, "Juda Transformations", p. 141

(47) V. H. Wilkens, "East African Christian", p. 109

(48) See footnote 190
ing that "God forgives," it would seem that the ethical bases of one system have been lowered before the motivation of another has been firmly established.

Sources outside of the Tames context, have also found that similar moral attitudes may arise from the Christian teaching about God. It has been said about the Church in Uganda:

"The belief in the patience of the Christian God has relaxed many ancient fears without substituting a strong sense of the claims of God's righteousness. Very few Christians ask the question, 'How can I please God?'. There is a theoretical belief in heaven and hell, but their fears are more for this world than the next. Even habitual drunkards say, 'Jesus has made us free; we have nothing to fear'." (49)

I do not intend to give the impression that Tames Christians excel in moral discipline. On the whole, they seem anxious to follow "the Law of Sirius", but I cannot escape the notion that, particularly in younger generation, there is at least potentially a more permissive moral attitude than was advisable in the traditional context. The most immediate danger in a situation seems to be the detection, leading to church disciplinary action, or - in applicable cases - to criminal investigation. Each fear of detection is, of course, nothing especially "Tames", but it may be true in the traditional view that "an act is 'Afrika' if its consequences are evil". (50) It may also be an indication that sins are mainly considered as matters entirely "between God and myself".

I do not yet have any non-Christian Tames judge the ethical state of Christians. Such facts found in Africa is a rather curious phenomenon in Christians and the Church in that country.

(49) J. Taylor, *Processes of growth in an African Church*, p. 56

(50) ibid. p. 56
"The main suspension cast today upon Christians by obum-worshippers (chieftains-gods) is that the former trade upon the fact that they are not threatened in this life by any retribution for sin. The obum makes stern ethical demands: Christian Church membership demands only that delinquency be not found out... People join Christians because they know that when they are Christians they are secure and will not hurt them." (51)

Reconciliation urgently needed

When a diviner has found the cause of a misfortune, he also tells what is needed to restore the relationship which has somehow been broken. This act of restoration may involve sacrifice, or — in the case of amulets — expenses to purchase various paraphernalia. It may even include giving up on of the kin groups, to reconcile a spirit-revenge.

The urgency in restoration of such relationships, whether they are spiritual or genuinely social, arises from the acute sense of an "unclean" person. When the children have died "because of a spirit-of-revenge", reconciliation is of utmost urgency, lest no other children should die.

Another factor explaining this urgency is that "tribal society lives in a closed society. The public opinion drives an offender or to seek reconciliation have difficulty without intermediaries and without money." (52) It would be unbearable within such a face-to-face community to have 'irreconciled' elements in its midst. Leaving daily dealing with someone, with whom ordinary relationships are forbidden because of his misdeeds, is, obviously, an impossible situation.

The Tahwa Christian attitude towards individuals who have been disciplined for certain offenses against the law of the Church is often significantly different from that of missionaries. Speaking about another junior who had been separated

(51) M. Field, Search for Security, p. 50, p. 52

(52) M. Egbert, 'Sacrifices', in Norman-Ellingworth, Ritualistic speculation and African beliefs, p. 50

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from his work because of adultery, one experienced Tshwa minister said: "We must remember that this sin is not the end of the man. He must live, and live within the Church!"

In other similar cases, missionaries have sometimes expressed surprise at a pastor having been restored into full service only two or three years after his conviction for adultery. I suggest that this urgency, on the part of the Tshwa, is another manifestation of living in a "closed society", where reconciliation is a prerequisite of normal life.

One indispensable condition for such reconciliation, however, is a full confession on the part of the offender. Being proved guilty without confessing the sin is seen as a criterion of a "hardened heart", and no true reconciliation is possible. Separation then becomes the only possible avenue to follow, as in witchcraft cases of old.

In the traditional Tshwa society, confession was used both as an actual "treatment" in cases of misfortune, and as a prophylactic measure, taken to obviate a potential curse caused by a certain sin. In Christian context, confession occurs in both circumstances, but evidence points to a more common use in a prophylactic sense.

The crucial difference between Tshwa Protestant confession and confession in traditional meaning is that, at least in prophylactic terms, a Protestant hardly ever confesses to a fellow man. When a sin has been committed, a Tshwa Christian usually hurries to make his confession in prayer to God. If this can be done in church, as a 'dedication', or at a Holy Communion service, it is regarded as more efficient than a confession done privately. In fact, several informants indicated that confession should always be made at Holy Communion, even if one had already "felt that (they) had been for-

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[33] The process of confession at sickness is described in detail in "Pursuit of Health", pp. 182-185.

given". We should note, however, that neither at 'dedication'
nor at Holy Communion is it a case of confessing to another
human being.

The power of the voice (pemu) is conceived of in very
crude concrete terms by the Tshwa. Thus, the voice of the m'anga
infuses power and purpose into his medicines. When approached
by ghosts, the greatest danger is to answer their questions,
as ghosts get power over a person by catching hold of his
voice. In confession, the voice is the instrument by which
the evil inside the person is concretely poured out of him.
The natural corollary is that forgiveness automatically follows
a full confession. There is no more evil left inside.

Witchcraft, and possibly incest, are nevertheless transgres-
sions of such magnitude that some informants doubted that
confession would help. When revealed by confession at small-
pox treatment, they may be forgotten and forgiven, but witch-
craft confessions in connection with trials would traditionally
lead to death. It is possible, though, that it was the verdict
of the m'anga or the "ubonzo", (55) rather than the actual
confession, that led to severe punishment. Mair has found
that some African peoples "believe that confession automatically
entails abjuration" also in witchcraft cases. (56)

As far as I have been able to ascertain, a similar belief
in immediate annihilation after confession to God through prayer
is held by Tswa informants. In a few cases it had taken a
couple of days before the person in question "felt peace in-
side", but, in general, immediate forgiveness is counted upon.

One question that remains to be investigated regarding
confession in the traditional context is whether an individual
confessed the actual truth or made a confession according to
established patterns of cultural expectations. It appears

(55) See "Pursuit of Health", p. 187
(56) Lucy Mair, Witchcraft, p. 180
that prophylactic confession, forestalling potential curses, would have no reason to deal with anything but the truth. Confession after conviction, however, as in many witchcraft cases, or when sickness or accident 'reveals' acute guilt may fall into a different category.

Several reports tell of witchcraft confessions, faithfully following established patterns of witchcraft beliefs. We may here deal with similar psychological conditions as those prompting certain persons to "confess" to the police crimes which they have never committed, as they for some reason are ridden with acute guilt feelings. Such culturally expected confessions may, in Tshwa context, be conditioned by the unbearable pressure of societal conviction, and would simultaneously serve as a powerful re-inforcement of the beliefs themselves. Field's observations in Ghana abound with people's self-accusations of witchcraft, even without societal conviction. Such "confessions", it would seem, do not remove the evil from a person but rather confirm and strengthen the feeling of guilt, thus leading to serious mental trouble.

This matter has been insufficiently investigated among Tshwa, and it may be found that there is a potential risk that too close identification of Christian confession with its counterpart in the traditional context would lead to confessions following an expected pattern. At present, this view seems rather remote as there are few precedents of such Christian patterns, but Sondikler's observation among Zemistes in Zululand points to the possibility: "w Confession is regarded as complete until sexual transgressions are mentioned by the baptized."

At present, cases of Protestants confessing their sins to a fellow man, minister or lay, are very rare. All informants gave a negative answer to the question: "Do Tshwa Christ-

(32) B. Sondikler, Bantu Promete in South Africa, p. 211
ians confess their sins to a pastor?"

"You see", one confided, "if we should go to a pastor and tell him what we do, oh, this would have to be discussed among the church elders (kometi ya madota), and they may cut me off as a church member".

This evidence, and my own experience, make it clear that Tshwa Protestants do not trust their ministers with their secrets. Too often, it seems, sins confessed in complete confidence have been aired by Church leaders in committee sessions and led to disciplinary action. No wonder that Tshwa Christians make their confessions to God only! In one instance, I was told by a young Methodist in a mine compound that he had been to the Catholic 'padre' to confess his sins, because "there is no opportunity for this in our Church".

