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Ancestral paradigms and modern lives
Relational living in Mozambique and D.R. Congo

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Figure 1 **Diagnosis and healing instruments of a Cisena-speaking healer of Central Mozambique – Mozambique 2008**

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List of Abbreviations

ACTION AID	Non-Governmental Organization (of UK and in Mozambique)
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AMETRAMO	Association of Traditional Medicine (Mozambique)
ARV or ART	Anti retroviral Therapy
CARITAS	Catholic Organization of International Cooperation
CARITAS-RDC/BDOM	Caritas in DR Congo
CERDAS	Research Centre of Social and Anthropological Sciences (UNIKIN)
CIDAC	Centro Intervenção para Desenvolvimento Amílcar Cabral – Portugal
CNCS	National Council striving HIV/AIDS (in Mozambique)
CVM	Cruz Vermelha de Moçambique (Red Cross of Mozambique)
DIALOGO	Applied Research and Sensibilization Project of CVM & MONASO
DTS = STD	Doença de transmissão Sexual = Sexual Transmitted Disease
EHALE	Regional Association working in Health in the province of Nampula
FRELIMO	Liberation Front of Mozambique (party at power since independence)
GIZ (former GTZ)	German Technical Assistance Organization (National Cooperation)
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICCO	Interchurch Organization for Development Cooperation (in Holland).
INDER	Research Institute affiliated to MADER in Mozambique
INE	Instituto Nacional Estatística - (Mozambique)
INSIDA	National Survey on Prevalence and Behavioral Risks about HIV/AIDS
ISEDEL	Instituto Superior Estudos de Desenvolvimento Local (Priv. University)
HERVENARIO	Herbalist Healer Organization of Mozambique
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MADER	Ministry of Agriculture of Mozambique
MISAU	Ministério de Saúde de Moçambique (Ministry of Health)
MOCIK	Association of Mozambican filmmakers and workers in Maputo
MONASO	Network of Mozambican Civil Society striving against AIDS
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PAV	Preventive Services applying state public health measures (Mozam.)
PEN	Plano Estratégico Nacional de Resposta ao HIV e SIDA (Mozambique)
PEPFAR	U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PNLS	National Program Combating STD and AIDS in DR Congo
PNMLS	National Multi-sectorial Program striving against AIDS in DR Congo
PROMETRA	Promotion of Indigenous Medicine (in several countries in Africa)
RDC (or DR Congo)	République Democratique du Congo = Democratic Republic of Congo
RENAMO	Mozambican National resistance (political party in Mozambique)
SDC	Suisse Cooperation
STD	Sexual Transmitted Disease
STI	Sexual Transmitted Infection
TASO	The AIDS Support Organization (Uganda)
THETA	Traditional & Modern Health Practitioners Together Against AIDS
UATAF	Association promoting functional alphabetization in North Mozambique
UJAMAA	Name for the community villages in the Tanzania’s socialist regime
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
MAE	Ministério Administração Estatal (Mozambique)
WHO	World Health Organization
WLASA	Women’s Law in Southern Africa

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Figure 44 Educators for male/female initiation among Makhuwa people; healers, counselors and godfather/godmother of the participants of both genders learned in separated groups 18 new counsels related to sex, blood and the mother/child save relationship, in order to improve HIV prevention. Non-literate persons memorized the new counsels using three colors for the three subjects, along with marks in sand that they traced with their finger while reciting all the new counsels, until they knew them all by heart. In the province of Nampula (2014).

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Figure 47 Healers discuss HIV/AID prevention supported by a chief and a medical doctor and nurses. In Kwanto, South-West DR Congo (2010)

Figure 48 A mediumistic healer in state of possession, who also participates in "modern" worlds in central Mozambique (2006, 2007). She assisted several of my researches and cooperated with the provincial council combating HIV/AIDS and introduces HIV-prevention in female initiation.

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Date, Signature __15.2.2016__________________

Dedicated to the youth in Mozambique and DR Congo
And to
The diviners, healers,
Male and female initiation rites counselors,
Chiefs and notables who shared their experience and knowledge

With deep gratitude to my husband Nuno Cassola e Barata
who has supported me for so many years with great solidarity.

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“ (...) human culture, like consciousness itself, rests on a shadowy and dissolving floe of blue ice, and this subliminal, habitual, repressed, unexpressed, and silent mass shapes and reshapes, stabilizes and destabilizes the visible surface forms. And just as cultural forms are continually being lost for this underlying and largely Invisible Ocean of potentiality so it in turn continually feeds back into the visible field of inter-subjectivity.”(*Michael Jackson 1998:16*)

Preamble

In this book, we will go on a journey to several Bantu-speakers’ cultures in Mozambique and DR Congo, and offer you a look into these worlds from both sides of the mirror[1]. We will bell guided by my research subjects, many bound to their ancestors in a time in which past, present and future are inseparable, as wise Kikingo-speakers would say. This journey will take many turns, exploring some constituent elements of the cultures described – elements that belong to the endless multiplicity of differences that cannot and should not be reduced to a single identity. This journey is about multiple differences in cultures that are always “in the making” (Achebe 1982; in Appiah 1992:173).[2] It is in this sense that my descriptions avoid any assignations of identity which would fix what is in a permanent state of making and becoming, with changes impregnated by repetitions (Deleuze 1968). Even though it is impossible to grasp “what is”, there is the paradoxical necessity of recognizing the validity of what many of my research subjects characterize as “coming from our ancestors” (I will shorten it as “ancestral”), or what the people report as “reality” in their life. For my research subjects, relevant realities include ancestors or other spirits as sources of knowledge transmitted through dreams, divination or possession.[3] I will give you insights into worlds where some commonly shared paradigms apply in health, education and law (and also in politics, economy, the arts and so on). The ‘music’ is in the details and in the diversity of the versions in endless combinations of different intensities, which may also change during the life of a person. The paradigms discussed can be seen in practices that I describe in the pulsation of the worlds that coexist in multiple modernities.

I ask my readers to leave aside, for the time of this reading, their own scales of values and realities; to avoid the “politics of polarity” and to open themselves up to worlds that for some readers may be full of alterity, without relegating to exotic spheres that which I describe through the accounts and practices of my research subjects. What may look different from the reader’s usual worlds is part of the described people’s normality and order. Julio Dialo, rice cultivator and community health assistant in eastern Guinea-Bissau (Boé), concluded after an extended visit to Berlin, where he stayed in my home with my family: “We humans are all the same.” The discussed “differences” should not be contrasted negatively with our sameness. Rather, they should be taken as a challenge to each reader to recognize the right of diversity and multiplicity within our respective cultures, without exclusion, addressing the alterity in ourselves. May this journey offer you a refreshed view of your own worlds.

Introduction

The past in the present, in becoming

In this journey to two African countries, I present and analyze some basic paradigms[4] that are broadly active in several Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speakers' cultures, significantly influencing current practices in health, education and law. The cultures of Bantu-speakers in sub-Saharan Africa usually form – in great multiplicity - many different versions of certain themes, which are also mixed with other paradigms, without necessarily destroying the relevance of the values transported in these "endogenous" approaches.[5] Instead of speaking of "indigenous" practices generating knowledge, I follow Hountondji's (1994) notion of "endogenous" knowledge/practices, which suggests a process of dynamic growth based on innate resources; "it avoids debates on identity (what is African, native, indigenous?) and it exceeds the definition of 'indigenous knowledge,' connoting indigenous with an archaic or 'primitive' past," as Crossmann and Devisch (2002:96-99) aptly argue. For Sax (2015) knowledge is always endogenous and only exists in the form of diverse practices, but never abstractly.[6] In this study, I will qualify as "endogenous" what many Mozambican and Congolese people recognize as knowledge arising out of the worlds connected with their mother tongue and with values grounded in practices that the people relate to their ancestors, reaching back to pre-colonial times. The practices that I describe are at present shared by many Mozambican and Congolese people. Qualifying them as "cultural," although they also strongly concern the social context.

I will discuss a few central paradigms which, following Kuhn (1976), I define as widespread patterns or models with implicit assumptions related to basic issues established in and accepted by the Bantu-speaking communities studied. Paradigms are ambiguous, leaving room for interpretation; they cannot be reduced to certain rules; the agents using a certain paradigm do not agree as to how its various aspects should be weighted. However, paradigms define main norms in the sense of a matrix. Paradigms are like a box or drawer, and they are encoded in language and practices. Paradigms concern theories and methods, either in sciences, religion or life in general, and they are reflected in practices; they define problems and the norms used in seeking solutions to them. The specificity of paradigms is that they are constantly improved and refined, which is also the case in the actualized 'ancestral' context that I describe. This implies that, although they are related to ancestors' ways and values, these paradigms can be adjusted throughout their actualizations, remaining 'ancestral' as long as they follow the internal logics (Bell 1992) of *ancestral ways*. Some paradigms are incommensurable concerning their norms, definitions and ways of resolving problems, as I will show in comparing Bantu 'ancestral' paradigms with Christian, scientific or legal paradigms. In short, I define "paradigms" as patterns or models based on certain core and explanatory ideas and concepts determining practices that are grounded in a set of basic implicit assumptions involving specific values, categories, theories and practices, all of which are broadly shared and accepted by many, if not most, people belonging to the cultures described. Paradigms define norms in the sense of a matrix; they are ambiguous, leaving room for interpretation; paradigms are constantly improved and refined.

Further, I look at some of the applied frames and framings (e.g., grammar)[7] that emerge as explicit models employed in dealing with the values of the "endogenous" (coming from inside) paradigms that are most active in practices in health, education and law in the context of the cultures described. I define frames/framing in part in the sense of Goffman (1986:10), who isolates some of the basic "frameworks of understanding" available to a society for making sense of events. A paradigm implies certain 'frames of reference' and "interpretive frames," which for Goffman apply to activities and experiences, like rituals, just as they also apply to matters such as fertility or colours (see Chapter Three). In the context of this study, such socio-cognitive, normative or ritual frames imply a core set of assumptions, expectations, values and knowledge(s) collectively held by a group or community [see Orlikowski & Gash 1994:199]. However, I discuss "frames of understanding" (interpretive frames), which not only shape the meaning of an activities, enabling their description, but also regulate the person's practices. I.e., I do not reduce frames and framings to meaning and interpretations. In the context of this study, frames and framings address the ways used in the practices to effectively achieve the intended goals, e.g., in rituals, in cleansing or other treatments, in education or in lived-law.

In short, I define "frames/framings," in part following Goffman (1986), as a core set of assumptions emerging as explicit models of understanding, which make sense of events. I extend this definition to ways of dealing in the practices with specific paradigms involving knowledge of all kinds, e.g., of ritual ways that are collectively held by a group or community and able to achieve the effectiveness of the activity. Beyond Goffman's sense of "frames of understanding," I define "framings" in terms of specific ways of dealing in the practices with the predominant paradigms that I discuss.

Both notions seem very similar; they differ as far as I use the notion of paradigms for the main content, while I speak about frames and their framings in addressing the ways of dealing with the paradigms discussed. Both paradigms and framings imply explanatory models: while paradigms define the more general patterns and the main norms in the sense of a matrix (e.g., vocabulary), frames and framings (ways to frame) show the specific ways that are considered appropriate to express, to behave in accordance with and for dealing with the paradigms that I discuss (e.g., grammar) that is regarded as necessary in dealing with the specific paradigms. Paradigms and their framings appear in the language; they explain values that appear in practices and are expressed in words, songs, metaphors, proverbs, stories, mythologies, idioms and dreams. Additionally, I implicitly follow Bourdieu's (1972) notion of practice and *habitus* in terms of *ways of living*[8] (Ingold 2011) involving the practices, in particular, specific dynamic and transformative ways (e.g., ritual, metaphorical, etc.) of dealing with the paradigms that are relevant in the *habitus,* which encompasses a wide range of thoughts and historical, educational and ritual practices as a product of social relations and life in a certain cultural context.[9] Throughout this study, my research subjects demonstrate that the described practices follow certain internal logics (Bell 1992); practices lead to experiences[10] and both generate specific knowledge that is transmitted in specific ways. This "endogenous knowledge," in its constant

state of becoming, has dynamic and transformative characteristics. Addressing frames and their framings, I do not refer to a static framework or structure[11], but to specific active ways of dealing with the paradigms. By avoiding constructing systems[12], I show internal logics involved in the practices and the fluid processes that include transformations which contain some continuities in their "becoming", in a notion that is concerned with putting emphasis not on the future, but more on the lack of fixation of identity (in terms of one) in the multiplicity, movement and constant changes involved[13].

I use the notion of "law" in the encompassing definition of Benda-Beckmann (2006:13), as a generic term that comprises concepts, rules, principles, procedures, regulations of different sorts, relationships, decisions at different levels of social organization. From the perspective of my Mozambican and Congolese research subjects, I analyze practices in "living-law" (Ehrlich 2013), which include multiple normative ordering and which I call lived-law, looking at the logics behind these legal practices. I combine the notion of living-law with the all-encompassing term "Law" as defined above, including not only the formal legal system but also ancestral, religious or other systems of normative ordering. This study may contribute to the anthropology of ethics and morality in the *ethical turn* in anthropology[14]. I discuss the ethics involved in *moral power* (Stroeken 2010) and moralities concerning the *ordinary* (Lambeck 2010) of everyday relational living, which gives space and recognition to the particular (Wiredu 1996). My descriptions and analyses concern, first of all, ancestorhood and the relevance of spirits of all kinds; second, the multiple constitution of the strongly interdependent and relational person; third, the sexual and thermal framing with their connections to several taboos that the ancestors left to the living (and which are relevant to AIDS); and fourth, *vuloyi, okhwiri, kindoki* (in Xirhonga, Emakhwua, Kikongo) or similar notions translated as 'witchcraft.'[15] These are approached following certain paradigms that transport moral and ethical values dealing with the past in the present, influencing the future, and which include the living-dead [ancestors] in the life-world of the living, being both part of the social world (Mahumana 2013). These paradigms and their framings allow an approach to life's imponderability and uncertainty and offer a way of dealing with the social requirements of relations grounded in reciprocity and respect, and with inequalities, emotions and inter-subjective tensions[16]. The discussed local notions of morals and ethics are expressed in the practices; they correspond with studies by African philosophers as much as with those by anthropologists[17]. My approach is to be distinguished from ontological assignations that establish "what is," leading to their being fixed – and reduced to – one or several identity/ies[18], whose fixation I question due to the multiplicity and continual changes involved. In a *perspectivist* move (Viveiro de Castro, 1998), my study gives voice to the many Mozambicans and Congolese people who follow, with more or less intensity, the discussed practices and involved values. The descriptions and analyses of the involved categories and values appearing in the practices allow mediations between the various involved coexisting and reciprocally influential cultures: e.g., endogenous, Western, literate and scientific, biomedicine, official written law, and Christian or Islamic religions. These are all influential cultures in which my research subjects participate in inclusive ways.

The research context and methodology

The geographical areas studied

Mozambique, the main area of this study, is a country located on the Indian Ocean in Southeast Africa. To the north it borders Tanzania, to the west Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and to the southwest the Republic of South Africa. In the south it also borders Swaziland. Mozambique is a large country with a 2,700-km coastline and an area of 800,000 km², a size comparable to that of Pakistan or Turkey. However, Mozambique is relatively sparsely populated, with only 20.5 million inhabitants (Pakistan had 157.9 million and Turkey 73.2 million in 2005). The geographical area covered by this study, conducted over thirteen years in several phases, includes eight of the twelve provinces in Mozambique, in the south, center and north of the country. I carried out studies in the provinces of Maputo (1997, 2001, 2003, 2006-2007, 2008), Nampula (1998, 1999, 2000-2003, 2006-2007 and 2014), Gaza and Inhambane (2001, 2003); Sofala (between 2005 and 2007); Manica, Zambezia and Inhambane (2006-2007, 2008). The objective was to compare the patrilineal (south and center) and the matrilineal (north) Bantu-speaking populations belonging to eight Bantu language groups, framing cultural specificities in order to show – in the social and cultural context of health (and specifically of HIV/AIDS) – the weight of social and cultural differences and of the similarities involved. In Mozambique, my multisite comparative studies in health encompass Zulu in the south; Xichangana, similar to Xirhonga, Xitshwa and Bitonga linguistic contexts in the south; Cindau in the upper south and the center; Cisena and Cishona in the center; and Elomwe and Emakhuwa in the north. The study largely involved rural research subjects from several localities, in addition to some urban research subjects.

The second country studied is DR Congo, with research involving healers and diviners in Kinshasa and in the southwest district of Kwango (with two million inhabitants the largest in DRC). This study covered five of the fourteen healthcare areas stretching over an area of 90,000 km² (comparable to the area of Portugal). The study encompasses two healthcare areas with Yaka predominance (in Kasongo Lunda and Popokabaka) and two healthcare areas with a Suku-Bantu predominance (in Kimbau and Mwela Lembwa), which allowed verification of the cultural differences in the approach to HIV/AIDS.[19] The research in 2011-2012 on "traditional" law in Bas-Congo involved three districts[20]. All BaKongo people speak Kikongo in accordance with cultural practices and principles, which are similar to those of the Yaka and Suku in the neighboring Kwango in the province of Bandundu.[21]

My 'Bantu' comparative study puts emphasis on practices and concepts in matrilineal cultures (of the Emakhuwa/Elomwe in North Mozambique, Kikongo in South-west DR Congo). Comparing them with patrilineal societies of Central/South Mozambique, I elaborate less on the approaches usual in the latter societies, which are described by Honwana (2002) and Mahumana (2013) for endogenous healing in the South, and by Igreja (e.g., 2003, 2006, 2008, 2014) and Honwana (2003) in Central Mozambique. My focus becomes obvious in my insistence on the ternary notion of personhood and

the derived ambivalent approaches of *okhwiri* or *kindoki* ['witchcraft'], the ambiguities of which are more strongly expressed in matriliny than in the patrilienal societies that Mahumana (2014) discusses.

The linguistic framework

Mozambique: Numbering 20,530,714 (Censo 2007), members of Bantu-speaking cultures constitute the vast majority (more than 98%) of the country's population.[22] "Bantu" is a linguistic category. In order to simplify the text, I refer to "Bantu-speakers' cultures" or "Bantu cultures." Map 3 shows the migration over the centuries of Bantu languages in sub-Saharan Africa from West Africa, through Central and into Eastern and Southern Africa (Janzen 1992:60). **Emakhuwa**-speakers live in four provinces in northern Mozambique and constitute the largest group in the country. Together with the **Elomwe-**speakers, they comprise over 35.6% of the Mozambican population.[23] **Cindau**-speakers live in the northern part of South Mozambique, and in the central province of Sofala. They make up only 7.7% of the population[24], although Cindau culture plays a preponderant role in the cultural healing traditions in central and southern Mozambique (Honwana 2002). **Cishona** people account for 6.5% of Mozambicans; their language and cultural practices are very similar to the Cisena-speakers, with whom they occupy the central part of the country. **Cisena-**speakers[25] make up 9.3% of the population, living in the central provinces of Sofala and Zambesia.[26] The South Mozambicans comprise approximately 23% of the country's population, speaking the similar languages **Xitsonga, Xichangana** and **Xirhonga.**[27] The **Xitshwa**[28] in Inhambane constitute just 3% of the population and form a small linguistic subgroup of the Xitsonga-speakers, to which the much smaller **Bitonga-**speakers' group also belongs. While the **Zulu** in the south make up only a very small group in Mozambique, they are numerous in neighboring South Africa (the national borders in Africa are not determined by ethnic criteria but were decided by the colonial powers at the Berlin Conference in 1884-85). Mozambique has a small number of residents of Portuguese ancestry, as well as Christian and Islamic Indian descendents. Only 27% Mozambicans speak Portuguese, the official former colonial language, as a second language; most speak a Bantu language as their mother tongue.[29] See in Table 1a the summary of these data, and the mapping of languages in maps 1b/c.

In DR Congo (Map2), the linguistic field involves 221 languages, of which 168 are Bantu; 80% of the Congolese are Bantu-speakers. French (the former colonial language) is the official national language, alongside four vehicular national Bantu languages spoken throughout the country.[30] Some quoted studies by Jacobson-Wedding or Janzen concern the **Kikongo**-speakers in Southwest Congo (Bas-Congo). I conducted studies with **Kiyaka,**[31] **Kisuku** and **Kipelende** Bantu-speakers from the Kwango district in Bandundu province, and with **Kikongo** speakers in the province of Bas-Congo. Several quoted authors in this study refer to Bantu-speakers from South, Central, East or West Africa. The sub-Saharan linguistic map of migration of Bantu-speakers (Janzen, 1978), Map 3, shows how over the centuries Bantu migration started in northwestern sub-Saharan Africa, in Cameroon, crossed the central countries of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda, into Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe in East Africa, and continued through eastern Central Africa until reaching Southern

Africa. This illustrates how the paradigms that I describe could spread over the continent among the most diverging peoples, Bantu-speaking or not, producing many versions on the same themes.

Map 3 shows the migration of Bantu-speakers in sub-Saharan Africa over centuries, illustrating the mixes grounding the discussed cultures, to which must be added the colonial and postcolonial influences right up to the current globalizing tendencies. The strong migrations in Africa allow understanding why the paradigms that I describe with their framings appear as much in West DR Congo as all over in the several studied provinces in Mozambique, including eight Bantu languages.

The research subjects participating in the research

The several studies that I conducted between 1997 and 2014 involved healers and diviners[32], along with initiation rites counselors of both genders and community chiefs with their notables and the people using their services, who were interviewed and observed in their practices in health/well-being, and in mediations of conflicts in their communities. See Table 0.2. the lists of the studies involved. The studies included female and male counselors in youth initiation rites in central and northern Mozambique and circumcisers in DR Congo (in Kwango). I involved as research subjects (in a reduced number) some groups of people living with HIV in South Mozambique, Kinshasa and adult peer-educators for HIV-prevention among workers in sixteen breweries in Kinshasa with whom I verified the validity in urban areas of the paradigms studied in rural contexts.

The medical anthropological study, carried out with several teams and financed in diverse ways, involved the cooperation and support, from 1997 until 2008, in the eight involved provinces of Mozambique, of more than 1,000 traditional practitioners of all types (healers, 'diviners', revealers, herbalists, initiation rites and elder counselors of both genders), including "customary" authorities speaking eight different Bantu languages, and later in DR Congo ca. 136 of the same type of research subjects in Kwango and in Kinshasa. The legal anthropological study involved 9 chiefs with their respective several notables from 3 districts in the province Nampula (from 1999 until 2003). In DR Congo 37 *grouping chiefs*[33] and 49 notables (often chiefs of villages) from all districts of Bas-Congo who shared their knowledge in local practices in law (in 2011-2012) participated in the research realized in cooperation with members of CERDAS (University Kinshasa).[34] Sixty female initiation rites counselors (with healers treating STD, spouses of chiefs) in central Mozambique and 33 female and 12 similar male agencies in the eastern (rural) part of Nampula province (in 2014) also took part in the study. When referring to these *research subjects,* I may call them research participants or, shorter, *informants* in keeping with anthropological conventions. However, these research subjects were more than informants; they discussed the research issues not only with me and my teams, but also among themselves with colleagues from several linguistic groups. This occurred in workshops and focus groups. Commenting on my film documents of health, educational and lived-law ritual practices (as in Kwango, where I showed Mozambican healing practices), healers took the initiative to demonstrate to me how they heal in accordance with similar paradigms and ritual framings as in Mozambique, and showed how they add some slightly different ritual ways (framings) following the same or similar

internal logics. Many of the research subjects that I quote (with or without naming them) are “special” persons, recognized in their communities or regions as those who best “know” the practices and their traditions. They constitute an elite differing from the elites in power; living with the people, they are among those who influence people’s life, relations, values, morals, ethics and practices, the internal logics of which this study seeks to describe and understand.

Among the numerous people with whom I worked, whose practices I observed in participative ways, and who shared with me their experience and knowledge, I would like to describe a few central persons and practitioners, several of whom I quote under their own names, given that they insist on being recognized in their knowledge. At the beginning of my research in North Mozambique, there were the old peasant Vanteke and his wife, Catarina, who shared with me their deeply rooted ancestral convictions and practices, which they maintained despite official prohibitions after independence, under the socialist regime. Vanteke was the first to tell me that land is a person (Kotanyi 2003b). There was Horácio. M., an Emakhuwa *mukhulukana* [diviner and healer] in the neighboring village, who offered me his friendship after my repeated questions about the reasons why initiation and the several life rituals are so important (in a discussion that I filmed in his community). He showed me his friendship and recognition by offering me a plain calabash with freshly ground flour that is usually offered to the ancestors. The simple gesture of putting flour on the ground while speaking with the ancestors, invoking them, marked for me the modesty involved in this practice, and showed the epitome of ancestorship in Mozambique. Horácio taught me by demonstrating to me his healing practices, which involved very few words: he explained them to me later while commenting on my video recordings. In the South there was also the Bitonga-speaking healer Elsa E., in the district of Inhambane, a healer woman who heals with plants without spirit possessions, working with the support of her ancestors, and the especially impressive diviner Bambane, who worked with Elsa E. and who lived, very isolated, in the bush. He told me several times about issues in my life (without my asking him) in ways demonstrating that he “sees” (with a “third” eye) in a remarkable way. There was the young healer Joice, living near the capital Maputo in the dry and poor countryside, in whose graduation I participated over two days and a night, just as I participated in a similar *twhasa* [initiation graduation] for Marta in Inhambane and for Sabina in Gaza (Kotanyi 2003a). There was also, since 2005, my friend and one of my numerous translators and main assistants in central Mozambique for years, the diviner and healer Veronica A. S., with whom we developed an approach to include education in HIV-prevention in female rites and who helped to identify well-accepted healers in Gorongoza, Manica and Alto Molocwe. And there was the so strongly expressive dancing initiation rites counselor Gima D., who so despaired at not being literate, and who explained to us so clearly in 2005 that women have their own rhythm of imposing changes on their men.

All the participants in the 2005 research workshops with female rites counselors (Central Mozambique), as well as the diviners, healers, chiefs and notables of both genders in the two research workshops of the DIALOGO study in South and Central/North Mozambique (2006), like the chiefs

and notables participating in the workshop in Bas-Congo (2012), were each chosen in participative ways in their communities, being recognized there as strong personalities. There was, e.g., the famous Cindau-speaking healer Mazingue in the North of the province Inhambane whom I encountered in 2006, and who follows 'ancestral' and 'modern' ways of living with similar intensity. I visited him again in 2008 after the DIALOGO research of 2006-2007 was interrupted before being finalized – and which I partially finalized alone – which he supported with several of his colleagues. These include, for example, the Zulu-speaking healer and diviner Amos P., who in 2008 introduced me to, among other things, especially the complex notion of the person [*munhu* in Xichangana, *umuntu* in Zulu]; he explained to me his alternation between several ways; after participating in Christianity, he switched back to ancestral healing practices, which he (like several other healers that I met) finds more efficient in achieving healing. There was the Cishona-speaking old healer and diviner Josepha R., whom I first knew in April 2006 and who later explained so clearly to my colleague Brigitte Bagnol (2007) that healers/diviners are only interested in dealing with, healing and providing relief to bewitched persons, not at all in the witches – a perspective that I had observed years before, in 1999, in the healing practices of Horácio in Nampula, North Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003a). I observed the same perspective later, in 2010, in very similar healing practices conducted by the great diviner, healer and chief Point Noire, (in Kwango DRC). There were also the most diverse kinds of chiefs, either those who seemed extremely (or less) rooted in rural life in the Nampula province (North), in several districts in South/Central Mozambique, just as in Kwango and in Bas-Congo in DR Congo, who shared with me their knowledge. Or, for example, the former secondary teacher in Kinshasa, Lugangu C-, who knows his Kikongo traditions so well, despite having lived for so long in Kinshasa. Or the wise and non-academic philosopher Jean Paul K., counselor of a big chief in a very small town, explaining with great subtlety the BaKongo traditions. There were the several quite young diviners in Kwango, among them also a nurse, who impressed me with their commitment to their traditions, which they combined with great creativity with the most divergent other traditions or modernities. And, let me also mention the Christianized and still independent Mother Elalie, living in isolation in a small village in Bas-Congo, where she treats many children and some mothers who are regarded as *ndoki* ['witches' in Kikongo]. She initially frightened me due to the strange atmosphere at her place, with the many children living under poor conditions, abandoned by their relatives, working in her fields during the day and being treated by her with love at night; it somehow recalled to me the "Three Penny Opera" by Bertold Brecht.

The impressive personalities are endless; there were also the several nurses and judges, who know their traditions very well and taught me their art of practicing complementarity. I will conclude with the Makhuwa female counselor in Nampula city who explained to me in 2014 how she initiates girls in the Catholic Church, transmitting all the 'traditions' that I had encountered in the countryside, combining them (or not) with Christian values.

The methodology and the context of the conducted studies

The research involved participant observation, interviews and the study of literature. I started studying local practices by making two ethnographic films in Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003a/b). I use films as an explicit means of research, realizing them as support for adult dialogical education in the studied countries and in other African countries. Filming on the basis of anthropological research (my own and that of colleagues); I intensified the study by analyzing, along with several research participants, the edited film sequences, which allowed a deeper understanding of the local practices and their subjacent thoughts and coherences, and the identification of the respective basic principles applied. These analyses of the local practices were undertaken first in workshops (in 2003 and 2006, 2007) with national and regional actors from the sectors of health, education and state administration, with the support of healers and chiefs, in studies grounded in dialogues. Later, both films were also used in DR Congo (in 2010, 2011): parallel to field studies in health and law in two provinces, I produced a film about practices in local living law[35], as a teaching tool in introducing lawyers and judges (of Kinshasa and Bas-Congo) to legal anthropology, promoting the recognition of plural law practices. One aim of the applied researches in law, in health and health education was to identify and develop either complementary or inclusive approaches of cooperation between Western-educated Mozambican or Congolese actors and local actors not willing to deny their cultural values and practices. Picking up people 'where they are' allows a deeper understanding of local practices and thoughts, as well as the development of inclusive or complementary approaches to health, education and law interventions.[36]

The people reacted with surprise to my interest in knowing, and trying to gain a deep understanding of, the practices that they relate to their ancestors; formerly, it was 'white' people who condemned these practices, denying their value. And since independence, "Western-educated" Mozambican and Congolese people often argue that ancestrality is backward and full of superstitions, reminiscent of Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967). I generally received great support from the people; I encountered more skeptics from the side of "Western-educated" (national) people of all kinds in both countries, who questioned whether I could do effective research on what they called "traditional" medicine or law practices. But this was never a problem in the field; my suggestions to try to find ways to mediate between the several involved cultures and the 'modernity' that they also appreciate pleased the people using the 'ancestral' practices in the context of coexisting medical and legal pluralism. Many of my key research subjects appreciated the intention, but had little hope that such mediations would meet with interest on the side of decision-makers who held power. My personal ethic as a filmmaker and anthropologist, to bring the results of my filming back to the community involved, had enriching consequences, both for me and for the community members filmed (or not filmed). Showing my films at each place where I filmed affected the people; they reacted with pride, considering these films to be a "school" in their ways of living. Over the years, I adapted my approach and methods in response to the reactions, comments, explanations and corrections that arose at the film screenings, which I combined with debates with the viewers. E.g., this helped me recognize when

I was using the wrong categories, e.g., biomedical ones (projecting my own usual categories), and I learned to keep more accurately to the people's notions and values, and their respective connotations.

In the twelve applied studies with different durations and contexts, similar multidisciplinary methodologies in the investigation of the locally relevant paradigms and frames that are usual in the cultures studied were used. I worked with different teams of film technicians, anthropologists, linguists, historians, medical doctors, psychologists, lawyers, judges, interpreters, translators and educators, conducting the research with them jointly, or determining methods and frameworks of their studies conducted parallel with and in complement to my own fieldwork. With the teams involved, we used the classical ethnological method of participant observation involving semi-directed and non-directed individual and focus-group interviews. I combined this with professional audiovisual documentations, recorded in and analyzed through several stages of translation of the Bantu languages into Portuguese or French (the English translations in this book are my own). The study of literature was combined with a deepened analysis of sequences of the edited films. These analyses were conducted in Mozambique and DR Congo, along with the viewing of unedited video documents from field observations, which were discussed with all types of research subjects in several geographic areas, allowing comparative studies. The observations and the film documents of healing sessions and rituals, of graduation ceremonies of healers in South and North Mozambique, of full initiation into the 'secret' spiritual cult of the '*Eyootto*' spirit in North Mozambique, of female initiation rites and of palavers mediating conflicts, in addition to individual and focus group interviews in communities, together make up the basic materials of the present study concerning Mozambique. Later, I produced new film documentaries in DR Congo on the same issues (health and law), allowing comparative studies with those from Mozambique. Showing and analyzing both Mozambican films (Kotanyi, 2003a/b) in DR Congo (Kinshasa, Kwango and Bas-Congo), and using differentiated studies carried out by other anthropologists, provided new insights in a process of exchange. When I was involved in applications in pursuit of certain objectives (which was not the case in all studies), I provoked dialogues, in keeping with Paulo Freire's (1970, 1985) dialogical approach to adult education, which takes the people's knowledge seriously: I tended to lead the involved people to take local knowledge seriously and to connect any new teaching with the (endogenous) knowledge of the adults. We developed and applied (together with several teams) a dialogical approach that—as Freire suggests—should not be reduced to a 'method', as this may lead to automatic applications. A strong flexibility is required in constantly adjusting the approaches to the necessities of the moment.[37]
Filming for several years in Mozambique and using the films in diverse studies and applications, combined with the development of new applied research approaches, enabled me to give and receive new intra-African knowledge, and also allowed an intra-African exchange, e.g., sharing with my research subjects in DR Congo the filmed documentation of practices of other similar (Mozambican) 'Bantu cultures' which were unknown in Congo. The same thing occurred from one Mozambican province to another, with women of central Mozambique being shown some of the "secret" practices

of female initiation from North provinces that they also practiced; or mediation practices in lived-law in the matrilineal North of Mozambique being shown to chiefs in the patrilineal South regions or in the matrilineal Bas Congo (DRC). Bringing pleasure and new information to the research participants and subjects (healers, diviners, initiation counselors of both genders, circumcisers, chiefs, notables and people using their services), the procedure allowed a widening of their own perception of several 'Bantu' cultures to which they belong. They identified commonly shared paradigms and practices reaching across different geographical areas and linguistic and historical differences; this was obvious in the reaction to the films during the projections and in the following discussions.[38]

I had similar experiences using the films in workshops/encounters with healers and members of NGOs in Uganda (2003), Rwanda (2004), Guinea Bissau and Senegal (2005). Healers, chiefs or other people in these four countries said: "We do this in the same way" (concerning Kotanyi 2003a). In fact, their diagnostics and ways of healing and their lived-law practices were very similar, with slight differences, in a great spectrum of variation on the same themes. The similarities were so strong —in the principles underlying the practices— that the people understood them easily, despite the differences involved.[39] In all these countries, healers relate health disorders to similar categories of ancestors, other spirits, 'witchcraft/sorcery,' or as "coming just like that or from God"; the weight given to each category depends on the respective cultures. When confronted with AIDS, most healers tended, as a first reaction, to connote it with some disrespected taboos related to sex, blood and death. What differed was the way of cleansing the transgressions of these taboos; in Guinea Bissau, healers use a dog for the cleansing of taboo transgressions, differently from South/Central Mozambique. The matrilineal people of South Senegal recognized their own ways in the practices used to treat conflicts through palavers in matrilineal North Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003b), where the 'chief' is not supposed to decide alone, but to consult the heads of the clans living in his territory. It became obvious that the relational personhood that in Mozambique must respect taboos and avoid 'witchcraft' – as taught in youth initiation, with girls and boys separate – is also taught in youth initiation in Guinea Bissau, where, however, it involves female sexual mutilation, which is not practiced in Mozambique, as a very significant difference.

In all investigations, I applied (partly with the medical doctor and psychotherapist Isabel Parade Marques in Mozambique) approaches derived from theories and techniques developed by Tobie Nathan and Maria Rose Moro (and their multidisciplinary teams) for family therapies based on complementarities as defined by Devereux (1972). Ethnopsychiatry was developed in France to treat members of migrant families (African, Asian, Latin American) affected by psychosocial disorders for which the Western therapeutic methods did not have adequate responses. Not using chemical drugs, ethnopsychiatry is different from biomedical psychiatry; it is carried out in a family-therapy setting that involves a *therapy-group*[40] (see Janzen, 1978) constituted in France with family members supported by therapists and assistants of various cultural origins, including mediators who interpret the mother tongue of the patients and help to mediate between the divergent cultures and paradigms at

work. African patients, even after living in France for ten or twenty years, may suffer from psychological disorders related to, e.g., ancestral or spiritual issues or conflicts framed in terms of "witchcraft," the resolution of which requires approaches aligned with those usual in the social, emotional and cultural context of the involved patients' families.[41] Lessons from ethnopsychiatry were useful together with Paulo Freire's dialogical adult education, which helped to bridge the biomedical concepts or official law, and the Bantu-speakers' "endogenous" lived-law grounded in oral traditions. Anthropology and these two approaches have in common that they take the knowledge arising out of the culture of the peoples seriously. This is the starting point for any efficient adult education.