The tendency among Tshwa Protestants to confess to God only is a sign of the drastically reduced significance of 'social sin' in terms of broken relationships. The relationship that really matters is the one with God, as He is conceived as 'Giver of Life', and this relation can be kept intact without the interference of anyone else, including the Church and its leaders. The Protestant doctrine of 'the priesthood of all believers', taken separately, makes any religious experience. [58]

The social difficulty is very li. As that the majority of sins which Christians conscientiously commit, are of a social nature, while the sense of guilt is largely being projected in a religious direction.

Confession, in modern institutional sense, healed the Tsh wa [male] identity and offended in the traditional society, while the religious weights, and often were precipitated, too. On the other hand, the sky part (tile) was never involved, as there was no relationship between Tile and men possible to break.

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[58] See "Worship, Rituals and Institutions", p.160
Most Christians understand both their relationship with God and with the wronged person to be broken by sin, but the only relation that, in general, is restored through the process of confession is the one to God! Thus, the matter is often regarded as finished without any social reconciliation taking place.

As has been demonstrated earlier in this chapter, however, a difference is experienced between in-church social relations and those outside. Restoration of in-church relationships may be seen in more urgent light than others, provided that a reconciliation attempt will not bring any accusations over the offender.

Social or religious salvation

Evil can never be allowed to have the last word in a human society. The sense of guilt makes man press towards some process of liberation. Thus, sin is unbearable without the possibility of forgiveness, or, in another term: salvation.

Being based on a cyclical world view, Tswana culture offers a type of salvation that widely differs from the Christian concept. Christianity which is built upon an apocalyptic view of world and life, makes salvation count only partly in the earthly existence, as a preparation for the final salvation, given through eternal life. Against this, we see the Tswana concept of salvation as dealing entirely with the material world, leading towards the traditional ideal of 'sufficient life'.

Anderson has found that, to the Congolese, "salvation is in fact good health, a long life, prosperous offspring, and abundance of possessions, etc." (99). It would seem that, among the Tswana these are seen as fruits of salvation rather

(97) E. Anderson, op. cit. p. 148
than the proposition. When These state that "our ancestors are now sensitive"; this indicates a continuous process which might be expressed in terms of "liberation from all powers attacking and decreasing 'life'."

The power and 'sensitiveness' of These traditional beliefs are, then, expressed in terms of human salvation; or, in other words, an expectation of continuous "deliverance from evil" in this world. The basic concept of salvation, as "deliverance from calamity", (60) fits well into this picture.

Then, the 'salvation' concept was ever connected with life after death. Some informants indicated the "bimahaha who has come down to the living, those who are suffering", and gave certain evidence that persons who are 'evil' in this life tend to become truthsacred ones after death, at least in some cases, or an corresponding thought of beneficial salvation' after death for 'good' people can be found.

In the understanding of 'salvation' and the ways to reach it may have individual variations among modern non-Christian These, as we may witness for individual differences among These Christians, as far as the understanding of Christian salvation is concerned. In general, however, by material shows that all Christian These terms dealing with 'salvation' project the manner in 'sacred life' only. (61) In other words, 'salvation' is determined religious criteria.

The concept of religious salvation sought through Christianity and the actual salvation expected in These traditional context, amount the possibility of the parallel forces working leading salvation of These Christians. The traditional concept of salvation became effective especially in situations of war, where, we can have demonstrated. (62) Christianity

(60) 15. 171-172; 200. 203, p. 105

(61) see explanation of These cases above, 705-716

(62) see further pp. 284-296
(or, rather, the Church) does not yet assist the Tshwa in accordance with their frame of reference. It is therefore probable that 'social salvation' is sought by many in a syncretistic mixture, while the 'religious salvation' is expected through following "the Law of Christ".
(the church) does not yet accept the Tshwa in accordance with their frame of reference. It is therefore probable that 'social salvation' is sought by many in a materialistic mixture, while the 'religious salvation' is obtained through following "the Law of Christ".
10. DEATH AND LIFE ETERNAL

Among all peoples, death is seen as inevitable, and for the reality of death is treated. Among several peoples of Africa, myths tell of death as an intrusion, not originally intended by the Sky-Giver (H.Ni). Also the Tswana have a mythical explanation of death:

"The old people tell us that death arises from the fatal disagreement between Khanyoni and his wife Naisikanani, who were the first people on this earth. They had appeared in dreams from the world in the North, emerging with two animals, Khanyoni had a dog, with which he hunted and killed other animals. Naisikanani had a small goat, which made her happy by giving milk.

One day, the dog died. Khanyoni told his wife: my dog has died. Come and help me wake it up again! But Naisikanani refused to help her husband revive his dog. So Khanyoni kept quiet and pulled his dog away, leaving her in the world.

After some time, the goat also died. Naisikanani's joy also died. They are not to be mourned. Let us wake up the dead. But Khanyoni refused, saying: what about the other days when you did not help me to wake up my dog?

Then he led them to the 'life-medicine' (ubale we matsha). Since then, they were able to revive anything on this earth, even until today. Thus, we all die. (1)

In spite of the realization that death is an inevitable part of all human life, traditional Tswana people always suspect an otherworld force behind this natural event. Most often this force, or spirit-world revenge, is blamed by the divining bones, thus ending the terror in line with most other African peoples. (2) Ancestral spirits are indeed seen

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(1) Translated from Shona go kusunguro.

(2) Dr. J. North, African Religions and Philosophy, p.152.
an cause of death. It is obviously in their own interest that their denouncing enemies live. Disease-bringing foreign spirits (molests) would not, in general, be blamed for death, either.

Among Palaeo Christians, the general understanding is that "God had preserved our days", and nothing can change this original decision. When a person dies young because of an accident, or in the old age, it will all come back to the fact that God had made the number of our days different.

This does not prevent the possibility of witchcraft to enter into the picture. "If we see witches can cause damage, but they cannot take away the soul of the person", said one informant, while another allowed that "Even if they can kill — and I believe they can, as there are so many clever people — this cannot be done, unless the days of that person have come to an end, according to God's decision".

The extent measurements of our days is also referred to in the case of prayers for sick people. "People can die in spite of prayers for them if their time has come. We may pray and do everything for a sick, but He will alone".

The nature of death

Death (shika or kuli) is a cure, in the Tsalag. Although a continued existence for the spirit-of-the-dead is taken for granted, some still put an inevitable end to real life (bServ). The common explanation for death, "shika" ("the one passed"), symbolizes leaves that don't open for continued activity, but, as Will put it, "there is nothing to hope for" in death. Other explanations show more clearly that death is the end. "He has disappeared" (mavilali) is often heard in this connection. "kuli" ("lit. he is evil") in the Tsalag were most clearly indicative the great dread with which Tsalag regard death.

(3) J. Will, op. cit., p. 165
Not only does death break the kinsman away from his living relatives. It also brings a potential curse on everybody who is related to the dead person. Everyone concerned enters into a liminal state, in which several precautions are necessary, lest death claim another victim within the group.

Traditionally, the whole kin-group, including those who were married to kin-members, gathered at the stricken village as soon as the drums had announced the death of a kinsman. All ordinary activities were suspended. Particular prohibitions were made against any hard work, as agriculture, or building, while "fetching water and firewood" was allowed as being necessary. All sexual activities were likewise prohibited. All men stayed around their fire, and the women around theirs. No connection between the sexes was allowed until "the sweeping had been scattered" (ku bangeleus xirilo).

As these people were now "black" (yantina) because of death, they could not take part in any sacrifices of any kind, outside of the activities in the death village. They were not "white". +ParL to be beautiful, and, consequently, "they just sit".

The period of mourning was that one element making people "black". But, besides all, it was the "death contamination" (timetaha) that worked this immediate change upon everyone related to the dead person. However a relative may be, the death of a kinsman contaminated him and exposed him to special danger, as he then became particularly prone to accident or ill-health.

The death contamination extended also to the whole village where the deceased had lived, and to all his belongings. Naturally, it emerged from the dead person himself. Thus death is particularly dangerous to touch the corpse.