The interdisciplinary approach of this study

The work of anthropologists together with historians, lawyers, judges or members of ministry administrations shows the advantages of interdisciplinary studies and of applied approaches in Mozambique (1999-2003, 2006-2008, 2014), in DR Congo in Kinshasa and Kwango (2010) and Bas-Congo (2011-2012). The lessons learnt in these multidisciplinary experiences brought me to this form of systematization, which join them in one study, challenging the separations of specializations as usual in anthropology. What is common between these two diverging disciplines it that written official law and biomedicine lack in similar ways adequate instruments in their academic preparation. The latter would allow approaching appropriately the local practices in order to intervene in accord to the internal logics of the social paradigms interfering in health, education and law.[42] This is especially relevant in issues involving the paradigm of *kindoki* ['witchcraft'] in Kikongo*,* *okhwiri* in Emakhuwa, which are resilient in both studied countries, and this in both areas of law and health. In both countries, it is possible to recognize rules and principles determining the different local practices, which undergo changes while carrying values and frames that the people relate to their ancestors.[43]

Historical, political, linguistic and social context in both countries

Cultures and historical experiences in Mozambique and DR Congo diverge. However, from the perspective of the majority of the population, in its relation to those in power, the situation is currently not really much different in the two countries, although they have passed through very different political regimes. After independence, Mozambique was ruled by a socialist regime that prohibited all ancestral practices for 14 years in a revolution that posited the New Man breaking with "old" and "backwards" values connoted with colonialism and "bourgeois culture," which were both supported by the "traditional culture"[44]. This Mozambican version of the Cold War, Marxism-Leninism and "material realism" led to a long and brutal civil war. In contrast, at the end of Mobutu's rule, DR Congo passed through a regime that demagogically used the "ancestral" cultures (e.g. chieftaincies) to reinforce its dictatorial power (de Boeck 1996). In DRC, the literate elite reads and writes in French, also using four main vehicular Bantu languages. In Mozambique, the former "colonial language", Portuguese, dominates official communication, education and law, although the majority of the population (in both countries) often speaks only Bantu languages (with 49,6%[45] of literate people). Linguists and African philosophers argue that the ongoing use of the former colonial languages has

influenced the thought and the concepts of the national elites of Africa[46]. Both countries experienced colonization similarly (Belgian or Portuguese), supported by the Catholic, Protestant Churches and their missionaries, and, later, new evangelical churches, whose influence is rising in the Africanized Christianity of Zion or Kimbanguist churches and Pentecostal or prophetic religions. Both countries went through violent civil wars and are now dominated by a liberal capitalism reinforcing rising inequalities with a minority of wealthy elites of all kinds, mostly with a Western-oriented education.

Parts of Mozambican and Congolese elites reject many or some of the "endogenous" cultural and social practices as backward, thus corresponding to an attitude generally expected by international donors for 'development.' But at the same time, many or some of the elites also follow paradigms belonging to "the culture of our origins" of Bantu-speaking cultures that I refer to as "ancestral," in a concept that contains more than just forefathers, as my research subjects argue and my study demonstrates.[47] The "ancestral ways" discussed here carry values, moralities and ethics that are constantly negotiated through adjustments to current life without exact repetition[48], including critical struggle while keeping alive central paradigms "of our ancestors." By 'repetitions' that are not exact, I mean (and show) that the practices framed as "ancestral traditions" are not static; the continuity over time that my research subjects speak of—which Fernandez (1972:48, 1974) calls "a set of various continua"— imply changes through ongoing adjustments of the 'ancestral' ways.

In Mozambique and DR Congo, the members of several "elites" (political, administrative, economic, intellectual, religious, artistic, and so on) are often ambivalent about their cultural background. I use the term "elites" in order to facilitate the analysis, but I do not mean elites in an avant-garde sense. Rather, I am referring to people who have power, or not, commensurate with their literacy and formal education, and who work as medical doctors, nurses, teachers, judges, lawyers, etc., or who hold managerial or administrative positions in institutions, government ministries or NGOs of all kinds. For most members of these elites in both countries, Western education determines their culture and, for some, is their dominant culture, while others follow multiple values in a complex and differentiated set that includes ancestral ways, together with religious, scientific or other values. In this process, which Fanon (1967a) analyzed as characterized by alienation, it can be difficult to combine the diverging types of cultures and values due to contradictory pressures. Some combine the diverging worlds and paradigms, while others refute many paradigms grounded in 'Bantu ancestral' cultures as obsolete and not 'modern.' Many who refute them publicly may follow them, at least in part, privately.

One major difference between the two countries is the difference in the experienced violence of colonialism; the Belgian version seems to have practiced much more violent intrusion, separating many children from their families as grounds for founding an assimilated elite that makes up part of the current elites (van Reybrouck 2010). In Mozambique, family bonds seem to remain stronger, thus keeping ancestral values alive, often even in cities. The necessity to 'respect' ancestral values, which are not only seen as past 'traditions' but as useful ethics and morals, is part of what urban Mozambicans call "our own culture"; it is protected in the private sphere, which (according to Western

norms) is recognized as requiring respect without questioning its legitimacy.[49] In both countries, diverging values, morals, ethics and practices coexist. In former Zaire, the ruler Mobutu used invented "ancestral" ways in part to reinforce his power. In Mozambique, the Marxist-Leninist regime of Samora Machel violently prohibited "ancestral ways," which, however, remained alive (Honwana 2002[50]). Currently, the decision-making 'elites' in both countries follow policies that marginalize the "cultural" requirements of the majority of Bantu-speakers in similar ways. Nonetheless, in law, Mozambique has developed useful complementary practices that could inspire DR Congo.

The notion of "ancestral" in the continuous creativity of cultures

I observed and discussed with diviners, healers, chiefs and male and female notables several of the paradigms (applied with certain framings) that have appeared with some continuity and changes.[51] Comparing early descriptions of the practices appearing at present gives some idea of what 'ancestral' approaches might imply, when looking at the basic principles and aims involved.[52] The grounding oral transmission is often more mythical than historical; however, fictions carry much from the non-fictional worlds. "Ancestral" refers to the "eldest" ancestors [*makhalelo minepa* in Emakhuwa] in the sense that Mozambican and Congolese diviners, healers, chiefs and notables refer to the first-settled, who occupied a territory (and whose descendants have the right to determine who may use this land)[53]/[54]. Oral traditions (and some early ethnographies or historical studies) can be compared with current observations of practices combined with explanations provided by those agencies locally recognized as the best knowers of the "ancestral traditions." As a result, certain inherent principles, frames and aims arise showing tendencies in the "ancestral" paradigms that differ from others (Christian, Islamic, administrative, postcolonial, socialist, 'scientific', Western, biomedical, written official law) which are nonetheless at work simultaneously and in parallel.

It is questionable to call the paradigms and practices that I describe "traditions" or "ancestral" because: (1st) the practices do not belong to the past, but being transmitted [*traditum* in Latin], they are alive and practiced in the present; (2nd) several generations have meanwhile been 'assimilated' into Christian (or Islamic), scientific or other norms. One might assume that several kinds of 'ancestral' paradigms coexist in parallel with diverging groundings. And let me, last not least, make very clear that the paradigms in precolonial times were no less the product of mixes; as Map 3 illustrates, Bantu-speaking people migrated from West Africa (Cameroon) through Central Africa (Congo, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia) and East Africa (Tanzania, Mozambique) up to e.g. the Nguni in South Africa. Such migrations along the centuries imply many mixes, which I do not regard as syncretism or acculturation. They are simply mixes, which produced several specific versions of Bantu-speaking cultures that employed similar paradigms (like e.g. ancestors, "bad spirits", taboos or witchcraft) dealing with them on a great range of possibilities and variations. They imply similar values and a range of frames and framings used according to similar logics, – even if in inverted ways.

The fact that "ancestral" paradigms involve "invented" or reinvented" dimensions in their actualization does not change their impact on the practices, values and norms that influence people's

behavior. Wagner (1981) shows the creativity in cultures in the continuous processes of their invention.[55] The problem emerges given the context in which colonial devaluation is perpetuated in the ongoing postcolonial marginalization of cultural values shared by the majority of Bantu speakers. Instead of ascribing these paradigms to ontological qualities that fix identities, I see processes of becoming (Appiah 1992:173-74) with some continuity and changes[56].

The central demonstrations of the study

This ethnographic study demonstrates that: **First:** through examples in health, education and law that most people in the Bantu-speaking context are basically concerned with relational living, avoiding an emphasis on individualism. In spite of differences, there are paradigms common to Bantu-speakers, who constitute the majority in Mozambique and DR Congo.[57] **Second:** HIV/AIDS campaigns as well as the acceptance and enforcement of official law are ineffective. This is the case especially when practiced in foreign languages (in the former colonial and current vehicular national language), and when paradigms are applied that are foreign to, or contradict the aspirations or the requirements of the concerned people. Communication bridging the differences at work is often lacking, as is facilitation of adequate adjustments to the diverging paradigms, although these are possible and may improve the effectiveness of the interventions in health, education and law.

Third: The described paradigms that need bridging have 'ancestral' roots: (1) ancestorhood, (2) the taboos left by ancestors for the living, (3) the strong interrelation of persons and (4) *okwhiri, vuloyi, kindoki* or similar notions translated as "witchcraft." Each has moral/ethical power, with behavior-regulating potentials if approached in the light of their inherent logics, as this study will expand on:

- "Ancestors" [*living-dead* as defined by Mbiti (1995:98) –not in terms of zombies] designates entities who are physically dead but are alive as part of the social world of the living as long as the living recall them. With an (am)bivalent connotation, ancestors belong to the life-worlds and are assumed to protect the living, to allow or to block life transmission (and all kinds of fertility) or to provoke diseases or misfortune in case their taboos are not respected. Taboos left by ancestors for the living have moral and ethical potential that is underestimated in health-education, although their creative use can motivate people to adopt more or better HIV-prevention practices.
- The interdependence of persons influences (a) the way people regulate conflicts (seeking mediation and compensation instead of judgment and punishment); (b) the best ways of allowing effective HIV/AIDS education. It addresses not just the individuals but activates social pressures that might motivate more practice prevention of HIV transmission. In a world full of poverty and endless risks, the dangers of individual (biological) risk resonate little in people's emotions.
- The positive value of life transmission; a person is seen as 'complete' when they have several children. This value of life currently motivates HIV prevention among women; addressing this value is more effective for prevention than combatting it by unilaterally promoting family planning. The latter is necessary; the question is how the values are best integrated, and whether

the deeply grounded positive values are recognized as such or are regarded as negative. HIV-prevention campaigns often have no strategies for addressing these positive values.[58]

- The ambivalent characteristics of *okhwiri, kindoki* or similar notions of 'witchcraft', which frame social and emotional tensions, giving sense to misfortune, death, contagious or chronic diseases leading to death (AIDS, TB, Ebola). It can and must be addressed in specific ways, either in law or in health education. Properly addressed, the implied ethics can be activated and can motivate prevention. Certain approaches can neutralize the harmfulness at work, other produce stigma.

Fourth: A complementary or inclusive approach allows more effectiveness in interventions in law, education and health. The culturally (and socially) relevant paradigms transport locally appreciated values that resonate emotionally in the people: connecting new knowledge transmission or new interventions in law, health and education facilitate cognition, motivation and education. The mobilization of chiefs, notables and healers and the inclusion of HIV education in youth initiation permit sustainable health education, reaching both genders and all generations. A dynamic use of these social and cultural potentialities allows more efficient achievement of wellbeing and education for health and social peace (with the help of law). It does so through the recognition of social and emotional requirements, leading to locally practices of mediation that treat and sometimes resolve the conflicts with direct compensation. For certain issues, this is a useful alternative to legal punishment, which often leads to social exclusion without treating or neutralizing the conflicts that remain.

Fifth: Strong ambiguities mark the gaps between the public statements and private practices, especially among Western-educated people and the members of the elites. Beyond Western influences, the social and cultural background plays a more important role than appears on the surface. Christianity, science, capitalist economy and different politics lead to ambiguities since the people tend to include in their lives the multiple requirements; when the contradictions become excessive, a hermetic separation of incompatible interests allows one to live with both. **Sixth:** The differences imply certain similarities too; the paradigms and framings are transformed in much fluidity. Some changes are inclusively integrated without hindering aims such as achieving wellbeing, cleansing, neutralization of harmfulness, mediation and reconciliation. In contrast, excessive hybrid mixes of contradictory paradigms can make it difficult or even impossible to achieve aims like mediation or neutralization of harmful "witchcraft." This is the case when divergent paradigms carrying strongly contradictory values are involved, which may impede achievement of the intended aims (e.g., to mediate or neutralize involved harmfulness). This issue is not concerned with purity or authenticity, but with the question of how the intended goals can be achieved efficaciously. **Seventh:** Cultural practices are rooted in knowledge transmitted by means such as dreams, divination, possession, initiation, which calls for acknowledgment of their relevance and of the recognition of the right of differences. The differences and multiple worlds coexist in multiple modernities[59]; instead of a dichotomy of tradition vs. modern[60], both are combined in diverse intensities, actualizing the past in the present for the future. **Eighth:** The described paradigms that frame the senses of belonging are

neither ontological nor fixed identities, but show relational, non-dualist living-in-the-worlds in becoming. The differences, multiplicity and changes show a "same sense," framing repetitions in one time duration[61] encompassing past, present and the future[62]. Some sets of "various continua" have relative continuities (including changes) in the actualizations of the 'ancestral' paradigms discussed.

Outline and background of the study

Short Outline

In PART ONE, i.e., **chapters one to four**, I investigate some central paradigms: (1) ancestorhood, (2) the notion of the strongly relational persons, (3) the value of transmission of life and taboos interfering in the search for health and well-being, and some 'framings' dealing with these paradigms, by discussing ritual effectiveness, and (4) ambivalent *vuloyi, okhwiri, kindoki* as so-called 'witchcraft' influencing vital strength in a sense-giving concept activated by, e.g., AIDS, misfortunes, death or great inequalities. I discuss main notions and categories used especially in health, education and law in eight Bantu linguistic areas in Mozambique and four other 'Bantu' linguistic areas of Southwest DR Congo. The basic common values expressed in these paradigms are deeply anchored and part of life.
PART TWO, Chapters Five and Six– describe and discuss applications of the paradigms examined in the context of health (and education especially for HIV prevention) and law. I suggest that an inclusive move toward the social and cultural framework that I have presented allows more effectiveness in the interventions that intend to introduce changes. **The first area of application, health –in Chapter Five–** deals especially with HIV and AIDS: how to motivate people to undergo HIV testing; how to achieve less interruption in ARV treatment, discussing more efficient HIV-prevention education, including education about HIV/AIDS in youth-initiation rites. **The second area, law –in Chapter Six–** describes and analyzes lived-law practices in local palavers and rituals, which are used to seek reconciliation in communities. The discussed palavers and rituals reweave people's relations dealing with conflicts framed as "witchcraft" and show similarities and differences to the way healers neutralize harmfulness by *okhwiri, kindoki* "witchcraft". Both areas of application give evidence of the relevance of the multicultural practices transporting values, morals and ethics.
PART THREE –in Chapter Seven– discusses my local research subjects' insistence that knowledge is involved in the actualized 'ancestral' endogenous paradigms, contrary to the claim of medical doctors, lawyers and all the agents of 'development,' in name of 'modernity,' that knowledge is not involved in the 'ancestral' practices and paradigms. These are neglected as backward-oriented superstitions or as non-religious, though they carry values that remain relevant for many Bantu-speakers in both countries. After a summary of my ethnography and the main characteristics of what the people call "ancestral ways," I look at the findings in terms of the multiple worlds and modernities involved. **In a final excursion** I discuss some ontological theories used in anthropology, qualifying the discussed "endogenous" paradigms as basically ontological. On the basis of a summary of the *fundamental ontology* (of Heidegger) and its ethical critique by Lévinas and Derrida for its egocentric

reduction to sameness of the "Being," which is measured through oneself, I question for the discussed Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speaking context any ontological ascriptions that establish "what is" and fix identities. I suggest that relational living, in becoming and in multiple worlds, predominates; the people combine several worlds in great multiplicity, in coexisting multiple modernities.

Detailed outline

In Part I, Chapter One, on ancestors, I look at the ambivalent paradigm of ancestors as the basis of an internalized morality. Stating the difference between ancestors (in the earth, near the living) and God (in the sky), the research participants show who may become an ancestor, how and through what kind of communication their influence is kept alive, and how disturbed relationships with ancestors can be "repaired" and their necessary protection be restored. I briefly discuss interferences of other spirits. Beyond Christian, Islamic or scientific influences, the ancestors are a basic reference; they legitimize access to land and influence fertility of all kinds. I show that ancestors are relevant to a range of issues related to law, health and well-being, including HIV prevention.

In Chapter Two, about the concept of the person, **in Part One, section A,** I describe the complex plural constitution of the relational *munthu* [person in Cindau] in Bantu-speaking contexts in Mozambique, comparing it with similar notions applied in societies in South-West DR Congo. I distinguish the "individual" from the 'dividable multiple and relational person' appearing in the practices of the *banthu* [persons] and I introduce the African philosophical debate of "Bantu ontology" constructed around the root *ntu*. In **section B**, I discuss theories of interdependent versus independent persons. I look at values like 'respect', 'restraint' and self-control, looking also at how the discussed concepts apply in cases regarded as "excesses of individualism" with lack of reciprocity framed as 'witchcraft'. All of this illustrates the strongly relational characteristics relevant for a more efficient approach to HIV/AIDS prevention. **In section C**, I discuss some concepts of private and public selves, and analyze the notion of the collective *self*, looking at consequences of interdependency given the belonging to different "in-groups." **In section D**, I discuss the coexisting dualist concepts of soul vs. 'flesh' that are usual in Christianity and Islam, showing the resilience of ancestrally rooted taboos in the context of African religious pluralism. **Section E** discusses the observed continuity involving changes in the plural and relational notion of personhood. **In part two**, I analyze some concepts using the metaphor *of multiple "bodies,"* which addresses the strong interferences of the social and political in health, education and law. Discussing the multiplicity of 'bodies', I look at the relation of the individual body to the *social body* (including as social actors the invisible ancestors and 'spirits'), which determines the inscription of the social in the body-self. The latter implies dealing with the political and social worlds through embodiment, involving historical and traumatic memories. The interferences of the multiple "bodies" (as a metaphor) relate to each other and are influenced by the *body politic* determining the policies, e.g., in health through what Fourcault calls *biopower*. I suggest that emotions mediate between these multiple *"bodies"* and significantly influence motivation and

cognition. Taking this into account allows for greater effectiveness in health, educational, and legal interventions. **Part three** contains a summary and conclusions.

In Chapter Three, on thermo-sexual frames, taboos and ritual effectiveness, in sections A, B, C and D, the "internal logic" of several *framings* relevant with regard to local approaches to HIV/AIDS and in living-law are examined, in a context in which the transgression of taboos is confused with HIV infection; transgressed taboos can be cleansed (HIV infection cannot). What must be taken into account to avoid new HIV infection in cases in which cleansing involves ritual sexual intercourse? I analyze in **section A** the gendered and sexual frames, in **section B** the thermal frames, in **section C** transgressions of taboos leading to 'social transmission' (or pollution) through excesses of *heat* framed as 'dirt' by not-cleansed coitus, e.g., after death. I compare local concepts with anthropological or ethno-psychological approaches of the etiology of taboos. **Section D** describes the most usual ways of cleansing after taboo-transgression in South/Central Mozambique. When adjustments of ways of cleansing are necessary to avoid physical contamination, they are applied more consistently when they respond to the basic implications of taboo-transgressions, namely, e.g., the necessity to neutralize excesses of 'heat' (cooling down through "washing"). In **section E,** I look at concepts of the effectiveness of ritual practices like those related to the *paradigms* discussed (ancestors, strongly relational persons, taboos or "witchcraft"). I discuss the involved notion of the 'real,' looking also at the emotional effectiveness of ritual means, introducing the notion of ritual "operators." **Section F** shows as a *perpetuum mobile* the several variations on the same themes of the discussed framings; they are part of resilient cultural matrices constituting cosmologies that determine the paradigms in the practices, and which follow some commonly shared internal logics that appear most clearly in the chromatic frames widespread in the Bantu-speaking context. I discuss the networks of values constituted by the paradigms and framings; they require translations given other coexisting and in part competing values. The research findings show the tolerance implied in these 'ancestral' ways, which allow and afford ambivalences that are, however, not accepted in other dualistic approaches. I conclude by insisting on the variation on the similar themes observed.

In Chapter Four I systematized the descriptions of my North Mozambican and South-West Congolese research subjects concerning *okhwiri* or *kindoki* or similar notions translated as 'witchcraft', which follow very similar frames in predominantly matrilineal societies**. In part I, section A,** I describe the identification and cleansing of *nokhwiri* ['witches'] in an Emakhuwa context, showing the issues connoted with that paradigm. **In section B,** I discuss the specific ways used for the diagnosis of this paradigm by so-called 'divination.' **Section C** describes and analyzes three case studies of treatments used in order to neutralize the involved harm. With two similar treatments of harmful *okhwiri* or *kindoki* in both countries, the 1st case in North Mozambique, the 2nd case in South-West DR Congo, I compare how in both cases the healer activates the ambivalent dimension of the "shade," applying the ternary principles inherent in this paradigm characterized by ambiguities, which allow people to deal with uncertainty, death and misfortune. The described treatment of 'dying and

being reborn' may allow neutralization of harmful "witchcraft" through a succession of framings, like "sending back" *okhwiri* or *kindoki,* to cleanse and protect. The 3rd case of a hybrid treatment involving a so-called 'witch-child' leads me to analyze the differences between the 'ancestral' (endogenous) and Christian approaches. I analyze the dualism inherent in individualizing approaches to "witchcraft" inspired by Christianity – using 'confessions' which activate a sense of guilt and thus reinforce stigma. **In part II of Chapter Four,** I analyze the normative implication of this paradigm, which in everyday life and beyond the occult, very often deals with death, and with strong emotions of envy, jealousy, heat, inequalities, etc. Chiefs and healers in both countries argue that in "ancestral" terms, *okhwiri* or *kindoki* is a form of knowledge which can be used for good (protecting – framed as 'constructive') or for harm (weakening or 'killing' by sucking out the vital forces of others – framed as 'destructive'). The involved ambivalence leads to ethical debates that I report and analyze, while showing the danger (in current anthropology of ethics) of projecting on that particular paradigm some inadequate (dual) morals and values. In the current times of continual crises, rising inequality and poverty, this paradigm is actualized with new framings.

Part I of the study shows, in a comparative approach, the dynamic of differences among the studied people without stating one unique Bantu cosmology. I demonstrate that a large number of Bantu-speaking cultures share some common principles, which are active through the described paradigms and framings, and relevant in the search for wellbeing and education, as well as in "living-law"[63]. In the great diversity of languages, the "Bantu cultures" discussed tend to a plural and relational definition of the notion of *munthu* [person] standing in strong interdependence.[64] I introduce the critiques of Hountondji (2011) and other African philosophers regarding the construction of a "Bantu ontology" of authors like Father Tempels ([1945] 1959) or Alexis Kagame (1956, 1976). In this context, I suggest that *kindoki, okhwiri* and similar notions of 'witchcraft' do not address ontologies of being (see Chapter Seven), but constitute a paradigm dealing mostly with the relationality of humans.

Part II of the study shows applications in health (AIDS) and law of the paradigms described in Part I: **Chapter Five** shows applications in **Health, Wellbeing and HIV/AIDS** in four sections**: Part I discusses concepts of wellbeing as life versus health. Section A** describes the concepts of seeking of well-being and of "life", which reach beyond health. **Section B** describes the consequences of the relational persons and of the interferences of the multiple components of the person—involving the relevance of social 'contamination' of transgressed taboos or of 'witchcraft'—in the context of HIV and AIDS. I discuss both in relation to behavior, emotions and motivation, as well as examining the specific effect in the context of HIV/AIDS of the mainly interdependent persons in their different behavior according to their belonging to various "in-groups." **Part II, section A, B and C** is a critical analysis of the communication used to address HIV and AIDS in the studied context, discussing in greater detail the wrong kind, or outright lack, of communication about sexual behavior and disease prevention lacking any affectivity. I question the reduced promotion of prevention through cognitive

learning, showing the relevance of uses of paradigms, frames and values that resonate in the people's emotions and are able to activate a deeply rooted sense of ethics. I further discuss the appropriate places and manner in which to communicate about HIV and AIDS. **Part III, section A** discusses ways to bridge between the biological concepts and the different paradigms at work in HIV and AIDS. I look at how to bridge between the described social/cultural concepts/practices and biomedical concepts like viruses, the immune system and the latency of HIV; **section B** examines how to bridge between the transgression of taboos and the notion of HIV infection; **section C** deals with bridging between the complex etiology of feeling bewitched and HIV infection, showing the use of bewitchment as a mask, which also provides some hope. This paradigm is, however, also used to express the dangers and liminal state that is soaked with ambivalent secrecy. **Section D** discusses exclusive versus inclusive approaches to HIV/AIDS in a factually plural medical landscape. **Part IV** presents **the inclusion of HIV-prevention education in initiation rites in Mozambique**, in health education reaching several generations in a sustainable communitarian way; where this is practiced, it is the most appreciated context of teaching ethical and safe behavior in relation to sexuality. This embodied education allows the transition to adulthood through a process of emotional learning. Introducing female initiation, **in section A about female rites in Sofala and Nampula**, I discuss the stages of female rites, their transformative process. I introduce the rule of rites instructors and the *ikano* [counsels in Emakhuwa], in the notion of a "complete" woman, the values and ethics and morals transmitted in terms of "respect". **Section C** analyzes some introductions of HIV-prevention education in female rites. Showing my limits of understanding as a woman and researcher, I describe strong potentials of such a sustainable and inclusive approach of health education. Discussing the feminist critiques of the limits of maturity rites, my data show that rather than accepting an eradication of education through initiation, the involved women experience these rites as female empowerment. **In part V,** I briefly discuss male circumcision in relation to HIV/AIDS, which should not be confused with full prevention. **Concluding on education for HIV prevention,** I show that the people consider the inclusion of HIV education in maturity rites to support 'modernity' through embodied and metaphorical education that emotionally transmits ethics and morals of respect, shaping "life" in becoming.

Chapter Six, Neo-traditional lived-law practiced in legal pluralism, analyzes oral mediation versus written law practices; the term "law" summarizes all practices. **Part I,** describes mediations of local conflicts between community members through palavers[65] in Bas-Congo. With three palaver examples treating *kindoki* ["witchcraft" in Kikongo], I discuss how conflicts framed as harmful *kindoki* by children might be neutralized (or not) by chiefs and notables. **In section A,** the first case shows successful neutralization of harmful *kindoki* introduced in the main framings of a palaver in a community. In section B, I discuss the framework of neo-traditional palavers in lived-law in Bas-Congo. Looking briefly at the historical background, I elaborate on the issue of legitimacy of chieftaincies, showing that neo-traditional law practices are in the shadow of 'customary law' as was

instated by the colonial power, which selected the customs, accepting some and refuting others. Showing the agencies legitimized to act in palavers, I analyze their basic rules and some of the ambivalences in the neo-traditional law practices involved. **Section C,** with the second case study, shows what happens when the "endogenous" frames are badly applied, given the misuse of power and excessive mixes with criminological, administrative, Christian and oppressive frames of the police. In cases in which intimidation is used, no mediation can occur, especially not in this case involving the partiality of the chief and his notables. **Section D,** the third case study, deals with tensions between neighboring families in which the nightmares of two children are interpreted in terms of *kindoki*: after intendment through a palaver, a ritual of "separation" of the two involved *ndoki* ["witches"] parties allows neutralization of the harm involved in different ritual ways as applied by healers (in Chapter Four), leading to a closing of the conflict. **Section E,** I analyze some central elements: the ways of neutralizing harm by *kindoki* 'witchcraft'; the issue of material proof in such a context "of the night" (of the emotional world); the role of metaphors and references to dreams, the purpose and ethics of the palaver; questions regarding hybrid and contrary approaches following diverging paradigms and vales; and finally, the danger of cultural projections in anthropology of ethics if using inadequate ethics.

Part II, looks at competition and complementarity in law pluralism. Section A analyzes, from the perspective of chiefs, notables and assessor judges, the limits of application of official law practices in Bas-Congo, which claim to replace local mediation. Using the study of Pohu (2009) and from the local perspective, I quote statements of chiefs and notables reflecting on the means applied in written law: both sources show the limits of, e.g., the use of languages foreign to the justiciable, or the notion of judgments and punishments, which does not respond to the people's aspirations of seeking mediation with direct compensation, allowing the treatment of conflicts as the ultimate aim. **Section B**, discussing **the 'war of law' in DRC,** shows the misinterpretations (in written law) of the 'ancestral' paradigms at work. For instance, conflicts framed in terms of *okhwiri* or *kindoki* belong to the realm "of the night" and cannot be neutralized by written laws addressing issues related to the tangible daytime world, in excessive hybridism applied by many judges when they mix different incompatible levels. It seems that the criminalization of *kindoki* – punishment of the presumed 'guilty' party, always seen by the written official law as the one claiming (without material evidence) to be the victim of witchcraft attacks – will not resolve the conflict among the involved parties. As chiefs and notables argue, criminalization or vilification of conflicts framed in 'witchcraft', in which many suffering children are involved in DRC, cannot neutralize the harmfulness at play (which is social, emotional, economical and psychological) either, but leads to the stigmatization and persecution of the accused persons. After a brief overview about implications of written versus oral frames of law, I discuss the challenge of law pluralism for juridical reforms. Mozambique shows how a complementary approach is fruitful in recognizing the local practices of mediation. Finally, I address issues related to claims of the universality of Human Rights, showing the necessity of recognizing the relevance of particular

norms (Wiredu 1998, Englund 2006) related to specific cultural and social values and ethics, like those that I describe in this study.

In the conclusion, I show that instead of punishment, reconciliation can sometimes be achieved (with small and direct compensations) through mediation between the involved parties, allowing all involved to deal with their conflicts and perhaps become able to continue living side by side. If this is not possible, the conflicting parties must be separated. "Endogenous" mediations in lived-law often insist less on the identification of a victim and often seem less inclined to produce "culprits" than official law does; the lived-law practices imply the basic assumptions that the conflicts at work must be treated and neutralized where they arise, with the involved persons and communities.

In Part Three of the study, **in Chapter Seven, Section A** provides a summary of my ethnography and of the main characteristics of the described "ancestral" ways as they are currently applied. **Section B** discusses how the resilient paradigms are actualized, involving changes with some continuity; they transport ethics which have moral power, even when not always put in practice. The research subjects address the knowledge involved in 'endogenous' paradigms, which are rooted in their experiences and practices. They are often criticized as backward, superstitious or non-religious, even though they transmit values and provide effective means of dealing with emotions, inequity and life's uncertainty, and are highly relevant for many Bantu-speakers in both countries. This calls hegemonic approaches of (Western, cognitive rational, etc.) knowledge into question; the recognition of endogenous knowledge, practices and values is necessary in both countries. **In Section C**, I look at the findings in terms of the coexistence of multiple worlds, constituting multiple modernities. This contradicts early modernization theories, which state one unique modernity that separates religious, enchanted 'traditional' worlds from (cognitive) rational and secular worlds that are, as such, inherently "modern." I suggest that the *post-secular* multiple modernities in Mozambique and DRC imply the coexistence of multiple 'ancestral', religious and 'modern' ways, demonstrating that the dichotomy of modern/traditional is obsolete. **In an excursus in Section D**, I critically discuss theories that ascribe ontological characteristics of "being" establishing "what is" to the paradigms, practices and values described. *Relational living* is determinant in my studied context, not *being* as a fixable state. I question any ontology that fixes identity. In the context discussed, *being* is neither singular nor static, but always in becoming, and to be understood in terms of 'being with,' involving multiple differences.

An encompassing notion of the cultural

What I qualify in short as "cultural" is as much social as cultural; I do this in accordance with my informants, who, when asked about practices, answer: "It is part of our culture." The paradigms that I discuss are part of the current everyday 'modern age' in terms of the current life of the majority of the people in both countries studied. However, when Mozambicans or Congolese speak about modernity, they invariably mean the knowledge grounded in forces, facilities and institutions like: "church, schools, clinics and money, commodities, technology, capitalist modes of production and the

apparatus of the state" (Setel 1990: 261). All that and much more are is often combined and adjusted to social, emotional, spiritual and cultural needs.

Acknowledging the productive potentials of living "ancestral" paradigms as a matter of fact, I additionally insist on the productivity of the ambivalences[66] implied in "third spaces" (Bhabha 1990) of the neither/nor of the *in-between* Derrida (1972a), the as-well-as characterizing the Bantu-speakers' "endogenous" approaches; this third dimension allows the unutterable, unspeakable, uncertain and unbearable to be dealt with (see Devisch 2016b). Interstitial spaces of *in-between* allow people to deal with ambiguities and are active as *operating modes* (in rituals, initiations or treatments), which produce transformations –see Chapter Tree. Once analyzed in the complexity and richness of their actualization, and when the ongoing ideological wars are put aside, the paradigms discussed can be addressed in either complementary or inclusive ways. These provide strength for innovation that combines the creativity growing out of the "endogenous" cultures with the best (or worst) of what "modernity" might impose (whatever its connotations in a multiple diversity), thus preserving elements of what African cultures treasure (also defined differently depending on the respective people). Living neither exclusively in the 'tradition' nor just in 'modernity', many Mozambicans and Congolese combine the multiple worlds in which they participate in several kinds of modernities.

The 'Bantu' and the broader context of sub-Saharan Africa

In this comparative study between Bantu-speaking cultures in Mozambique and South-west DR Congo, I deal with incommensurability between the studied cultures. I follow the linguistic classification that qualifies the languages used in the studied regions under the term Bantu languages. This category is neither a cultural, nor an ethnical category. The linguistic category of Bantu languages is a broad category including a large number of different languages. Following Mbiti 1969; Kagame 1976; Obenga 1989; Janzen 1992; Devisch 1993a, 1996a; N'Diaye 2010, among others, I show that the paradigms that I describe are shared by many Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speakers, - involving differences that I address. Despite the violent history and the structural violence to which Africans are still exposed, 'endogenous' and 'ancestral' practices and knowledge in sub-Saharan Africa show resilience through paradigms like ancestorhood and the very resilient taboos they left (Knoxs 2008), or the relevance of spirits of all kinds, the plurality of the strongly interrelated notion of the *munthu* [person in Cindau], and so-called "witchcraft" (Buakasa 1980; Mahumana 2014b; Igreja 2015). These paradigms transport moral as well as ethical norms and values relating the past with the present and the future, including the living-dead in the life-world. Following Ngugi wa Thiong'o (2005:89) and authors in postcolonial studies (e.g. Ashcroft et al. 2006), I seek to contribute to the decolonization of the mind in, and with regard to, Africa. Instead of seeking "purity," I insist on cultures being always in the making (Goody 1977); this does not contradict the relevance of the described paradigms, but illustrates authors like Kopytoff (1989:7), showing the fluidity of ethnic identity in Mozambique and DR Congo and quite likely in all of Sub-Saharan Africa.[67] "Bantu" is a linguistic category, but the richness of paradigms and frames applied commonly in many Bantu-

speakers' cultures lead Kagame (1956, 1976), Obenga (1986), Apter (1992), Devisch (1993a, 1996a, 2016a/b) and Janzen (1992) to speak about "Bantu thought" based on commonly shared linguistic bases, paradigms and practices involving plurality. It includes widespread references in Africa to the ancestors and other spirits, the relational and interdependent person], transporting moralities and ethics inherent in many if not most Bantu-speakers' cultures.[68] Analyses of the kind used in this study are often condemned as "culturalism"[69] and essentialism. I refute the latter critique; I frame the described practices in terms of becoming (not fixing in identity/identities – Chapter Seven).