The early...

Elements from various informants have been combined to give the following picture:
When a man had died, people gathered outside his house, but nobody ventured in. This was taboo. A few men (madota) were chosen from his close kin, to go in and prepare the corpse for burial. This they did by folding the limbs of the deceased, to make him approximate a foetus-position. However, the corpse must not be tied in this position, as it was believed that the spirit-of-the-dead (mpeulue) would be angry if he were tied and could not move freely in the spirit world.

No one else but these men—who were now called "hyena" (tinkisi)—was allowed to have anything to do with the burial itself. Then, they went outside the village to find a suitable site for the grave, which was dug in such a way that a hollowed cave (muti = "village") was left on one side of its walls. As they removed the corpse from the house, all other people in the village were inside the other houses, with doors closed, as it was taboo to see the corpse.

The corpse was placed lying down in its foetus-position in the cave (muti) and was covered with a grass-mat. Several of the deceased's belongings were placed in the grave, although most valuable items were kept on the grave-site, later to be returned to the village.

A few informants reported the killing of a men in, or at the side of the grave, as an offering to "the other dead of the kin, asking them to receive well the deceased". The details of this site are known.

Those kinmen who had now arrived at the grave, threw some soil into the grave, which was then completely filled by the "hyenas". They took care to remove all dirt from the soil, as roots or stones. Finally, they ornaments the covering soil heavenly (ka selelele) to make it impossible to discover except by themselves.

On leaving the grave, one of the "hyenas" took two branches, one alive and one dry, without looking back, he threw the dead branch back towards the grave, with the words, "Die with your death" (bela ni kupa ka wena). Then he threw the live branch in the direction of the village, saying, "Go with our life" (Tamba ni kuhanya ka himo).

During the funeral, the men had been busy sweeping the whole village, "to remove the footprints of the dead". A m'ange had prepared water with medicines, for the first purification, particularly of the "hyenas" but also of everyone who had thrown soil on the grave. They had to be purified in four different ways.

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1. They washed hands, arms, and feet in medicated water (mali ni matiku).
2. An egg was smashed, and the contents mixed with other medicaments immediately used for a second "wash";
3. Excrement of hens were put on a fire, and all those to be purified inhaled the smoke;
4. The hen giving the egg used for purification was killed and its liver crushed together with some leaves. This mixture was used for another ceremonial washing.

Another variant is that a pine-apple was crushed and used in one washing "to remove the essence of the soil" (ku susa mahung. na misava). One informant also stressed that a hen was only killed when a man had died. In the case of a female deceased, a cock must be killed. Snuff, poured out on a earth, was used by the "hymns", for nasal inhalation.

Even if some local variations in burial rites can be found, the essential actions were the same. The necessity to "scratch" the grave, to make it impossible for witches to discover it, seems to be universal. Likewise, the prohibition against burying "sharp things" in the grave. One informant gave the following incident:

"In the case of an old person before his death, you must bury him in a sitting position. I also want to hold this large knife in his hand. Now, the chief said that, 'In my country I do not want to hear of anyone buried sitting, or holding a knife'.

They [the relatives of the deceased] tried to force the matter, until the chief let him bury him sitting. But, he said, 'You must not have a knife in his hand'."

The first purification rites are primarily to do with the impurities arising from contact with the corpse and the grave. The actual death contamination (simanga) still affected the kinship and had to be removed a few days later; in comparison with the cleaning of the whole village and all the belongings of the deceased.

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(1) Cf. the "extinguishing" of blood in sacrifice, p. 246
Removing the Death Contamination

About five days after the death—on the first day of the month when a chief
had died—the m'ahna returned to the village to lead the
rite of purification and "to scatter the weeping" (ku
עברית). This rite was also called ma-pala-kuma
(sprinkling out the seeds) on the different fires around
which the men and the women had gathered during the days of
weeping, were now extinguished. All ashes from them were
spread over the village, and new fires could not be lit until
the cleaning was done.

The m'ahna prepared a big pot of water and medicine
(leaves). With a branch dipped into this mixture, he sprinkled
the whole village li licte anam: m: va mololu = lit. "he
spread water of leaves", and all the belongings of the dead,
particularly his bed-rolls, house and ax. This special
attention to belongings made of iron seems to be connected
with the danger of baring anything of this nature in the
cave: as they were potentially extremely dangerous if left
out. For one of the dead, they also caused trouble for
the living if they were not properly purified.

When the village and belongings had thus been purified,
all people in the village were likewise sprinkled with medi-
cated water, "both in front and back".

Next, another pot was prepared. The m'ahna
prepared a "perpetual offering" of water and salt, mixing in
the seeds previously. This was the mahu-nana (of unknown ety-
monic derivation, except for the stem "nah", meaning
"death"). This mixture was to be shared by everyone contami-
nated by the death. In a similar way an amendment in
pointed out, and the m'ahna subsequently ensured the rest of the
alia-nana brought certain tree to the village. Any kin-
man who had not been part in this ceremonial cleansing,
was obliged to circle around this tree on arrival in the village.
Nature he would be welcomed to sit down. It was believed that
such a ceremony would cleanse him from contamination.
The last rite connected with the purifying medicine was the "pouring out of the pot" of medicine (ku halata nuvelo). This was done in the same way as of the "Great Sacrifice". 

Any kinsmen not taking part might be sent certain pieces of clothing, which individually had been while "pouring".

Besides the purification by medicine, certain symbolic acts were necessary. Those were combined in the term ku ctinga aliaka ("to shave off the contamination"): As dangerous as sexual relations were during the period of "weeping", as necessary were they in the rites of purification. However, certain persons only had to perform this act. Furthermore, it had to be done in a ritual way, as cultic interruption.

Then a child had died, the parents were asked by the ni'song to have intercourse, and the following morning they shaved the head of all mourners, including each other.

In the case of a man leaving a widow, she had to be "washed" (as imlandla) by a man from her husband's kin-group. This is obviously part of the custom of levirate, but I am told by informants that the man "washing" the widow is not necessarily her new husband. "Any relative of the deceased must not be designated by the ni'song to perform this act".

The morning after this ritual act, the man and woman are given certain medicines by the ni'song, and then proceed to give water for "washing" to everyone in the village. All pairs of the mourners in subsequently shaved off.

The sexual cleansing of a man having been left at his wife's death, can be performed by a woman from her own kin. Often this is the deceased wife's hlanana (brother's daughter), who is sent to do this duty. She may then stay in the village as the new wife - and mother of her aunt's children. (7)

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(6) See "Worship, Sacrifices and Sacraments", pp. 120-121

(7) Note that the word hlanana, from the verb ku hlanza = "to wash" is closely connected with "washing off the the contamination".
In case of a woman's kin not sending a girl to "wash the contamination" of her husband, all relation between the man and his official kin was broken off. Not even the woman's children were then allowed to have contact with her kin-group.

A Christian Funeral

I have personally not taken part in many Tswana burials, but the following is an account of my observations of a Christian funeral in Tswana country:

As we arrived, people were standing or sitting everywhere in the stricken village, and ordinary greetings with acquaintances took considerable time. People seemed rather relieved, and the conversation turned around most different subjects.

One of the houses in the village was surrounded by people, who, one by one, greeted the husband of the deceased and expressed their grief by the words "Khokhokiko" (We have feared you" - the traditional greeting of mourning), and some gave a few words of comfort from the Bible. The widower responded, thanking the persons for the words and the love expressed by coming to the funeral. He was visibly moved, but I could see little weeping in the village.

In the yard of mourning, where the coffin was open until shortly before the funeral procession, Methodist women, some in their "uniforms", were standing silently, but formally. Outside of the door, one sister of the deceased and the saint were sitting, responding in silent way in greetings and consolation.

The minister entered the plot, together with as many as could get in, a hymn was sung and prayer said. Then the coffin was carried out by some men, and, led by the minister, all present followed in procession from the village to the special Christian burial place about 500 yards away.

A few sung "I am a Traveller on the earth" during the procession, but most people followed silently.

At the grave site - the grave was a rectangular pit, without the "grave" on the side - the coffin was not open, and the burial ritual according to the Methodist tradition was performed by the minister, on which the coffin was lowered into the grave.
When the minister had taken a handful of soil and scattered it over the coffin, all present followed his example. Some of the women did this smiling quietly, and the minister of the deceased on a parcel which she had wrapped under her arm. The contents were found to be large bunches of woven grasses, evidently dressed, and other clothing of the deceased, which the sister placed on the grave. She also went around the grave several times, pouring some water on the coffin, while another woman poured to pour some water from a bottle.

Some of these activities brought any visible reaction from everyone. Only when one woman began weeping loudly, she was gently restrained by the minister.

Before the grave was completely filled, most people had returned to the village. Just at the entrance new large baskets filled with water had been placed, and everyone, before entering, washed his hands. A few washed their faces, and I noticed one man pouring some water also over his feet.

At a table in the village, the visiting minister sat collecting money from everyone present, making a careful list of all contributions. This was later to be handed to the widow to confirm her (the church). Meanwhile, songs were being played on kettles, and soon tea was served to all who had taken part in the funeral. A final prayer was offered by the visiting minister before people began leaving the village.

There are numerous other elements in such a funeral, which cannot be described only in composition. Before and after the actual funeral, several different acts were performed, serving food and drink, the covered. That struck me most, however, was the purely solemn dignity of the whole ceremony, in spite of its simple setting, and, undoubtedly, the solemn character of the service. It would appear that non-Churchans have done more entirely from the Christians, with the possible exception of the non-Christian sister of the deceased, performing certain peculiar acts at the grave.

Christians and death

It would seem that the sphere of death, and all pertaining rituals have been changed more significantly through Christian influence than anything else in the Yoma traditional culture.
Here, it can be said without hesitation that Christianity does not only mean new attitudes among Christians but a process of cultural change within the whole Tshwa community.

b. Death contamination

Attitudes vary with individuals, but, on the whole, it seems well demonstrated that Tshwa Christians do not worry much about death contamination (tinzha). The observable fact is the institutionalized non-fear of such contamination, upheld by manifest behavior at burials, but several informants gave the positive affirmation that "tinzha do not adhere to belief". It would seem, though, that this freedom from contamination is—at least in the thinking of many—limited to those of "strong faith". "If you are afraid that you may get sick because of contamination, surely you will get sick! But then you are weak in your faith!" This statement may imply that there is, in fact, an evil power in death contamination, but that 'strong faith' surrounds the Christian like a covering shield—a similar to the 'maggafence' around the village, protecting it from contamination. On the other hand, it may merely stress the power of fear as a sickness-creating agent.

However, this may be. The ordinary Christian attitude towards death contamination is to a large extent the fear of the cursed, as well as the risk of being part in funerals. Thus, participation in the traditional sense is no longer felt to be necessary, and practices are not limited to the kin-group and those who measure the evil felt constrained to take part. They have rather acquired an obligatory character for all Christians in the neighborhood, irrespective of Church belonging.

c. Christians and traditional purification

The rise of purification after burial is obligatory among Tshwa Christians, as in other parts of Africa. This is the
ceremony of the washing of hands immediately after the return from the grave. (9) Several ministers questioned on this point, claim that this washing "is done only to wash away the dirt of the soil" (as everyone has thrown some soil into the grave), but the immediacy and the structural performance of this ceremony suggest that it is, in fact a Christian adaptation of an ancient rite. The remarkable fact that such washing still exists is proved within the 'Nkomen Church' among the Ewe in east London, "since this was traditionally done in order to drive away misfortune", further supports this assumption. (9)

The ritual cleansing of all items belonging to the deceased had, I was told, lost its importance among Christians. "I can take a book belonging to the dead and read it, and nothing will happen", said one informant. The act of putting the clothing of the deceased into the grave suggests, however, that the old fear of sickness caused by inherited and not properly purified things (x revenue) may still be real to many people. One woman said that "if you are using something inherited from a dead person and feel in your heart that this may be dangerous, then you will certainly be sick." It must be admitted that the whole area of x revenue in modern context has not yet been adequately investigated.

In the case of the customary purification through eating the lifeless crumb, or alternatively, by circling around the deceased five times, several informants had told me that this was done to put the part several mentioned that relatives attempted to force them to perform this rite before entering their village. Nevertheless, the same informant claimed that they had been able to enter and to

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10. A. A. Dab, Religion in a Yawan chiefdom, p. 198

(9) A. A. Dab, The role of the Church in an urban

(2) A. A. Dab, ibid.

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significance of mifa-jungo has evidently
Christian conceptualization, as two
examples of "Christian" mifa-jungo.

The "eating" mifa-jungo, as the 'eating'
phrase in our guarantee of eternal life'.

Early Christian union was likened to mifa-jungo,
resemble somewhat in symbolic action

Clearly, the sexual part of traditional death
causing most direct problems for the
women. Several cases are reported of Christian
women being left widowed at the death of their hus-
band's relatives have insisted upon a traditional
union. Unfortunately, I am not certain whether
belong to one's own kin or her late husband's.
levirate would be out of the question as
woman is concerned, as this might poten-
tially lead her in a polygamous union, it would not be sur-
ing to find that the insistence on this sexual purifica-
ion for her own kin-group, as this might be keen on
accepting marriage, bringing his mfa-wala (bride-wealth) into the group. With the severe sanctions placed upon rela-
tionship, even to a "mixed" marriage, it would be a rare exception
of a marriage carried without proper purification.

From a Christian point of view, this custom of purification
has become an aspect of disciplinary action, particularly in
cases where sexual relations have led to pregnancy.
The Church, naturally, places such cases in the adultery cate-
gory rather than to give them any special "purification status".

The Bereaved state and the Christian

It is customary for Christians who have been bereaved to
stay quietly in their villages until "the scolding of the
weeping" (in hornbeans virgin), but they are in no way barred
from taking part in Church services. During the short time between death and burial, some Christian neighbours stay in the village for prayer and practical assistance in preparing the corpse and the grave. Also a few days after the burial, it is usual that the pastor and a group of Church members visit the bereaved fellow-Christsian for prayer and comforting conversation. Very often, a special gift collected for the occasion is handed over at that time.

On the day of the funeral, it is customary "to set a date for the end of our special prayers". This corresponds to the traditional scattering of the weeping (ku mangala xiril), but has kept only some of the symbolism of the original act. "We sing special songs, and the prayers speak of the need of the deceased", explained one informant, but, beyond this, the occasion warrants no specific ritual. In this poverty of symbolic action, I cannot escape the notion that certain Christian attitudes have stifled the imagination of Christian faces, leaving them with what may be described as "perfectly safe form"

Beyond these special prayers, there are, with one exception, no manifest signs of any recognition of a 'marginal state' in connection with death. I have not noticed any trace of the traditional belief that "persons black by death condemnation are particularly prone to sickness or accidents", One sign, however, is the black colour of mourning (silia), which are said to be fairly common and evidently have been adapted from the European mourning habits. One informant gave the following information:

"When my mother had died, father bought a black shirt, which he wore. My sister asked a black dress which she wore. But my brother and myself did not buy anything special at that time.

There are some who also use something on their heads. This is according to the will of the individual, because this does not carry any special significance. But when a person has a dress made for her, she may use a strip of the black cloth tied around her head."
Such black clothes seem to be more common in towns than in the countryside, obviously dependent upon the influence from the Portuguese. As the custom of ceremonial shaving of the hair has been pronounced by Christians, and, likewise the traditional custom of tying a strip of palm-leaf around the head (ke kelele kile) until the time of "scattering the weeping", such zilenda have an obvious function of marking the liminal state. Nevertheless, they do not need to carry any deeper significance than similar customs of mourning dress in several European countries.

Within the Tshwa Protestant community, there does not seem to exist any specific rules regarding zilenda, although I have heard some voices raised against this custom. According to informant, the zilenda are removed at the time of "final prayers", but this indicates that this occasion may be delayed until a special service 4 days after the death, or even later.