My personal involvement

With the background of my previous studies in ethnopsychiatry (Kotanyi 1999), I started to study the psychosocial impact of "traditional" healing in the post-civil-war context in Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003a/c). In parallel, I studied local forms of conflict mediation in matrilineal communities in the Northern Province of Nampula (Kotanyi 2003b/d).[70] During these investigations (1999 to 2003) seven years after the civil war in 1992, I was confronted with the collective "trauma"[71] as a still irradiating strong social, economic, political, emotional or spiritual 'stress' caused by the first fifteen postcolonial years, which left deep traces in the memory of the Emakhuwa-speakers; the policy of '*abaixo*' [down] of the Marxist-Leninist regime (1978 to 1992) prohibited the practice of any 'traditional' or religious activity as a communitarian ceremony (e.g. burials or youth initiation), reducing them all, in the name of 'progress' and 'modernity,' to "obscurantist" religious practices. Studying and filming ("cultural") practices which are regionally highly valuated in North Mozambique, I was confronted with the vehement reactions of members of a research institute that was part of a ministry in South Mozambique condemning the female initiation rites. Only a few minutes showing youth initiation rites provoked heavy criticism from the institution that commissioned the film.[72] Years after the civil war, which ended the *abaixo* policy, officials were still not able to respect the constitutive elements necessary to becoming an adult in the Emakhuwa context (Himua 2003).[73]

This experience recalled to me experiences of my parents, who in 1956 fled Hungary under the occupying Russian "communist" regime, which prohibited any religion or "traditional" philosophical thought or practice. In Mozambique I was confronted with a former socialist country in Africa that applied similar policies as in Stalinism in Hungary, although in Mozambique, the people paid with a 14-year civil war for the same freedom that my family sought in crossing the border on foot, through meter-deep snow. Just as my parents celebrated the Russian liberation from fascism in Hungary (in 1945), I also celebrated the liberation struggle lead by FRELIMO in Mozambique (in 1976), which ended colonial oppression. At the same time, what connects me to many Mozambicans and Congolese is what was formulated by the Hungarian philosopher Lajos Szabó[74], suggests that there is no (progress in) present and future without a relationship to the past, in which the present and future are grounded (see also Deleuze 1966, 1967, 1969 concepts of *differences and repetitions* and *univocity*). Instead of destroying the purportedly 'old', which in fact provides moral and ethical grounding of

emotionally loaded paradigms and values; these can be involved in the present and future in securing a more solid basis for changes – a thought also expressed by Kikongo-speakers in Bas-Congo.[75]

Furthermore, in DR Congo, I better understood my experiences in Belgium, where I grew up as a refugee. I share with the Congolese the same (Belgian) French accent; it is a connection resembling a "joking relationship"[76]. I saw in Bas-Congo the Belgian economic presence in its intrusive dimensions[77]. Although my Hungarian ancestors have no colonial past, in my work in Africa, as a European, I assume the debt for the comfort that the richness derived from exploitation of Africa brings to my life. My study may contribute to "reparations" for the enormous social, cultural and emotional destruction that European interests caused (and still cause) in Africa. Not being African, I experience the life and cultural diversities in both countries in a "*perspectivist*" search. This imposes many limitations, but offers me the freedom of "a fool of the king," like those in medieval times in Europe who had the right to say to the king what others could not.

My position was balanced between participation and observation of the practices, which I asked the involved persons to reflect on, deepening their perspectives. I seek to approach the experiences of my "research subjects"; this is unpleasant as a term, but it addresses in short the long list of the most diverging kinds of persons with whom I worked, carrying out with them strongly participative studies involving actions (in heath, education or law). Many relevant issues concern what Devisch (2015) calls the "ineffable"; I have to deduce out of the complex mix of descriptions and explanations of the people combined with my own observations of the practices and my own experiences. I am initiated neither as a healer nor as a diviner; I consulted diviners in South Mozambique. My own experience in the described cultures are limited; I rely on the experiences and explanations of my interlocutors.

My position differs from the *coevalness* discussed by Fabian (1983), which he defines as the denial by some/many anthropologists that the anthropologist and her/his interlocutors exist in the same time. Fabian questions the anthropologist approaching the people as interlocutors, yet regarding the other culture as the Other, seen spatially and temporally as different from the anthropologist. My participative observations of practices in Mozambique and Congo, where I do not live permanently, is dialogical, not coeval; I seek the perspective of the research subjects with whom I worked, and with whom I am still in a constant dialogue. The experiences of my research subjects occur in a space different from my European context, but we deal with similar requirements in seeking wellbeing and peace: "we are all humans," as argued in 1991 Julio Dialo, a Fulfulbe peasant friend from Boé in Guinea Bissau who visited me in Berlin. My own experiences with homeopathy, osteopathy, psychotherapy, psychoanalysis, ethnopsychiatry, family therapy and constellations do not always differ so significantly from approaches of African healers. These experiences gave me strong and relevant points of reference for my dialogues in Mozambique and DR Congo. However, I have access to many material means that most of my research subjects do not. I rarely felt envy from the side of my research participants about this obvious inequality; My dedication during so many years to observing, analyzing, actively promoting dialogue and trying to understand a world which is not my

own, but which I approach with respect, generated reciprocal respect, resulting in the respect of my work and position by my interlocutors. Respect of otherness in the sense of Lévinas (including the otherness in oneself) is not *coevalness* producing othering. Since my first films in Africa in 1977, I have always brought back to the people the films that I have realized, promoting intercultural dialogical exchanges in Africa, which allowed healers, diviners, chiefs and notables to see and get to know practices from other African countries to which they have no opportunity to travel. Such exchanges are highly appreciated and lead the people to recognize my ethics grounded in reciprocity and commitment.

A dialogical inter-subjective search

In a *perspectivist* approach, I seek to perceive the life-world from the perspectives of the diverging groups of my Mozambican and Congolese research subjects, by giving a voice to the majority of the people, whose practices and values may differ from those of the elites in power. The perspective of the majority in both countries is often marginalized and treated as backward; the differences in the use of the respective paradigms at work are socially grounded. The challenge is to overcome modernist ethnocentric prejudices in relation to local 'Bantu' epistemologies "towards a revalorization of the local cultures' genius, as it has successively been called for by ethno-science" (Devisch 2012:83). Following the claim of the decolonization of anthropological research (Ashcroft et al. 1995), I go into greater depth on social, cultural and ethical issues whose relevance tends to be neglected, e.g., reduced to the exotic by some medical anthropologists in the name of the higher relevance of (political and economic) structural violence affecting people's lives through growing inequalities, which are doubtlessly fundamental. But it is unproductive to trade one off against the other. The sense-giving horizon, as provided by the actualized "ancestral" paradigms, transports values, ethics and morals for which the present and future require a lively relationship to the past (Hountondji 2013). Continuity in changes shapes human inter-subjectivity in a balance between the living and the living-dead [ancestors] that embodies the necessary relationship to the past.[78] It implies taking seriously the perspective of many Mozambican and Congolese people that human worlds are composed and interconnected with non-human worlds in the tangible worlds in the environment and the ecosystem; this characterizes the interdependent social, emotional, spiritual and bodily realms of relational lives[79].

In my attempt to understand why people act as they do, I was confronted with some practices[80] that were foreign to me; I sometimes had to overcome my fear, my spontaneous rejections or misunderstandings and adjust my understanding over time. I documented and studied the means, techniques, stages and finalities of the diverse practices: in healing, 'divination', youth or healers' initiation rites, palavers that mediate conflicts and rituals of reconciliation. I conducted such analyses with different kinds of people in rural and urban areas. The aim was to find out the inherent logics if not coherences in the respective practices, and to find out how the expected aims of these practices are achieved, and through which underlying principles people's behavior is determined.[81] 'Anthropology is based on the assumption that the practices in different cultures are not exotic for those practicing

them, but rather an integral part of their life.[82] Instead of criticizing the people as backward-oriented in the name of progress or of a “universal” religion, or of “not obscurantist sciences” or of political and economic “realities,” one can try to understand why people do what they do. The people in Mozambique and DR Congo experienced the colonial and postcolonial administration, as well as the monotheist “religions of the Book,”[83] and are confronted with agencies of ‘modernity’ with apparently laic but often nearly “religious” notions of “development” (grounded in ‘beliefs’ of what is ‘modern’). They are confronted with medical doctors, lawyers, judges, teachers and professors, politicians, nongovernmental organizations and religious institutions which often deny or devalue the validity of “endogenous” knowledge grounded in African cultures, which are too often reduced to the past, to ‘obscurantist backwardness’ and to superstition. A relevant question is which of the locally valued social and cultural practices are useful for the people and which requirements they currently respond to.[84] My critiques of the devaluation of the paradigms discussed in this study have the objective of allowing improvements in the practices in law, health and education. Most Mozambicans and Congolese would like to have easy access to food, water, electricity, roads, markets, consumption, health services, as well as education of all kinds, and to be able to access communication facilities. But many people would not want to have to give up their own ways, e.g. in law, health and education, which are best practiced in the mother tongue, respecting the locally grounded values, practices and needs, even when they diverge from those that are officially promoted.

I used to say to the healers whose practices and concepts I studied that I did not want to know their secrets, and that is why I did not ask the names of the medicinal plants that they use, like the researchers from the Ministry of Health.[85] But I did need to understand why they do what they do, and my attempt to do so helped establish a dialogue between the local world and the other worlds (of the state, of NGOs or religious institutions of all kinds) involving medical doctors, nurses, lawyers, judges, administrators, teachers and so on. Such a dialogical approach, of mutual respect for otherness and esteem of all levels of expression[86], can identify the inherent logics and requirements in the observed practices as a precondition for informing ways of bridging local values/practices with new proposals promoting necessary adjustments (like for HIV prevention). Is the promotion of adjustments possible without devaluating and destroying the local practices and values? Is it possible to practice less exclusion and as much inclusion as possible, respecting the rights of differences? In all the domains studied, despite their different practices, the local actors follow similar principles, combining in great diversity the described “ancestral” paradigms with other paradigms (biomedical, scientific, Christian or Islamic, written law, etc.).

Currently, the members of several ‘elite’ groups in Mozambique and DR Congo, especially the ruling elites seeking to maintain unity in the construction of the national state, tend to emphasize more ‘universal’ ways that are seen as ‘progressive’, often defined in accordance with westernized norms.[87] They fear that acknowledging cultural specificity may lead to ethnic separatism. Healers argue, on the other hand, that officials are unwilling to share power and resources. While maintaining the unity of

state administration was an important historical step in the construction of postcolonial states, there is currently a strong call in Mozambique for a decentralized democracy allowing participation at all levels of power, administration and development. This study suggests that it is necessary to take seriously and try to understand the basic social and cultural values and paradigms shared by the majority of the people; they can have a unifying power beyond the differences. A balancing that acknowledges the relevance, in the multiple modernities, of the discussed paradigms in health, education and law may have strong productive effects in their potentials to contribute to the improvement of the present and future for the majority of the people in both countries.

Co-authorship of the various research participants

As pointed out above, this study involved healers, 'diviners', chiefs, notables and initiation rites or other counselors of both genders as research subjects, who shared their knowledge and experiences. Because of their interest in being recognized as the authors of the knowledge that they transmitted, they can not remain anonymous research subjects. I quote their names in this study, acknowledging them as main co-authors.[88] 'Diviners', healers, initiation rites or other counselors, most recognized women and chiefs, along with notables as their wisest counselors, show a significant openness to sharing their knowledge, especially when they are questioned with respect toward their practices, values, knowledge and traditions. Several 'diviners' and healers who participated in my several studies and the 'DIÀLOGO' (2006-2007) applied study, had prior experience with trainings in HIV and AIDS with members of the Ministry of Health, which they generally appreciated[89]. According to healers' testimonies, the encounters between healers and the members of the Ministry of Health in the form of trainings generally happen in one-way communication: healers do not experience from the biomedical 'teaching medical doctors or nurses' an openness to a dialogical exchange involving learning from the local knowledge,[90] which is often only tolerated by biomedical staff as far as it does not hinder biomedical success. The respect for "endogenous" and local knowledge of the research teams came as a surprise to the participants from the communities[91]. The head of AMETRAMO of Quelimane (central Mozambique) explained at end of a "DIALOGO" research workshop the reasons for the positive impressions of the research participants: "*Here, we are in the middle of our own culture.*"[92]

To me, the dialogical approach implies the recognition of my own "foreign" or *alterity* state; this also applies for many Western- or Christian-educated Mozambican and Congolese people, who constitute a minority in both countries. However, my obvious 'foreign' state gives me the freedom of the 'fool of the king' (not being limited by any necessity to defend a certain social status) in emphasizing my 'not knowing,' which allows me to ask questions that an initiated person or a member of the culture couldn't. This leads research participants to formulate more precisely their own explanations of their actions, values, morals, ethics and thoughts. Not knowing Bantu languages was a strong limitation in this complex comparative study; but it led me to compare many translations which showed different possible interpretations. Last but not least, the intangible implies unutterable issues; accordingly, the participatory observations of practices were fundamental experiences.

Of course I have changed the names of patients, their family members, and of the participants in the descried palavers with the involved children. Besides ‘diviners’ and healers, I quote the names of community chiefs, who want recognition of their authorship of their knowledge; it took healers and ‘diviners’ years of suffering and personal investment to obtain that knowledge. Withholding their names, as the Mozambican Ethical Commission requires in their conditions for allowing applied anthropological and linguistic research into health issues, is felt by those research subjects to show a lack of respect. I hope that the commission may accept that. I thank all of the involved persons who made possible the gathering of the presented knowledge, practices, values and thoughts.

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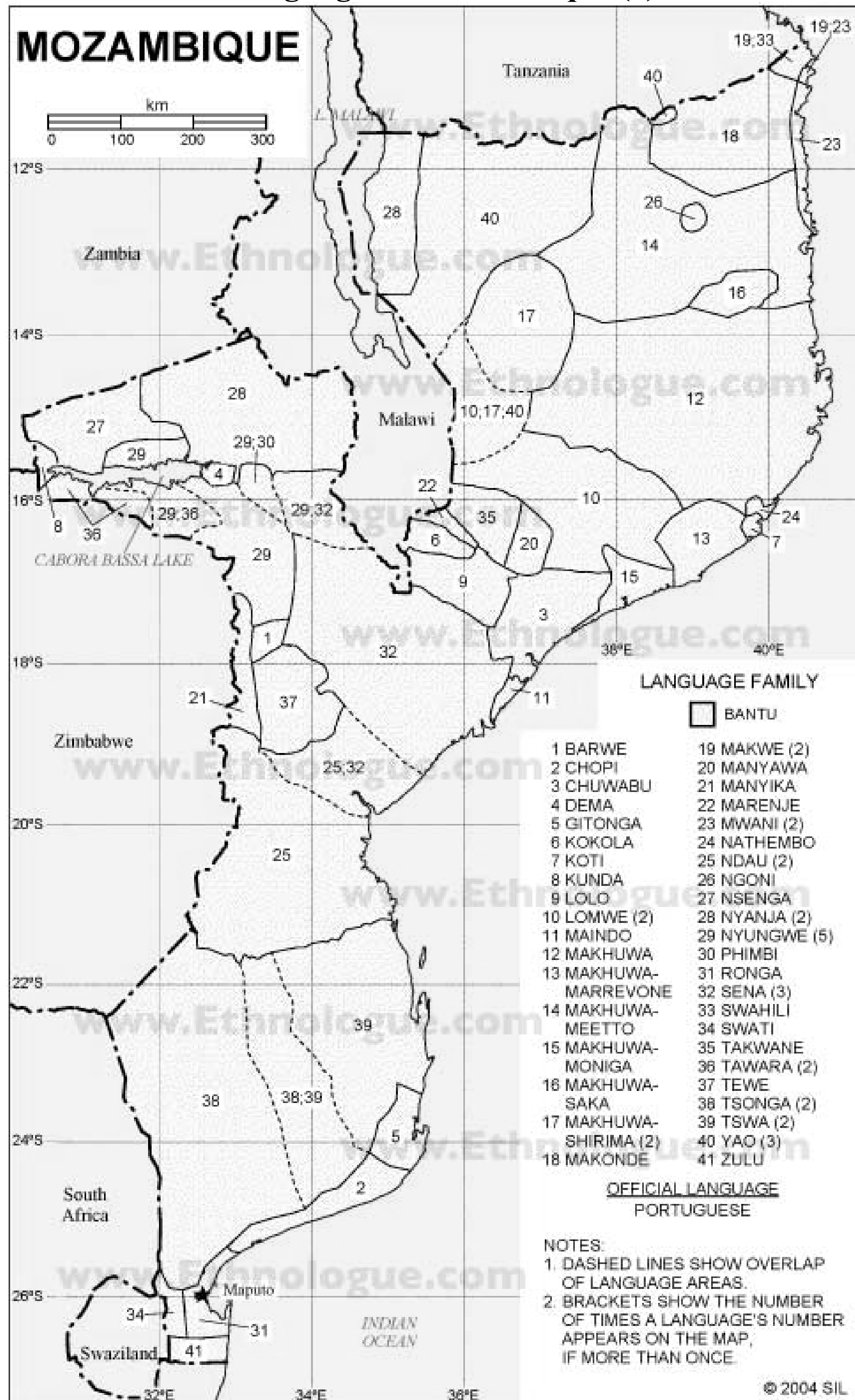
Map 1a: Provinces of Mozambique

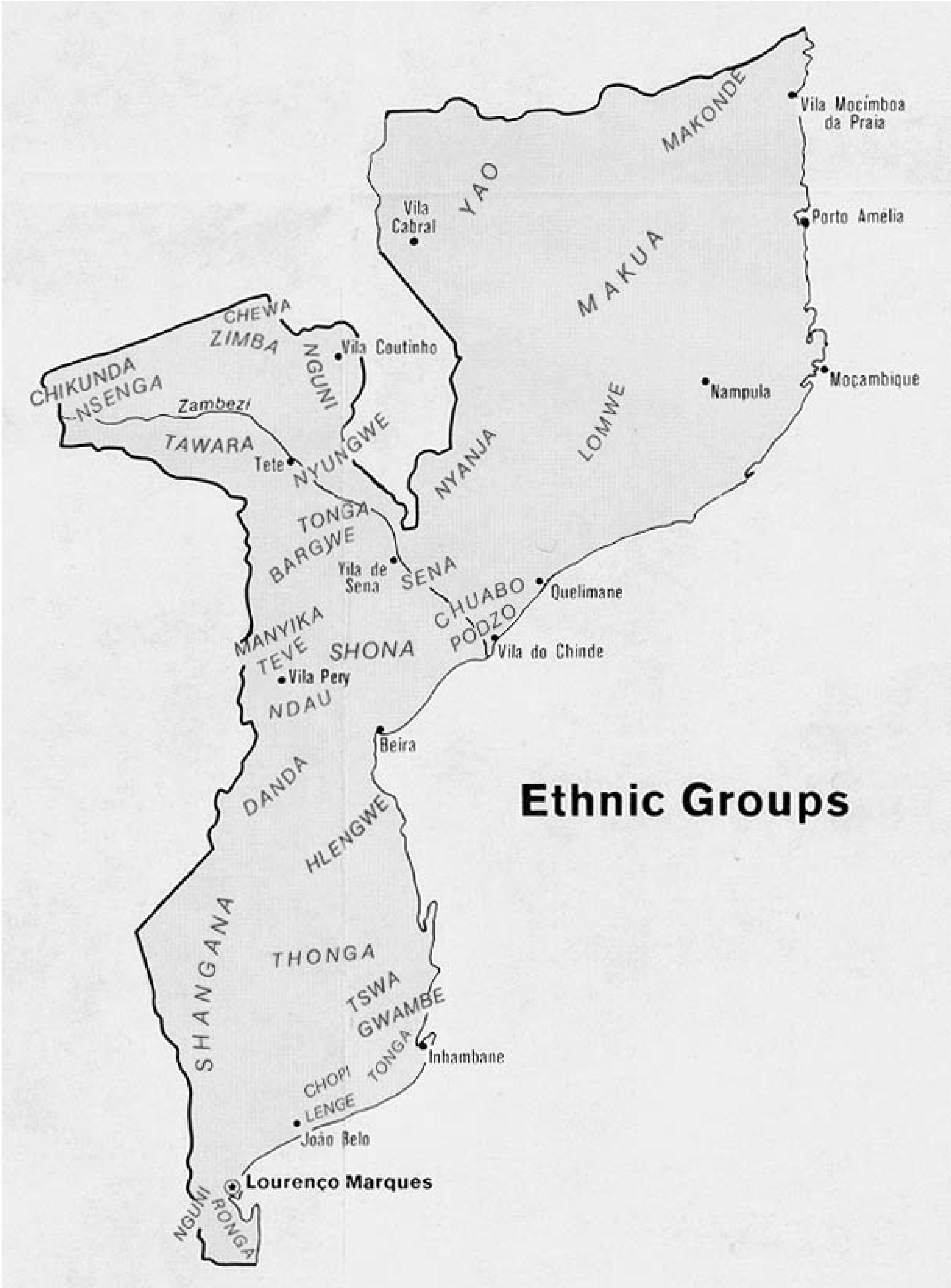
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/33/Mo%C3%A7ambique_mapa.gif (12.02.2007)

1b: The Bantu languages in Mozambique (1)



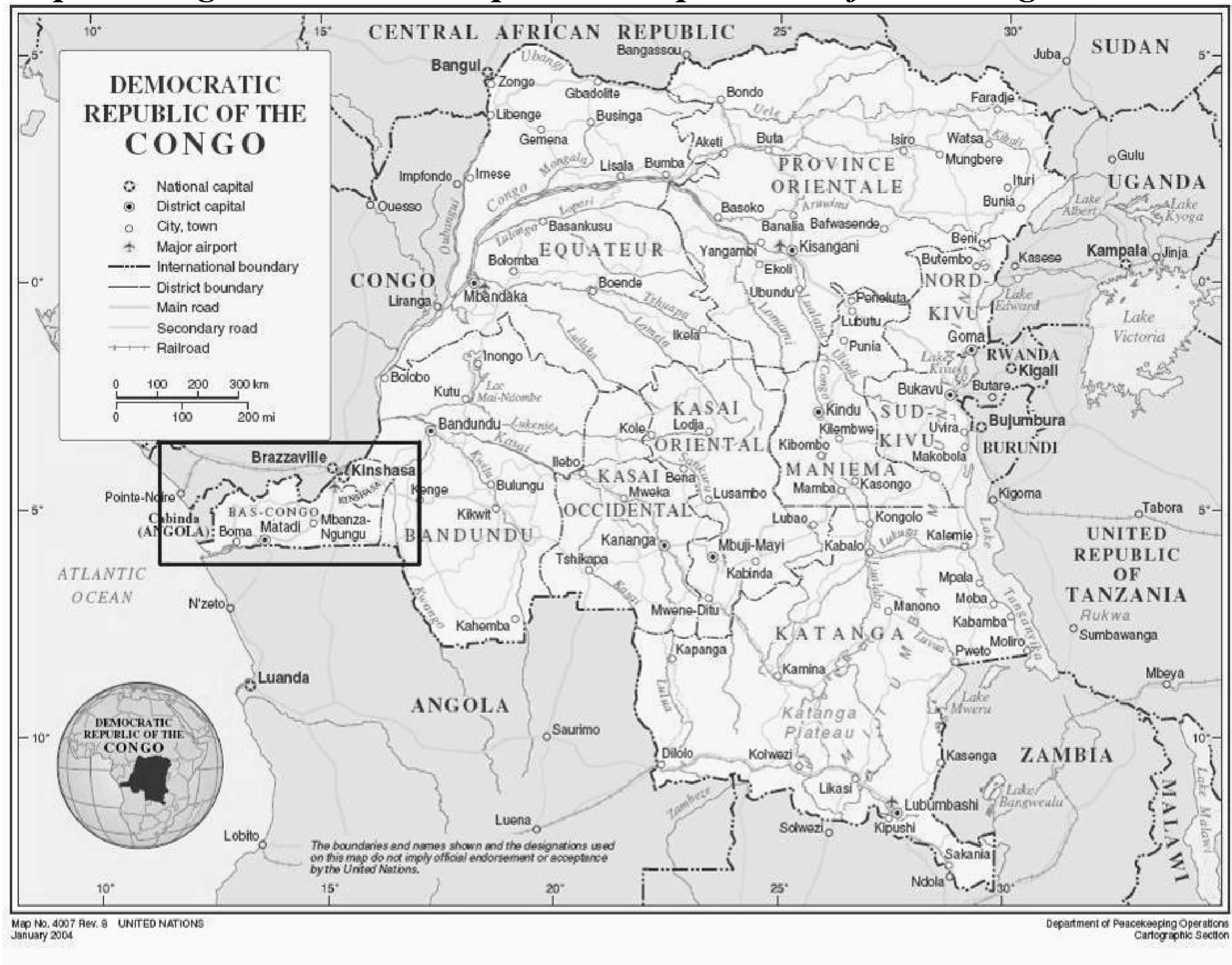
http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=MZ&seq=10 (consulted 16.01.07

1c: The Bantu languages in Mozambique (2)

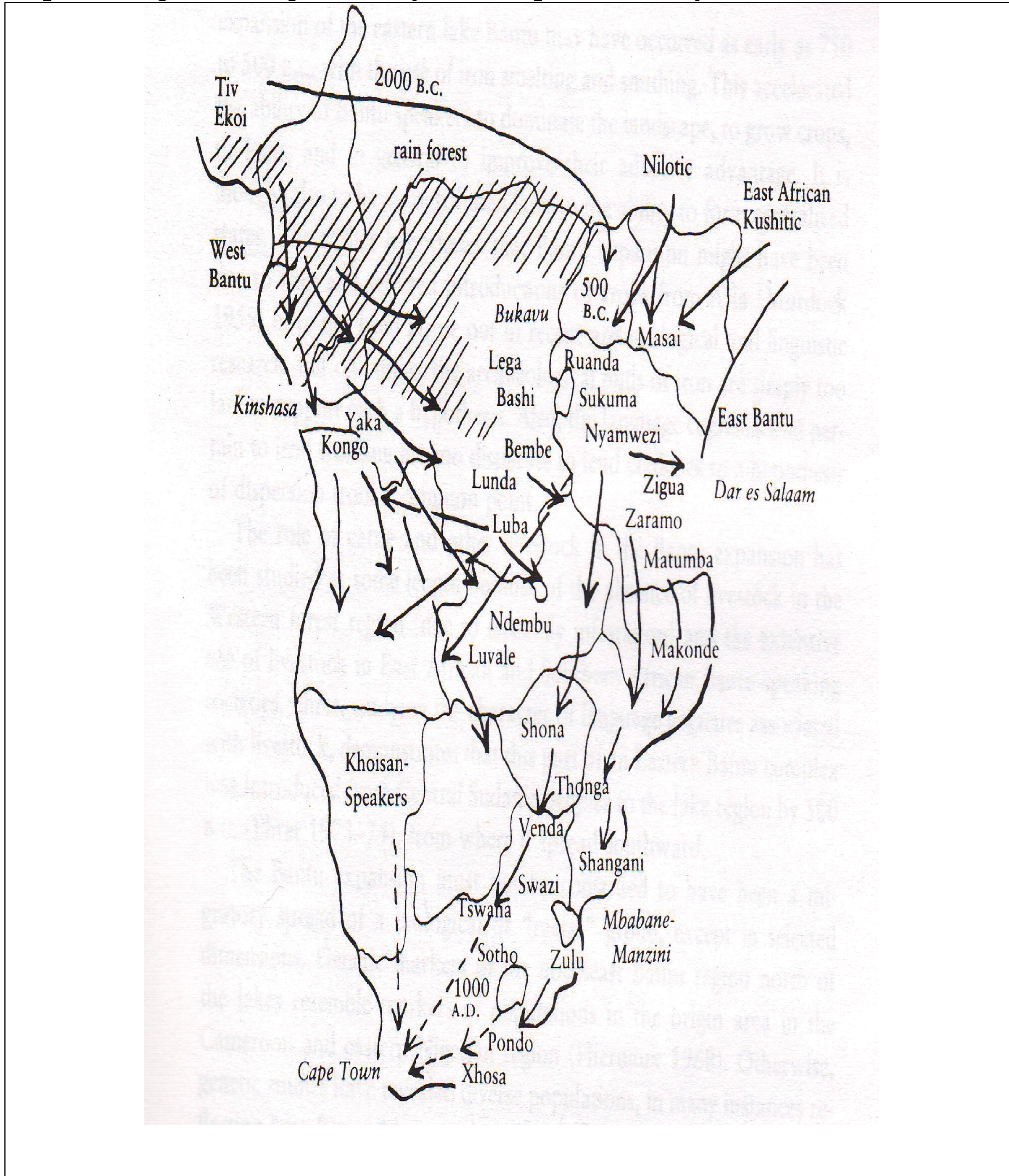


htpp://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/mozambique_ethnic_1973.jpg (Consulted 16.01.2007)

Map 2: Congo Democratic Republic and province of Bas-Congo



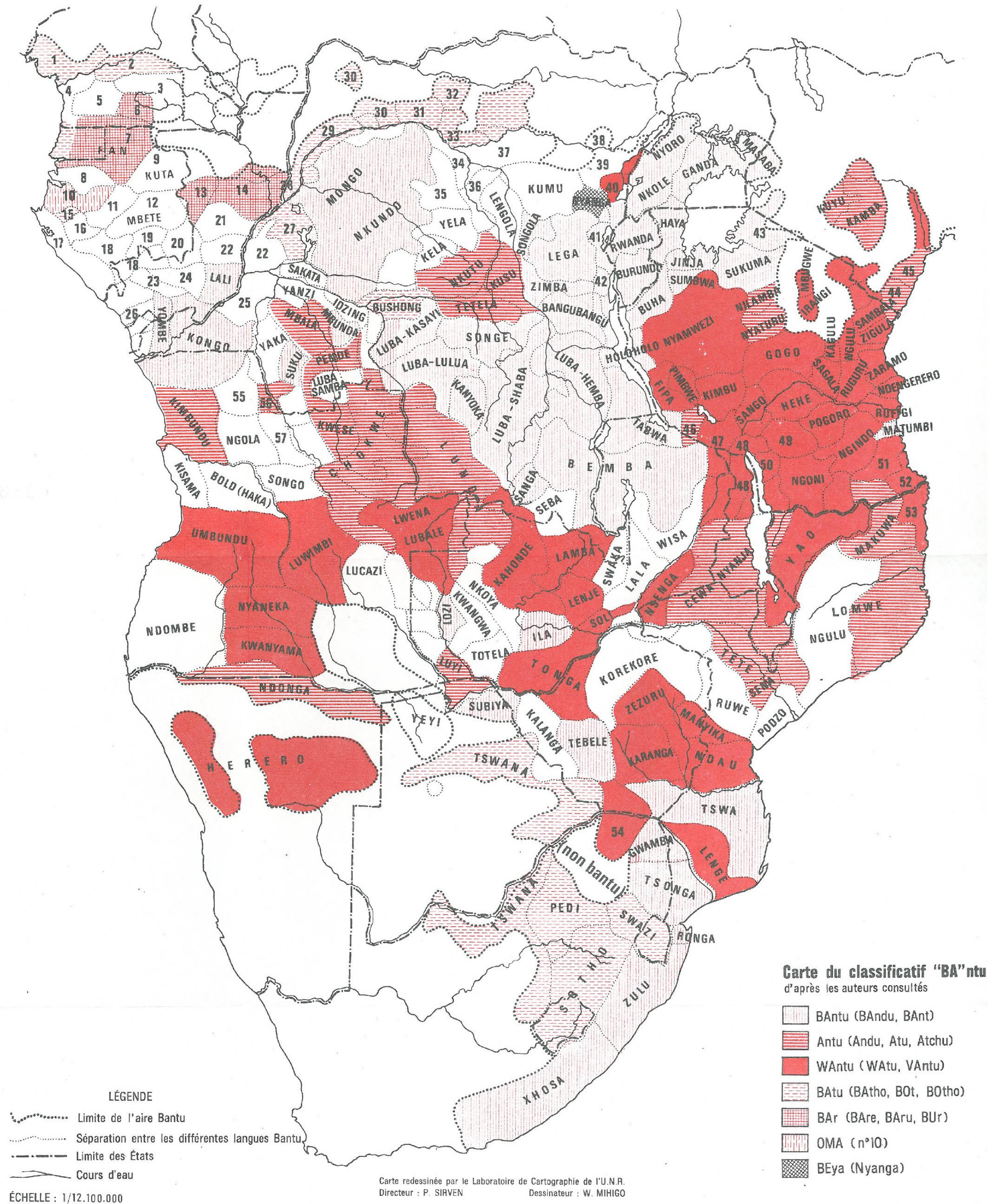
Map 5 - Linguistic Migrations of Bantu-speakers in Africa



(Jansen, 1992:60). This map shows how the common paradigms and framings described in this study could spread in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, appearing as much in Congo DR as in Mozambique, as also in several other African cultures.

Map 6 - Bantu Languages in Africa- According to A. Kagame 1976

The Bantu-speaking groups in Africa that Alexis Kagame involved in his comparative study; the showed linguistic groups have sub-groups that are not mapped.



PART
I

Basic paradigms
in
Mozambican
and
Congolese
Bantu life-worlds

Figure 13
A face-to-face ***makeya*** **invocation of** ***minepa*** **(ancestors in Emakhwua/Elomwe) of a healer woman in Alto Molowe**
– North Mozambique, 2006 –

Prologue

On the mountain Erati in the province of Nampula, the brother of the chief Komola put the makeya [flour offering] on the ground while speaking to the ancestors[1]*:*

God! You are the creator of all things; God created everything that exists.
We have been told by the ancestors, that we who are remaining here, we have to do *makeya*.
They said that, if we were worried, we had to carry flour and offer *makeya*.
That is why we now begin by pronouncing your name.

Receiving with two hands, I came on behalf of these people, our children,
who came to teach us much about our life.
They came to unite the work of healers with those of nurses:
We said that it is a good idea! It is a good idea!
We like what they propose: the cooperation between nurses and healers, who should not fight.
We accept this proposal.

These children, our guests who came to visit us, give them luck!
All the work about which they told us, you should protect it:
Wherever they go, they should have good [fortune].
We wish that all their research succeeds.
When someone has done well, he should not forget [why],
even with a delay; it shall bring anything that we can see.

I hope that all goes well with their cars and that they will reach their homes safely.
When they arrive, they will say that they were in Erati
And they will show people the wonders of the land of Erati. Erati is this:
Everything is good; our children are born here, and are working outside of here.
Give them luck, so that they come to teach us things,
so that we can learn from these visitors.

That is all I came for.
We ask that they may rest well!
That with our children with whom we came here, we do not want any problems.
Protect us, until we arrive back home.

Extract of a *makeya* ceremony – *Ancestral invocation with flour offering*

This ancestral invocation occurred in 1999 at the top of Mount Erati,
near the grave of the great chief Komola, the last Emakhuwa chief,
who fought against the colonial occupation in northern Mozambique.[2]

[1] This Emakhuwa invocation was translated into Portuguese, which I translated into English. It was filmed. In cases of unclear or complicated issues, I had several translations made, which I then compared.

[2] Recorded in 1999 during the shooting of the film "EspiritoCorpo" (Kotanyi 2003a) in Nampula province, Mozambique.

Figure 14a:

A chief with his *piyamwene* (most respected woman).
In matriliny, a man lives on the land of the wife and requires her support for the invocations of the ancestors.

The community requires the invocations through the *mwene* (chief) of the first arrived ancestors (of his wife), who are needed to protect the peace on that land, and the fertility of the land, animals and humans living on that territory.

In ALTO MOLOCWE - NORTH MOZAMBIQUE (2006)

Chapter One

ANCESTORS
&
OTHER 'SPIRITS'

Figure 14b
INVOCATION OF MINEPA (ANCESTORS)

66

Part I - Basic paradigms in Mozambican and Congolese Bantu life-worlds

Chapter 1 Ancestors and other ‘spirits’

In this work, I describe the cultural and social frameworks that influence behavior regarding law and health. I discuss health care and education, conflict resolution and the creation of social order by Mozambican and Congolese people. First, however, I present the paradigm related to ancestors, before discussing the notion of the person (Chapter Two). In chapters 3 and 4, I describe the paradigms and frames that constitute the life-worlds of many Mozambican Bantu speakers, including the patrilineal Zulu, Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa, Cindau in the South and the Cishona, Cisena, Cindau in Central Mozambique, and the matrilineal Emakhuwa and Elomwe speakers in the North. I compare observations in Mozambique with those in DR Congo and among other Bantu-speaking societies in sub-Saharan Africa. I show that ancestors provide ethical and moral foundations that influence behaviors related to law, health and education.

Ancestors [*minepa* in Emakhuwa[1]] are fundamental to Bantu-speaking societies in Mozambique and DR Congo. They are implicated in the constitution of the person [*mutthu*[2] in Emakhuwa/Elomwe] as an ancestor reborn; they define access to land and influence human, animal, and agricultural fertility. Ancestral protection is necessary for well-being and facilitates conflict resolution in families and communities. References to ancestors appear at the beginning or during “traditional” weekly community palavers [*mihatho*[3] –“problems”– in Emakhuwa]. Ancestors play significant roles in defining ethical and respectful human behavior. Healers, chiefs, and elders of both sexes explain that the ancestors left taboos [*mwiikho*[4] – “prohibition” – in Emakhuwa/Elomwe] behind to guide the living. Failure to respect taboos causes a number of health and social disorders.

Among Bantu speakers, ancestors define ethical and moral behavior, and therefore are essential to the constitution of social identity. Below, I describe the emic perspective shared by the majority of Mozambican Bantu speakers, for whom health, wellbeing, fertility and peace require the protection of the ancestors. Good relations between the living and the “living-dead” (Mbiti 1969) must be maintained in order to ensure this protection.

My motivation to study ancestorhood in sub-Saharan Africa, in this age of globalization, grew out of the observation of a German anthropologist in East Africa who argued[5] that AIDS in Africa had nothing to do with ancestors. My fieldwork suggested the contrary, as did that of Ashforth (2005) and especially Knox (2008), who demonstrated a clear relationship among ancestors, health and AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. Ancestors remain relevant to issues related to health, education and law, despite the forces of ‘modernity,’ globalization, and Christianity. I argue that in Mozambique and DR Congo, ancestors constitute a resilient paradigm and remain very basic social reference points. For many

people, ancestors are the basis for their existence, and deeply influence emotions, motivation and behavior. They provide the living with a sense of wellbeing. Even if the rules defined by ancestors are not always respected, they remain basic to ethical and moral orientations of a majority of Bantu speakers. By the same logic, ancestors constitute a basic ethical point of reference in juridical issues. Ancestors legitimate the community chief and access to land: the ancestral ways enable chiefs and notables to mediate conflicts. Ancestors also define kinship (patrilineal or matrilineal) and influence how conflicts concerning family, clan, and inheritance are handled. In many central issues of life and death, the living require ancestral support. Respect for ancestral rules is taught informally by family and community members, and through several rituals, especially burial or initiation. Such practices occur not only in rural areas, but also among the urbanized majority, even though an urban context may involve significant ambiguity.