**Christian influence on non-Christian attitudes**

One final important difference between traditional customs regarding death and burial and Christian ones, is the widening of the concern outside the kinship limits. As has been pointed out in relation to the Christian understanding of *ahlepelel* ("lament"), there is no direct distinction of Christian *ahlepelel* is that the Church group always takes a great responsibility for the burial of a member. The kin-group is, of course, not relieved from its obligations, but in many modern instances where individuals are far away from their kin, this aspect of Christian *ahlepelel* means to play an outstanding role for the sense of security.

It could be expected that relations between Christians and non-Churches in the sphere of death and burial might...
become rather tense, as strong emotions are stirred up, and customs and manifest values clash. To give an adequate picture of these relationships, thorough investigation among non-Christs would be necessary. As present material indicates, however, that non-Christs are now becoming so used to images foreign to their own culture that they seem to bear with equanimity any violation of their traditional rules in this realm.

Thus, it is found, that traditional Tshwa - in spite of their own continued emphasis on the necessity of purification rites - accept Christian kinship into their fellowship, although they know that the Christians, from their viewpoint, are still contaminated by death. This fact may speak of tolerance, but I would further suggest that these tribesmen probably regard certain Christian rites as having a similar effect as Christian in their own purificative ceremonies. Holy Communion may be a pertinent case.

In one instance, we find that non-Christian Tshwa see a positive value also for suspensions in Christian burial rites:

'This day, our Chief (Chief) came, and we sat together, talking,' he said. 'As you know, in this region nobody used to walk around at night. There is a river, Mwache, where we go for water, but here nobody would go very early in the morning to the river. Why? Our country had so many evil things (horrors) that people were frightened to go in the darkness, as ghosts might attack them. Even you might have stopped soon to go early to the river.

But, when you believers begin coming to this country, praying every time there is a death, all these fearing things have been away. Therefore, we do not want to bury a person according to old customs, even if he is no believer. You have to help us to offer prayers, so that our own does not come back to frighten us.'

While we have found that Christianity has not yet penetrated the whole field of daily actions, leaving the Tshwa in an ambiguous state as far as attitudes and accidents are concerned, (1) death is obviously one area where Christian

(1) See "Pursuit of Health", pp. 202-207
faith makes a significant difference. Wilson made a similar observation among the Nyakyusa, and Anderson gives this example from the Congo:

A now Christian in the region of Ipini was at the point of death. His wife and his sister-in-law began to weep. He said to them: 'Why are you weeping? You ought only to be praying.' (12)

I suggest that the public nature of a burial has in some measure forced Christian Yahw to manifest their faith at this occasion much more visibly than in the semi-private atmosphere of sickness. The main reason for the significant changes of attitude as regards death is nevertheless to be found in the great Christian emphasis on 'eternal life', being the hope for the Christian even beyond death.

Ancestral Spirits and Christian Faith

'Life after death', according to traditional Tshwa understanding, is a full copy of ordinary life. While death cuts off visible communion with the departed kinsman, it is not seen as putting the deceased out-of-reach. In a real sense, death is 'the final promotion on the social ladder of prestige'. (13) It has been amply demonstrated that the spirits of dead kinsmen (tinsiulve) are seen as a continuing influence upon their living descendants, and I find that Christian Tshwa continue experiencing this influence to an important extent. The rapid spread of tinsiulve, the special type of memorial services, (14) is adequate proof of this fact.

The Protestant Churches among the Tshwa have, together with most other Christian missions in Africa, declared the tinsiulve completely out-of-bounds. They have even been said

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(12) E. Anderson, Churches at the grass-roots, p.120
(13) See further pp. 13-14
(14) Memorial services are described on pp.142-143
to "belong to Satan", when the rationalistic approach has not prompted missionaries — and their loyal followers — to declare that "the tinguluve do not exist at all". Against such a background, it is important to ponder the significance of the statement from my best educated informant: "The spirit of remembering the tinguluve will take a long time to disappear in the life of us black men". This was not at all said in a vein of rebellion, but as a simple statement of fact.

It would seem that the tinguluve have suffered the same fate among Tswana Christians as beliefs in witchcraft and spirits-of-revenge. Being declared non-entities in the Christian context, they have stayed outside of a positive Christian influence, but remaining an integral part of people's frame of reference. Thus, Christians have officially left behind all beliefs in their ancestors, while the same have continued playing an important role in their subconscious.

Several informants gave examples of how these beliefs come to the surface at critical turns of life. (15) Only one report will be quoted at this juncture, given by a layleader concerning his days as a young Christian:

"I was becoming desperate, because my wife and I were getting no children. I prayed to God, asking Him again and again, 'Why can I not have a child?' Then, I got a boy, but he died very soon.

I was very disheartened, until I thought I had better talk to my father (baba) and ask him. So I said, 'As you have left this world and become a ngume, who is going to continue your name? I was born by you, but I have no offspring. As you are together with God bringing us men children (maruma), who will continue your name?'

Now this is what amazed me that later on I got a child, and now I have five children!"
This man would probably have been appalled at the thought of worshipping his dead father. But he found it quite natural to talk to him. Whether this conversation should be termed 'pray' or not is beside the point. What matters most in this connection is the obvious naturalness with which the man continued his contact with his father "beyond the grave".

It is, indeed, remarkable that Christianity has survived among Africans in spite of the rampant violation of kinship laws committed through its rejection of the ancestral spirits (tingalevo). I know that it has been suggested by some white Church leaders in Tshwa country that Christians "should not even think of their deceased relatives". It would seem that such teaching contributes to leaving Tshwa Christians in a cultural vacuum, or in a state of completely divided loyalty, as their dead ones are part and parcel of their own lives.

From a Christian viewpoint, it seems imperative for the Church to come to terms with the tingalevo, taking Tshwa beliefs in these seriously and providing for new ways and means to remember the dead ancestors without offending the tenets of the Christian faith.

It has even been suggested, outside of Tshwa context, that the role of the ancestral spirits may be a crucial one in opening the gate to new dimensions of Christian faith among Africans. "Is it not time for the Church to learn to give the Communion of Saints the centrality which the soul of Africa craves?" exclaims Taylor. (16) And Parrinder puts a similar observation in the following words:

"In African life, the dead are of great importance. It is significant that some of the sects have one of their chief times of fasting and seclusion at All Saints' Mass. Catholics have masses for the dead. Protestants have essential services, though too much repetition of these is officially discouraged as tending to excessive expense and display..." (17)

(17) G. Parrinder, Religion in an African city, p. 146
In going deeper into the theological issues involved in this matter, Sundikler quotes a part of the Apostles' Creed, "He (Jesus) descended into Limbo ("Hell") as a key to an understanding of the life of the deceased ancestors". Without developing this theme in any detail, it is significant to note that this very part of the Apostles' Creed has been omitted in the "Methodist version", which is being used among the Tsawas.

What had 'Eternal Life' in store?

However important the timgilwe's role may be, their actual existence does not seem to hold out any promise "beyond the grave". They are not immune to any degree through the knowledge that the deceased are "promoted" to spiritual elders. Mbiti suggests that this has to do with the absence of belief in the rising "to higher spiritual or ethical heights" after death. "One is simply gathered to God's Paradise and that is about all. There is no spiritual status to be acquired; believers remain thieves, kind people continue to be kind, of definition".

The Tsawas hold that the timgilwe have their abode in the earth. Even if this signifies that they "own the soil" and have power over its use, they are believed to carry on a rather miserable existence. Like other Africans departed, they "acquire some 'power', which is not, however, a reward, but something that comes to them like old age coming upon everyone". Their normal activity in their dark abode is sleep. The performer of a sacrifice usually finishes his prayer to the tsawas with the words: "Telanal khwatsai;"
Humulani, mu nga hi vulili!' ('Sleep well! Rest, and do not wake up to harm us!').

Another discomforting feature of the atavistic existence is that they are completely dependent upon their living descendants for their continuance.

For the person who dies childless there is also the probability of being forgotten after some time, and thus losing even a personal post-existence. "Death becomes, then, a gradual process which is not completed until some years after the actual physical death." Turner refers to this as "social death", which one of my informants termed "the second death, which no Christians do need to experience". In the case of the Lheheu, this "social death" is dramatically symbolized, when a childless person has died:

"When an infant is born, a black line is drawn with charcoal from his navel downwards and over his genitals, indicating that he is male, and with it certain ritual elements of his personality, must never be inherited by the children of his kin". (24)

A similar symbolic action is known from the Tewa, but the dread of dying childless is so great, it thus becomes clear that the existence of the function is rather precarious, having no guarantee of a continuance after death which may come with others.

'Tradal Life' - the religious-pagan belief.

This is the background against which the Christian element of 'eternal life' should be seen. In spite of being foreign to the Tewa culture, it has become the religious mission bonus for Tewa Christians. "Jesus said, I am going to prepare a
room for you. If I keep close to Christ, I will have a
tbetter life in eternity", was a Tshwa woman's spontaneous
response to my question, "What is the best in Christianity?"
I am confident that the majority of Tshwa Christians would
just say in this dilemma. 

Thus, the Christian belief in the reality behind the
statement of Jesus that "he who believes in me shall live even
if he dies", (99) has struck an extraordinarily responsive
chord in the Tshwa. It was Jesus, I presume, that no realistic
solution to the problem of death was offered within their
traditional religious. Consequently, this Biblical promise,
coupled with teaching about heaven as the abode of light and
perfect peace and existence against all completely new Values.
Continuance of temporal was seen as a dreary existence at
best, hardly contrasted against the bright promise of wutoni
('life') without end, and without the conditions traditionally
expected for a remunerative existence beyond the grave.

The unbridled consciousness in this reality.

\[1\] When we come to leave this world, we go to stay in contact with the Father. We do not need to be re-
encoded by sacrifices, unless all troubles are finished now; the one who has gone to the Father can neither
trouble nor help anyone and are left on earth.

Thus, he has been on remedies trouble, because they
are small, suffering like on earth, and they do not want
\[2\] to suffer again.

In traditional terms, it would seem that the 'medicine of
life' (ndibole we wutoni) which was lost through the dis-
agreement between the Lord and the Gentiles, Khuken'nyi and
Westerners, [307] has been reinterpreted in the Christian con-
text. For in this context, says Mbiti, where "African religions

\[99\] 1. John 11:
\[96\] 6. John 11:
\[93\] and 12:18
and philosophy must admit a defeat", and continues:

"These traditional religions cannot but remain tribal and nationalistic, since they do not offer for mankind at large a way of escape, a manna of 'redemption' (however that may be conceived). (28)

On the other hand, the objection may be raised that Christianity has directed the thoughts of the believers so vividly towards 'eternal life' that large spheres of life on earth have been left untouched. (90) There is evidence that ‘moving the clouds for Heaven’ was the only pronounced purpose of some pioneer missionaries among the Tausu. And even gets the impression that some pioneers deemed it hopeless to render any real chance to the life of the ‘raw heathen’, except preparing the way to Heaven. This one-sided purpose was not shared by all, however, and it is possible that some more practical considerations came into the foreground than were ever reported ‘home’ in articles and letters. (31)

The way to ‘eternal life’ is understood as "continuing to worship and obey the law of Christ‘. The ‘legalism’ involved in this attitude has been discussed in a former chapter, (32) but at this juncture it is interesting to notice how much ‘legalism’ may even in Tausu thinking, open the gate to ‘eternal life’. For some outside of the Christian sphere, some informants insisted that limilulvu may have entered Heaven, if their souls belonged to God."

(29) F. G.atters, *Towards Welfare/Hearts of revenge, p. 196-197*
(31) A. G. B., *Christianity and Conversion*, pp. 60-68
(32) *Christian, Law and Salvation*, pp. 52-53
Heaven and the tingalwe

With the strong filial bonds enshrined by Tswana traditional culture as a given, it is not surprising to find that Tswana Christians devote considerable thought to the fate of their ancestors. Naturally, such thoughts entail a considerable mixture of traditional concepts and Christian doctrines. One important factor in the integration process played by any doctrine of "hell" and its torment and punishment. Obviously, the very tenets that all tingalwe—according to some Christian teaching—would suffer in hell, stirs up the defensive association in Tswana minds. Therefore, it has been imperative for the informants to carry their ancestors over into the new context.

In order to solve this problem, some informants leave the tingalwe completely outside of Christian agency. They are not to be thought of in Christian terms, and consequently they do not belong in heaven or hell. As one expressed it:

"The tingalwe have been tested, and it was found that they were not acquainted to God, neither to Satan. They are in between. The tingalwe are people of this earth. Therefore they are very right here. They have not received the inheritance of Heaven, because they did not work for God; nor are they not for Satan, and cannot go to the hell.

However, a large number of informants make a clear distinction between "good tingalwe and bad ones". This distinction is not necessarily based upon the ethical character of these spirits among their earthly lives, even if there is some evidence that a purely evil person is believed to become an evil spirit after death. (55) "Evil" tingalwe are those who keep visiting their living descendants of their existence by "coming up in the living house on a frequent basis of phantoming", and tingalwe demonstrate openly,

(55) Cf. "Traditional Tswana beliefs", p. 38
they are still on this earth. They are not in the "Heaven and trouble". But these people are never mentioned by me when I have reached Heaven. As they are not mentioned by me, they need no worries with any suffering.

To make sure evidence of similar thoughts, I have read a book that stated: "When a certain ancestor have reached Heaven", the author presents some certain problem to orthodox Christians that they want to reach Heaven through doctrinal criteria in this world. I believe that there are works (mitiro) that must be done in order for one to have eternal life (hresen) because of their good deeds. What is this sign that a dead person have reached Heaven". When somebody dies with sins of a clear mind, they will be pulled by the divine beings. He is believed to stay in another Heaven. When they die, they will keep on living in another Heaven. In the other hand, if they have good works (mitiro), they will enter Heaven.

It must be comprehended that the belief is, but it does not mean that it is a belief of the Taiwan area. It must be assumed that the belief has nothing with a traditional belief in Taiwan based upon the understanding that the dead are separated as mediators between living men and the soul. This belief would usually presuppose the right and possibility of at least certain circumstances to have free access to the abode of Telo.
Fear of Hell is a weak factor

I find my literature, emanating from these sources, do not, in general, amount up to the same conceptual heights. (I am nevertheless not immune from 
food-speak in the occasional Christian context.) The first (34) should be noted not as one of those 
unofficially ‘good’ ones, according to their understanding, but more as presented with the Christian context. As such 
read, they are in close agreement with the first Christian missionaries. In Paul, with the understanding here for the 
time of apostleship, but in this context there, you can as honestly 
regard... (35)

The concept of hell is, as such, on the fringes of Islamic 
Christian belief. Furthermore, it was established itself 
in time, considerably different from regular Christian thinking.

Hell in Islam, or rather in the Qur'an according to 
theo-legal. It is clearly distinct from the plane where 
you have been good and to live in eternity together with God 
the Father. Basic in its not for easy, although passage from 
one to the other is impossible.

The chance were not been passed by the three-layer world 
vision which Christians were accepted into their Christian faith 
by the Amenities from Christianity and Greek mythology, and 
which were then given birth before the ground, as well as 
entirely and respect by the Jews, or traditional ones could 
be used in distinction ‘place of punishment’. The originally 
Greek word Hades was later adopted in the Arabic language in the same meaning.

In this situation, these Christians have freely adopted 
their thinking about hell just according to the New Testament

[34] See, e.g., Matthew 10:18
[35] See 1 Thess (2:13)
texts that deal with the subject, for instance Matthew 25:31-46 and Luke 16:19-31. In the latter passage, the suffering Mives in able to look across the gulf between heaven and hell. Thus, the two places cannot be too far apart! In the Matthew passage, the 'evil people' are told "to go to the left", and several informants were as literal in their answers: "Hell is the left part of heaven. God’s heaven and Satan’s hell are like two houses. But you cannot go from one to the other."