The influence of the ancestors is illustrated by an experience that I had in a rural Makhuwa community in 2003, when I returned to Nampula province. Between 1999 and 2002, I filmed conflict resolution between two neighboring communities after 14 years of civil war (Kotanyi 2003b). In matrilineal communities like those of the Makhuwa people, no one has the authority to command others. The *mwene* [community "chief"] and his notables function as mediators through discussions and negotiations to resolve conflicts. Showing the film in community Namera[6] provoked a huge debate between old and young men. An older man declared: "This film is like a school!" referring to a film that I made in their community documenting their own local ways of conflict resolution. The film screening became an opportunity to discuss new conflicts, which were emblematic of the Emakhuwa way of dealing with conflict: to discuss it until a solution is found.

A night later, in the neighboring community Inora, the showing was also emotionally loaded, especially because of the recent death of an older, very respected community member who appeared in the film. Family members who viewed the film were deeply touched. I was surprised when, after the film screening, the atmosphere suddenly changed, becoming aggressive. This community had a *mwene* [chief] supporting FRELIMO, the ruling party. FRELIMO is the former Socialist Party that has governed Mozambique since independence; the party prohibited many religious or traditional activities, even basic life-cycle rituals such as burials, initiations, and healing sessions. During the civil war (1987–1992), the chief of community Inora lived outside of his community, in a so-called "*aldeia comunitária*" [communitarian village] in which the post-colonial socialist government obliged everyone to live. Many community members in the region fled into the bush rather than live in an *aldeia comunitária*. They supported RENAMO, the "counter-revolutionary" organization, which allowed traditional religious practices, including those related to ancestors. After the peace accords in 1992, the chief, who fled and had supported FRELIMO, returned to the community with the support of the central administration, but against the will of many in the community. During the two-and-a-half years (1999–2001) of my visits to these two communities, I observed the conflict between community

members and this chief, who did often not respect traditional rules and made decisions without consulting elders. In neighboring community of Namera, the chief never made decisions alone.
In order to thank the communities for their assistance during the work on the film, each of both involved communities was provided with an electric mill, on the condition that the mills should be available for all community members. The chief was to organize a group of young men to deal with the mill and take care of it. But the chief of the community of Inora did not organize the men; he had very limited local power since his return at the end of the civil war. His legitimacy was contested by the divided community, especially because he had been reinstated as chief through government pressure. A year after my departure, the district administrator lost patience with the chief, who did not facilitate installation of the electric mill; the administrator took the mill and had it fixed in concrete in the small community of Maracua, where many state employees lived, but which was not involved in the filming. Members of the community of Maracua were angered. At the end of the film screening at community Inora, the issue of the electric mill came up, with many people bitterly reproaching the chief. His spouse had a violent, disrespectful verbal argument with members of the community. She was apparently drunk. In this disturbing situation, I proposed to present the issue to the ancestors in a *makeya*.
The *makeya* [ancestral invocation by offering flour] involves verbal descriptions of the situation, a request and offering sorghum flour to the ancestors (in this case of the *mwene*, whose ancestors are assumed to protect the well-being of all members of the community in his territory). The proposal to make a *makeya*, coming from a 'white' woman, was perceived as a paradox, since colonial Europeans (representatives of the state, or tradesmen, or missionary priests) generally viewed African ancestral practices as uneducated, primitive, pagan behavior. However, the film that I had just shown respectfully represented local cultural practices, showing similar ceremonies dedicated to the ancestors. This may have led to the acceptance of my proposal, after a moment of surprise. One hour later, at the foot of a large tree, the spouse of the chief (who needed the assistance of a woman to reach the ancestors) invoked hers and the chief's ancestors and explained the conflict while making the *makeya*. She presented a factual, unbiased account of the issue, in contrast to her earlier angry outburst. Her rapid change of behavior surprised me. Later, back in the city, Professor Adelino Ivala, observed: "It is impossible to lie to the ancestors; they see and hear everything!"[7]

This experience shows the mediating role of ancestors among the living, and the continuing importance of the *makeya*, in spite of the impacts of globalization. Recognizing the centrality of ancestors in the lives of many Bantu speakers and respecting local values may improve the effectiveness of those working in health, education and law (Merry 2003). Workers in such institutional contexts often have little patience with or understanding of such issues, which they judge to be superstitious and outdated. However, in my experience, respecting local value systems may lead to more appropriate interventions and facilitate achievement of educational goals and improvement of health and law (see Chapter Five and Six). Such an inclusive approach does not solely privilege a

Christian, Islamic or any other belief system—including that of Western science. Projecting one's own preconceptions, beliefs or notions (Devereux 1967) is a problem not only of Western researchers, but also of many Mozambican and Congolese academics, physicians, lawyers, judges, teachers, and politicians. Some may recognize the relevance of local ancestral practices in Mozambique and, to a lesser extent in DR Congo; however, they also tend to view these behaviors with ambivalence. Concern with ancestors is considered neither 'modern' nor 'scientific,' but rather a sign of backwardness and 'obscurantism.'[8] In Mozambique, during the socialist post-colonial period (1978–1992), ancestor-oriented beliefs were not only publicly disparaged, but also officially persecuted[9]. After the peace accord, things changed; in 2006, the health minister of Mozambique, an active member of FRELIMO, explained to me that in private, he respects his family's ancestral practices. Such public versus private ambivalence is a hallmark of modern Mozambique[10].

Given the importance of ancestors in Bantu-speaking contexts, I begin with a discussion of their relevance, and debunk some common misconceptions about ancestral paradigms in the context studied. Ancestors influence health-related behaviors, e.g. within the context of HIV/AIDS. Ancestors are involved in social conflicts, such as those over clan power, access to land, kinship, divorce, and inheritance. Effective interventions in law or health care require understanding the implications and the moral and ethical weight of ancestors. I contextualize my findings among Mozambican and Congolese Bantu speakers through an exploration of the life-worlds of other African Bantu speakers. This comparison reveals on this issue major similarities cross-culturally in sub-Saharan Africa.

A. Ancestors as the 'ultimate appeal' in ethical matters

Ancestors are an essential part of the dominant cultural paradigm of Mozambican Bantu speakers; they are deeply rooted in local ethics and life practices. African philosophers such as Mbiti (1969, 1995) argued that religion is the source and foundation of morality. Gbadegesin (1995, 1998:133), however, asserted that, for the Akan of Ghana, morality is independent from religion, *contra* Wiredu (1995) and Idowu (1962), who argue that morality is adaptive and independent of religion. For Idowu, morality is a social phenomenon that facilitates the continuance of society[11]. According to Idowu (1962:144), "A steady accumulation of this experience over a long period has resulted in a very strong sense of what has come to be popularly known as 'right' and 'wrong.'" Along the same lines, Gyekye (1987) and Wiredu (1995) argue that morality is a product of common sense.

My observations in Mozambique and DR Congo are consistent with Gbadegesin's (1998:135) statement that "religion may (even must) have influence on [Yoruba] morality. But from this, it still does not follow that it is the foundation." Gbadegesin's statement (1998:138) concerning Yoruba people applies in both countries I studied: "Far from having a religious foundation, then, we have a system of morality which, while it makes use of religion as motivating factor, is clearly pragmatic and this-worldly to the core." Further, like the Yoruba, Mozambican and Congolese approaches to morality are often pragmatic, and though religion may serve them as a motivating force, it is not the ultimate appeal in moral matters. Similarly, participation of Mozambican and Congolese people in

Christianity or Islam does not generally hinder the simultaneous pragmatic application of "African" notions of morality and ethics. From the perspective of many of my informants in Mozambique (and DR Congo), the references to ancestors are not to be reduced to "religious" issues. I agree with many African scholars who argue that ancestors provide a pragmatic basis for determining right or wrong. For a part of the people, they are the first and main reference for morals and ethics. For those following a Christian or Islamic religion, this ancestral reference coexists with religious morals and ethics. Ancestral values are part of the underlying moral system that exists alongside the widespread Christianity in both countries and Islam in North Mozambique. At present, people in Mozambique and DR Congo tend to distinguish between the world of ancestors and the world of religion, thereby avoiding contradictions between their different perspectives. In addition, many people valuate scientific or written law approaches or follow certain political values (after independence, e.g., socialism in Mozambique; currently, more strongly democracy –and in a certain extent human rights– in both countries), both of which involve secular notions of morals and ethics. Many people consider ancestors a privacy issue. I often heard Western-educated people in Maputo say that ancestors "belong to our culture," "are our origins" or "are a family issue"; in each case, they meant that concerns related to ancestors are private matters. This "privatization" of ancestors occurs within the context of political, religious and modernist pressures to reject practices and values related to ancestors that are regarded as non-modern, backwards and "obscurantist" – and thus suspected of being "anti-modern."

One of the motivations of this study was to seek more efficient approaches to HIV/AIDS in Mozambique and other sub-Saharan countries. This involves recognizing that ancestors stand for positive values and 'ultimate appeal' in moral or ethical matters (Ashforth 2005; Knox 2008). Ancestors carry a number of implications; they are particularly influential in issues related to sexuality, disease, premature death, fertility, land tenure, and justice. They are referenced in palavers, divination, health treatments and conflict mediation. Such references recognize the legitimacy conferred by ancestors, based on their durable moral authority. Ancestors are also perceived as close by, whereas the God of Christianity or Islam is seen as far away in the sky (Matangila 2000). As in several other sub-Saharan societies, ancestors are part of an internalized ethic rooted in the notion of "respect", whether for ancestors, elders, other members of the community, or for oneself.

African philosophers speak often of 'morals' instead of 'ethics'; African cultural practices are full of proverbs, idioms and narratives related to the moral behavior of the living. Webb (2016) shows the great diversity and lack of any uniform definition of morals and ethics. I employ the term 'ethics' corresponding to a common-sense framework of what people consider 'right' or 'wrong.' (see Englund 2006, Zigon 2008, Kean 2016:16-31).[12] I also use the notion of "moral power" in 'witchcraft' (Chapter Four) following Stroeken (2010), and of ordinary ethics (Lambeck 2010). Ancestors are the foundation of ethics and morality in both studied countries. Other moralities and ethics, either religious (Christian and Islam) or secular, are often regarded as complementing the "ancestral" ones.[13]

In Mozambique and DR Congo, the term 'moral' is currently often associated—in the contexts of

sexuality or social behavior— also with Christianity[14]. However, respecting HIV prevention is, everywhere, not alone a moral issue, but also an ethical one (see Chapter Five).

B. The ancestor paradigm

The term "ancestors" generally refers to those of ego's kin or clan [*nihimo* in Emakhuwa] who lived before the ego, the living-dead (Mbiti 1969). Among the Yaka (Southwest Congo), ancestors belong to the last five generations (Devisch 1981, 1993a, 1996a). The matrilineal Emakhuwa distinguish between maternal, paternal, and affinal ancestors. The very oldest ancestors are the first to have arrived in a territory; they are founders and have a mythical dimension as those "who first came from Namuli Mountain" (see Geffray 1990 on the complex distinctions among ancestors). I use the term in its general social, spiritual, moral and ethical sense and look at the functions ancestors fulfill.

In all the studied Mozambican or DR Congo Bantu cultures, ancestors play a central role in protecting the health and wellbeing of their descendants. In case of disease or misfortune, it is assumed that the ancestors withdrew their protection (against misfortune or diseases) because their prohibitions were violated. However, the ancestors' protection can be recovered by identifying the reason for their withdrawal and by performing the correct invocation and offering rituals. Ancestors may therefore be influenced by human action (which is not the case for 'bad' spirits, who less predictable and therefore more dangerous[15]). In general, the ancestors as living-dead are a key phenomenon (implicitly, not always explicitly) in the Mozambican and Congolese Bantu life-worlds and are assumed to have major influences on the living, especially on issues concerning health and fertility of all kinds (human, animal, land). I will show that ancestors are considered constitutive of their living descendants.

In the following, after identifying the terms used for ancestors, I locate ancestors in Bantu life-words (and cosmology) and discuss their differences from Christian notions such as God. I first look at who may become an ancestor and what role the ancestors are supposed to play in securing the health of the living in Mozambican Bantu cultures. Describing forms of communication with the ancestors leads to the discussion of the obligations the living have towards their ancestors. Finally I evaluate the omnipresence of ancestors and the relevance of this paradigm to current cultural perceptions of health and wellbeing, and its influence on health-related behaviors among most of the studied Mozambican Bantu speakers. During my research, I was regularly confronted with the argument that belonging to Christian or Islamic religions totally inverted people's relationships with ancestors. My observation is that this is a simplification of the situation; I show that there is a major difference between rhetoric and behavior. There have been many changes, but ancestors are respected to a large extent. At least in rural and urban Mozambique, I would summarize it in this way: 'Don't joke about ancestors!'[16]

Local terminologies for ancestors

In Xichangana, Xirhonga and Xitshwa, the ancestors are *svikwembu xa la kaya* [spirits of the house], *tinguluve* [spirits of the dead, or "bush pigs"][17], in addition to being more generally *svikwembu* ['air/breath/spirit' seeking revenge], which is always used in the plural, while the singular form

xikwemu denotes "God". Due to these problems with translations of local concepts into Portuguese and other languages, considerable confusion exists. I begin with the basic issue: what do Mozambican Bantu speakers mean by 'ancestor'?

In Central Mozambique, for the Cisena, ancestors are *midzimu (pl.), mudzimu wa kunza* [spirit of the house]; the Cishona say *mudzimu* (sing.), *wadzimu* (pl.)*, tateguru*, and *mbuya*. Cindau speakers give the ancestors various names: "We have the *wadzimu* [spirits of the house]—our house spirits who help and do good for the family. Among them, we have the *wakutanga* [ancestors], who are our ancestors and we have the *makemalaula*, who are our dead ones, those who died."[18] "Dead people can become *npfukwa* [bad spirits]. This happens when the person died a "bad death", i.e. by hanging or accident, or if they died far from home, during travel or migration. Some of the bad spirits [*npfukwa*] are considered to come from "outside" the family. These *npfukwa* destroy and bring problems to [living] family members."[19]

In all the studied Mozambican Bantu-speaking cultures, the distinction between ancestors and bad spirits is relevant. Even though the matrilineal Makhuwa kinship system differs from those of the patrilineal South and Central Mozambican Bantu speakers, the Makhuwa[20] conceptualize the relationship between the ancestors and the living in similar ways. In Mozambique, in Emakhuwa there are the *minepa* and the *samussi* ['family spirits']; the *minepa makhalelo* [eldest spirits of the family] and the *minepa* called *sa-elapo* or *ayeyeye* [bad 'spirits' of people who died 'bad deaths']."

Respect and reciprocity

Bantu ancestor-related rituals concerning health, law, and life-cycle events (such as birth, initiation, and death) are, first and foremost, about communication.[21] Ritual encounters with the ancestors in Mozambique (such as *makeya*, *kuphalha*,[22] *kufemba*,[23] *mhamba*,[24] and *ehsembe*[25]) do not involve worship, but rather are used to inform the ancestors or to be informed by them through dreams or possession. Throughout Mozambique, the directness of communication with ancestors impressed me, especially among the Makhuwa, who do not necessarily use a specific shrine, but rather perform the ritual at the foot of a tree or large shrub, usually near to their homes.[26] The simple ritual of putting on the ground freshly ground flour and speaking with the ancestors, was a touching gesture that has affected me throughout the years that I observed it.

The fact that these communication rituals often involve a respectful attitude, such as kneeling, can be easily misinterpreted as worship. These rituals often convey requests to the ancestors accompanied by offerings, not as signs of worship, but as signs of respect and reciprocity. The living must show their respect; they inform the ancestors, and they remember them, evoke their names regularly (keeping them alive as 'living-dead'), and offer them food, drink, and tobacco. In exchange, they expect protection for their health, wealth, wellbeing, and fertility in all senses of the term; they expect rain, success in life, peace and so on. Colson (2006) reports that people may sometimes become impatient with their ancestors: when their wishes are not fulfilled, the living sometimes threaten to stop remembering the ancestors. I did not observe this, but people in general, and especially healers and

diviners of all types, stressed the importance of remembering them. Unremembered ancestors definitely 'die' and no longer provide protection: their ability to protect their descendants depends on the memories of the living, on calling their names and acts such as small offerings and invocations.

Characterization of ancestors

Ancestors as the living-dead

Mbiti (1969, 1995), celebrated as the first African philosopher, presents a highly anthropocentric portrayal of African ontologies (Mosolo 1994). He describes ancestors as clearly differentiated from God, who created the living. Ancestors are designated by Mbiti as 'living dead,' existing in "a state of personal immortality, and their process of dying is not yet complete" (Mbiti 1995:107). Mbiti adds that "they are the closest links that men have with the spirit world…. they speak the language of men, with whom they lived until 'recently'; and they speak the language of the spirits and of God, to whom they are drawing nearer ontologically" (Mbiti 1995:107). Following Mbiti, ancestors are the 'living-dead', 'spirit' beings with whom African people are most concerned: "they are still part of their human families, and people have personal memories of them" (1995:107). Many sub-Saharan African societies consider ancestors to be 'living dead' and of central relevance to the living, particularly with regard to health issues.

Brain explains for the matrilineal Ulungurus (i.e., Lunguru) in Eastern Tanzania: "The Ulunguru say that God [*mulungu* in Swahili, *mungu*] created the earth, but God is not concerned with human affairs. He [God] is not for praying to or sacrificed to; sacrifices are made to the *mitsimu* [ancestors]" (Brain, 1973: 130). The Ulunguru are, according to Brain, often followers of a monotheist religion, either Muslim or Christian, as is the case for many people in Mozambique. Monotheist religious beliefs complement and do not hinder monotheist Ulunguru from sacrificing to their ancestors. Ulungurus' practices parallel those I observed among Mozambican and Congolese Bantu speakers. Sacrifices are made when misfortune strikes, as Brain[27] explains, and in situations concerning health, or wellbeing during life- cycle events such as birth, marriage, and death. Sacrifices to ancestors are also made for the fertility of crops and human beings, to solve weather problems, to treat disease or find a healer, to find the right medicinal plant, to identify the 'real' cause or 'origin' of illnesses or misfortune. All these situations require communication with the ancestors.[28] Ancestors are not considered gods; communication with them is not perceived to contradict belief in a unique God, as I later discuss. Before looking at the communication with the ancestors, I first characterize them, locate them in time and space, and discuss who may become ancestors and how ancestorhood is achieved.

Ancestors as "spirits" of the family

Healers, diviners, chiefs and initiation counselors from the eight studied Bantu cultures in Mozambique all indicate that *tinguluve* ['spirits of the dead' in Xichangana, Xirhonga], or *svikwembu xa la kaya* ['spirits of the house' in Xitshwa] are important for the health of the living. In all studied cultures, there are several types of ancestors. In Central Mozambique, patrilineal Sena and Shona call protective and sanctioning ancestors 'spirits of the house' *mudzimu* (*ya kunza* in Cisena; *midzimu* or *wadzimu* in Cishona). Different names for male and female ancestors exist in all the studied Bantu-

speaking groups[29]. A Shona healer explains the term 'spirits of the house': "The *tategurus*[30] help us chase the 'bad' spirits [who cause disease] out of the house, to preserve the family's health."[31] Cishona *midzimu tateguru* [ancestral 'spirits'] are called *midzimu ya tsekuru* in Cisena, illustrating the linguistic and conceptual narrowness in both societies living on neighboring territories.

The matrilineal kinship system of societies such as the Makhuwa/Lomwe in Mozambique diverge from the patrilineal systems of Central and southern Mozambique[32]. However, in both kinship systems, ancestors influence the health and wellbeing of the living, primarily through observation of taboos[33]; they affect fertility of all kinds, legitimate access to land and legitimate chiefs' conflict mediation. Among the Makhuwa people, the *minepa samussi* [collective of protecting ancestors] are organized like a living family. They are the ancestors of the clan and are part of the spiritual sense of belonging of each person. All the *minepa samussi* have the task of protecting the living by helping them to remain healthy and securing their wellbeing. The clan (the extended family) includes children, parents, grandparents, all the living generations of the family belonging to the lineage. However, the maternal *minepa*[34] are those ancestors considered to be "the ancestors to whom the person belongs"[35]. The child belongs to the mother's side of the family and is under the responsibility of the mother's brother (maternal uncle), through whom the person inherits.[36] The 'paternal' ancestors [*minepa sa woyaryani*][37] are associated with semen and the male side is seen as the social side; the father's ancestors are the ancestors associated with charity[38]. They help at burial and death. But these ancestors take no decisions, e.g. about where the burial will occur.[39]

There are differences between the studied matrilineal like Emakhua/Elomwe speakers and the several patrilineal Mozambican Bantu speakers from southern and Central Mozambique. However, beyond kinship differences, all Mozambican Bantu speakers state that communication with ancestors is necessary and that the protective ancestors can withdraw their protection from the living, which brings disease or infertility. This may happen not only in the case of family members who do not remember their ancestors, but also when they do not respect the prohibitions the ancestors left for them.

Ancestors and reciprocity

A male Sena healer from Central Mozambique explains: "We have several types of 'house spirits'[40]. These spirits bring diseases, [so that descendants will] recall their existence; [diseases] show that they want some acknowledgment."[41] To not remember ancestors is immoral, but ancestors also show petty jealousy; they are ambiguous as founders of morality, however, with emotion and capricious demeanor. Ancestors are seen among all Mozambican Bantu-speaking cultures as beings similar to the living: the relationship with them requires reciprocity. In South Mozambique, a Changana healer (patrilineal) explains that when a child is ill, the chief of the family consults a healer, who will probably say that there is an *nguluve* [ancestor] who wants to be recognized. In this case, a ceremony may satisfy the ancestor. A Changana chief explains that the ancestors have the following functions for the living: "The living people must follow the rules left by the ancestors for us to live correctly.

The task of the *svkiwembu xa la kaya* [house spirits] is to defend us against our enemies who hate us, to protect us, and to show us the path that we have to follow."[42]

For Xitshwa speakers, with a language and culture very similar to the Xichangana in the same South region, the "house spirits" (protective, sanctioning ancestors) are assumed to secure the family members' prosperity. They facilitate agricultural production, human and animal fertility, enable descendants to become wealthy, and protect them from disease. All ceremonies for the ancestors must be carried out correctly; they must be regularly remembered, at least once a year. These requirements are basically the same for all Mozambican Bantu, whether the kinship is matrilineal or patrilineal, although I will later show differences in other domains of religion (e.g., regarding 'witchcraft'). When reciprocity is achieved, Xitshwa-speaking people say, "The house spirit[43] protects [us] from the *lipfukua* [bad spirits]."[44] 'House spirits' may protect the living also against witchcraft attacks.

Efficiency of ancestors' protection

A Xitshwa-speaking healer explains the efficacy of the ancestors' protection: "This [is the] way the *svikwembu xa la kaya* take care of the living so that they live well: when you have no diseases or bad dreams, then the 'house spirits' are protecting you and prevent from bad things. When a journey goes well, it is the house spirits who have created the conditions for that. If someone poisons another person, putting poison into his body or in his food or drink, the cup or the plate may break: it is the house spirits who are preventing such an event. In case of a war, when a bullet is shot, the bullet deviates: it is the house spirits who protect you. But if "ancestor's prescriptions" are not respected, the house spirits become angry and there is no peace at home: Diseases appear or bad animals invade the house and bad things may happen" (idem). In this sense, ancestral protection is conditional, which leads Augé (1975) and Ortigues (1984) to note that the ancestral paradigm in Africa has persecuting characteristics, while Stroeken (2004a/b) insist on the "moral power" of ancestors.

Ancestors in the 'person'

All authors agree that the ancestors have a central place in the life-world of Bantu speakers in Mozambique[45]. Studies among eight different Mozambican Bantu-speaking societies show that the ancestors are part of the cosmological environment and social world of the living. Ancestors are, as I discuss below[46], part of the person in the form of *moya*[47] [breath/spirit]. Within each person is the personal protective ancestor of whom the person is the reincarnation. A child takes the name of this ancestor; he or she is the *xará* [namesake in Xichangana]. This ancestor influences the personality of the namesake living.[48] Makhuwa healers on the coast or in Ribaue (inland area of the Nampula Province) speak more of the 'guardian' spiritual part of each person. In this sense, Mozambican Bantu speakers conceive of ancestors as the nearest allies of the living;[49] they are constitutive of the 'person.'

In the North, the matrilineal Makhuwa have the same relation with their *minepa* ancestors as the other cultures referred to above.[50] There is the spirit of a deceased person who chooses the living person in whom they will be reborn. In the Makhuwa context, it is a person's own personal ancestor [*munepa waparaka* or *minepa sa wasoomo*] who protects him or her from danger and death.[51] In contrast, some

healers argue the guardian angel is in the shade [*eruku*] and understood to be part of the essence of a person. *Minepa* [ancestors] bring luck, especially the one who gives a person his or her name. There are several types of ancestors[52]. They are not in a person's body, but around the person, while protecting him or her. In general, the *minepa* belong to the whole family, the clan. The clan includes all generations, uncles, aunts, grandmothers from the father and mother's sides. For the matrilineal Makhuwa, *minepa* from the mother's side are the most important.

Findings throughout Mozambique (and DR Congo) demonstrate that the protective role of ancestors is basically the same in all the studied cultures, even though each culture has its own terms and way of explaining the details of ancestors' protection. The fact that all studied cultures require ancestral protection for wellbeing is vital to understanding health in general, and in HIV/AIDS education and treatment (see Asforth 2005; Knox 2008), as well as in the contexts of education and law. The relevance of ancestors is regarded as central to the family's wellbeing and health (see Wreford 2008) and to social peace; the influences of these notions are currently underestimated.

Ancestors' protection in sub-Saharan Africa

Colson (1954), referring to the Tsonga in Zambia, a Bantu-speaking matrilineal culture similar to those in Mozambique, argues that the ancestors' relation to the living is an interdependent one: the Tsonga think there is a partnership between the living and the ancestors [*mizimu*] to achieve common goals. Colson states that the living members of a kin group are part of "a single whole" together with their ancestors. This corresponds to Comaroff's (1980) analysis of the cosmology of the Tshidi, a subgroup of the Barolong cluster of southern Tswana people in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa. The Bantu-speaking Tshidi consider their ancestors to be part of the social world of the living, in the same way as Honwana (2002) describes for South Mozambican Bantu speakers. Fundamental to all the Bantu-speaking cultures referred to above is that the boundaries between the living and the dead must be clearly defined (through proper burial) in order to balance the forces that preserve the health of the living. Wreford (2008) describes the ancestors in South African and Zimbabwean patrilineal societies as the 'living dead', who are 'all the clan's dead'. They are seen as beings interacting with the living who are very much concerned with the actions of those they left behind.

Colson (1954, 2006) identifies four categories of ancestors [*mizimu* in the Tsonga spelling of Colson] (maternal & paternal on both father's and mother's sides) in a matrilineal society on the Tsonga Plateau in Zambia. These categories are similar to those of several studied Mozambican Bantu groups. Colson differentiates between the "guardian *mizimu*," who are associated with the name a person receives and the several "house *mizimu*," [ancestral spirits] who protect the household of an adult person; both categories appear in all the cultures I studied. Colson reports that among the Tsonga, each kin group has a person, generally an elder, who is considered to be the best communicator with the ancestors. Who this elder should be (whether female or male) varies according to descent system. According to Colson (1954), the "guardian *muzimu*" [pl. *mizimu*] can be regarded as a symbolic representation of the paternal and maternal matrilineal clans determining the original social status of

any individual, and of their responsibility for his wellbeing throughout life. In the Mozambican Bantu-speaking context, the name-giving ancestor as a "guardian angel" (a term borrowed from Christianity) was mentioned in both groups: among the patrilineal groups in Central and South Mozambique (Cishona, Cisena, Xitshwa, Cindau, Bitsonga, Xichangana, Xirhonga or Zulu-speakers) and among matrilineal groups in the North (i.e., Emakhuwa, Elomwe, Emakonde-speakers).[53]

Mbiti reports that most sub-Saharan African people see the 'living-dead' as "the guardians of family affairs, tradition, ethics and activities" (1995:107). In contrast, Westerlund (1989) argued that the ancestors lose their relevance to health in sub-Saharan Africa. In his comparative study of disease etiologies among five African cultures selected as representative of different 'types' of approaches to health, Westerlund argues that the ancestors are relevant in three of the five studied cultures. I question Westerlund's statement that disease etiologies attributed to ancestors have less relevance than those attributed to witchcraft; I suggest that ancestors are some times more in the background, are referred to less openly, but maintain an importance in relation to fertility, taboos, well-being, and death (and can be on the background of 'witchcraft' attack, – see Stroeken 2004a/b). Below, I discuss ancestors as a basic socio-cultural paradigm influencing health-related behavior in Mozambique and in DR Congo.[54]

Ancestors in time and space

Ancestors in the earth

An Makhuwa proverb says: "the ancestors are roots."[55] Ancestors are seen as being everywhere, in trees, in water, in caves or underground, on the top of a mountain.[56] Junod (1996), Fialho Feliciano (1998) and informants in the eight studied Mozambican Bantu-speaking cultures report that the ancestors are related to the earth, an idea also found in other sub-Saharan African societies[57]. Ngubane (1977), referring to the Zulu of southern Africa, states that the ancestors [*amathongo*] reside "down below" under the earth (Ngubane 1977:56). In Central Africa, in Congo, ancestors are located in rivers and trees.[58] Water has its source in the earth; trees grow out of the earth. In general, ancestors are considered to be primarily (but not only) located in the earth, where the dead are buried. In Congo, ancestors are also perceived to be in the air. The descriptions of healers, notables, chiefs, initiation rites counselors and other kinds of informants in my comparative linguistic contexts (in 1999, 2001, 2003 and 2006) show that in Mozambique, the 'bad' spirits are generally found in the air and wind.

Ancestors and access to land

In all researched regions, in Mozambique and Congo, the legitimacy of access to the land is directly related to ancestors—those who first arrived, who first occupied the land, which defines who has the right to use it. Land is not perceived as property: land is not a thing, which can be sold (although the people, chiefs or the state sell land in both countries, which is a transgression of ancestral rules). During the shootings *of* "Viver de Novo" (Kotanyi 2003b) showing the social reconstruction after the civil war, the old Makhuwa peasant, Vanteke, explains why he refused to live in "communitarian villages" in times of socialism: "The land is a person." This is an expression that chiefs in Bas-Congo (DRC) confirmed to me at a gathering in 2012, showing that it is a broadly shared basic paradigm. The connotation of land with persons shows that land needs to be treated in the same way as a person:

Land is not a thing and should not be sold (see Shipton 2009), abandoned or violated. Vanteke meant that the land engages in reciprocal relationships in the same way that a living person, the ancestors [*minepa*] and other kinds of spiritual beings (e.g., *maciini* [bad spirits] do (see Strathern 1988: 176)[59].

In Bas-Congo, existence is deeply grounded in the land. Chiefs and notables explained (in 2011-2012) that selling the land of one's ancestors is to sell oneself, especially when it is the land where one's umbilical cord is buried.[60] Lack of respect for this principle brings chiefs and notables to despair. Land legitimates the power of chiefs; chiefs should secure and respect the relationship of the ancestors to the land, which they occupied first.[61] Some chiefs risk weakening their power by selling the land of their community, which happens in both DR Congo and Mozambique. The crucial point is that land defines one's relation to others in society: this is so in Bas-Congo, and in the several other Bantu-speaking cultures studied. Chiefs explain that one's ancestors are buried in the earth: by selling the land, descendants lose the place where memory resides. In Bas-Congo, as in the neighboring district of Kwango, the ceremonies remembering ancestors are conducted at graves in the cemetery, especially in the case of a chief, whose ancestors should protect all the members of the community living in his territory. The protective role of the chief, the descendent of those who first arrived and occupied the land, is found across the researched Bantu-speaking societies, regardless of descent system.

Ancestors as mediators between past and present

Congolese and Mozambican Bantu-speakers ancestors connect the past with the present and the future. (Honwana 2002; Igreja 2003, 2008) In Bas-Congo during the opening of a *kinzonzi*[62] [community palaver], the chief spreads pieces of a cola nut on the ground and asks the ancestors to support the palaver[63]. The chief is a descendent of the first family that settled on the land; this lends him authority as chief of the community. Like healers or diviners he is often seen as mediator between the living and the dead. Only his ancestors give him the legitimacy to secure peace in "his" territory. The ancestor-based chiefly legitimacy is found throughout Mozambique, independent of descent system[64].

Field observations in Mozambique and DR Congo confirm Mbiti's (1995:87) presentation of the sub-Saharan African notion of time as an endless past, a present and a very short future: "Time has to be experienced in order to make sense or to become real" (1995:90). Mbiti argues that Africans conceptualize time as moving backward from the present to the past. In how far westernized and urban Mozambicans share such a view is debatable. The 'Westernized'[65] tendency emphasizes the present and future and makes people forget their rooting in the past. But, only a minority of Mozambicans share the westernized understanding of time. Observed health practices and conflict resolution, as well as the literature on Mozambican Bantu speakers (Honwana 2002; Igreja 2003, 2008) show that the past has extraordinary relevance to the present. Many people define their present in relation to past events, and to all kinds of spirits—not only ancestors—active in the present due to events in the past.[66]

Mediators between the visible and the invisible, earth and sky

The Makhuwa historian Adelino Ivala explains that ancestors mediate between the visible and invisible worlds. Several healers in Nampula (inland and on the coast) argued that ancestors mediate

between the living and *muluku* [the creator God]. Also, according to Brandström (1990), the Sukuma ancestors of Tanzania and Northern Mozambique are not only the mediators between the past and present, but also between the visible and invisible. This type of ancestor mediation is embodied in cleansing treatments required in Mozambique, e.g. after warfare.[67] The ritual treatments, which involve trance-possession by ancestors, who communicate with the living through a medium, are generally carried out by a healer –woman or man– as mediator.[68] Ancestors have the power to unite living kin by providing a sense of continuity between past and present. This power of unification is evident in the *mhamba* [offering in South/centre]. This 'ritual of unification' is addressed to the ancestors.[69] Similar to the *mhamba* is the *esaakha* [in an Makhuwa context in the North] [70]. The *esaakha* is a kind of thanksgiving offering addressed to the ancestors, - performed annually by healers.

C. The omnipresence of ancestors

Ancestors see and hear everything

Healers explain that ancestors left behavioral rules enabling the living to "live better"; these rules are understood as "prohibitions"[71] (taboos). All studied cultures have taboos concerning food, sex, and contact with blood and death, all of which are "hot" issues.[72] These taboos involve thermo-sexual frames: I discuss in Chapter Tree their framings as ways to deal with them. When the living ignore prohibitions, the ancestors sanction them; according to healers, ancestors are a day-to-day concern of the living. However, ancestors' actions can be positive and protective, as a healer Mozambique and DR Congo, just like in South Africa explains: "If you do what you should do, then they will do good too" (Wreford 2008:51). Sanctions imposed by ancestors involve everyday life, according to Bond (2001:137). Middleton (1960) described the ancestors' sanctions as highly effective. Brain (1973:131) explains that: "the ancestors are believed to be aware not only of the actions but also of the thoughts of their living descendents". Among the Makhuwa of Mozambique, ancestors hear and see everything. While the omnipresence of ancestors is a strong framing, their omniscience is sometimes questioned, e.g. concerning HIV/AIDS; healers in Mozambique argue that ancestors don't know this disease.

In Maputo, people living with HIV know a number of rituals for mending taboo transgressions that both avoided risk of biological contamination and remained 'traditionally' valid. At first glance, it may appear that urbanized people have more ambivalent feelings towards ancestors than rural people. On the 'ideological' level, ancestor-related rituals may be seen as primitive or backward; some churches reject them entirely, considering ancestors to compete with a singular God. Another factor is geographic. Urbanized people often live far from the countryside, where the family is centered, where some of the eldest lineage members may still live, and where the required ancestral ceremonies must be performed. Often, urbanized people declare they do not 'believe' in the power of ancestors. However, when misfortune or disease occur, and when biomedicine fail, many affected people consult diviners or healers and turn to ancestors too. They hope that conducting the required rituals will help or they perform them under pressure from clan members who fear "spiritual" revenge.[73] Some people

in Mozambique return to ancestral ceremonies even after having neglected them for a long time, often in the case of AIDS, or other chronic diseases, such as tuberculosis. Ancestor-related rituals bring the family together and provide support for the person in need of help.[74] Ideas about ancestral prohibitions (taboos) are highly internalized, an issue I discuss in Chapter Three. In Chapter Five, I deal with ancestor-related beliefs in the context of education during female initiation rites.

Omnipresence of ancestors in other sub-Saharan cultures

The omnipresence of the ancestors is reported in many sub-Saharan cultures[75], e.g., among the Tallensi (Fortes 1965, 1976) and the Asante (Akyeampong 1999). Ngubane (1977:51) observes that among the patrilineal Zulu, the patrilineal ancestor [*mumunzane*] can sanction the living, but matrilineal ancestors have no such power. Maternal ancestors, however, are assumed to cause illness in case of taboo transgression.[76] This is the case among other patrilineal cultures—such as the Tsonga in Mozambique, and the Bhaca and the Mpondo of southern Africa—which perceive illness as due to the lack of respect of ancestral rules, such as failing to provide dowry (Ngubane 1977:70-73). Hammond-Tooke (1985) in South Africa and Colson in Zambia (2006) observe that ancestor rituals are often practiced in cases of illness and misfortune, similar to what I observed among Mozambican Bantu speakers. Kuckertz (1983-84:11) argues that the primary aim of ancestor cult among the Mpondo is to restore the health of the sick person.[77] The unity of the family is of secondary importance. In contrast, among Mozambican Bantu speakers, physical illness has the potential to disturb the wellbeing of the whole group through spiritual transmission. Jacobson-Widding (1990) reports that the legal concept of personhood is related to ancestors among all the ethnic groups in lower Congo, similar to what Matangila (2000) describes for the Mbala and Devisch (1993) describes for the Yaka – both in South-West DRC. Devisch (pers. comm.) emphasized that the ancestors constitute a structural memory, through the behavioral rules, which they represent. They are not understood as ancestors in the historical, personal sense. Mahumana (2013:121) shows that in South Mozambique people often do not know the names of their ancestors exactly, but re-create them. All over sub-Saharan Africa, ancestors tend to certain omnipresence and are particularly involved in fertility of humans, animals and the land,[78] as they are among all the studied Bantu speakers.[79] The relationship between ancestors and fertility applies, according to Jacobson-Widding (1990a: 31), equally to patrilineal and matrilineal cultures in the agricultural regions of sub-Saharan Africa. These relationships are expressed through several 'frames' linking space, colors, and the balance of 'cold' and 'hot' (see Chapter Three). Ancestors' omnipresence touches the modern economy. In a recent study about the Luo in Western Kenya, Shipton (2009) shows that in a region strongly influenced by economic 'development', the mortgaging of land amounts to mortgaging the ancestors. Although ancestors' predominance is questioned by religions like Christianity or Islam, the people hold on to ancestors' relevance, even if it is, to varying degrees, weakened in such religious frameworks. However, Knox (2008) shows for South Africa and other African countries the resilient relevance of ancestors concerning AIDS, even in African Christian contexts.

D. Ancestors and Christianity

Ancestors have been interpreted as gods by Europeans since the colonial period; this misunderstanding is perpetuated by many of the diverse Christian churches in sub-Saharan Africa. Several authors confuse ancestors with divinity. The famous Evangelical missionary Henri-Alexandre Junod (1912), whose studies of the Tsonga of South Mozambique were the basis for the first Mozambican ethnography, used the term "*Xikwembu*" for "God" when translating the Bible into Tsonga (Xichangana/Xirhonga). However, the plural of this term, *svikwembu*, is always used for 'breath/spirit', which is connoted with malign 'spirits' and partly with ancestors in South and Central Mozambique. In this section, I show that ancestors are not conceived as gods and are not worshiped as such by Mozambican Bantu speakers. I show why ancestor-related rituals, from the local perspective, generally do not compete with religions such as Christianity or Islam, and that Mozambicans and Congolese often syncretize ancestral practices and monotheist religions.

The translation of '*Xikwembu*' as God

Translations of Bantu terms into European languages have produced a number of misunderstandings, as noted by Geffray (1990) in his discussion of kinship among the Emakhwua-speakers. Junod ([1912] 1996), for example, claimed that the ancestors of the Xichangana-/Xirhonga-speaking Tsonga of South Mozambique were gods.[80] Junod (1996:318-385) used the singular *Xikwembu* as the translation of "God"; the plural form, *svikwembu* is a term used in Tsonga languages for all kinds of spiritual beings: protective ancestors and other kinds of 'spirits' of the dead. Now *svikwembu* is used for any kinds of spiritual beings (of the sea, mountains, caves, etc.). In the Tonga context of the South, it is unclear if there was a term like in Emakhuwa (*muluku*) to address the entity who is presumed to have created the universe. *Svikwembu*, refers to all invisible beings as "spirits". As an Evangelical missionary and Bible translator, Junod (1996:318/330) argued that in the Tsonga culture, upon death, humans are believed to become "gods" (*svikwembu*). Junod (1927:337) relates *xikwembu* to the term *vukwembu,* meaning "the thing that creates life and provokes death, brings wealth and poverty." Ancestors' "spirits" are considered to have major influences on fertility and wealth. As those who first occupied the land, ancestors legitimate land use. They left behind rules of behavior that the living should respect. Junod shows in his ethnography that the Tsonga differentiate between a Supreme Being [*xikwembu*], whom as he states, the Tsonga locate in the sky, and their ancestors on earth (1996:331). Junod (1996:385) argues that the transcendent Tsonga *xikwembu* is not the product of Christianity, but rather, according to his eldest informants, originated among Bantu speakers themselves. Junod states that Tsonga people following a personal "*xikwembu*" would rarely return to their ancestral "naturalist" conceptions after adopting Christianity, an argument that is brimming with Junod's wishful thinking, which my observations don't confirm.

Home and family spirits

Traditional authorities and healers from five different Bantu linguistic groups in Central and North Mozambique recognize differences between God and ancestors (living-dead); they also linguistically

distinguish ancestral spirits[81] from other kinds of spiritual beings, including "bad spirits"[82]. 'Bad' spirits are those deceased that did not receive a proper burial, were not buried at all (as in warfare, flood, fire), or were not buried at their birthplaces (where their "umbilical cord is buried") because they died while travelling, during war or migration. This hinders the spirit of the dead from "resting"; it will become a wandering spirit, which becomes troublesome and may persecute the living for several generations, seeking revenge for their "bad" death. "Bad spirits" are often considered to be "foreign"[83] - meaning that they are not considered clan members any longer. While God is the creator of all, and thus omnipresent ancestors and "foreign" or "bad" spirits are also omnipresent in nature: in the earth, forests, trees, mountains, caves, rivers, the lakes (sweet water) and the sea (salt water).

Specific terms for God

Junod cites Torrend (1891:68)[84] who, at the end of the 19th century, identified terms for a supreme being in 15 different Bantu languages in East Africa.[85] A common definition for God among the studied Bantu speakers in Central and North Mozambique is "a creator of all." The Makhuwa people refer to *Muluku* (God) as the creator of all during a *makeya* [ancestors invocation] and communication rituals addressed to their ancestors.[86] The Cisena call God *Mulungu*[87]; the Cishona term is *Mwari* (Lafon, 1995). Both the Sena and the Shona people call their ancestors *midzimu*[88]. This demonstrates that in most of the Mozambican Bantu languages spoken in Central and North Mozambique, there are clear linguistic distinctions between God and the ancestors.

Ancestors are seen as similar to human beings, rather than as gods; after death, ancestors retain characteristics similar to those they displayed during life. Ancestors are part of the social world of humans. Ancestors (as living-dead) enter into reciprocal relationships with the living (as long as they are recalled through invocations), just as the livings (should) maintain reciprocal relations among themselves; this is true for all studied Bantu-speaking cultures. Several (but not all) healers and traditional authorities involved in our studies are, besides practicing their ancestral tradition, also members of Christian or Islamic religious groups and believe in a unique supreme God. Those who are involved in monotheist religions, e.g., Makhuwa people but also some southern Mozambicans, argue that ancestors mediate between the living and the monotheist God. This corresponds with Colson's observations (2006) among Tsonga speakers in Zambia.

Invocation of God and the ancestors

Makhuwa people in the North consider *Muluku* to be the entity, who created the universe and invoke him first in ancestral rituals. During the *makeya* communication with the ancestors in several districts of Nampula Province and among all observed Makhuwa in other provinces, *Muluku* is usually addressed at the very beginning of the ritual. During a 1999 visit to Erati Mountain to communicate with the ancestral spirit of Komola (a great Makhuwa warrior chief who fought against colonial occupation and for independence and is now buried on the mountain), the brother of the current chief Muhula started by calling on God[89]: "*Muluku*, Lord of all. I begin by invoking your name, You, the creator of all. I speak for Chief Muhula, who is sick and cannot come..."[90]

During this visit to Erati Mountain, a *piyamwene* [most respected woman] (matrilineal context) offered flour to the ancestors during a *makeya* ritual. The *piyamwene* informed the eldest and most important ancestors [*minepa makhalelo*][91] of our visit. She started with the following words: "*Muluku*! We call you because you created us and you are strong. We were born as the people of this land. We are all born from God [*Muluku*].[92] Today we come with the people we are presenting to you. Komola, forgive us...."[93] After this invocation of God, the ancestors were informed of the reason for the visit.

Emakhuwa healers consider *Muluku* to be the entity who created the universe, a creator being above all and located in the sky, far from the living. In contrast, the ancestors are buried in the earth near the living. Along the same lines as the Ulunguru informant Abraham quoted by Brain, I argue that the ancestors are not Junod's "gods", but rather "our predecessors, our elders" (Brain 1973:125). They are the entities who gave the living the behavioral rules that must be respected in order to live "well and be healthy." Similarly, Martinez (1989) argues that the Emakhuwa do not consider *minepa* [ancestors] to be gods; they are intermediary between the living and the supreme God *Muluku*. My findings in Mozambique and those of ethnographers like Devisch (1993, 1996, 2015) in DR Congo[94] correspond to Brain (1973), whose informants insisted that Bantu ancestors are 'our eldest.'[95]

Ancestors are not worshipped

South Mozambican research subjects[96] indicate that the appropriate terms for 'ancestors'[97] among Xichangana, Xirhonga and Xitshwa speakers (all Tsonga languages studied by Junod) are sv*ikwembu* (the plural of *xikwembu*, which is used for God since introduction of Christianity), or, more specifically, the *svikwembu xa la kaya*, [spirits of the house], and *tinguluve* [direct ancestors] of the Tsonga (Honwana 2002:55). Both terms mean protective and sanctioning ancestor spirits. In other Mozambican Bantu languages[98] there is less danger of confusing "God" and "ancestors" since those languages all have specific terms for God, distinct from terms used for ancestors and other types of spirits as I have described above. In the cosmological view of Mozambican Bantu speakers, ancestors are similar to the living. They exist nearby in the earth as "our roots". Ancestors cannot be confused with the supreme God, creator of all, who is in the sky far away from the living.

In his analysis of the relationships of ancestors with the living, J.L. Brain (1973) questions designating the ritual practices related to ancestors as "ancestor worship". Brain follows African author and informant Abraham, who formulated the issue in a way that matches the views of Mozambican Bantu speakers: "In what is called ancestor worship, ancestors are invoked to give succor to their family descendents. The basis of the respect is twofold, first that the ancestors are our predecessors, our elders, and for this reason alone command our respect; and second that in their spiritual state they note more than we can, being in unhindered touch with the essence of things…the rites of ancestor worship are not rites of worship but methods of communication." (Abraham 1966:63 [in Brain 1973:125]). In an Emakhuwa context, this is related to the omnipresent, and to a certain extent also omniscient, characteristic of ancestors, who are assumed to see, hear and know everything. The *minepa* [ancestors] are often described as intermediary entities between the living and *Muluku* [God, the creator of all].

However, the omnipresence of the *minepa* is not grounded in their contact with this creating principle; the latter idea corresponds more to the way Christian or Islamic religion tends meanwhile (in part) to include ancestors in the Christian cosmology. My findings show that the ancestral frame implies that ancestors know best, given their experience as those who lived before the living. A female Zulu healer from South Mozambique explains the cosmological context and how God and the dead are related to the duty to perform proper burial rituals: "All family members become *moya* [spirit in Xichangana] after death and can become *moya la kaya* ['spirit of the house' in Zulu], including the women who married into this family. A dead person will go to heaven and will be received by God. But God sends the dead person back in the shape of a spirit to the home where he belonged during life. This family takes charge of accomplishing all required rituals to integrate the dead as spirit, as *moya la kaya* [spirit of the house] of this clan."[99] This Zulu healer's statement shows how people who belong to a monotheist religion combine ancestral paradigms and responsibilities[100] with beliefs in a Supreme Being. In this syncretic approach, the Supreme Being "sends" the "spirit of the dead" "back" to the living (a central frame in ancestral approaches), demonstrating that among Zulu there seems to be no antagonism between the belief in God and the duty of the living to secure their ancestors' protection. However, as Matangila insists,[101] fault and offenses of all kinds are first related to a rupture with ancestral norms; there is no divine law or reference to God in lawmaking. "Ancestors command the experience of the fault" (2000:331); this applies to all the studied Bantu-speaking groups.

E. The ambivalent characteristics of ancestors and other spiritual brings

Relations with ancestors involve a dialectic that is both complementary and ambivalent (Fialho Feliciano's (1998) because ancestors both protect the living and sanction their behavior when they violate prohibitions (taboos)[102]. The rules established by ancestors are relevant to health-related behaviors and to developing effective approaches to HIV/AIDS. A Cindau-speaking healer from South-central Mozambique proposed a short prevention formula to be put on T-shirts: "Respect", meaning: "Respect the *svakuyila* [taboos/prohibitions] left for us by our ancestors".

Negative sanctioning by ancestors is also relevant to several kinds of conflicts. I observed rituals addressed to ancestors to aid the recovery of ill family members (Kotanyi 2003a), and a thanksgiving ceremony used to transform a conflict between cousins over community leadership.[103] The sanctioning functions of Bantu ancestors have been addressed by several authors[104]; Meyer Fortes (1965:133) speaks in this context of the 'jural' rule of ancestorhood. In the following I discuss the protective side of ancestorhood, and then its sanctioning function. The basic characteristics and roles of ancestors are similar in all the studied Mozambican Bantu-speaking societies, both patrilineal and matrilineal.

How the dead become protective ancestors

"Good" or "bad" death and burial ritual

All Mozambican Bantu-speaking societies have rules governing the transformation of a dead person into a protective ancestor. This transformation is not immediate; it takes some time for the deceased to achieve ancestorhood.[105] Becoming a protective ancestor depends first of all on the way a person died;

a good death is to die at home, without violence or due to a “bad” disease (such as measles). Good death requires proper burial (ideally at the same place where the umbilical cord was buried) with all necessary ceremonies. The mourning period must be respected by living clan members. Throughout Mozambique, violent death through accident, hanging, drowning, war or fire prevents the deceased from becoming a protective ‘house’ or a ‘family’ spirit; such deaths are “bad”. Most informants in Mozambique and DR Congo—with some exceptions in South Mozambique—agreed that someone who dies as a witch cannot become a protective ancestor. Becoming an ancestor depends not only on how a person dies, but also on the proper conduct of the death rituals. Most important are the three sets of ceremonies that occur seven days, one month, and six months or a year after death. In all studied cultures, multiple ritual stages allow the (hot) deceased to cool down and become an ancestor; however, the timing and procedures for each stage differ from one region to another.

Urbanization requires adaptation of the mourning and burial rituals which, according to informants, have become less complex than in rural areas. The rituals in cities take less time and involve fewer stages. Nevertheless, people from Maputo pay prolonged visits to their families in the countryside to attend ancestor-related rituals, especially the most important one, which occurs a year after death. Such rituals are also conducted among Western-educated Bantu-speaking urban people. Along with their participation in Christian religions, Maputo citizens follow ‘traditional’ (ancestral) practices, often without calling them religious acts. They describe them simply as “a necessity in our culture”, suggesting that funerary rituals are associated more with identity than with religious belief. The reluctance to discuss “traditional” practices is to some extent related to memories of the first post-independence years with prohibitions on many kinds of rituals and beliefs[106].
According to Dilger (2005) the increased number of AIDS deaths has led to the disappearance of some funerary rituals in neighboring Tanzania, especially in families comprised of orphans, since the rituals must be conducted by the eldest family member, who is considered to be closest to the ancestors. Indeed, burial rituals require the financial capacity to organize food for participants, which economically overextends poor families. But it would be hasty to conclude that the kinship support system is failing (see Colson 2006). The usual level of kin involvement may not be apparent at burial, but it often emerges later, for example when, in case of disease, family members wonder whether lack of a proper burial has provoked the spirits. Observations in several provinces in rural and urban Mozambique show that fear of spirits’ vengeance remains strong.[107] The failures of kin support systems can only be evaluated through long-term observation. As spiritual vengeance may occur after several generations, people who did not participate in rituals at ages 20 or 30 may do so when they reach their 40s or 50s (Honwana 2002, 2003; Igreja 2006, 2008, 2009; Bagnol 2006; Colson 2006).

Involvement in mourning and burial rites is perceived as a general show of respect, but is also an indicator of the importance people give to the transformation of the dead into protective ancestors. Ancestors still seem to be an important concern, even though ‘modern’ public discourse may not admit that rituals are motivated by ritual sense of responsibility toward the ancestors. Since the

colonial period—and the Christianity that accompanied it—especially in urban areas, people have been confronted with 'modernity' as defined from a Western point of view, characterized by skepticism and devaluation of many practices, including burial ritual, initiation rites and traditional healing. The post-colonial administration reinforced this attitude using socialist ideological arguments in the name of progress. In this stigmatizing context, people learned to keep "ritual" concerns private and out of the sphere of public discourse.[108] Privacy, however, does not mean a loss of importance or relevance; it just means protection of sensitive issues.

Ensuring that burial rituals are correctly performed is a common concern in many sub-Saharan African cultures, a concern that Mbiti (1995) attributes to the dangers of misfortunes and suffering posed by the 'living-dead.' According to Mbiti (1995:108), the idea that the dead can be transformed into protective ancestors through proper burial is widespread in Africa (see also Knox 2008). Similarly, fear of revenge by the spirits of those buried improperly is found throughout the regions. Mbiti (1995) makes the point that ancestors constitute a basic paradigm shared by most people of sub-Saharan African; which does not only apply to a particular linguistic group. The diffuse but very real fear of that a dead may become an unsettled vengeful spirit is strong throughout Mozambique, even in urbanized contexts, and explains the importance of cleansing rituals after death. The necessity of cleansing rituals increases when the death is a suicide, violent like in war[109], or otherwise deviant, e.g., due to flood, fire or "bad" diseases. Dying young due to disease is also perceived as violent.[110] These issues may interfere with HIV prevention, especially in South and Central Mozambique, as has been observed in Rwanda, East Congo DR and in several other countries in southern and East Africa.[111]

Witchcraft and verification rituals

Expressing a common concern among Bantu speakers throughout DR Congo and Mozambique, a Ndau healer observed that a diviner must determine whether witchcraft was involved in death. This issue is especially relevant in AIDS-related deaths, as AIDS is associated with witchcraft. Witchcraft is suspected in any premature or otherwise unexplainable 'deviant' death, which partially explains the extreme stigmatisation of AIDS victims in sub-Saharan Africa.[112]

Ritual verification of the 'cause' of death (addressing its cosmological or social "origin," not its material causation) is practiced in Mozambique, especially in rural areas, in DR Congo, and elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa. Such verification may involve community chiefs and various diviners. While the Western, Christian and rationalist or 'scientific' approaches consider such rituals to be backwards, these practices have very real social, psychological and spiritual functions. Such ritual verification enables people to deal with loss through death and to reweave the disturbed social bonds (Devisch 1993a). Death is rarely considered 'natural', except among the elderly.[113] The ritual search for the "real" through divination in which ancestors are involved in the oracle (Stroeken 2004a/b, 2010) is used to verify the "real" origin of death –e.g., to determine whether witchcraft was involved– as was reported in the Cishona-speaking area of Manica Province in Central Mozambique during the "DIALOGO" research (2006).[114] It is also widespread in Kwango, DRC. Witchcraft verification

involves complex rules of reciprocity. Devisch (1981, 1993a, 1996a) has described the role of reciprocity and compensation in several life-cycle rituals, including death ritual, among the bilineal Yaka of Southwestern Congo; in this context, reciprocity regulates relations between maternal and paternal lineages. Divinatory verification rituals after death have multiple functions and objectives.

Death, debt and compensation

In addition to verifying cause of death, family members must determine whether the deceased had any unfulfilled debts or obligations. Such debts can cause problems for family members. A diviner-healer [*nyamusoro*] can call the spirit of the deceased to determine what happened. The *nyamusoro* advises the family on how to pay the debts, in order to ensure that the deceased relative can become a protective 'house spirit'. If the matter is not solved, it may lead to deaths in the family. "Bride price" [*lovolo*] debts are a particular concern. *Lovolo* is compensation provided by the groom's family to that of the bride. Failure to provide *lovolo* may cause misfortune and health problems among the groom's family members, which may last several generations. These misfortunes, including childlessness of the couple (Kotanyi 2003a), are regarded as being caused by the ancestors of the bride's family. Even people living in cities respect the *lovolo* tradition out of fear of this sort of retribution (Bagnol 2006).

Unpredictable and unsettled 'bad' spirits

People in Mozambique presume that the spirits (ancestral or not) have long memories and may cause problems for the living for several generations. Causing the death of someone may provoke revenge by his spirit[115]. He may become an unsettled and persecuting 'bad' or 'foreign' spirit instead of an ancestor. Healers in all studied regions in Mozambique mentioned their involvement in cases of spiritual revenge. 'Foreign' spirits are those spirits of the dead, which did not die on the territory of their origins, and because of that disturb the living as unsettled 'foreign' spirits (like the spirits of foreign warriors, colonizers or of migrants). In South Mozambique, Marta in Inhambane district, Sabina in Gaza district, and Joice in Maputo province reported (Kotanyi 2003a) doing divination and healing using the help of *Vanguni* spirits, who are former Zulu warriors who died in their area more than 100 years ago. The healers are initiated in the 'cult' of these spirits (not venerating but recalling them, caring for them and receiving knowledge in exchange). Healers/diviners "working" with spirits are in general possessed by several kinds of spirits, e.g. Vanguni spirits assist with divination; Vandau spirits facilitate [*kufemba*] extraction of bad spirits.[116] Among Emakhuwa/Elomwe speakers, 'bad' or 'foreign' spirits [*maciini*] have other origins—some come from neighboring countries.[117]

Vengeful spirits may torment future generations, many years after the offense that provoked them, an observation made by Earthy (1934) over eighty years ago that remains relevant today. *Svikwembu* ['spirits' in Xirhonga] appear in divinations and dreams claiming compensation for all kinds of taboo violations, sometimes committed by long-dead family members. These claims of compensation by unsettled spirits are embedded in rules of reciprocity and are similar to claims regarding bride price [*lovolo*][118]. For example, a *nyamusoro* master healer requires both ritual and material compensation for his work with a novice. Narciso Mahumana, an academic linguist, initiated healer, and coordinator of

PROMETRA (Organization supporting traditional healing in Mozambique) invited me to participate in a *lovolo* ceremony[119] of a novice healer who had died recently in Maputo. This healer woman died before properly compensating the master healer who instructed her. Her family so strongly feared future 'spiritual' revenge of the master (when he died) that they performed the necessary compensation ritual despite her death, respecting the will of their dead family member (the former healer novice)[120]. They gave the master and his clan all that the recently deceased novice had prepared in order to compensate him for her initiation. This example demonstrates the power and fear of spirits in situations involving compensation and reciprocity,—in 21st-century urban contexts, such as Maputo.

In addition to cases of *lovolo* of healers or failure to compensate master healers, unsettled spirits[121] may appear following premature death, such as through murder or witchcraft[122]. The person who caused the death, or his clan, must make compensation, often in the form of 'spiritual marriage' to the spirit representing the offended family. In patrilineal South and Central Mozambique, a daughter, or more often a granddaughter, of the family of the offender 'marries' the vengeful spirit in a ritual that combines initiation and marriage. The woman becomes a healer or/and diviner, able to mediate between the living and spiritual beings. She will never be able to marry a living man.[123] In summary, throughout Mozambique, and in common with other Bantu-speaking societies in sub-Saharan Africa[124], a good death is required: 'bad' spirits appear because of a 'bad' death.[125] They may provoke diseases or misfortune and manifest through possession of healers, or appear during divination.

Every Bantu language has its own types and terms for 'bad' or 'foreign' spirits. Several authors have described the phenomenon for Mozambique.[126] In North Mozambique, among Makhuwa people, the generic term for these 'bad' or 'foreign' spirits is *maciini*,[127] the dead who did not become *minepa* [ancestors]; they haunt the living seeking revenge or compensation.[128]/[129] 'Bad' or 'foreign' spirits are unpredictable and difficult to influence. However, *maciini*, like other kinds of 'bad'/'foreign' spirits, may be helpful to healers or diviners; this is part of their highly ambivalent character. If a person becomes initiated in the 'cult'[130] of such spirits, they will assist in healing and/or divination. In return, the healers invoke, become possessed by, and remember the spirits. When new invocations, offerings and eventually cleansing rituals are made, the ancestral spirits resume their protection.[131] Unsettled 'foreign' spirits behave differently; their claims upon the living are unpredictable and it is difficult to appease them. Such spirits may be "domesticated" (Ganjo 2007), but this requires the affected person to become initiated in the "cult" of the foreign spirit.[132] Honwana (2002, 2003) reports that spirits of all kinds remain active in South and Central Mozambique, having arisen in late 19th-century warfare. At the time of Igreja's research in the 1990s (2003, 2006, 2009), after the civil war between FRELIMO (the ruling former Marxist-Leninist party) and RENAMO (the opposition movement), *gamba* spirits of dead Zimbabweans[133] appeared in Manica and Gorongosa (Central Mozambique). Igreja describes the fluidity of this spiritual world, which adapts to the realities of the living, creating new types of spirits as needed in order to treat suffering due to war. I observed in South and North

Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003a) how possession through spiritual beings and healing through possession enables people to deal with a range of traumatic emotional, personal, social or/and historical issues.

Who can become an ancestor?

The eldest as ancestors

The question of who can become an ancestor provoked complex discussions among healers, traditional authorities and elders in Mozambique. Some informants felt that every deceased person in the family could become an ancestor; others disagreed. Informants from all the studied cultures tended to agree that that only an adult can become an ancestor. To be an adult, a person must have married, had a child, or been initiated (in Central and North Mozambique); in all studied contexts, children do not become ancestors, as they had not yet become persons as complete social beings.[134]

Women and children as ancestors

A Changana (patrilineal) chief explains: "Grandparents from generation to generation become *tinguluve* [direct ancestors]. These are the adult fathers and sons, but may also be women. Individuals, men or women, who died early, before they could take responsible roles as adults, cannot become *tinguluve*. Unmarried people remain children. Also, a married woman will never become a *tinguluve* in her family of origin; she can become an ancestor in her husband's family, [the family that] paid her *lovolo* ['bride price']. Even after living or working in a family for a long time, an [unrelated] person will never become a *tinguluve* in this family, especially not if [he or she] dies unsatisfied."[135]

Kinship and descent system determine whether a woman may become a protective ancestor. In South Mozambique, a woman whose *lovolo* was properly 'paid' by her husband's family will be respected by her affinal kin and integrated in their kin group, to which she may become an ancestor. Neither women nor men can become ancestors without having had at least one child.[136] Fertility is a basic issue: in Mozambique and DR Congo, conceiving and giving birth, having at least one child—though several are preferred—gives meaning to one's life. Continuity and giving life are central concerns, even in urban areas. While urbanized people are not generally preoccupied with becoming ancestors, the basic ancestor paradigm is still relevant, even among those with Christian beliefs.

Ancestorhood, conception, birth, and care-giving

Ideas about who can become an ancestor are relevant in the context of HIV/AIDS prevention. Becoming an ancestor depends upon having children, and influences, among other things, the decision to use condoms (the latter issue, however, has much to do with the general laxity in this regard). Biomedically oriented HIV-prevention campaigns recommend condoms to avoid HIV infection. This recommendation presents people with a serious dilemma. A person is considered to be a child, not a responsible adult, unless he or she has children. Without children, a person has failed to fulfill the fundamental purpose of human life, which is to procreate. A childless person has no expectation of remembrance by future generations and will not be invoked as a protective ancestral spirit. Kin group members may quickly forget such a person.

The many healing rituals dealing with fertility in all the studied Bantu cultures attest to the centrality of life-transmission as a cultural value. Devisch (1993) found that among the bilineal Yaka, whose practices are similar to those of Bantu speakers in Mozambique and South Africa, transmitting life was part of the definition of personhood. HIV counselors in Mozambique and in Kinshasa encounter young women who want to have a child before agreeing to an HIV test. Even women who have been informed that they are HIV-positive want to have a child before they will consider any form of prevention that would hinder fertility. The importance of bearing children overrides the fear of HIV transmission and prevents the use of HIV prophylaxis, such as condoms.

The obligations of the living towards the ancestors

Annual ceremonies of remembrance

Among Mozambican and Congolese Bantu speakers, the relationship between the living and ancestors is based on reciprocity. A Changana chief from South Mozambique lists the following obligations towards the *tinguluve* [ancestors]: "The first duty is to do all that they ask, annually or according to the tradition of each family, performing a ceremony, which includes offering of food and drinks. We have the obligation to remember them, by visiting their gravestones and cleaning them. Before performing a ceremony, it is necessary to consult a diviner to know how the ceremony should be performed." [137]

Diviners, healers and chiefs agree that the primary obligation is "respect of tradition". For Changana people in South Mozambique, this means that: "It is necessary to regularly perform a *mhamba* [offering] ritual in order to avoid sanctioning by *svikwembu xa la kaya* [house spirits] for failing to perform a ceremony. If the family usually makes the offering annually, [then the ceremony] should happen each year. […] Offerings should not first be done later, because the ancestors may sanction [the family] for that. The living should also clean the gravestones of the dead and, last but not least, inform the *svikuwembu xa la kaya* [house spirits] about life events. The living should inform their 'house spirits' when they plan to travel, so that they can be protected on their journey" (idem). According to a Ndau healer, informing ancestors about all family matters is an obligation; one has no choice: "It is a duty to consult the [ancestral] spirits for any event within the family, for instance about sharing an inheritance" (idem). If the rules of communication with the ancestors are not respected, subsequent misfortune or disease will be seen as the result.[138]

Ancestors and namesakes

Changana families have meetings called *mabandla* [palaver] to discuss matters concerning their ancestors, such as the correct name of a newborn child. A child is always a reincarnation of a deceased ancestor, and the name must identify that person. A female Zulu healer explains that problems can arise when giving the wrong name to a child.[139] Children with problems, such as crying a lot or frequently becoming ill, may be identified through divination or dreams as children who are 'special'. In some West African cultures, they are considered to be "ancestor children" or children "going-on-a-line"[140]. People may conclude that the wrong name was given, which must be corrected.

Angry ancestors withdraw their protection

A Changana healer explains: "Each of us has his own *nguluve* [ancestor], however another's *nguluve* can also help to protect you. When there are problems, it is always necessary to consult the healers. They will tell [you] whether there is an ancestor who feels neglected. [...] When only one [spirit] becomes angry, it can make the other ancestors angry as well [...] or it could be that the one angry ancestor is the most important one in your life. People say that when ancestors get angry, the *tinguluves* create problems for the whole family."[141] In that sense, although ancestors are by definition protective, they may also sanction the living in order to return them to the right path.

In 2006, the Mozambican Minister of Health[142] opened a small meeting on cooperation with traditional healers on HIV/AIDS issues with the following statement: "I do not believe, but I participate in all the ceremonies my mother asks me to."[143] The minister situated his statement in terms of respect for his eldest family members (mother) and referred the issue to the private sphere—a common way of dealing with issues in which an official position is in contradiction with private practices. Colson (reprint 1954:484) observes that among the matrilineal Tsonga in Zambia: "When the living stop remembering the *mizimu* [ancestors] and no longer call their name, these become nameless spirits wandering on the rampage, who now only work for evil and become like ghosts". The interdependence of the living and the ancestors parallels that between living people. Colson's (idem) observation agrees with Mozambican Bantu views that *mizimu* and the living members of a kinship are parts of a single whole, and the ties between them transcend the bounds of time and space.

Appeasing the anger of the ancestors

In case of misfortune or illness, the first thing to do is to establish through divination whether the ancestors are the cause. Healers feel that a physical disease cannot be treated successfully if ancestors withdraw their protection. Therefore, a ceremony must be conducted to appease them. A Ndau healer/diviner from Central Mozambique explains: "If the living do not respect the rules for ceremonies and [make] periodic offerings to the dead, the ancestors can cause problems. This happens because the dead want to continue occupying their place within the family. They want to see that the family recognizes that they are still with them." [144] The same Ndau healer explains the procedure: "When there are health problems, you arrange for a healer to remove the bad spirit. The spirit will speak through the possessed healer, who asks and the ancestor answers. Then you apologize. You will call the family members in South Africa, or in Beira, and tell them that there are problems at home and that everyone has to [come for] a ceremony [invoking the ancestors]. They will all come, while we arrange the money, the goat and everything that's required for the ceremony"(idem, DIALOGO 2006). This and similar statements, as along with participant observation show that a disturbed relationship with the ancestors can be repaired.[145] This may simply involve identifying the cause of the ancestors' anger, showing them proper respect through invocation, remembering them in a ceremony, and making offerings. These ceremonies necessarily involve the entire clan or family (i.e., all the descendants); a disturbed relationship with the ancestors cannot be repaired individually. In other

cases, divination may determine that a sick child requires an ancestor's name to recover. Or a cleansing ritual may be needed in order to reestablish good relations after transgressions of those taboos defined by ancestors.

Relations with 'bad' spirits

The living cannot influence 'bad' or 'foreign' spirits the same ways they can influence ancestors. "Ghosts" are often seen as "evil" (not protecting the living as ancestors do, but persecuting them by seeking revenge) and therefore most feared. 'Bad' spirits may be forgotten ancestors who have lost their protective powers; they become wandering spirits searching for revenge. Dangerous or mortal illnesses are usually associated with 'bad' spirits or with witchcraft; illnesses sent by ancestors as a warning or sanction, however, are not fatal. Green (1999) states that diseases with an ancestral origin cannot be treated[146] but my findings in Mozambique and DR Congo do not support this view. Once the relationship with ancestors is repaired through ritual or offering and when they are properly remembered and respected again, the illness may disappear. This indicates that the ancestors have reinstated their protection.[147]

In Bantu cultural logic, the spirit ["air"] is the most fundamental part of a human being; the physical body perishes, but the spirit survives and may be reborn in several people. If the spirit is well, the physical body is well too. Therefore, the "real" origins of physical weakening and diseases in a Bantu context are often regarded as "spiritual" issues, related to ancestors or "bad/foreign/nature" spirits, or by other living weakening the shade through witchcraft. When facing HIV/AIDS or other diseases and the likelihood of early death, people may hope that the illness can be treated through repair of relations with ancestors or other spirits or by neutralizing "witchcraft/sorcery attacks".[148] Ceremonies to mend relations involve the entire family and facilitate the social integration of the sick person, instead of provoking discrimination, stigma and isolation of the individual, as HIV-positive status often does.

F. Communication with the ancestors

The protection of ancestors depends very much on regular communication and invocation among Mozambican Bantu speakers. However, how this communication occurs and if and how the offerings to ancestors are made differs cross-culturally. Ancestors communicate with the living through dreams, while the living communicate with them through rituals, offering tobacco or alcohol in South/Central Mozambique, or flour [*makeya*][149] in Makhuwa/Lomwe contexts in the North. A more complex ritual [*mhamba*] of communication of living with ancestors in the South involves animals such as chickens or goats in addition to tobacco and alcohol. *Esaakha* [thanksgiving] ceremonies among the Makhuwa may include animal offerings. In addition, in South and Central Mozambique, healers use the *kufemba* techniques to extract spirits of all kinds in order to communicate with them; Mahumana (2013:144) qualifies *kufemba* as a "face-to-face" encounter with ancestors or other spirits that are jeopardizing their lives. *Kufemba* is used for the diagnosis of problems and also as a complex healing procedure, reaching beyond the basic ways of communicating with ancestors that I first describe below.

The main forms of communication

In South Mozambique two widespread, direct forms of communication with the ancestors are used, which show the relevance of two different framings of informing and expelling: *kuphalha* ["to inform ancestors"] and *kufemba* [extraction of "bad" spirits from those who are possessed, to obtain information in return, allowing if necessary the expulsion of malign 'spirits']. The seeking of information by ancestors, and the necessity of keeping them informed, implies their widely assumed omniscient characteristic. *Kuphalha* is a show of respect towards the ancestors; it involves a small offering, such as tobacco, beer or other drinks. There are special sites for the rituals, but these are not necessarily shrines. In the South, the most appropriate places are next to ritual trees [*npanze*] [150] shrines where healers have established their consulting places in a hut or in a house. A Xitshwa-speaking healer explained that *kuphalha*: "does not imply a response from the other side as with '*kufemba'*. Normally, it is the eldest brother of the family who kneels down with some twist of tobacco and traditional beer and describes to the ancestors the situation and his concerns. Before traveling, or before healing, one must inform the ancestors.[151] (See below about *kufemba* 'smelling', involving the healer's possession).

In Central Mozambique, communication with the ancestors means "to offer *ehsembe* to the spirits" in Cisena[152] and uses flour and two plates. Veronica A. S., a healer in Sofala, explains: "The flour is put on the plate while informing and questioning the ancestral spirits, who were brought back home one year after death. The plate is for showing respect. This ritual happens in the house. The husband calls his paternal and maternal ancestors." The ritual is conducted by elderly people. Cindau, Cisena, and Cishona-speaking healers use a ritual basket to communicate with the ancestors. The basic Sena ritual is, as described above, the *ehsembe* using a large leaf of a tree where the communicating person puts some earth. *Ehsembe* is also practiced for cleansing in case of taboo transgression.