Even if informants confirm the orthodox Christian belief that 'evil people who do not obey the law of God go to hell after death', the doctrine definitely plays a subordinate role. The choice at death is rather between "going to heaven for the eternal life" and staying on earth as a troublesome ancestral spirit. Hell seems definitely to be reserved for those who have "served Satan during their lives", i.e. criminals (cherchevu) and witches. "They belong to Satan and will go to his place".

Eschatology in a cyclical context

In spite of the extraordinary emphasis on 'eternal life' among Tahwa Christians, this religious hope for the future does not seem to be linked at all with my eschatological theology. As a matter of fact, no thought of "an end to the present world order" was ever mentioned by any informant. I am certain that a considerable amount of eschatological teaching has been done through missionary preaching over the years, but I found little evidence of such teaching having any significant trace.

This complexion also is not due to the fact that an eschatological end is almost inconceivable for minds steeped in a cyclical worldview. For traditional Tahwa, time literally goes round in circles: circles of seasons and cycles of human lives, always starting again, and ever coming back to the same points along the circumference. Thus, time canc-
not have an end, only a new beginning.

We are reminded again of Nkisi's statement concerning
African conception of time:

"Time is a two-dimensional phenomenon, with a long past, a present and virtually no future... actual time
is therefore what is present and what is past. It
moves 'backward' rather than 'forward'; and people set
their minds not on future things, but chiefly on what
has taken place". (36)

Such a statement seems to contradict the great Tswana
Christian hope for 'eternal life', this from an orthodox
Christian point of view is usually thought of as something
in the future. But it seems feasible to assume that such
an 'eternal life' is rather conceived of by Tswana in rela­
tion to the presently living generation, and would thus 'take
place' in the past and the present! In other words: as soon
as a Christian would die, and, according to his belief, enter
the 'eternal life', he would belong to the past as far as his
still living contemporaries are concerned, 'eternal life',
thus, is an ongoing concern, parallel with ordinary life,
and not something that will begin somewhere in the distant
future.

This reasoning that makes strong to European ears,
tallies well with Nkisi's development of the African concept
of time. (26) And again, it reminds us that an eschatologi­
cal end of time is extremely difficult to concretize from a
geographical approach. Hopefully for Tswana Christians, then,
someone to bear this personal realization, or one after the
other will leave the earthly scene and transfer to 'eternal
life' which is held before him as the unerring hope for every
faithful believer.

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(36) Nkisi, African Rel. Concepts and Philosophy, p. 17

(26) Ibid., p. 1ff

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11. **TOWARDS SOME CONCLUSIONS: ADDITION OR DISPLACEMENT?**

"In view of such an account of the cultural differences, it is clear that Christianity is misplaced in Africa", (1) exclaims Ram Desai, a writer with a certain claim to scientific treatment of his subject. His examples of cultural differences vary somewhat from the ones found in this dissertation, but it is conceivable that some of my material might have called forth the same conclusion.

This, however, is not the point at which I come out in this study. Cultural and religious differences between Christianity and 'Western culture' on the one hand, and Tahwa beliefs and customs on the other, have been demonstrated in this dissertation. Some of these have led to a continuous conflict, either openly between the official stand of the Church and any representative of Tahwa traditional life, or in the form of hidden conflicts of conscience in the individual Christian. Other demonstrated differences co-exist along with each other, and in a few instances Christian elements seem genuinely to have replaced the traditional.

In spite of a present standstill in numerical expansion, or even a certain decrease, (2) the Protestant Church is now an integral part of Tahwa society. It cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be dismissed as something "misplaced". The relevant question is rather: "Does the Protestant Church meet a truly felt

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(1) R. Desai, "Christianity in danger", in R. Desai (ed), Christianity in Africa as seen by Africans, p.19

(2) In 1960, the Methodist Episcopal Church had a reported constituency of 35,001, while in 1967 it was 31,303 (Relatório Oficial . . ., 1960 and 1967)
need among the Tahwa, or is it mainly the religious sector of xilungu?" (3) In a similar vein, a question may be raised in connection with the historically pronounced purpose of Christianity in Africa "to replace heathenism, or, maybe, even to fill a cultural and religious vacuum": (4) "Has Christianity replaced Tahwa traditional beliefs and customs, or has it become an addition?"

All answers to such questions must, to some extent, be generalisations. To arrive at some answers, however, I want to make the following statements, based upon material in this dissertation: (5)

1. Protestant Christianity is understood by the Tahwa as an intellectual faith as opposed to their all-inclusive traditional way of life;
2. By applying rationalistic criteria, a large sector of Tahwa traditional beliefs has been left practically untouched by Protestant Christianity;
3. Protestant worship has not entered the vital field of 'rites of life crises', and can, on the whole, be considered as replacing communal rites;
4. A legalistic trend of the Protestantism introduced among the Tahwa has found ready acceptance;
5. Protestant Christianity has provided a sense of community beyond kinship boundaries for those accepting the standards of the 'group apart', but has in the process consciously contributed to the

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(3) Xilungu, with the same stem -lungu as in malungu ("white man"), a designation for "all that belongs to the white man's world".


(5) note that, in using the term "Protestant" here, I do not oppose this section of Christianity to the Roman Catholic Church, but it is necessary thus to specify the findings, as my material comes entirely from within the Protestant community among the Tahwa.
disruption of the traditional social structure.

6. Social ethics, regularizing mutual rights and obligations within a given group, have been strongly influenced and partly replaced by individualized, religiously conditioned ethical concepts;

7. Protestant faith has changed traditional attitudes towards death by emphasis on 'eternal life'.

1. An intellectual faith

We have seen that, among the Tshwa as among many other African peoples, "schools became the nurseries of Christian congregations". (6) Even today, many Tshwa make no clear distinction between xikholwa (faith) and xikola (school). These two entities appear to be jointly seen as the cultural aspect of xilumma. For the Tshwa, these two hold, in fact, the key to the larger material advantages of civilization. Baptism is, at least partly, seen as a 'rite de passage' into the modern world, in which education plays a superior role.

For those to be baptized, the intellectual preparation - learning by heart certain statements formulating the basic Protestant Christian faith - stands out as the most important. Christianity is a belief to be learned. It has also been pointed out that Protestant worship depends much more on an intellectual understanding of the message brought through Bible reading and sermons, than on any symbolic experience of the divine presence. (7)

All doctrines are thus absorbed by the mind, to be known, and repeated on request. But they appear not, in general, to have penetrated deeply into Tshwa cos-

Cf. p. 65 of this dissertation.
(7) See further pp. 166-197.
ology and spiritual concepts. Purely ethical teaching, on the other hand, is accepted as "the Law of Christ". But not even the Protestant ethic has the all-inclusive view consistent with Tswana traditional life. (See below, section 6).

In a cultural setting, where life was seen as a complete whole, sought mainly through one process centered around the diviner, Protestantism thus planted the seed of division. Life was divided into compartments which may be satisfied through different channels. (8) Worship, thus, became purely religious, lifted out of its pragmatic applications, so well-known in traditional worship.

My material leads me, then, to conclude that Protestantism, at least in the doctrinal aspect, has in many cases become a superstructure on top of an important layer of traditional substance. This is undoubtedly causing perpetual inner conflict in many a Protestant Tswana.

2. A large portion of Tswana traditional beliefs untouched

In principle, all Tswana spiritual beliefs were declared out-of-bounds by the Protestant Church. One of them - the mandiki-complex - (9) was, however, identified with demons as found in the New Testament and attacked by spiritual methods. (10) Ancestral spirits as well as spirit-of-revenge (11) and witches were all dismissed as irrational. There is clear evidence that beliefs in these spiritual elements are to this day largely untouched by Christian influence.

(8) Cf. pp. 106 and 159.
(9) About mandiki, see pp. 42 ff.
(10) See p. 197 for Christian ‘treatment’.
(11) See further pp. 195-196.
and persist strongly below the Protestant superstructure.