In North Mozambique among the Makhuwa, the most direct form of communication with the *minepa* ancestors is the *makeya*, an offering of millet or sorghum flour [*ephepa*], combined with a request and information about the state of affairs in the family (see in Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b). They may be performed in a special hut built for the spirits or outdoors near a shrub or a tree. The *makeya* does not require a specific shrine since the *minepa* are assumed to be in every tree and shrub. Healer Horácio in the Muecate district of Nampula performs *makeya* during his annual thanksgiving [*esaakha*] ritual on bare soil and even on a small freshwater lake, where his maternal *minepa* reside (Kotanyi 2003b).

Makeya, ehsembe and *kuphalha* serve the same purpose of informing the ancestors about the conditions of the living. The communications may include requests for help, protection, etc. Although the media used to communicate with the ancestors differ from one Bantu-speaking society to the next, all have the same objectives and follow similar basic principles for communicating with the ancestors.[153] In DR Congo, communication with the ancestors takes place at beside a river. Yaka, Suku and Pendele in Congo offer cola nuts, sometimes with drinks, such as beer, raffia or palm wine.

Animal offerings

When problems cannot be solved through simple communication, an offering ritual can be performed when a diviner has determined that the anger of the ancestors requires appeasement or their protection has been withdrawn. Offering rituals are also performed to express gratitude to the ancestors, for example, for a good harvest or recovered health. These are *mhamba* ceremonies for the Changana in the South or *esaakha* ceremonies for Makhuwa healers in the Northern Nampula province. They are normally performed once a year in June (Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b).[154]

Animal offerings by Cisena, Cishona and Cindau speakers in Central Mozambique are performed in several situations: to make some request, to express thanks after a treatment, and for the qualification of a healer. The animal to be offered is determined through divination or in a dream. Chickens are usual, but it may be a goat or sometimes the spirit requests a pigeon, as especially people following the Zion Church would argue. But also Horácio, the Emakhuwa-speaking healer following 'ancestral' ways in the matrilineal North, sometimes used a pigeon in a ritual context. The offering does not include salt, which would not only provoke excess "heat," but also fix it, as healers argue in the cultures studied. In the South, the efficacy of the *mhamba* ritual requires the offered meat and beer to be shared by all participants (Kotanyi 2003a). While filming a *mhamba* ceremony for the treatment of a mentally ill woman in South Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003a), the whole film team had to share the offered chicken meal with participants to ensure the efficacy of the ritual. The spirit of a person, present at the ritual but not sharing the meal, might affect the ceremony's effectiveness. The participants stated that the ritual tightens the kinship bonds. A. Jacobson-Widding and W. Van Beek (1990b:30) explain the logic of animal sacrifices in Congo: "The killing of an animal for a sacrificial meal is considered to be an act of creation. The killing of an animal is a symbolic manifestation of the essential procreative power of man; while the eating of its meat seems to carry the 'creative' act a step further toward a social sharing. The peaceful order of social life is re-established by this sharing, which is combined with *structuration*." (1990b:30) The structuring at stake concerns the persons' relationship with each other (the social fabric) as well as the restoration of the balance for each person (in relation to ancestors "securing" peace and wellbeing). The *mhamba* or *esaakha* rituals include different types of offerings to ancestors framed in accord with the local ways. In North Mozambique, according to Constantino (researcher assistant initiated by his healer grandfather), the Emakhuwa offer in general only flour, not animals, to their ancestors. The *esaakha*[155] ritual sometimes involves an animal offered by Makhuwa healers in thanksgiving to the ancestors; however, the *makeya* invocation using sorghum flour is more common. Animal offerings are not the first choice of communication media, even among South and Central Mozambican Bantu speakers; animals are used when media such as *ehsembe* or *kuphalha* did not have the expected effect.

Maintaining the protection of the ancestors and reinforcing the sense of belonging

Informing, communicating, and making requests of the ancestors involves gestures of respect and remembrance, not veneration, since ancestors are not gods. Rather, they are part of the social network

of the living. Regular communication is required to ensure continuous protection for the entire family and to enable the spirits of the dead to become and remain protective ancestors. Junod (1996:331–348) provides a long list of situations among Tsonga (South Mozambique) that require communication with the ancestors and involve offerings: (1) individual and clan life cycle events, such as birth, initiation, marriage, and death; (2) community (family, clan or village), (3) reconciliation; and (4) national offering (for instance after a war, requesting blessing for the peace). Currently, life-cycle ceremonies are still practiced all over in Mozambique. Community ceremonies are practiced more in rural areas of North Mozambique, and less so in the South and Central regions. Throughout Mozambique special ancestral communication is necessary before or after a journey or migration; to ask or to thank for a prosperous harvest, good fishing or hunting; to ask ancestors for success in exams, to request a job or political position, or any other type of situation involving the attainment of wealth, health, wellbeing and success. Ancestors are especially involved with fertility (of all kinds), which they can block or support[156]. The communication with ancestors allows the re-creation and representation of the sense of belonging; each individual becomes a *munthu* [person in Cindau] – see Chapter Two – through its relations to the others (living, ancestors and other spirits) constituting its social world. Mahumana (2013:121) notes that the people may use different strategies to re-create their ancestors, whose real name they do not know. They require their support to recover health and wellbeing (of themselves or of other members of their family).[157]

Urban residents usually go home to their place of origin where their family resides, often outside the city, to communicate with their ancestors. In general the eldest man in the family conducts the invocation (see Kotanyi, 2003a). Even when a family member has been absent from such ceremonies for a long time—on migration or while receiving an education— he must assume this responsibility when he becomes the eldest. Refusing would expose him to accusations in case of misfortune or health problems among family members. His refusal would be interpreted as malevolence towards the family, framed as witchcraft. The social pressure from extended families to conduct ancestor-related rites may be quite strong (as illustrated in the statement of the health minister quoted above). Adherence to a monotheistic religion, atheism, or political ideologies, such as socialism, may conflict with this duty. But even people with a Western education and a good job in the city, who have been absent for 20 years and far removed from ancestral practices, may assume their ritual leadership roles when becoming the eldest. This is the case of one of my (Pentecostal) translators in Central Mozambique. My observation correspond to those of Colson (2006) in Zambia.

The power to invoke the ancestors

The ritual hierarchy in ancestor invocation rituals differs for patrilineal[158] and matrilineal societies. For the Makhuwa context, it depends on the type of communication. In a political, ritual or communal context, the *piyamwene* [most respected woman] along with an *mwene* [head of family or community] must establish communication (Geffray 1990). For a family matter, the *makeya* is led by the *mwene*, who requires the assistance of the *piyamwene* on whose land the family normally lives.[159]

Specific people is most appropriate for the type of communication required, lead the rites. In a patrilineal context, it is the paternal uncle who conducts the communication with ancestors (see Kotanyi 2003a); in a matrilineal context, in general, a woman conducts the *makeya*. However, I saw female healers conducting ancestral communication rituals in patrilineal contexts, just as I often saw male heads of family/community or healers conducting *makeya* rituals in matrilineal Makhwua worlds. An Makhuwa/Lomwe healer or chief will take care to, at least, have the necessary woman either on his side or performing first the ancestral invocation. Normally it is the *piyamwene* [the most respected woman of this community/clan] who, as the most appropriate person to communicate with ancestors, starts to conduct the *makeya*.[160] At the beginning of a research workshop in Central Mozambique in 2006, we asked healers and traditional authorities from three different provinces who spoke four different Bantu languages, who should conduct the ritual to inform the ancestors about our research and to ask for their protection. A long debate followed between the Cisena-, Cishona-, Elomwe-, and Emakhuwa-speaking participants. Finally, they agreed upon the 'queen' of Chimoio, who lived in the town where the workshop was held, since she represented the traditional owner of the land (i.e., the first family to occupy the area), where the workshop took place. The Chimoio 'queen' demanded several liters of wine, 10 kilos of rice and two chickens. She came with her female and male counselors and carried out the ceremony, sharing the offered wine with all the participants. Everyone was satisfied that the workshop fully enjoyed the protection of the ancestors. In Mozambique, the position of the "queen" of the whole territory of a province is an example of invented tradition (Mudimbe 1988). The word and the notion of "queen" are foreign to the pre-colonial "ancestral ways"; the term signalizes colonial (Portuguese) influences in the instauration of such a position. Ancestral structures did not involve "queens," which generally exist mostly in the cities, where they co-exist with the ruling "regulo" [community chief in Portuguese], who is officially recognized.[161] The tendency is, for a territory to have its own man and woman, *bapfumu* [heads of community], who are endowed with some power, as I discuss in Chapter Five. The *mpfumu* is supported in the matrilineal contexts by a *apiyamwene* [the most respected woman in Emakhuwa] who normally belongs to the first settled clan and conducts the ritual communications with ancestors for her own territory. The position of a "queen" for a whole province—a territorial structure defined by the colonial power and used by the post-colonial state—responded to the colonial state's need for the support of a mediating and central regional "traditional" authority which formerly did not exist.[162] The debates among the healers and chiefs participating in this workshop demonstrated that the neutral characteristic of such a "queen" of Chimoio allowed chiefs and healers from the most diverging territories and linguistic contexts (Cishona, Cindau, Cisena, Elomwe and Emakhwua speakers) to accept the "queen of Chimoio" as a neutral ritual authority who is appropriate to perform an invocation of ancestors that is valid for all. She performed the invocation in the "ancestral manner" that was usual for the region.

Our suggestion to conduct this ritual surprised the participants, who were unused to such signs of respect for "ancestral" practices, which are often considered backwards by people in official positions.

At the end of the workshop, the leader of the AMETRAMO Zambezia province group remarked that the encounter had occurred "in the framework of our culture" (in contrast to other HIV/AIDS seminars that are centered on just teaching, without seeking symmetric exchanges of knowledge).

Mediation with the ancestors

While in matrilineal societies such as that of the Makhuwa, the *apiyamwene* is responsible for communication with ancestors (Geffray 1990; Arnfred 2011; Arizcurinaga 2008); in patrilineal societies it is the eldest male. As the eldest, he is considered to be closest to the living dead and therefore in the best position to mediate with them. In matters concerning the entire community, the *mpfumu* [head of community/'chief'] fulfills this function. In Mozambique and in most regions of DR Congo, this chief is ideally a descendent of those who first settled the land.[163] The designation of a community 'chief' is easily influenced by outside forces, as it has been for at least a century. Many conflicts arise when colonial or post-independence political interests influence choice of community chief, as I observed between 1999 and 2001 in Nampula (Kotanyi 2003b).

Those who mediate between the living and the ancestors are also the most appropriate mediators among the living in health and legal issues. Mediators are key agents in local networks; cooperation with them by health educators helps to achieve educational goals in the community. Judges' cooperation with local mediators facilitates administration of justice in a locally appropriate manner according to *customary* rules, which may lead to improving conflict resolution (Chapter Six).

Community chiefs as mediators

Currently, throughout Mozambique, the *mpfumu* or *mwene* [head of community/'chief'] is or should be–according to a widespread "ancestral" frame–a descendent of the first Bantu clan that occupied the land.[164] When chiefs are chosen in accord with this local rule, his position is respected and valued by members of the community. Such chiefs also become eventually important mediators between community members and the district administration. Chiefs generally assume ritual roles in both patrilineal societies, in which power relations are structured vertically, and in matrilineal ones, such as the Makhuwa, Lomwe or Kongo of Bas-Congo, where they are structured more horizontally.[165]

In all Mozambican Bantu-speaking societies, community leaders draw their power primarily from their relationships with ancestors, who lend them their authority and legitimacy. Conflicts occur when a chief of a community is installed by district administrative means without the acceptance of the local population.[166] See a detailed discussion of the neo-traditional chieftaincies in Chapter Six.

Healers as mediators

Both male and female healers are key mediators with the ancestors, especially those possessed by ancestral spirits, as among the Makhuwa. True traditional healers generally inherit their powers or abilities from their own ancestors who were healers. Most of the interviewed healers and diviners reported that a dead member of their family had been a traditional practitioner. Among the Emakhuwa people, healing knowledge is assumed to be passed through the *minepa* [ancestors] or *maciini* [other spirits] (spiritually), usually through dreams and initiation. Even famous healers do not directly teach

their descendants, who rather have to pass through initiation "in the bush". In North Mozambique, a healer must discover his own means of healing himself, while in the South the person must undergo an initiation by a master healer (see Kotanyi 2003a).
Healers or 'diviners' who undergo possession have one or more spirit helpers, including both ancestors and other types of spiritual beings. In general, the traditional practitioners who are considered to be the strongest are diviners. Healers who only use plants (without spirit possession) are generally not involved in divination, though all practitioners have some knowledge of healing plants.

Traditional practitioners in healing (in all studied cultures) receive a "call from the spirits" (either ancestors or other 'spirits'), often in the form of an illness, or through first experiences of (uncontrolled) trance possession. The person has an "obligation" to follow this call, otherwise he or she will never recover. In South/Central Mozambique, several women living in cities told me that they had to abandon their professions (teacher, nurse, scientific technician) and became healer or 'diviner' in order to regain their health/wellbeing. These 'traditional' practitioners usually trained with master healers; their initiations lasted three to six months in Central Mozambique, and as long as three to five years in South Mozambique. Initiates become members of the healer's clan of their master, which is organized like a *bandla* [clan of healer] (Honwana 2002). Membership in the healer's *bandla* exists in parallel with membership in the healers own family. See in Mahumana 2013:127-149 differentiated descriptions of training in "*nyangahood*" [healerhood], in complex procedures leading to inclusion in a specific kinship structure that is related to the local traditional authorities. This provides a model and according to my observations, to a certain extent also a structure of control. A healer 'graduates' (in South Mozambique), when he or she is able to compensate the master healer appropriately for his teaching. Compensation is comparable to the *lovolo* ('bride price') associated with marriage and may include both money and goods. A healer or diviner may pass through several *twhasana* graduations.

Over several years, I collected narratives from more than 1000 traditional practitioners[167] from seven provinces in Mozambique. At the beginning of each focus-group interview, I always asked each participant how they had become healers. Healers and diviners consistently reported that they had obtain their healing power and knowledge either from an ancestor (who was also a healer or 'diviner') or from other kinds of spirits.[168] Lack of respect for these spiritual entities through regular communication (and offerings) could cause them to withdraw their support and their skills (a healer in the South told us that he lost his power as healer because he did not respect the basic rules[169]).

Healers' communication with ancestors and other types of spirits

Normal communication usually occurs through dreams or during verbal communication, which may be accompanied by small offerings for ancestors like by *kuphalha* in the South*, ehsembe* in Central Mozambique and *makeya* in the North. Besides the Emakhuwa/Elomwe flour offering (or tobacco or ritual beer in South and Central Mozambique) to ancestors, communication with so-called 'bad' or 'foreign' spirits generally involves possession of and treatment by a healer initiated in the dealing with

specific spirits (throughout Mozambique).[170] Among the Makhuwa, possession by ancestral spirits may occur while a healer conducts some ceremony, such as *esaakha* (see Kotanyi 2003b).

Healers and diviners may work with several spiritual entities. In the South, a (transgendered) diviner master [*nyamusoro*] works through spirit trance-possession by ancestors (*tinguluve* who are Vahlonga spirits) and by other spirits (Vandau, Vanguni, Valungu, Vabanyana, *svikwembu xa matharhi* – see Mahumana 2013:120). Healers work differently, according to the type of spirit from which he/she receives knowledge. An herbalist [*nyangarume*[171]] works basically with plants and receives the support of an ancestor (a former healer) for healing or divining, but he/she will not be involved with spirit possession. Practitioners' narratives show that the ancestral background legitimizes the work of all kinds of healers.

In South Mozambique, individual initiation through a master is normal; in the Makhuwa context in the North, healers possessed by *maciini* [foreign' spirits] are initiated in a larger group of novices led by a master.[172] In all studied cultures, initiation of healers and diviners is very much an embodied experience framed through regional usual habits.[173] After the initiation, which may involve much suffering, the 'bad'/'foreign' spirits help the practitioner to heal him- or herself and others. The initiation involves the person in a network of taboos (for the healer) and obligations towards the living-dead and other spirits. The initiated healer becomes members of the family of the healer master for the rest of his/her life and beyond. A healer's initiation is framed as a marriage with the involved spirit, who possesses the healer (Honwana 2002; Bagnol 2006). The relationship with spirits is based on reciprocity, as it is usual among the living, and between the living and the living-dead.

Communication with spirits and ancestors

Communication with ancestors and spirits may occur through either *kuphalha* or *kufemba*. Only the latter involves possession. In South Mozambique, in *kuphalha*, healers notify their ancestors and spirits before starting a healing sessions, and afterward to thank them for their help. In all studied groups in Mozambique, healers dedicate a specific room—or even construct special huts—to communication with "their" spirits (ancestral and otherwise). Communication with ancestors through trance possession involves the *kufemba* 'smelling out' exorcism technique in South and Central Mozambique. The healer becomes possessed by the spirit that s/he extracts from the patient's body through smelling. The healer uses a small switch made of the tail of an animal that s/he passes around the possessed person. The healer, who is sitting, starts to tremble: this is the start of the trance possession in which the spirit speaks through the healer. In the South, this type of divination is combined with treatment, and is often practiced by women. In this type of spirit trance-possession (which may or may not involve exorcism), performed in order to communicate with that spirit and perhaps expel one or more "bad" spirits, the healer works with Vandau spirits[174] (possibly combined with *kuhlahluva* [diagnoses] through 'divination' using *tinhlolo* [a set of objects, bones, cockles, coins, stones] based on the contribution of Vanguni spirits),[175] to both divine and treat the patient, often for many hours during the night (spirits appear better at night). The spirit embodied in the possessed

healer or diviner speaks and tells, in the practitioner's voice, what the spirit wants from the patient. The spirit reclaims compensation for mistakes or for a debt of an earlier generation. At the end, the healer stretches his or her legs and arms in order to come out of the trance-possession state. The possessed healer has neither memory of what happened nor of what was said.

Invocation of ancestors in DR Congo

Bantu cultures in sub-Saharan Africa share surprisingly similar means of communication with their ancestors and spirits. The words used in invocations near the Congo River (Michel 2006) are similar to those used throughout Mozambique. In 1999, I visited the graves of the Erati chiefs. At the foot of Erati Mountain, Julieta, a healer, invoked the spirits of the mountain and the ancestor Komola, asking for their permission to bring us with her. She "opened" the way for us with the following words:

> "Charifo Artur, I am Julieta Pinto Ntodjali. I am with my father Mahando Ntikia. Agostinho Nkalia is also here. We have here people who came from Nampula: they came to visit you. , Anaia, the *piyamwene* [the most respected woman] and the sub-chief Cabo Nakupula are here. We ask you to forgive us and to open the doors [for us], that *muluku* [God] and you open the doors for us without problems. They claim Mount Erati. I am with the *piyamwene*, with the brother of *mpew*e [chief] Komala, who also came to visit you today. The *mpewe* didn't come because the 'mother' [his wife] is sick. But I came with *piyamwene*; she came to ask you because of these people's visit. That is why we ask you to open the doors for us without problems and let us climb up and down safely."

Similarly, at the end of the film "River Congo" (Michel 2006), a healer introduces the filmmaker to the ancestors with following words:

> "Hello God. We have guests. They came from far away. They want to see the source of the Congo River. They came from far away, and I ask you [all ancestors] to accept their visit, You, the ancestors Kambane, Kindoro, Makushinwa! We accompany them, so that everything will go well. We thank you very much."

According to Janzen (1992), such similarities over great geographical distances are possible because of the broad swath of Bantu migrations through the centuries from West through Central and East and Southern Africa (Map 3). Many basic cultural paradigms were carried throughout sub-Saharan Africa, producing multiple variations on the same theme (Kagame 1976; Obenga 1989; Van Dijk et al. 2001).

G. Health problems and ancestors

Identification of the 'real' origin of the illness

All traditional practitioners in Mozambique and DR Congo insist that identifying the origin of an illness is necessary in order to determine the appropriate treatment. Identifying the 'real' cause—of health disorders, death, misfortune, or conflicts—is about making sense of the world (Herzlich and Augé 1984); knowing the origin is necessary for a treatment to be successful. Biomedically identified diseases are not recognized as the 'real' causes of affliction, which are considered to be social or spiritual in nature. The invisible world is perceived as much more relevant than the visible one in cases of ill health; the visible is assumed to depend upon the invisible. However, authors initiated as healers like Mahumana (2013) and Stroeken (2004) question the notion of invisibility; healers see the spirits in diagnostics/divination, and embody them through trance-possession, making them visible. In

the discussed Bantu context, the issue of the visible is most of all related to the definition of what is regarded as ‘real’. Corresponding to my observations of the practices in Mozambique and DR Congo, Stroeken (2004a/b) shows that, in the Sukuma[176] Bantu “traditional” context, dreams, spirit possessions and mediumistic divination or chicken oracles allow knowledge and experience of the “real.” “Sukuma divination means to favor in its purest possible form the ‘real’ dimension of practice, which is recognized in contingency or animated chance” (2004:32). Indeed, in the cultures that I describe, one may say that ancestors are regarded as the “seat of the real” (Stroeken 2004b). (See my discussion of the “real” in Chapter Three.) The “real” concerns the ethics and morals, which are grounded in the ancestors. In this sense, the Bantu socio-cultural notion of the ‘real’ differs significantly from that found in materialist scientific paradigms. This is related to the priority of making sense of death, misfortune, and disorders or illnesses of all kinds within the context of Bantu cosmology (life-worlds), which involves the living, the living-dead and other kinds of spirits.[177]
A second reason is the Bantu conception of what is dangerous, which also differs from the biomedical paradigm. In all studied societies, healers, diviners, initiation rites counselors and community chiefs agree that physical illness may be influenced by the invisible world of ancestors, spirits and witchcraft. The actions of spirits and witches may hinder treatment and recovery and may affect several generations. Resolution of conflicts involving the invisible is therefore considered a priority.

From the local perspective, divination[178] is considered the most appropriate way to identify the ‘real’ cause of social, spiritual and health problems (Devisch 1996a, 2000a, 2012; Berglund 1989). Dealing with the uncertainty of the intangible requires approaches, such as divination, which are unpredictable and uncertain themselves (Stroeken 2010). The Bitonga healer Elsa Elisa in South Mozambique explains: “Disease may come from the dissatisfaction of ancestors, from the action of spirits, from witchcraft, or may just be coming ‘like that’ or be sent by God” (Kotanyi 2003a). Divination (see Chapter Four) is seen as crucial to diagnosis; many sick people consult a diviner before using biomedical services, even in cities in Mozambique and DR Congo. HIV/AIDS symptoms resemble the physical signs of several socially and culturally defined disorders; it is therefore fundamental that diviners know about HIV/AIDS avoiding delays by testing, treatment and prevention. Biomedical workers often claim that people use biomedical services too late to do much good.

Family involvement in illness

A Xitshwa-speaking healer from the South explained that a disorder starting as the disease of one person can involve many, or even all family members. Treating the individual sufferer alone will not solve the problem. All the family members must participate in divination, and perform offering rituals when required. The continuing relevance of these practices is evident in the statement of a female Zulu healer in southern Mozambique, who describes the difficulties that ensue when a family member does not die or is not buried at home:

> “When a Zulu man dies in South Africa without being brought back home before dying, then diseases will show up at home [amongst his relatives]. Searching for the reason, you will understand that there is a person who died far from his home. Then you will seek ways to

> bring the deceased back home. As long as he is far away from home, the home will be too 'hot.' Only after the return of the deceased, will you see the hot spirit leave your house and cool air return. Things will go the way you want and the deceased will start to protect living family members."[179]

The negative effect of not dying at home is perceived the same way by many Bantu speakers in Mozambique and elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa. The dead who are improperly buried may become unsettled 'bad' spirits who torment the living. When about to die of HIV/AIDS, Mozambican migrants to South Africa take care to die "at home." This is the case in Gaza,[180] where HIV prevalence is among the highest in the region; Gaza also has the highest population of migrant workers in South Africa.

The social context of illness

Annoyed or angry ancestors cause both individual illness and disorders in the social body of the kin group (Ngubane 1977). If the disorder is caused by transgression of rules "left by the ancestors for the living,"[181] it may afflict several members of the kin group, not even necessarily the person who violated the taboo. For instance, a child may become ill instead of the parent who transgressed. The potential of health disorders to affect the family as a whole indicates that matters of health and well-being are perceived first and foremost as social issues. Ancestors desire a unified family and they bring misfortune and health problems in order to force family members to restore unity. A withdrawal of ancestral protection is assumed in cases of witchcraft attack, which express famil*y* tensions and thus may happen when there is a lack of family unity.

Kuckertz and Hammond-Tooke (1984) show for South Africa how an affliction may be perceived as punishment by the ancestors. I follow Devisch (pers. comm. 2010), who considers the ancestors' effects on their descendants to be sanctions, not "moral" punishment. In the Bantu-speaking ancestral cultural context, ancestors' sanctioning seems to occur in order to draw attention to the necessity of correcting improper behavior. Ancestral moral and ethical "supervision" is often interpreted in a Christian sense of "punishment" of "sin" (chapter three). Such an understanding may have significant relevance for HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment in South and Central Mozambique, since sanctions are associated with several types of improper behavior related to blood, sex and death. An Elomwe healer from North Mozambique explains how the symptoms and spread of epidemics such as AIDS are related to failure to respect ancestral traditions: "What brings the disease is the disrespect of tradition; many people say that such a high number of diseases prevail because we did not respect the ancestors. The girls, for instance, should not put salt in the food when they have their period. Or the boys should not go with girls [have sex] when girls have their period; this is connoted with hernia. The lack of respect for tradition on the part of girls and boys causes backaches for the parents. It may also happen that children get swollen bodies because of not living according to the traditional rules."[182]/[183]

Health disorders due to lack of respect for ancestors are not fatal

Chronic diseases, such as AIDS, that have treatments but not cures, are attributed to social and cultural disorders. A Cishona-speaking healer, who combines ancestral notions of taboo transgression and Christian ideas of punishment, explains:

> "Related to AIDS, when people are not listening to the *midzimu* [ancestor's rules], the ancestors cause diseases but they won't kill. It is only to punish. The protective ancestors bring *mukondombera* [a Cishona term for AIDS as a never-ending disease[184]]. They can bring illness and even death in the absence of proper treatment or when [the problem is] not discovered early enough, before damaging the person."[185] The *tateguru* [male ancestors] are responsible for protecting the family. An AIDS diagnosis means that the *tateguru* are not protecting any more. In this sense, an ancestor's action may allow AIDS to infect the family." (Idem)[186]

The association of the transmission of HIV through sexual intercourse reinforces the assumption that failure to respect ancestral rules concerning sexual intercourse may have provoked the disease. Offending the ancestors or taboo violations can be repaired through cleansing rituals, which differ significantly from Christian notions of sin and punishment. The switch between two states (sensory[187] and emotional) endures and allows dealing with ambiguities. Healers can name such states (through divination), which may lead some clients consulting healers to reject the Christian dualistic reading.

H. Christianity, Islam, syncretism and ancestral paradigms

Religiosity involves much syncretism in Christianity or in Islamic influences; people in Mozambique are influenced by several types of churches. Portuguese colonialism brought the Catholic Church, which has significant influence in Central and North Mozambique, while many Pentecostal, Zion, Evangelical and Independent churches or prophetic movements are meanwhile spread throughout the country. The same applies for DR Congo, where the Kimbanguist Church (arisen in Congo) combines "endogenous" cultural framings adjusted to a Christianity combined with some of the ancestral frames. Followers of these 'new' religions find support in times of misfortune and help amidst poverty, increasing inequalities, HIV/AIDS[188], warfare and economic crises, just as in DR Congo.[189] In Christianity or Islam, people find a social and spiritual framework that is positively connoted.

The relation of Christianity to ancestrality

Christian missionaries have a long history of trying to destroy traditional values by demonizing ancestors in sub-Saharan Africa[190]. Van Reybrouck (2010) described the violence of the colonization and Christianization of Congo; Portuguese Colonial power might not have been as violent as some periods of Belgium colonialism but the colonial situation in Mozambique was similar. A differentiated discussion of the complex effects of Christianity on Bantu cultures exceeds the scope of this study. The generalizing approach to Christianity used here does not differentiate among the many Christian churches and denominations that have changed the religious map of Africa, and I don't explore the significant attractions of Christianity for its sub-Saharan adherents either. I do note, however, that Christianity has a complex history with African ancestors, which has involved participation, toleration and rejection.

Several African churches have meanwhile integrated endogenous values to some extent. E.g. after losing Catholics in Africa to other forms of Christianity, the Catholic Church under Pope John Paul II moderated the Church position on ancestors (see Knox 2008). However, Catholic, Protestant, and Evangelical Churches and their regional variants (e.g., Zion, Kimbanguist) have had major effects on

ancestral practices, which I will partly discuss across this study. The Pentecostal movement, which has attracted many followers in both Mozambique and DR Congo, ostensibly prohibits participation in ancestral celebrations. However, followers do not always adhere to such prohibitions in Mozambique, where ancestral invocation and cleansing rituals are resilient practices, often returned to in cases of illness or misfortune. For many Mozambican and Congolese, the ancestors are those spirits closest to the living; they actively influence health and well-being, effect (mis)fortune, and structure the people's notion of belonging, which involves several worlds in a combination full of multiplicity. The latter imply that most people involve the ancestors in their daily lives.

Ancestors and Islam in a syncretism in North Mozambique

I will briefly discuss the influences of Islam and Christianity in their ways of dealing with "ancestral" paradigms. In the northern province of Nampula, ancestral Bantu values and practices are combined with Islamic values. An expression of such combination is the way the color white is used: in Christianity it stands for purity (a color also used for Islamic burial), for Mozambican and Congolese it is also reference for the ancestors.[191] However, the healing performance of the Islamized Makhuwa healer in Nampula City[192] that I describe in Chapter Three, or the way the healer Salimo (at the coast of Nampula) combines Islam and ancestral frames demonstrate clearly syncretism between Islam and matrilineal Makhuwa paradigms (see Kotanyi 2003a). Living in Nacala Porto, the second largest city of Nampula province, Salimo worked in an office at the harbor and for many years he was the coordinator of the AMETRAMO healers' organization. Salimo travels regularly to the place of his birth, which he calls 'the place of my origins', to perform a *makeya* [ancestral invocation] involving his ancestors in his ritual celebration of his spirits. The spirits possess him, making him suffer for a long time; since his initiation as a healer, they also empower and help him to heal. The celebration is accompanied by a group of women and musicians with three drums. Salimo opens the session with three songs and three dances performed with the women. He is dressed in a long white cloth with a red belt. The women also wear long white clothes with red belts. After the three songs have been sung along with the drums, Salimo enters a trance: he follows ancestral ways involving possession through *maciini* [unsettled spirits] and throws away his long white cloth (staying for his belonging to Islam). Underneath, he is dressed all in black, in short pants and a white belt. He wears several red, white and yellow pearl necklaces, a red cloth on his head, and a red piece of cloth wrapped around his right arm (illustrating his clear belonging to his ancestral context). Using the three colors of greatest significance to Bantu speakers[193], he wears the traditional Emakhuwa speaker's three colors used by possession by *maciini* [spirits]. Salimo performs several dances in trance; in between he is possessed by a Portuguese man (belonging to the former colonial power) who smokes (which the Islamized Salimo never does). After an emotionally loaded embodied performance, he enters the hut which he has built to invoke his ancestors [*minepa*], and his 'foreign' spirits [*maciini*]). Starting an ancestral invocation, he drops sorghum flour on the floor, offering it to his ancestors and speaking to them. He starts with the invocation of *Muluku* [God], whom he calls Allah. Behind him is a woman dressed in a black dress, a

red belt and a red head covering; she is one of the women who accompanied him during his first three 'Islamic' songs during which they were dressed in white.

The shift from full white to black and red clothes demonstrates how the islamized Salimo, and the women accompanying him, combines the Islam with their ancestral practices as Makhuwa healer. Naming *Muluku* as *Allah*, he integrates in syncretism some elements of Islam with the rites dedicated to his ancestors and to the *maciini* [foreign spirits], keeping them connected with the culture of their "origins." From a monotheist point of view, this combination would be unbearable. But this practice is as common in Nampula province as it is in most Islamized parts of North Mozambique.[194] Salimo is not an exception: at the healers' meeting that Salimo organized in 2000, there were 87 healers from several surrounding communities, from more than fifteen groups of healers and patients, all combining the colors black, red and white in their clothes. Each *maciini* [foreign spirit] had its own combination of white, red and black; thus the members of the same group wear the same dress. Each group was organized around an initiated teacher, female or male.[195] Such spiritual-healing group, build what scholars call "cults"; however the *maciini* [spirits] are not worshipped, but rather are either making people suffer, or can be "used" as agents who facilitate healing and the restoration of well-being.[196]

Syncretic Christianism

The possibility to combine religious engagement with local cultural frames diverges from each other depending on the rigidity or tolerance of the respective church. Zion churches (whose membership is up to more than 50% in South Mozambique) permit combining some "traditional" (ancestral) frames, as does the Kimbanguist Church in DR Congo or do the Zionist Churches in Mozambique. In contrast, Pentecostal churches make such syncretism quite difficult. However, I observed that even members of Pentecostal churches (which prohibit most 'ancestral' practices) do not necessarily discard ancestral paradigms; they argue that respecting ancestors is part of their own culture and necessary to secure fertility, health and wellbeing. For instance, young female HIV/AIDS activists belonging to a Pentecostal church explained to me: "there is no way to secure good health without the maintenance of the ancestors' protection." Such protection is secured by performing regular ancestral invocations and people continue to perform it without informing the church, saying: "The pastor does not need to know." Others closely follow Pentecostal prohibitions, provoking painful conflicts with their own families. In Kinshasa, Maputo, in Manica and in semi-rural areas in South Mozambique I observed, however, that Pentecostal membership does not necessarily exist for one's entire life; some people return to ancestral practices after years (see Colson 2006); they also switch to other religious groups. In Mozambique, religious needs (mostly related to Christianity or Islam) are often considered as complementary and secondary to the grounding ancestral morality and ethics. This does not apply to believers for whom Christianity or Islam is paramount; but even these believers do not necessarily keep the same priorities for their entire lifetime. As they become older, some may also start to follow more intensively ancestral practices, as I observed in Manica, Central Mozambique (see Colson 2006 for Zambia). Syncretism between "ancestral" Bantu cultural paradigms, Christianity and Islam occurs in various ways; the combination of diverse practices is especially obvious in healing performances.

E.g, Zion churches will not sacrifice an animal, and use a dove or a pigeon rather than the "traditional" chicken. The pigeon is not killed, just like in traditional healing, the chicken is not necessarily killed, but rather just used as "container" in order to transfer the "evil" from the treated person to the chicken, which is then thrown away, while in Zion practices the pigeon stands for peace and purity.[197] Adjusting the treatment to their own paradigms, Zion[198] churches use the same chromatic frames as in ancestral 'Bantu' practices. In DRC, the Kimbanguist[199] religious movement employs many common healing paradigms in combination with Christian paradigms and symbols, such as the crucifix (Asch 1983; Latoki 2010). Kimbanguist priests and healers demonstrate their specificity by using different main colors than in the ancestral tradition; they have added the color green to their basic traditional colors of black, white and red. However, in 2010 an old Kimbanguist pastor and healer in Kinshasa explained to me how he systematically combines Bantu ancestral ways with Christian ones.

For Pentecostal churches in Mozambique like in DR Congo the "Holly spirit" is very important. They purify with holy water (Devisch 1996b, 1996c, 2004, 2011) and tend to prohibit ancestral ceremonies or consultation with healers, but members of theses churches may continue ancestral practices, or re-start practicing some rituals after long years of interruption.[200] This is a pattern that I heard from healers in South Mozambique and in Kwango, who followed Pentecostalism for a while and then returned to ancestral practices or combined them in a great diversity of practices. Similarly, in Kinshasa, those active in some awakening churches (Prophetic or Pentecostal churches), may at the same time acknowledge the validity of several ancestral paradigms. Some cut themselves off totally from ancestral practices, while others observe them in certain socio-cultural contexts, which are kept separated from their Pentecostal social network. Whether Christian religious practices complement ancestral ones or vice versa is unclear. However, religion is practiced in a syncretism that implies ambivalences between private/public discourses and practices, which researchers must acknowledge if they are to understand "ancestral" paradigms and frames.[201]

Christian "purification" in order to eliminate ambivalence

The strict distinction between good and evil is vital for Christian Churches, especially for the Pentecostals or the 'Awakening Churches' in Mozambique and DR Congo, and this also applies to the Catholic Church (Behrend 2009). The ambivalences in the ancestral approaches tend to be framed in Christianity as missing morality. Christianity, as currently practiced in Africa in its many forms, seeks to eliminate the ambivalence associated with the "hot" color red framing transformative states of in-between. The trinity, in which the Holy Spirit mediates between God and Christ, his son, is the means of "purification" among Pentecostal, Independent and similar evangelical Christian movements (see Tonda 2002). This Christian notion of a third dimension diverges significantly from the Bantu approach in which intermediary stages are ambivalent but full of transformative potentials; Christianity, however, intends the elimination of any contradiction or ambivalence and reinforces the Christian good and evil dyad.[202] Latour (1997:178-194) argues that the process of "purification" tends to eliminate uncertainty through enlightenment. This process appears in the use of colors in the new Christian churches. Kiernan (1991:26-39) analyses the color-coding in Zulu Zionist Churches in South

Africa, showing the complexity of the process of "purification". Zionists use white and blue-green[203], apparently dropping the ambivalent and transitory dimensions of redness (with its connotations of blood and violence) used in the therapies that I observed in Mozambique and DR Congo.[204]. Nugbane (1977:120) argues that in a Zulu-Bantu (ancestral tradition) context white stands for excessive and abnormal purity. Ngubane further argues that white is exclusively associated with ancestors, as for all the studied Bantu-speaking cultures in Mozambique and DRC. When blue-green is subsumed under white, and takes on the connotation of purity, respect for the ancestors is simultaneously conveyed. Beyond public statements that array Christianity against tradition, and as marked by the use of blue-green/white rather than red/black, Zionist Christian practices convey strong respect for the ancestors. This example shows how African churches integrate, often in indirect ways, a basic "Bantu" value, like the most basic necessary respect for the ancestors, which, in African cosmologies, is necessary to secure fertility and very often also the wellbeing of the living. Beyond the changes appearing in Africa with Christianity, especially the promotion of the good/evil dyad, some African forms of Christianity (such as the Zion or Kimbanguist[205] churches) win followers through their integration of African paradigms, albeit employing changed frames. However, as described in Part Two, the changes through Christianity have consequences that may stigmatize and undermine peace and unity.[206]

I. Resilience of the ancestral paradigm

Urbanism and ancestors today

The adaptation of endogenous practices to 'modern' globalized conditions can best be seen in cities. Cultural paradigms and frames continue to be relevant today, yet the resulting hybridism produces discrepancies, which are related to the contradictory emotional and social needs of the people. It is not easy to connect official notions of law, health and education with ideas about ancestors, associated with 'our own culture'. The culture of the Bantu-speaking clan with its kinship rules and non-European languages involves a complex *habitus* (Bourdieu 1972), which deeply structures approaches to social and ritual concerns; it involves the living-dead and other spiritual beings. While 'traditional' ancestral notions have changed through time—and continue to change today—they do not change as fast as the modern world does. E.g., healers, who use mobile phones as frequently as they conduct ancestral invocations, seek compromises between so-called 'traditions' and the challenges of modern life. However, many urban and Western-educated Mozambicans and Congolese may feel that the ancestral paradigms discussed above do not correspond to their own values, which are based in "modernity", Christian or Islamic religious beliefs, or in supposedly objective and superstition-free realm of science.[207] Latour ([1991] 1997) demonstrates that a "modernity" free of "beliefs" does not exist, as western science is just as rooted in 'belief' as medieval and pre-modern worldviews.

In Mozambique and in DR Congo, both with high rates of illiteracy, Western-educated people constitute a minority of the population and live largely in urban contexts. Most urbanites continue to be deeply rooted in hybridized endogenous cultural values. Matsinhe (2006) argues that, beyond the

former political, and current institutional, scientific or religious pressures, all Bantu speakers in Mozambique share the endogenous cultural paradigms that I describe in this study. Even when neglecting them in public discourse, people continue to respect them in private—at least when dealing with misfortune or health problems. Many modern Mozambicans and Congolese turn to ancestral cultural paradigms to "verify" whether there are angry ancestors at play, whether some vengeful spirits are causing trouble, or whether witchcraft has led to the loss of luck, wealth or well-being.[208] Even though people, especially in the cities, may wish for more freedom from the duties to the ancestors (or other spirits) and may consider them to be burdensome, and even though they may declare publicly their opposition to these traditions, at the end of the day people will participate in the family or healing ceremonies. Those who refuse may find themselves in conflict with family members. Such a double standard is common and is based on a clear distinction between public and private (see Chapter Two). Sax (2009) observed a similar situation in India, where the statements of modern, secular educated people often did not correspond to their practices. This plurality is inherent in modernity as experienced in India (Gaonkar 1999), in Canada (Taylor 2007), in Mozambique or DRC and throughout the world.
In DR Congo, ancestral practices are not stigmatized to the same extent as in Mozambique. Former president Mobutu grounded his power in part through reference to ancestral paradigms, which were the basis for his propaganda (de Boeck 1996). When children are currently accused as *ndoki* ['witch' in Kikongo], pastors use the *kindoki* ['witchcraft' in Kikongo] connoted with "ancestral tradition", but they apply another paradigm of "witchcraft" in a Christian-manipulated way, with a dualism differing from the ancestral ambiguities. Today, the ancestors continue in part to be relevant for Kinshasa urbanites (in family/clan and communities), although, often strongly mixed with other paradigms.[209]

Ancestral approaches embedded in plural and syncretised practices

In her ethnography "Living Spirits, Modern Traditions", Honwana (2002:28) argues that ancestors in South Mozambique are connected to the world of the living, paralleling Wreford's (2008, 2009) demonstration of ancestors' relevance to HIV/AIDS in South Africa. Their findings correspond to a great extent to what I observed in Mozambique and DR Congo. Syncretic practices are widespread[210]. Many healers and diviners rely on their relationship to the ancestors or/and other spirits[211] to heal; yet they and the people they treat may at the same time actively participate in Christianity or Islam.

The occurrence of spirit possession[212] and the ongoing creation of new spirits within an ancestral logic demonstrate that traditional paradigms remain part of daily life for Mozambican Bantu speakers. Ancestors and other spirits are respected and used in plural, complementary and syncretic ways. The ancestor paradigm provides solidarity and reinforces reciprocity within an extended kin group or community. Mozambican and Congolese politicians, fearing ethnic conflict and seeking to preserve the state, may advocate a unifying identity based on religious or political affiliation. The experiences of urban dwellers show the limits of the regulatory potential of ancestors. People living in Kinshasa and Maputo tend to disconnect from their kin groups,[213] despite living in neighbourhoods with

members of the same ethnic group. The kin- or community-based ancestor paradigm cannot always function effectively on a large urban scale, though ancestral frames can provide important support in times of illness or misfortune. Within the contexts of economic and political liberalization and structural adjustments, amidst increasing inequalities and poverty, people turn to "new" Pentecostal and evangelical churches, seeking support in spiritual and social frames that unite them despite linguistic, cultural, ideological and clan differences.

Amidst such diversity, to suggest that the ancestral paradigms remain relevant may appear naïve, when ancestors are virtually invisible in public and political contexts. Due to historical events and ongoing pressures, relationships with ancestors are enacted within in the sphere of the extended family, as part of the private sphere. This observation in South Mozambique coincides with Arnfred's (2011) findings in North Mozambique for the Makhuwa and with Colson's (2006) in Zambia for the Tsonga. Though colonial policies in Congo (Van Reybrouck 2012) and the education of children in Christian schools has disconnected the Western-educated elite from knowledge of many ancestral practices, they have nevertheless acquired many values and notions rooted in ancestral approaches, demonstrating their resilience and continuing relevance.

Resilience of ancestors in the sub-Saharan context

In Mozambique and DR Congo, as in South Africa, the ancestral paradigm is fluid and adaptable in cases of misfortune and disease, especially in the context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In Soweto, a populous suburb of Johannesburg, women supporting their families alone addressed ritual invocations to ancestors in order securing the protection of their family members, even though these rituals, in the traditional patrilineal system, should normally in their patrilineal context be conducted by men (Ashforth 2005) and Knox 2008: 93-94). The women resolve the problem by addressing their requests to their own maternal ancestors. Similarly, Wreford (2008:152) documents the "place of the ancestors" among *izangoma* [healers] in South Africa. Kitshoff (1992) reported that 51% of Bible college students at the University of Zululand believed in the ancestral mediatory function. Anderson (1993) established in the early 1990s that 44% of over 1500 families studied practiced an ancestors' cult in Soshanguve Township near Pretoria. Kriel's (1995) 13-year South African study showed that 95% of men, 96% of women and 67% of nurses believed that the *badimo* [ancestors] can influence the life of the people individually and the world as a whole.

Anthropologists (e.g., Westerlund 1989, see supra) may underestimate the relevance of ancestors, forgetting that taboos and behavioural rules are inherited from ancestors. Taboos are embedded in a paradigm with significant relevance for health, as disease aetiology is often connected to the ancestors. In her study of *izangoma* [healer] healing in the context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa, Wreford (2008) discusses the importance of the living-dead for health among the Zulu of Xhosa, describing the relief that people living with HIV experience when using ancestral approaches (see also Ashforth 2005:215-216). This recalls Matsinhe's somewhat exaggerated assertion (2005) that 100% of Mozambicans

(more accurately a majority of Bantu speakers) use the services of healers or diviners who employ ancestral spirits in their work (see WHO 2000; UNAIDS 2002 and Green 1999 estimating 80%).[214]

According to Colson (2006:24) and MacGaffey (1972/1980), 'basic social premises' are shared by societies across sub-Saharan Africa. Similarities in social organization are related to former subsistence practices; rituals and religious beliefs reflect these similarities. Colson's (2006) observations of continuity amidst change among the Tsonga over more than 50 years is valid for Mozambican Bantu speakers. Colson (2006: 31) argues that despite migration, urbanism, and increasing economic differences, there remain "continuing concerns with the uncertainties of life, the mysteries of death, and (…) unequal fortune." Colson (2006: 33) finds persistence in: "the belief that spiritual forces must respect the human if they are to be respected (i.e., that the relationship is a reciprocal one), and the attribution of evil to human motivation." Ethnographies of Bantu speakers report similar conclusions (among others Matangila 2000; Geschiere 2005, Ashforth 2005, Rödlach 2006, Niehaus 2007, Wreford 2008a/b, Steinforth 2008; Quantara 2010; Stroeken 2010;).

Colson (2006: 25) observes that the matrilineal Tsonga in Zambia "live in small communities without powerful political rulers or an apparatus of office to insist on pageantry" and have a "lack of elaborate ritual, an absence of dogmatic statements of belief," similar to the matrilineal Makhuwa in North Mozambique and the Kongo and Yaka in Southwest DR Congo[215]. The widespread cultural similarities in sub-Saharan Africa are due in part to the expansion of Bantu speakers, over several centuries, from western Africa into central, eastern and southern Africa (Map 3. See Janzen 1992, 1989; Van Dijk, Reis & Spierenburg et al. 2001). The comparison of studies by ethnographers such as Janzen (1992, 1998), van Dijk et al. (2001), Jacobson-Widding (1978, 1989, 1990, 1991); Ngubane (1977); Comaroff (1985); Hammond-Tooke (1989); Peek (1991a/b); Green (1994, 1999); MacGaffey (2000); Devisch (1993, 1996a); Colson (2006) and Wreford (2008a/b) shows that despite differences in kinship organization, matrilineal and patrilineal Bantu societies share many common characteristics. These societies share similar notions of the 'person' and common worldviews regarding fertility, taboos, witchcraft, ancestors, and the interference of other spiritual beings (Janzen 2001).

K. Some conclusions about ancestors

Mozambican and Congolese Bantu speakers share similar basic notions and practices about ancestors. The differences are apparent in kinship organization, which determines who leads ancestral invocations and mediates with the ancestors. Ancestors are not deities and should not be confused with the Christian God; I have shown how mistranslations of both Bantu and Biblical terms have led to such confusion (see also Wiredu 1995, 1998). Jean and John Comaroff (1989:154) show the colonization of consciousness in South Africa, with, e.g., the abuse by Churches of the term *badimo* [ancestors] among the Tshidi (Southern Tswana people). In Moffat's translation of the Bible in Secwana (Chuana), the colonial authors used *badimo* to denote "demons" (in Matthew 7:22, 8:28, 32). Comaroff (1989: 337, note 27) observes that this use has survived all revisions of the Bible's

translation. In the African contexts, ancestors are defined as fundamental to life and wellbeing; regular communication with the ancestors is required for wellbeing, and occurs regularly in both countries, especially in rural areas. Relations with ancestors are much weaker in urban contexts; however, they are relevant to funerary practices and mourning rituals, in which people in both studied countries invest considerable time and attention. In urban contexts, the relevance of ancestors becomes most apparent in cases of disease or misfortune, when people participate in ancestral ceremonies in hope of a positive outcome.

Ancestors are seen as ambiguous entities. They are assumed to protect their living descendants, but they also left behind sets of prohibitions to keep the living-dead alive; when rules are ignored or ancestors forgotten, their protection may be withdrawn, though it can be recovered. In this sense, my observations show that people assume that it is possible to deal with ancestors by following rules of reciprocity. For this reason, the ancestral paradigm may provide comfort in case of misfortune. Ancestors are perceived as omnipresent; they see and hear everything and are to be remembered (and kept alive) through regular invocation. Protection by ancestors implies obligations and requires both adherence to the rules for living and reciprocity in the form of invocation and small offerings.

Becoming an ancestor depends on the way a person lives and dies. A 'bad death' (i.e. violent) or failure to properly bury the dead may transform the *moya* [air/spirit in Xirhonga] of the deceased into a wandering, avenging and feared 'bad' spirit who may disturb the living for several succeeding generations, especially in Mozambique. In all studied cultures, in order to ensure that the deceased becomes an ancestor, it is necessary to determine whether the death was caused by witchcraft. This concern is deeply grounded in the importance of a good death, one that is neither associated with violence and 'bad' diseases nor with witchcraft. People, even in urbanized contexts, are concerned about becoming protective ancestors, which brings a person respect, a notion that I elaborate upon in Chapter Two. Concern about how death occurs is relevant to the development of more effective HIV /AIDS prevention and treatment programs. I have introduced how essential the relationship to the ancestors is to a person's health and well-being; the importance of this relationship is often underestimated by healthcare workers, especially when dealing with HIV/AIDS and also in the medical anthropological literature related to HIV/AIDS with notable exceptions (e.g. Ashforth 2005; Knox 2008; Wreford 2008, Chapter Five). See my discussion of the centrality of ancestors allowing or hindering fertility (Chapter Three). Ancestors legitimize of the work of diviners and healers working with spirits and those working only with medicinal plants; they are also regarded as one of the main "origins" of, or as the seat of, the "real" (Stroeken 2004a and Chapter Three). In addition to verbal invocation and information received through dreams, healers and diviners communicate with ancestors using specific means such as possession, trance or *kufemba* [smelling out]. Ancestors also legitimize access to land, and establish the authority of "traditional" leaders ('chiefs' or 'land lords') to mediate local conflicts. I further show (Chapter Six) that chiefs are perceived as privileged mediators between their ancestors, i.e., those who first settled the land, and the people currently living on that land.

Chapter Two

THE RELATIONAL MUNTHU PERSON

Figure 15: MAKONDE SCULPTURE
The matrilineal Shimakonde speakers represent a person in its relational context of its extended family and community

IN NORTH MOZAMBIQUE (2001)

Outline of Chapter Two

In Part, section A, I describe the plural constitution of the relational *munthu* [person in Cindau] in Bantu-speaking contexts in North and South Mozambique, contextualizing the discussion through comparison with studies of other sub-Saharan African societies. I distinguish the "individual" from the multiply constituted relational *munthu* [person]. In **section B**, I discuss theories of interdependent versus independent persons. I look at values such as respect, restraint and self-control, which are fundamental to effective HIV/AIDS prevention and describe how excessive individualism and lack of reciprocity are framed as 'witchcraft'. **In section C**, I discuss how the person is framed in private versus public contexts, and explore how multiple selves move among in-groups.

In part II, I analyze the roles of *multiples bodies* as they related to law, health and education. I look at how the social world, which includes spirits and ancestors, affects the *body-self*. I show how both the social body and the bodies of persons are influenced by *biopower* and suggest that emotions mediate between bodies and significantly influence motivation and cognition.

In part III, I briefly discuss the coexistence of the *munthu* with dualist dichotomizing religious paradigms. Following a summary of the chapter, in **part IV**, I draw conclusions about how legal, health, and education practitioners and policies may increase the efficacy of their interventions by addressing endogenous notions of interdependent and relational persons.

"The person has to have respect [*xihlonipho*].
When a person is not respected, people may say: this is not a person!"
Zulu-speaking healer, Amos Pinga, South Mozambique, 2008

Chapter 2 Interdependent Relational Persons & Multiple 'bodies'

The study of health, educational, and legal practices shows that interventions promoting behavior change by introducing new approaches have limited efficacy. They fail (first) to relate to endogenous practices and knowledge, as with HIV prevention programs; and (second) to recognize the relevance of local categories and concepts. They fail to address people's emotions, which influence cognition, motivation and behavior. In Mozambique and DR Congo, the notion of the interdependent and unbounded *munthu* [person in Cindau][1] dominates. The *munthu* involves several complex metaphorical "bodies". In this chapter, my sources are my informants' descriptions of diviners, healers, chiefs, notables of both genders and workers in ministeries and NGOs. This is complemented with my observations of practices, and those of other authors, adding some linguistic evidence. In addition, I discussed the 'ancestral' practices with official written-law and biomedicine practitioners in Mozambique and DR Congo who promote the use of individualizing "Western" norms, which radically differ from the deeply rooted categories concerning interdependent persons that prevail among many Bantu speakers.

Analyses of the notion of "the African person" by Europeans, especially anthropologists, have been vehemently rejected by some African philosophers, such as Hountondji (2013) and Mudimbe (1988) because of the essentializing character of some presentations, which fail to show the involved multiplicity. In Africa, traditions and knowledge are to a large extent transmitted orally; very little is in written form. However, Hountondji refuses to recognize oral traditions (proverbs, mythic narratives, knowledge of elders and healers) as sources of academic philosophy; he does not subsume "Bantu philosophy" under this. Like African philosophers such as Gyekye (1994) and Oruka (1990), I recognize that oral traditions convey endogenous notions of the Bantu person that are of relevance to any philosophy of the person. Additionally, practices (e.g., in health, education and law) are the best indicators of the prevailing values and notions. In this chapter, I show how diviners, healers and chiefs have attempted to define personhood for themselves. Their experiences reflect ideas about the person that are generally shared by many, if not most, people in their communities and beyond.

The interdependence of the endogenous person is inadequately addressed in most "modernizing" legal, health and educational interventions, and therefore necessitates an in-depth discussion of the notion of the person. Many Mozambicans and Congolese employ notions and values drawn from Christianity and Islam, and combine them with notions taken from Western science and law. However, I suggest that amidst change, some basic and resilient endogenous (apparently pre-Christian) categories continue to be transmitted from generation to generation. These categories reflect a multiplicity of influences, and develop in a rhizomatic fashion.[2] In Mozambique and DR Congo, the notion of the interdependent person tends to prevail, competing with the individualism promoted by Christianity

and other Westernized norms. I show that notions of the person affect cognition, emotions, behavior and motivation, and therefore influence the efficacy of interventions. Finally, I discuss the tendency to separate the public and private person, according them different values and norms. In part II, I describe the multiple 'bodies' of the person—individual, social, vital, political—and show how they relate to the *body politic* (Scheper-Hughes & Lock 1987:7-8). I emphasize the mediating role of emotion between these *multiple bodies* and describe how emotion affects motivation and the efficacy of legal, health and educational interventions.

I- The person multiple

Notions of the person, *munthu* (Cindau), in Mozambique, , *mutu* (Kikongo) in DR Congo are strongly affected by language, education, and socio-economic status. In this chapter, I describe the notion of person as expressed by diviners and healers, who, according to Matsinhe (2005), are consulted by at least 80% of Mozambicans (UNAIDS 2000, 2001). Their perspectives represent those of the Bantu-speaking majorities of Mozambique[3] and DR Congo. Different concepts of the person exist among those who have Western-style educations and who speak Portuguese or French. These people tend to be the political, economic and intellectual elites and decision-makers. Many of these elites do not generally live according to concepts that I identify as 'endogenous' (Hountondji 1994); although, like the Bantu speakers I describe, elite concepts are also constructed in a rhizomatic way. These minority elites set legal and health policy, and often devalue the 'endogenous' concepts of the majority.
Biomedical health services and legal practices in both countries are grounded in a dualist notion of the person, influenced by Western scientific concepts, Christian theology, and classical and Germanic law emphasizing individual responsibility. This Western individual is tendentially an independent *self* constituted by a visible, material body and an immaterial, invisible "mind" or "soul." In contrast, the notion of *munthu* is a plural composition with strong interdependent and relational characteristics.

In Section A, I describe how the *munthu* is conceptualized by those who are recognized in their communities as influential diviners, healers, elders, initiation rites counsellors and chiefs. My descriptions are also informed by anthropologists (e.g., Dieterlen et al. 1973; Jackson & Karp et al. 1990; Jacobson-Widding et al. 1990a; Devisch 1990) and by philosophical[4] debates over Western views of African concepts, values and practices, including debates among African philosophers.

A. The plurality of the munthu person

The person in Mozambique and DR Congo

I use the Cindau term *munthu* to describe characteristics of the *person* that are common to all discussed linguistic groups in the Bantu context.[5] In both Mozambique and DR Congo, the categories described below generally apply to the majority. Most people understand the person as a dual and interdependent construction, but they may behave in ways that do not reflect that understanding. The notion of the person is dynamic and unfixed, just as identity cannot be fixed (Lévinas 1961; Derrida 1967); rather, it is always in the process of becoming (see Deleuze 1967).

I look first at the plural composition of the *munthu,* the same elements of which have different names in the respective Bantu languages, according to the criteria of my informants, who are healers, diviners, chiefs, and respected men and women who are recognized authorities on Bantu moral order, or *ntumuluku* [tradition in Xichangana]. There have been few studies of this subject in Mozambique, excepting Mahumana (2013, 2014) for the South and Geffray (1990) for the Makuwa in the North. In contrast, there are several studies from the DR Congo, which I quote in this comparative study.

The components of the *munthu* in Mozambique

From the perspective of my informants, three main components constitute *munthu* [person]:

(1) "breath" or "wind/air" [*muhia* in Cindau][6] including the name, often called 'spirit'; (2) "bood/shade" [*mwuviri* in Cindau][7] including *ngazi* [blood] of several bodily fluids as"vital force"; and (3) the physical body [*uvire* or *ntupi*, *ntudi* in Cindau][8]. While these components are not the only parts of the person identified by my informants, they are the primary ones. The ranking suggested by healers may differ depending on their perspective. Mahumana (2013) puts the physical body at first place, and places differently the component of "blood" without calling it 'shade'.[9]

The first component of the munthu: breath or 'spirit'

My research subjects, especially Bantu-speaking healers in South and Central Mozambique, note that *muhia* ["breath" or 'spirit' in Cindau] is the central element of *munthu*. In their way of healing, they seek, first and foremost, to attain wellbeing as significantly influenced by the non-physical, which continues after death, while the physical body (3rd component) and the blood/shade (2nd component) disappear. *Muhia* and similar notions of "breath" are generally translated as 'spirit,' although the term 'spirit' has Christian connotations (of the "Holy Spirit") inappropriate to this context. The notion of *muhia* is related to ancestors located in the earth, not to the Christian God in the sky; however, healers influenced by Christianity associate *muhia* with "soul." The healer Matsinhe (of Inhambane province), reflecting the suggestions of healers from other studied linguistic groups, argues that *muhia* is the most important element of *munthu* because it has "power over the [physical] body of the person." For this Cindau-speaking healer, "*muhia* makes the person think and determines the person's action." The physical body cannot live without the *muhia*. Amos P. (a Zulu-speaking healer[10]) argues similarly that this component is the most important because, at death, *moya* [breath/spirit in Zulu] remains and may become an ancestral "home-spirit," protecting or sanctioning members of his or her clan. *Muhia, moya* (or similar notions in Bantu languages) transforms into ancestor spirit after death; while *muhia, moya* is visible as breath, the ancestral 'spirit' is invisible. This link between *muhia/myoa* and ancestorhood also demonstrates the interdependence of the living and the living-dead (ancestors). Most healers insist that it is the *muhia* that makes the body live and gives someone his or her personality[11]; in the transformation from *muhia* to *mudzimu*, the ancestor retains ties to his or her former self.

This priority of *muhia* ['breath' of the living] as stated by my several healer research subjects, diverges from Mahumana's concept (2013, 2014) for South Mozambique. He also describes a ternary concept, but one in which the physical body is the first important dimension of 'personhood'

(2013:150). He divides the human into “the blood [*ngati*], the physical parts of the body [*svirhu*] and the spirit [*xiviri*]” (2013:151)[12]. In a schematic drawing, Mahumana shows an internal core that includes, together, “the physical body [*miri*]” and “spirit [*xiviri*].” This core is surrounded by a circle, the lower part of which contains the elements of “blood [*ngati*]” combined with “the parts of the body [*svirhu*[13]],” and in the upper part of which the “spirit [*xiviri*]” appears again, showing that the ‘spirit’ is present at all levels. The latter is an interesting attempt to resolve, for the Bantu context studied, the problematic split between physical body and ‘spirit, which is widespread in the biomedicine. However, Mahumana (2013:113) argues that to place the component of ‘spirit’ before the person’s physical body in a ranking of relevance would make the physical body nonexistent, implying that only the spiritual and social aetiologies prevail in the Mozambican endogenous healing context; this is not at all the perspective of my research subjects. According to them, the ‘spirit’ is given precedence over the physical body, not because the latter is considered unimportant, but because it disappears after death, while the ‘spirit’ continues to live on as an ancestor or another kind of spirit.

In summary, several healers participating in my research who are well-known in their communities[14] state two arguments: (1st) they understand the “spirit” [*moya/xiviri/svikwembu* for southern languages] as the first component of the person, since the physical body [*miri*] disappears after death, while the “spirit” continues to live, becoming an ancestor [*nguluve* in Xirhonga/Xichangana]. (2nd) The several diseases (of the physical body) “coming just like that” cannot be treated effectively (including in biomedical centers) before the sources of contingent problems, either with ancestors or other spirits, or transgressed taboos or ‘witchcraft’/sorcery (concerning the “shade” – the second element of the person), are diagnosed and neutralized through appropriate treatments. For my informants, both arguments justify that the physical body is not regarded as the first component of the person, but as dependent on (first) the “breath/spirit” and/or (second) the “bloods/shade.” This is valid in all the cultures studied, just as how Mahumana (2013:154) shows that the *xiviri* [‘spirit’] is mutable, changing over time through changes in social status, which lead me (below) to question those concepts that ascribe static connotations to the “Bantu ontology,” claiming the centrality of “being.”
Mahumana’s statement of the physical body as the first component of the person, like that of the initiated *nyamusoro* [mediumistic healer], corresponds to his experience that spirit possession requires a physical body as a medium. This is true, but it is not the perspective of most persons who do not experience spirit possession. The differences between Mahumana’s (2013; 2014) conceptualization of the person for South Mozambique and my reports in this chapter illustrate the heterogeneity at work, which Mahumana (2013) also observes.

The second component: shade or vital force

The shade [*mwuviri* in Cindau] is considered by informants from several Mozambican Bantu speakers to be the intermediary between the *muhia* [breath/‘spirit’] and the physical body. The shade is seen as the life essence of the person, following him/her and indicating that he/she is alive.[15] .When the person has no shade, he or she is dead. Healers note that the first component, *muhia*, “rests” in the shade. If

the shade is weakened, there is no rest. The shade is comprised of a visible, material part (blood*s*, the shadow, footsteps, nails, hairs) and an invisible, immaterial part, the "vital force" necessary for life. When the shade is "attacked" (by being 'bewitched,' or through sorcery), the vital force of the person is weakened. The vital force is conceptualized in terms of "blood" [*ciropa* in Cisena, *ngati* in Xichangana/Xirhonga][16], as discussed below. The shade may have weak or strong "blood," in an expression addressing the vital force as well as fertility and potency.
Descriptions of the shade are similar among healers from North, South, and Central Mozambique. But there are differences in weightings and in the ways people approach the issue: Makhuwa/Lomwe healers in the North insist on the ambivalences involved in this component of the person, which also strongly appear in peoples's ways of dealing with their relations and in their practices (e.g., in healing or lived-law). In contrast, healers, chiefs and female and male counselors in the South explain the ambivalences involved, but often only if you ask them; the issue is kept more hidden than in the North, where it is taken more for granted as an obvious tendency. The issue is a difference in intensity; in all regions studied, the shade is the most sensitive and vulnerable part of the person. 'Witchcraft' and sorcery attack of the shade is reported in all regions, in manipulating, e.g., the shadow of the material body, the traces of the footsteps in the ground or the marks of the body in the sand.[17] The vital force is neither feminine nor masculine, but has a mediating nature. It marks the threshold between the most sensitive inner part of a person and the external worlds, whether social, cosmological, or environmental. This "in-between"[18] or liminal quality of the shade gives it transformative potential and, at the same time, makes it vulnerable as a border or link (Devisch 2015).[19]

The concept of the shade enables people to deal with the ambiguities of life in a floating and non-dichotomizing way that possesses transformative potential. This insistence on the ambivalence of the shade appears strongly in the perspective of the matrilineal Makhuwa/Lomwe societies of the North of Mozambique (including the Makonde societies, discussed by West, 2005, or the Koongo societies in DRC). The different weighting of the importance of the shade may reflect the geographical and historical differences in the influences of the Christian and biomedical categories, values and frames that I described above.[20] But this difference indeed seems to be, in part, a more general difference between patrilineal and matrilineal societies. Nevertheless, any dualist concept of the person, like concepts failing to show the role of 'blood*s*' in terms of vital force [*ngati/ciropa/ephome*] as an interface, imply an under-valuation or disregard of the strong ambivalences involved in the relations among humans, an ambivalence which is, however, part of the plural composite *munthu* person. These ambivalences are expressed in the paradigm of *vuloyi, okwhiri, kindoki* or similar 'witchcraft,' which affects the person through the interface of the shade/blood. Such an emphasis on ambivalences contrasts with Christian perspectives that exclusively ascribe the malign to this paradigm, in a reduction to a bad/good dualism. It also diverges from concepts reducing *ngati* 'blood' to an issue very near to the biological flow of blood, including vitality but without showing the involved ambivalences (Mahuaman 2013, 2014). Furthermore, it diverges from constructions of "Bantu ontology" that over-

emphasize the "Being" centered on the "vital force" (Tempels, 1959) - see below, in Chapter Four and Seven. My research subjects' insistence on the ambivalences implied in the shade/blood/vital force arises from their experience, for instance, that it is precisely the ambivalences implied in *okwhiri, wuloyi, kindoki* or similar notions of 'witchcraft', which allow production of the means that permit the neutralization of harm, if involved (see Chapter Four on 'constructive' or protecting *okwhiri, kindoki* , and treatments of "sending back" and Chapter Four/Six on treatments neutralizing harm).

The ambiguity of the notion of the shade is for many people the most appropriate way to deal with life's uncertainty (Stroeken 2010), and with the ineffable, unspeakable and unfathomable (Devisch 2016a/b).[21] Though many Bantu speakers in Mozambique and DR Congo are rooted in pre-Christian "ancestral" notions of the person and its components, these notions are simultaneously to some extent also employed and transformed, like e.g. by Christian people. Christianity, with its dualist emphasis on good and evil, seems to provide an alternative to the complex ambiguities of the shade.[22] However, I have met several healers who converted to Christianity but later returned to ancestral approaches, arguing that their 'ancestral' practices were better able to deal with 'witchcraft' (and the vulnerability of the shade), neutralizing harm more effectively. The concept of an ambiguous, vulnerable and transformative "shade" also introduces tensions to the practice of biomedicine and official law, where dichotomizing frames dominate. Cognitive rationality and science tend to privilege empirical proof[23] and seek to limit the sort of ambiguity that characterizes the Bantu shade. My observations of legal and health practices indicate that the liminal notion of the shade has continuing relevance as a domain upon which to project vulnerabilities.[24] In both countries, medical doctors, some nurses and many lawyers tend to seek clarity when ambiguity is involved; they employ dichotomizing frames, which "purifies" (Latour 1991); many may also combine Christian notions with scientific or political concepts (Igreja 2014).
In summary, the relational and intermediary dimensions of the shade relate to the 'vital forces' (*ngati*—translated as "blood" in a complex notion discussed below) of the person in a Bantu context. As a component of the *vital force*, the shade is vulnerable to attack by witchcraft and sorcery. The *vital force* is fluid and dynamic, and can be attacked, weakened, or reinforced; these characteristics make it necessary to use appropriate endogenous ways to deal with attacks on the vital force in an effective way. With proper treatment, the shade of a 'bewitched' person can be treated, cleansed and freed. Kagame's (1956, 1976) observation on the stem *ntu* is relevant here: the root *ntu* in *munthu* [person in Cindau] does not convey the idea of *existing* (see below introduction in "*ntu*"). However, in contrast to his concept claiming the centrality of *ntu* [being] in a fixing notion, my findings show the strong relevance of "being-with," living in a process of *becoming*, especially illustrated by the characteristic that the *vital force* is a fluid and non-static element. The shade and the vital force have a floating, liminal and transformative quality: they are the vehicles through which becoming occurs, and are characterized by fluidity, dynamics and changeability of the person based on its relations to others.

The third component: the physical body

Healers, chiefs and elder informants in South Mozambique identify *muzimbha* [the physical body in Xirhonga] as the third component of the person [*munthu*].[25] Above, given the high number of my informants who listed the physical body as third in importance after "spirit" and "shade," I questioned Mahumana's (2013, 2014) systematization of his findings in the South. Mahumana prioritizes the physical body, combined with "*xiviri*" [spirit] as second and *ngati* ['blood'] as third. Many Mozambican Bantu speakers call the physical body "flesh" [*nyama*]; this corresponds to what Devisch (1990) calls the "body shell" (among the Yaka – in DR Congo). The physical body is of value as long as the person lives, as long as the first component, "breath/'spirit'", continues to exist in living form.

All healers insist that the physical body can only be treated successfully if, first, the person is on good terms with the ancestors, allowing them to protect the living; second, if there are no other spiritual entities claiming some compensation or revenge; third, if the living do not transgress the taboos, or if they cleanse after committing such transgressions; and fourth, if there is no 'witchcraft'/sorcery at work weakening the *vital force* and hindering the success of any treatments. The physical body is connected to the *spiritual* and *vital* components and stays in strong relation to the social life-worlds (involving the living, ancestors and other spirits) The spiritual and social levels are connected through emotions, which together influence the state of the physical body. Nurses in Mozambique often tell their patients to "go treat your problems in the family," meaning that patients should consult healers for treatment of spiritual, emotional and social issues.[26] Biomedicine as practiced in Mozambique tends to divide the physical body into parts, like a machine, referring each to different medical specialists (Mol 2002). Such medical reductionism (widespread in biomedicine[27]) devalues the social, spiritual and emotional impacts of illness and disease. In contrast, Mozambican and Congolese healers seek to treat illness by reweaving social relations of all kinds – which involves attacks of the shade (vital force). Healers insist that the components of the person are not separate; the person is a unit[28]; the physical body, the shade/*ngati*/blood*s* and the 'spirit' are strongly interdependent[29].

The vital body and its bloods

Blood [*ngati* in Xichangana, Xirhonga][30] comprises the main part of the body's vital force and is located in the "shade". *Ngati* denotes all the bodily fluids – tears, sweat, mother's milk, semen and vaginal discharge; all kinds of *ngati* blood are considered "hot" and have strong polluting, purifying, or transformative effects generating either "life" (health in broadest sense) or its contrary.[31] Blood is also a metaphor for health, sexual potency, physical vitality and fertility. Sexual intercourse is considered a "mixture of [types of] blood" and infertility is a "bad mixture of blood." Infertility or chronic illness is related to "weak" *ngati*,[32] which healers treat (Mahumana 2013, Mariano 2014;). Healers differentiate between "red" ("hot" and transformative), "white" ("life-giving") and "black" (polluting) *ngati*. Mother's milk and semen are white and positively valued; white *ngati* connote sexual potency, vitality and fertility. White also connotes fertility derived from the "cool" ancestors. Black blood is negatively valued and associated with sickness, such as gonorrhea (Mahumana 2014:

59-60), and with menstrual pollution. Any contact with "black" *ngati* generated during birth, menstruation, accident, war or death requires cleansing (Kotanyi 2003b)[33].

The protective or fortifying characteristics of blood are employed in ritual, for example, in the use of the blood of a sacrificial chicken to invoke an ancestor's support, or to guard against 'witchcraft/sorcery'. Blood was also used during the graduation ceremony of a healer in South Mozambique: the novice healer was totally covered with the blood of a sacrificial goat. Another novice healer was covered with red clay—the red clay equates to red blood"[34]—in order to reinforce her healing power (Kotanyi 2003a). These examples illustrate the transformative power of "hot" blood and redness. In male circumcision, red blood flowing onto the earth, where ancestors are located, purifies and reinforces the sexual potency and moral, spiritual and physical integrity of the initiate. Blood has complex transformative potential in many African cultures (Dieterlen et al. 1973; Jacobson-Widding 1999; Cross 2005). It is the epitome of life and power. It may connect or transmit pollution or may be a means of cleansing. It can circulate outside of the person and can be exchanged, as in the context of fertility (Thomas 1973:480-482).[35] *Ngati* is fused with the shade; it illustrates the fluidity of categories, which in healers' thinking are deeply related, constituting a whole.