3. Rites of life crises not part of Protestant worship

The communal rites - or 'rites of the soil' - were observed by the neighbourhood, a territorial group, without respect to kin membership. (12) They are still considered necessary "for the life of the country", and chiefs are bound to perform such rites, (13)

For the health and 'life' of the individual Tswana person and his kin-group, however, the imperative rites were the ones performed by his own lineage group: kinship rituals. The kin-group's 'rites of life crises' made afflictions somehow manageable through well structured channels. Christians were advised to seek hospital treatment in all types of sickness, and prayers were encouraged to accompany such treatment. In spite of this, Protestantism has not yet offered the Tswana a truly spiritual method of dealing with afflictions. It partakes in the 'Western' rationalization of sickness, while the Tswana mind still reaches for its cause in a mystical sphere. (14)

Certain observations should be made in this context:

(a) As traditional spiritual elements are not "acceptable" within the Protestant community, Christians usually adopt the 'official' attitude in public, while maintaining such spirits as integral parts of their personal world-view. This seems to be another instance of the intellectual Protestant superstructure

(12) About communal rites, see pp. 122 ff.
(13) Chiefs' duties are described on p. 10.
(14) See pp. 203-205.
on top of persisting traditional beliefs.

(b) The communal rites did not usually place any heavy burden on any individual, except the chiefs, as far as contributions are concerned. Particularly in the case of calendaric agricultural rites, contributions were nominal, as they did not require any sacrificial animal. (15) It seems likely that the understanding of the "cost" of worship has also been taken over by the Protestant community. (16)

(c) No diviner had anything to do with the calendaric communal rites. In all kinship rituals, on the other hand, the diviner was the centre of activity. Nothing was done without his advice or instruction.

The finding that Protestant worship has replaced communal rites but not kinship rituals therefore leads to the explanation that the realm of the diviner has not been penetrated by the Protestant faith. The divinatory process evidently answers to a deeply felt need among Tahwa, particularly by providing the superhuman cause of affliction which Tahwa people demand to know.

Not surprisingly, there is a seemingly irreconcilable opposition between the traditional diviners/medical practitioners (tin'anda) and representatives of the Protestant faith. (17)

(4) As traditional communal rituals are performed by the chief, the Protestant "taking over" of these rites is undoubtedly one cause of a usually latent, but still perceptible conflict between the institution of traditional chieftainship and Protestantism. This does not preclude certain incumbents from taking a positive attitude. (18)

(15) See p. 124.
(16) See further pp. 191-195.
(17) Cf. pp. 201-2 and 204.
(18) About this conflict, see p. 10.
(e) The own kinship rituals are closer to the heart of the Tswana than communal rites. The own ancestral spirits (tintuluve) play a more direct role as channels of 'life', and as integral parts of the process of 'vital participation' (19), so essential for the well-being of a Tswana persons in the traditional context. This is probably why kinship rites reportedly continue as frequently as before.

The recent introduction of tisiana (20) into the Protestant sphere give a clear indication of the importance of the departed kinsmen. Even allowing for certain syncretistic tendencies, tisiana must be seen as an effort to translate a deeply felt traditional value into Christian terms. However this may be considered by the Protestant Churches at present, it should be a memento as to the potential theological importance of ancestral spirits.

4. A legalistic trend readily accepted

It has been discussed in some detail whether the observed legalistic conception of the Christian faith is the fruit of a specific presentation of the Gospel to the Tswana, or the natural consequence of the Christian message received within the Tswana ethical frame of mind. (21) Most probably, both these factors have interacted in creating the existing legalism within Tswana Protestantism, and a strong emphasis on ethics. However, ethics have simultaneously been to a large extent changed from strictly social (as in the traditional society) to religious. (See below, section 6).

(19) See p. 106.
(20) Tisiana (adapted from the Portuguese "síeia" = mass) are memorial services. See further p. 142.
(21) See discussion on pp. 222–224.
5. A sense of community, but disruption of traditional structures

As the Tshwa social structure was inextricably interwoven with all traditional beliefs and customs, it was rejected by the Protestant missions. Tshwa individuals were called to break with family and kin in order to become Christians. It was declared ethically 'good' to make this break as complete as possible.

For those who entered the Protestant 'group apart', a sense of community (yakena) developed, based partly upon jointly accepted standards, partly on the necessity of separated individuals finding a new solidarity. This yakena has later become a cherished Tshwa Christian value, extending the sense of community far beyond kinship limitations.

Naturally, these developments within Protestantism have strongly contributed to a disruption of the unity within the kinship structure. We now find Tshwa Protestants largely accepting the traditional social structure when applying strictly social criteria, but rejecting its religious demands. Obviously, this leads to constant tension in both Christian and non-Christian sectors of the community.

Some customs connected with the social structure, as, e.g., gashawela (bridewealth), are in a process of continuous change, partly stimulated by the Protestant Churches. As a traditionally legalistic society, now finds itself without strict norms in this important respect, the present development indicates less stable attitudes towards the marriage connection. (23)

(22) See especially pp. 94–97.
(23) Cf. pp. 18–19.
Individualized, religious ethics versus social ethics

The ideal of 'vital participation' (24) included 'right relationships' between living and dead, as well as between the various living kin members, social ethics were one foundation of 'life' (wutomi). (25) Human relationships were an immediate threat to the self-being of the group and its individual members.

The Protestant Churches among the Tshwa introduced an ethic primarily based upon a 'right relationship' between individual and God. Naturally, this Christian ethic had certain social implications. But, in the conflict between traditional social loyalties, rejected when religious criteria are used (See above), and the idea of 'right relationships' with God, the Tshwa Protestant seems to opt for the latter. We also find that social ethical values are considered as valid primarily in connections within the 'group apart'.

 Individual ethical responsibility is fostered within the Protestant community. The traditional fear of the group being afflicted because of an individual's fault is thereafter removed. The most immediate consequence appears to be a tendency to conceal ethical shortcomings, making them "matters between God and the individual", rather than between the individual and the social group of which he is a member. (26)

7. Remarkable changes of attitudes towards death

We have found that the sphere of death has undergone the most decisive changes of all traditional

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customs and beliefs. (27) As such changed attitudes are displayed in an emotionally tense atmosphere, they are bound to make a strong impression on all involved.

We assume that there is an important connection between such change of attitudes and the Christian promise of 'eternal life', as the departed Christian had to be prepared for this continuing life in a completely different manner from the dead who were expecting an ancestral spirit (timuluvu).

Returning now to the question in the beginning of this chapter, we find, therefore, that with the important exception referred to under (7), Protestant Christianity has added to — and in several instances modified — the traditional concepts and customs, rather than displaced them. Several conflicts introduced partly by xilunana, (28) partly by the Protestant faith, are still rampant. Many Protestants, therefore, find themselves in a social and cultural uncertainty. Furthermore, several elements within the traditional context are now clamouring for a more positive treatment than has been accorded them by the Protestant Church.

Within the ongoing process of acculturation, many felt needs among the Tahwa have not yet been met in the Protestant context. The most acute of these may be the need of coming to terms with the traditional world of spirits, which remains an integral part of the Tahwa frame of reference.

On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that Protestant Christianity assists the Tahwa in finding a religious perspective on the outside influence,

(27) See, e.g., p. 256-257.
(28) See note on page 270.
which is pressing them from all sides. It helps them to find a community stretching wider than their old one. Furthermore, certain features within the Protestant community (e.g., using the Tshwa language in worship, and depending in an increasing degree on African leadership) help Tshwa to find a new identity which, on the social side, may fit in with "modern living". Finally, the strong attachment one finds to the Protestant Churches among many Tshwa, in spite of observed discrepancies, is most certainly based upon a greater religious satisfaction, focussed on the religious "sumum bonus" of 'eternal life'.

It is hoped, however, that the Tshwa Protestant community will in the future face more constructively than before certain issues that arise from present conflicts and mutual misunderstandings. Some of these urgent issues are within the following fields:

a) Conflict of cultural factors in sphere of "sin and salvation";

b) Spiritual and social sickness causation;

c) Theological and practical implications of spirit beliefs, particularly ancestral spirits (tincaluve);

d) Disrupted social structures and customs;

e) Symbolism and drama in worship.
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