The heart

The heart (*mbilu*[36], *mwoyo*[37], *mtima*[38], *murima*[39] in Mozambique, *moyo* in Swahili in East Africa) in the physical body has physical and spiritual attributes. Emakhuwa healers locate thinking in the heart, an idea shared with Bantu-speaking healers in parts of Mozambique and DRC. A famous Cindau healer explained the role of the heart in relation to the 'spirit' [*muhia*]: speaking starts from the heart, which contains the *muhia*; what a person says comes from the heart.[40] Amos P., a Zulu healer living near Maputo explained in 2008: "The heart determines the good thoughts, good activities and good reasoning. The heart directs the person." The heart of the diviner is the seat of his power of foresight.

Conceptualizations of the munthu in Mozambique

In sum, as described above and according to my research subjects' perspectives and practices, the *munthu* is composed of three structuring components, first, of *muhia* [breath/'spirit' in Cindau], which becomes ancestral or unsettled, troubled and restless "bad" 'spirits' after death. The second and intermediary dimension is unique to each person: *wuri* [shade in Cindau] contains the 'vital force' and is inseparable from a living person. The third element is the physical body, or "flesh". When the person dies, the "flesh" and shade disappear, while the *muhia* [breath] remains as 'spirit', becoming an ancestor.[41] These components are strongly interrelated among themselves and with spiritual agents (of all kinds); such a multiply composed person stands in a strong relationality and interdependence with clan and community members, and with its ecological envirement. The 'spirit' is given precedence over the physical body, not because the latter is considered unimportant, but because it disappears after death, while the 'spirit' lives on as an ancestor or another kind of spirit. In contrast, Mahumana (2013, 2014) argues for Bantu-speakers in South Mozambique that the physical body is given precedence, in close connection with the component 'spirit', and with *ngati* [blood] (including several

bodily fluids) as the third main component. He argues that no embodiment of spirits is possible without the physical body (which especially relevant in case of trance possession). The different ranking seems to depend from the specific perspective. All of my research results show emphasis on the wholeness of the person, and that there is a close relationship between the person's 'spirit', with its *nzuti* [shade] including its *ngati* [blood/vital force], as the interface with its physical body, its social world (including all 'spirits' as living-dead) and the ecological environment. Matangila (2000:187) shows, for the Mbala-Bantu context in DR Congo, a concept of person containing additionally to the physical body, the spirits, and "blood[42]," also the "heart" and the "name" as main parts of the basic components of the person. The heart determines thought (including body-based knowledge and intuition), and also the name have both a basic role in the Bantu context studied (see below). But, following several healers, I suggest that the notion of "blood" –addressing the "vital force"– belongs to the category of the "shade", and that the "name" are component emcompassed in the category of the "breath/spirit". The "heart" in terms of "thinking with the heart" is less a structural component, but rather more a basic feature. This justifies a basically ternary concept[43].

In contrast, dual concepts of body and spirit are used in biomedicine and Christian approaches. In his study of "mental health" in traditional medicine in South Mozambique, Mahumana (2014:52) aptly notes: "The users of traditional medicine do not put it [health] in binary categories." He emphasizes, as do I, the relationality of persons. In Mozambique, the main differences in notions of the person are between matrilineal societies in the North and the patrilineal societies in the South and Central regions, where Christianity was introduced much earlier than in the North. The currently actualized "ancestral" non-dualist concepts—that obviously appear in the practices and the reported experiences of the people—stand in contrast to the dualism implicit in Christianity, biomedicine and the Western-influenced official legal system. One main difference between dualist approaches and the ternary "ancestral" ones lies in recognizing the relevance of a level of in-between allowing the framing of vulnerability, uncertinity and ambiguities and permiting their treatment. The shade is the most vulnerable of the three main components of the *munthu*; the *shade* is an interface of relations among porous, interdependent Bantu persons. Any concept of *munthu* that is not binary (at least ternary), seems rooted in pre-Christian paradigms; the concepts of the person are subject to multiple influences.[44] The notion of the *munthu* [person] observed at present is both resilient and potentially paradoxical; a ternary construction coexists (with tensions) with dualist values regarded as "modern."

Notions of the person among Kikongo speakers in West DR Congo

Jacobson-Widding (1991) published striking findings about the notion of the person among matrilineal Kikongo speakers in DRC (formerly Zaire) who live thousands of miles from South Mozambique and still share basically similar categories. This illustrates the shared cultural paradigm of Bantu speakers in Africa.[45] Jacobson-Widding (1991:192–198) discusses the notion of the person [*mutu* in Kikongo], which is described apparently as dualist in public discourse conversation in Bas Congo. The person is, in this public version comprised of the visible "exterior man" [*nitu/nzutu*] and the white "interior man"

[*ngudi a mutu*]. Both persons are comprised of a body and a double, which Jacobson-Widding calls a "soul."[46] The vulnerable "exterior man" has an outer black physical body plus a soul as "life essence" [*moyo* in Kikongo]. In contrast, the invulnerable "interior man" is made up of an invisible and indestructible body and "soul." This interior soul is conceived of as breath, is the seat of reason and knowledge.The interior person is associated with the matrilineage; it survives after death, and ensures the continuity of the lineage. In short, the dualist notion of *mutu* would be thus comprised of a visible black physical body with a "soul" double and an invisible white body, also with a "soul" double.

However, in private, an additional "third body" emerges. This third body "cannot be grasped" and frames the unspeakable (Jacobson-Widding 1991:194). This third 'body' is the elusive red 'shadow' [*kiini*], which "behaves in an unpredictable way" and follows the physical body. It is conceived of as a mirror image, or image in a photograph; this *kiini* is taboo (see my Chapter Three) and is left out of public discourse; speaking about it may make one vulnerable, even draw the forces of kindoki ['witchcraft']. The *kiini* appears at dawn or dusk and may be visible as a person's actual shadow. People must avoid stepping on it, which is seen as an act of sorcery/bewitchment. The ambivalent *kiini* is along with the *moyo* [life essence, 'spirit' or soul] the most important component of the person; significant is that *kiini* is the component of the person determined and influenced by the relation to others, framing the 'living-with' as described by Matangila (2000) for the neighboring Mbala speakers. Despite her informants' dualist construction of black and white persons in public discourse, Jacobson-Widding's emphasis on the intermediary role of the red *kiini* as a third 'body' of the person implies a non-dichotomous concept of personhood and corresponds to the same categories described by my informants. The concept of Jacobson-Widding resemble the conceptualization of Mahumana (2013) for the South Mozambican Bantu context.

In sum, the person in a Kikongo-speaking context seems to be comprised of three components (1st) an exterior black person comprised of a visible physical body and its life force, which disappear at death; (2nd) an intermediary red shadow which Jacobson-Widding (1991:201) characterizes as a "true self" that emerges through interaction; and (3rd) an interior white person, comprised of an invisible 'body' and breath, which survive death and become an ancestor. The person in a Koongo context is therefore three dimensional, corporate, relational and centred on "living-with", rather than individual, which is also the case among the Mozambican and Congolese Bantu speakers that I worked with. This comparative analysis shows that the plural notion of the person may be described in different terms, but nonetheless shares key characteristics with all the studied Bantu groups.

Notions of the person among the Yiyaka in South-West DR Congo

My research among Kiyaka, Kipendele and Kisuku speakers in Kwango, on the border with Kikongo speakers in Bas Congo, indicate that notions of the person there are very similar to those observed in Mozambique and Bas Congo by Jacobson-Widding. In this section, I briefly summarize Devisch's descriptions of Yaka notions of the person supplemented with my own observations. Devisch defines the human body in a Yaka context "as delimited by the charnel envelope (*nitu*), as a space and source

of exchange with the exterior and the others, exchange which grounds the individual and social identity [*muutu*]" (1986:120). His descriptions (i.e., Devisch 1986, 1990, 1998, 2014) emphasize the strong relational characteristics of the *muutu* [person in Kiyaka] showing how *muutu* implies "the interplay of multiple sensory, sexual, and verbal tissues. (...) Paradoxically, a person's center of gravity is formed not starting from the individual and his deepest self, but essentially in the practice of exchange" (1998:129-130). He argues that the social dimensions of the person are laminated upon the skin of the physical body (1986:120). The transition between bodily boundaries among persons involves oral, anal, genital and olfactory practices: "transactions [occur] at the level of the openings of the body (the navel, the fontanel, the breast, the mouth, the nose, the anus, and the genital organs) and at the level of all the senses, which constitute on the social level a reciprocity articulating union and separation" (1986:121). Devisch (2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003c) emphasizes the involvement of the phantasms and emotions that weaken the vital force. Similar to Mozambican Bantu or Kikongo speakers, Yaka healers and chiefs described to me their encompassing notion of "blood" [*ngolu*] in terms of vital force, virility, procreation and health, as determined by a person's sociality. The center of the person is located in the heart [*mbuundu*]; the heart also holds understanding of the social order and moral code (Devisch 1990:126-128). "A moral decision springs from the heart's inner vision while attending to the expectations of others and to conceptions of right and wrong (…) It is in the heart that the individual grows towards a responsible and centered subject" (Devisch 1993a:141).

Devisch (1990a:289) describes the human body as a vehicle for emotions and argues that the interactions between the bodily, social and natural/cosmological domains are threefold or ternary[47] in a Yaka Bantu context, which also applies to Mozambican Bantu-speakers, allowing the cosmological domain to be transposed onto the bodily and social domains. For Devisch (1990a:290), the social definition of disease stresses the interference of dualistic or intrusive relationships in the ternary logic. However, he argues that when the intermediary vital force [*mooyi*] and the body-shell are disturbed, the relationships become dualistic rather than ternary.[48] The process of 'becoming a person' [*wuka muutu* in Kiyaka] implies that the self recognizes itself in the other, which is the centre of gravity.[49] The heart thus substanciate the interdependence of persons and of the centrality of "living-with" (Matangila 2000), which applies in all studied contexts. As in Mozambican Bantu contexts, the heart is the seat of the central value of respect [*luzitu*]; thinking is located in the heart. The localization of moral decisions in the heart could be used to motivate people to undergo HIV testing and in developing more effective approaches to HIV prevention and education.

"The more socialized, the more individualized" (Devisch 1991: 294). That is, social relations highlight those qualities that distinguish one person from others. In my observations, this implies an ongoing process of becoming –not of fixed "being"–[50],which also applies in the Mozambican context.

Summary of the conceptualization of the plural constitution of the *munthu*

Munthu [person in Cindau] and other notions of the person in all the studied Bantu-speaking contexts are plural composites, with three main components, the ordering of which depends on diverging

interpretations[51]. The person includes breath/'spirit' and the blood/vital force/shade (inseparable from a living person) and the physical body, or "flesh". When the person dies, "flesh" and "shade" disappear, while the "spirit" remains, becoming an ancestor. In the Bantu context characterized by cosmic circularity[52] valuating wholeness, the attempt to show a ranking of the three main components of the *munthu* person is questionable, especially in a matrilineal 'horizontal' context (Emakhuwa, Elomwe or Kikongo-speakers) in which there is a more limited sense of hierarchy as in the patrilineal contexts. Common to all studied groups is that a person includes an ancestor that is reborn as the "breath/'spirit'" of the living and that continues to live after the death of this person as ancestor or other kind of 'spirit'. The most vulnerable, intermediary and transformative dimension of the person, its vital force, is located in the shadow, in nails and hairs and above all in the bodily fluids, which are understood as "bloods." This intermediary component constitutes a relational interface between the several components of the person, and including emotions, it is also the interface between the potentially dividual person (see below) with and his/her's social world (family, clan, community members and spirits of all kinds, ancestors and others) and the ecological environment, all together constituting the cosmological life-worlds of a person. As Devisch shows, beyond such a ternary basic concept, the transition between all the bodily boundaries and all the senses have in the person and its relationships, as a preponderant element, the thinking with "heart". *Muutu* [person in Kiyaka], like in the other groups studied, implies that personhood is "not given" as a fixed state but must be achieved; one becomes a *muutu* through the quality of his or her sociality—what people call the "weight" of his or her "breath/spirit", which characterizes its presence[53]] and distinguishes the self from others. A good illustration of the multiplicity at work is the Maconde sculptures (products of the artist's dreams) in which a single piece of wood contains a great number of figures constituting a person within the mutitude of its intertwined family and community members (Fig.15).

Debates in African philosophy and the root *ntu*

My descriptions of the perspectives of diviners, healers, initiation rites counselors may be viewed by African philosophers as "ethnophilosophy".[54] For Hountondji (2013), ethnophilosophy is derived from linguistic sources—oral narratives (proverbs, myths and any kind of "local" knowlege). An example of the construction of an ethnophilosophy using linguistic data revolves around the root "*ntu*". The languages used by the groups that I studied in Mozambique and DR Congo (like most Bantu languages) use the linguistic root *ntu* in their terms for "person." Shakukoma (2004:28) has suggested that *m-tu*, the Swahili concept of *muntu,* corresponds not to 'person,' but rather to the Latin '*persona*,' that aspect of one's character that is presented to or perceived by others (and corresponds to Mauss, 1938). Shakukoma's suggestion is grounded in the work of Kagame (1956, 1976) and Tempels (1959/1969), for whom the concept of the person is centered on the vital force. Tempels essentializes: "The vital force is the invisible reality of everything that exists" (1969:32); he considers the vital force of the person to be the heart of African philosophy. Eboussi-Boulaga (2011:15-45) sees this as a reduction of African philosophy to the imaginary and magic, while Césaire (1950, 1966) sees in

Tempels's work a justification of imperialism in Africa (see also critiques by Nkombe and Smet 1978 and Mudimbe 1985). Tempels's (1959) perspective was grounded in colonial racism, paternalism and imperialism; he intended to show how to advance the colonial agenda. Based on his work among Congolese Baluba Bantu speakers, he generalized on the thought of all Bantu speakers.

Critics such as Mudimbe (1988) make it clear that some authors, like Tempels, have difficulty separating pre-Christian "Bantu" African concepts from Christian ones centered on a creator God, an idea that existed in some, but not all African cultures prior to colonialism. Similarly, the notion of the person in pre-colonial African paradigms implies an "internal logic" (Bell 1992) that differs from that in Christianity (Chapter Three). Mosolo (1994:189) very aptly asks, "How can basic African epistemological principles be integrated into already alienated modes of thinking?"

Several African philosophers, e.g., Eboussi-Boulaga (1977, 2007, 2011), Hountondji (1977, 2013), Karp & Mosolo (2000), Mosolo (1994), Appiah (1992), and Gyekye (1997) criticize not just the inappropriate generalizations of Tempels, but also the "ethnophilosophical" work of Kagame (1956, 1976),[55] a Bantu-speaking Christian theologist and philosopher from Rwanda who conducted a deep comparative linguistic analysis of the root *ntu*.[56] Kagame emphasized *being* as the most crucial aspect of the person in Bantu languages, constructing a so-called "ntu" philosophy. Kagame suggested there were four main linguistic categories of the root "ntu" relevant to understanding the Bantu person: (1) *muntu* (being of intelligence); (2) *kintu* (being without intelligence, or thing); (3) *hantu* (being related to time and/or place); and (4) *kuntu*, for modification of the being relative to other beings in terms of position, disposition, possession, action, passion. For Mudimbe (1988:146), these four categories are complementary and connected, all sharing the root *ntu,* and referring to being or life force. In contrast, for Mutaawe (2011:26) *ntu* is a pure linguistic abstraction which, without an affix, carries no meaning. In addition, for Kagame (1956[57]) and Lufuluabo (1975) "being" makes sense only as a copulative verb with the meaning either of being something or being somewhere (see Samb 2010:94). Lufuluabo (1975) argues that, in Tshiluba, the notion of being in the present predominates; it frames the actual; it does not imply the whole identity of a person (Samb 2010:76). These linguistic debates highlight Kagame's questionable distillation of four *ntu* categories, which reduce *muntu* to "being." In contrast, Mujinya (1972:15) argues that *ntu* implies not only what is, but also what could be. He questions the ontological theories constructed around Kagame's view of *ntu*. Simultaneously, Mujinya, like Kagame, observes that the Bantu equivalent of "to be" does not express the notion of existence. Mujinya's critique illustrates the problem of attempting to establish an ontology grounded in "Bantu" notions of the person. The most problematic issue in the perspectives of my informants is that Kagame's four '*ntu*' categories are being used to insist that "being" is the central aspect of the person expressed in Bantu languages. The dominant aspect in the notion of the person in the Bantu-speaking contexts that I observed is interdependent *relationality* and *reciprocity*. According to Shakukoma (2004:30), it is the root *n-(na)* that frames relations, and is therefore central to the concept of *muntu*.[58] Central is how Matangila (2000: 181) insists on the relevance for the *muntu* of "being with," which is

mainly regarded in the Mbala-Bantu in South-West Congo context as "having life and force" without reducing the force to "the being" (2000:186) – which is to a large extent centred on "living" with others. According to my observations, the prevailing relational characteristic cannot be reduced to static "being"; the persons in the Bantu context are strongly centred on relations in dynamic movements, which imply an on-going process of becoming (Kodjo-Grandvaux 2013, Chapter Seven).

The plural and dividual person

The plural components constituting the Bantu-speaking notion of the person are consistent with the concept of the "dividual person" (Pool & Geissler 2005; for India: Marriott 1976:131). Although the Bantu notion of person is not identical to the Indian or Melanesian, all are "dividual" (Strathern 1988). These authors show that the person is multiply constituted. This notion of a "dividual" person does not mean divisible in two parts (divi-dual); rather, in the Bantu framework I describe as a non-dualist context, the person's multiple potentials (of more than two parts) emerge through a process that continues throughout life. The way several names are employed throughout life illustrates the pluralism of personhood. The behaviors of a plural person may shift, depending on social, political or religious context, producing multiple selves, which, in a Bantu context, are neither fragmented as Wagner (1991) argues, nor schizophrenic as the concept of the "dividual person" might suggest.

Names, ancestors, and the continuity of the kin group

Names in Mozambique ensure that the person will "not remain alone", which is a fearful condition to be avoided. One of these names comes from an ancestor. Ancestors are embodied in persons, regarded as "reborn" in a child who receives the name of that ancestor, who then protects that child. The ancestral name represents all the ancestors who protect the living of a clan. When the child cries excessively or is often ill, it is assumed that the ancestor is either not protecting the child or that the ancestor was misidentified.[59] The same ancestor may be "reborn" in several persons,[60] so the "rebirth" is not a simple reincarnation. As Matangila (2000:190) argues for the Mbala in DRC, which also applies to the Bantu context in Mozambique: the name (1st) expresses the becoming of a person; and (2nd) the names of ancestors are given in order to prolong the memory and thus the "life" of the ancestors. In this sense, the "rebirth" at stake is more a "recalling." As Mahumana (2013) shows, ancestral spirits permit the recreation of the person's belonging (which he frames in terms of "identity," a term that I avoid because it addresses one rather than the multiplicity involved).

However, some informants argue that the living person *is* the reborn ancestor, not just a namesake. This corresponds to *fundamental ontology* (Heidegger 1927) establishing "what is", fixing it in terms of "being," which is contrary to the perspective of the majority of my research subjects, whose practices show that the continuity involved in culture includes changes in the discussed Bantu cultures (which applies to any culture – see Lévinas 1961, Derrida 1967, Deleuze 1967 and Chapter Seven). Diverging positions appear in Mozambique and DR Congo, just as they appear elswhere. Several "truths" coexist; a person may also switch, in different contexts, between different and even opposite concepts.

A Rhonga healer argues: “The namesake is the reborn ancestor, who helps to secure the health of a living person. [The ancestor] calms a person’s heart”. The reborn ancestor is often called a “guardian angel,”[61] a term that mixes Christian and endogenous Bantu notions. In the Makhuwa/Lomwe context in North Mozambique, as among the Yaka in South-West Congo, the ancestor reborn in a child may have recently died but its rebirth does not imply direct historical continuity.[62] The ‘rebirth’ of founding ancestors carries primarily ethical and moral connotations. Makhuwa/Lomwe healers observe, like Geffray (1990), that a child becomes a person only through socialization, which creates and inscribes “belongingness” to kin and other groups.[63] A human becomes a complete person first through a child’s initiation into the kin community that includes the founding ancestors [*makhalelo*]. In other words, the ‘reborn’ or better the recalled ancestor connects the namesake to the collective *makhalelo minepa* [elders/founders ancestors] who are assumed in Makhuwa mythology to come from Namuli Mountain. In addition to the namesake, a person has several other protective ancestors.[64] Cisena healers explain that while a specific *mudzimu* [ancestral spirit] is embodied in the person, that person is also protected by all the *badzimu* of the kin group.

In all the studied people, someone cannot become a full person until he/she has conceived and given birth to children[65]; life transmission is constitutive of a *munthu* (see Chapter Three). Using the name of the reborn ancestor emphasizes the continuity of the kin group; it is the namesake’s link to the founding ancestors. This continuity can only be secured through the transmission of life to the next generation. Therefore, personhood, namesakes, ancestors and life transmission are deeply connected. A Changana healer describes how ancestral continuity is embodied in the person: “Everything goes well through the ancestors; we have children because of our ancestors.” The ancestors make the transmission of life possible, and may cause infertility.[66] This equation of ancestors with fertility is common to all studied Bantu-speaking cultures (Devisch 1993a, 1996a; Fialho Feliciano 1998; Mariano 2014). In sum, the transmission of life gives continuity to the ancestors and to the kin group; all of these connections are implied in the ideas of a namesake and “eviternity.”[67]

Names and the plural person comprised of multiple selves

The plural constitution of the *munthu* [person] is illustrated through the fact that a child receives several names in addition to the name of the “reborn” ancestor. A child’s first name is secret (taboo). This is a ‘weighty’ (i.e., important) name associated with origins and the eldest ancestors. Besides the secret name, there is a name used in public by both kin and non-kin. A child may receive a metaphoric “*chweka”* name, if there are problems at birth. If a woman lost several children, the newborn child receives a protective “ugly” name to secure its survival, as “witches won’t come to take this child, as it has this ugly name”.[68] Other names mark life stages and the many different roles of a person in the network of social relationships. Names illustrate the plural composition of a person. The *munthu* that I observed is neither divided[69], nor fractal (Wagner 1991); it is a whole person, multiply constituted, seamlessly shifting between and able to live in different worlds (Becker 2014). The *munthu* lives simultaneously in private, and public and (e.g., using a Christian name at school or in church, and the

“ancestral” name at home). The concept of the “plural person” is not framed in terms of a unique “identity”; it contrasts with the Western *individual* (Taylor 2007). Throughout life stages a person may “become” (embody) several different spirits through possession or while dreaming.[70]

Summarized, the ancestral *munthu/muutu* is a relational person who is plurally constituted throughout the life-cycle, e.g. in the form of multiple names. One becomes a person through “living-with” family and community members, participating in multiple life-worlds simultaneously. In Mozambican and Congolese Bantu contexts, a person, whether perceived as ‘traditional’ or ‘modern’, is full of potentials, and can integrate other forms of becoming, as in Christianity and Islam, being dividual. Many people syncretize their ancestrally derived personhood with new and different personhoods they develop through Christian, Islamic, biomedical, political and other practices. The same person can invoke ancestors, pray to a Christian or Islamic god and follow scientific paradigms.

The self beyond individuality

There is general agreement among anthropologists and African philosophers[71] that in most sub-Saharan African cultures, as in Mozambique and DR Congo, the person is primarily defined by relationality and interdependence.[72] Tempels (1969: 108) argues that the Bantu would be unable to conceive a person apart from the clan relationship. This seems to correspond to Mibti’s motto: “I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am” (1969), which expresses for Gyekye (1997:37) nothing more than the romantic ideals of African socialism formulated by leaders such as Nkrumah, Senghor and Nyerere. They idealized traditional Africa in terms of strong “communitarian” values and “négritude” (Africanity) and contrasted this construction with colonial and postcolonial capitalism and selfish Western individualism. Such approaches are passé in the liberal capitalist Africa of today.

Despite this criticism, most African philosophers insist, like Gyekye, on the predominating interdependence and relationality of persons. Gyekye (1997:35-77) argues that the interdependence of persons does not preclude individuality (see also Mosolo 1994; Ciekawy 2001), as expressed through personal choice, even in an African context where the connection to community is a crucial characteristic. However, personal choice depends on many factors, especially economic and educational opportunities. Gyekye’s argument may apply to ‘elite’ members of African societies, but it does not work so well in the majority of contexts amidst strong social pressures and limited economic opportunities where the relational features of the person dominate. Among the Bantu speakers I studied, relationality and interdependence characterize the person in the rural and urban context. I agree with Senghor (1964:93-94) that the degrees of relationality vary, indicating differences between persons and their relative social and moral “weights,” concepts that radically differ from the idea of the independent individual.

Ideas about individualism in an African context can be traced to Tempels (1969:108), who argues, “among Bantu, the individual is necessarily an individual within the clan”. Tempels interprets the “interior name” as an indicator of individuality. Such individuality within the clan differs from the Western version, in which the “identity” of the person is expressed in terms of “I” or “me.” The

Western individual is a single, independent, bounded and unique being different from all others (Taylor 2007). In Mozambique and DR Congo, such a being would raise suspicions of "witchcraft". Under the influences Christianity, colonialism, and capitalism, individualism was introduced to both countries. Capitalism promotes individual competition in education and the economy through the "free" market, which clashes with 'ancestral' values of interdependence, reciprocity, and avoidance of extreme inequality. These 'traditional' values are present, but weakened with the spread of paid work. Though some degree of individualism may exist, relational contexts greatly limit its development, even in urban areas. Ciekawy (2001) describes how for the Mijikenda people in Kenya, success in school, receipt of a diploma—and other achievements viewed as extraordinary or excessive—may be suspected to be the result not of one's own efforts, but through "witchcraft/sorcery" and "stealing from others." In Mozambique and Congo, "fetishes" (*nkisi*) and other 'manipulated' and powerful objects are used to get good results on examinations, diplomas, jobs and power in politics (Geschiere 1995; Tonda 2009). Concerns about 'witchcraft' indicate clear tensions about individualism, especially in cities where individualistic behavior is more common than in a rural context. There is a clear association, discussed in later chapters, between individualism and witchcraft accusations.

According to Sax (2002:7), "anthropologists, philosophers and psychologists have pointed out that discussions regarding self, personhood and identity are often clouded by inconsistent and imprecise terminology". These discussions have a rich intellectual history in anthropology (see, for example, Harris 1989; Strathern 1996; Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987; Triandis 1989; Markus and Kitayama 1991). In the first half of the twentieth century, Mauss (1938) distinguished between the person and the *self* though he viewed both as products of their social and cultural contexts. To Mauss, the notion of *person* conveys more a sense of social embodiment than that of *self*.[73] Shweder and Bourne (1984) differentiate between two notions of the *person* as expressed in the individual-social relationship. They identify modern Western societies' individual-social relationship as "egocentric contractual", involving an *independent person*. In contrast, the majority of non-western societies conceptualize the individual-social relationship as "socio-centric organic," involving the construction of *interdependent persons*. The latter generally applies to the Bantu-speaking societies described here. However, Murray (1993) and Spiro (1993) point out that it is reductionist and simplistic to create a dichotomy between the Western notion of person and that found in the rest of the world. They show that there are indeed differences in how the person is constituted within the Western tradition (see Sax 2002:9).
Kondo (1990:14, 36) argues that the *self* in the Japanese context "exists only relationally, as a play of differences." Among female Japanese factory workers, she found that "selves which are coherent, seamless, bounded, and whole are indeed illusion." Harris (1989) describes differing, competing conceptualizations of individual, self, and person, seeing the *self* as a product of "intra-psychical structures and processes" (1989:608). Harris's formulation corresponds to the *self* of Western psychology, which is an independent individual subject (Harris 1989:601). Sax (2002:9) notes that "the self is generally viewed by anthropology as a contingent socio-cultural construction." However,

discussing the notion of the person in South Africa, Beattie (1980:313) argues that *self* (as 'ego') implies a minimum of self-awareness in the sense of asking 'who, or what, am I?' Such questioning is not generally a preoccupation of Mozambicans and Congolese, for whom social norms, even social pressure, are strong determinants of behavior. Seeking individuality may be of more interest to youth, but this may change when one marries, has children and begins to participate in social networks ruled by reciprocal obligations. Even amidst greater mobility and urbanism, social groups reproduce the pressures found in rural kin and community relations. As Harris (1989:608) argues "to focus on *persons* as agents-in-society brings properties of the social order and its cultural forms to the center of attention, for they are seen as constitutive of human agency as a public fact." In sum, the *self* and *person* often overlap in Africa in an "assemblage" (Beattie 1980) of the multiple components constituting the person, who lives simultaneoulsy in several worlds in Mozambique and DR Congo.

B. Interdependent relational persons

Persons in Mozambique and DR Congo tend to be interdependent with porous boundaries between the person and the world. A *munthu* [person in Cindau] develops and lives in relationship between human beings, ancestors or other spirits, its surrounding ecological world with its respective multiple 'spirits' (of the mountains, caves, forests, sea, lakes, rivers, etc.) and what Muhumana (2013:99) calls "clean blood," addressing the state of *ntima* [social purity] related to, e.g., death and transgressions of taboos (see Chapter Three). The social world (containing the living and spirits of all kinds) constitutes the cosmological life-world in the ecological framework in a strong relational interdependency. According to Taylor, interdependence makes one "vulnerable to spirits, demons and cosmic forces" (2007:38). Markus and Kitayama (1991:227) describe an *interdependent self* as: "socio-centric, holistic, collective, allocentric, ensembled, constitutive, contextualist, connected and relational." These qualities also apply in the prevailing value of "living-with" in Mozambique and DR Congo. As Strathern (1995) argues, the relation constructs the person. Strathern (1995:17-18) suggests that a basic property of relationality—beyond the level of kinship—is that it is holographic, which implies that every part contains information about the whole. This property also applies to the *munthu*; relational behavior is critical to the constitution of the whole person, especially concerning honor and dignity. Relational behavior also demonstrates the weight of the person in the clan, community and other groups.

Social emphasis on people's relations maintains interdependence, connecting of human beings to each other, and influencing thoughts, emotions, behavior and motivation (Markus and Kitayama 1991). The interdependent self corresponds to the 'porous' self of Taylor for whom "the source of [one's] most powerful and important emotions are outside of the 'mind'[i.e., are relational]" (2007:38). The idea of an interdependent self is highly relevant to HIV testing and prevention programs. The interdependent self explains why people tend to value traditional treatments, which may delay HIV diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Similarly, mediation through palavers is often preferred to Western-style legal redress. Traditional health treatments and mediation focus on the person in relation to others.

In contrast, current HIV/AIDS-prevention campaigns in Africa generally fail to address people's emotions and their own sense of "morality" framed in terms of interdependence, which limits their motivation to change their behavior. Most prevention campaigns target people as individuals, independent selves like those prevailing in the western world. Such campaigns are therefore assuming that each person decides for him- or herself whether to get tested or use preventative measures. Addressing *interdependent*, rather than independent, persons could influence people's decision-making more effectively. The interdependent *munthu* could be addressed by appealing to values and behaviors related to relational personhood, such as respect, reciprocity and responsibility.

Respect and restraint

In all studied Bantu-speaking cultures, respect is a strong value and deeply rooted in the notion of a *munthu*. Respect is taught both within the family and through education given in communities (e.g. in youth initiation) in Mozambique. Many informants of all kinds stated that each person should "respect the ancestors protecting the person." Respect is taught through training in restraint.

Respect for the ancestors, others and onself

"When a person does not respect [*xihlonipho; xichavo* in Xichangana], people may say: this is not a person! You are only a person, when [you] respect [someone] (...) I have to follow what my namesake ancestor wants. Respecting my namesake, I respect all my family."[74] A female Cindau-speaking diviner argues that one must respect all as persons: "You have to respect the eldest, and respect your ancestors' 'spirits'. Respecting the people is a strong value in the community; you need to be respected there where you live. You have to know what is good and what is bad; a person can only exist when respecting."[75] These quotes show the relation of respect with personhood. When the person fails to behave with respect, the ancestors become angry and may withdraw their protection; disease or misfortune may result. According to a Xichangana healer in Maputo, there are two types of respect: the respect connoted with fear [*xichavo*] of the ancestors who might sanction in case one did not respect their prohibitions/taboos (see Chapter Three), and respect related to feelings [*xihlonipho*] that each person should have in relation to others (living and ancestors). Bagnol (2006:105) notes that respect is a core concept of African morality and is expressed as "fear" of ancestors. As with relations between the living, relations with the ancestors are grounded in the rules of reciprocity.[76] Respect for, and adherence to, these rules is the only way of securing a peaceful relationship with others, whether living or dead. The living remember the deceased by invoking them and making regular offerings. Respect is also shown by observing taboo prohibitions that the ancestors left to the living, "in order to make the living live better." In exchange for respect, the ancestors protect the well-being of the living, protecting them against disease or misfortune. But when respect is missing, the ancestors withdraw their protection and may sanction the living for breaking the rules of reciprocity. In this context, the violation of taboos is understood to offend the ancestors, and as a failure to respect others and onself. Transgression of taboos weakens the person's protective shade, allowing misfortune to occur.[77] Failure to respect taboos is a failure of reciprocity, and causes the withdrawal of the ancestors' protection.

Respect, and other moral qualities (Devisch 1990, 1993a, 1996a), come from the heart. Together, the heart and the ancestors guide a person's behavior, enabling him or her to live as a person with others. In respecting the ancestors, one learns to respect others, especially elders, who are nearest to the ancestors, one's spouse, and oneself. Respect is associated with self-control and restraint. Markus and Kitayama (1991:228) relate interdependence to self-control, remarking that "it takes a high degree of self-control and agency to effectively adjust oneself to various interpersonal contingencies." The value of self-control is weakening, especially in cities, under the influence of the idea of personal freedom, which allows one to do anything without limitation. In rural communities, ideas about personal freedom are balanced against freedom achieved on the expense of others; e.g. an elder once had to explain to the youth that democracy does not mean freedom of the individual, achieved against the interests of others (see in Kotanyi 2003b).

In addition, to respect oneself [*kubzireremedja* in Cindau] is as important as to respect others and the ancestors. The notion of respect for oneself is part of the encompassing morality of a *munthu* [person]. The deeply grounded notion of respect for oneself is useful in health education, especially concerning personal motivation for getting HIV tested and for taking preventative measures.

Honor and respect

Honor [*wisuwelela* in Emakhuwa in the North], is to take care of oneself, to have responsibility, which implies respect. *Wisuwelela* implies more than respect, being connected with the intelligence of the person grounded in the heart in a connection with the ancestors. In the Bantu context of South Mozambique, the notion of honor[78] as an expression of status and dignity is fundamental (see Berglund, 1976, for the Zulu context). People living with HIV and AIDS (or those accused of 'witchcraft') explain that losing honor feels like losing their proper social standing, for which others respect them. According to the healer Amos Pinga, a person loses honor by killing, stealing or insulting others, i.e., showing a lack of respect. The urbanized Xichangana healer Irene says that a woman gains honor by ordering the home and assuming her proper responsibilities [*tinfanelo*]. Honor, respect and responsibility are therefore very closely related values. Hakwa, a female Cindau diviner says, "The honor of a woman depends on what she is doing: we have honor when giving birth to our children, this leads to respect. We will be called the mother of this or this child.(…) Then you respect and are respected by others, and by yourself. Honor is to have children so that your name has continuity, which gives you value [weight]." According to both men and women, the honor of a man lies in taking responsibility for his family, caring for and respecting his wife or women, and helping to educate their children. According to Irene, such men are rare. Whether matrilineal or patrilineal, the honor of a person is related to taking responsibility; the priority for both men and women in life is to have children. Having children means that one has assumed responsibility for others, and thus differentiates an adult person from a child. Informants insist that having children defines personhood. This value has serious implications for HIV/AIDS prevention, as people want to have several children before they are willing to use condoms (Mariano 2014 and my findings in DR Congo).

Personal honor is related to social recognition of the person by the community and through evidence of reciprocity. Behaving with respect, taking responsibility, and engaging in reciprocity gains one honor, and ensures that, in turn, one will receive assistance when needed from other respectful, responsible persons. Honor in a matrilineal Emakhuwa context in the North is viewed similarly: "To be a person [*mutthú*] depends first on the honor [*wissuwela*] of a person, depending on his behavior. Any human requires honor in order to be recognized as a person, not become isolated from others. Without (a high degree of) honor, you remain alone, you will not be able to marry, you will have difficulty building your house and people will fly away from you. Life is only possible through the help of neighbors. Honor marks the difference between a person and an animal. Loss of honor is connoted with failure to respect taboos, leaving one open to attacks by 'witchcraft' in the Emakhuwa/Elomwe context where the taboos are taught in youth initiation; to a weaker extent this also applies to the other studied southern Mozambican regions, where youth initiation disapeared.

Excessive individualism, 'witchcraft' and the lack of reciprocity

In Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speaking contexts, independence and individualistic behavior is seen as actions conducted in isolation from others. Such isolation leads to suspicions of 'witchcraft', as requires secrecy to act against others. In such a context, it is very problematic to state that a person is exceptional, distinguishing him or her strongly from others (e.g. with more diplomas or having special knowlege etc.), since it is easily seen as only possible through sorcery (see Ciekawy 2001).[79] To exhibit the individual *self* obviously provokes accusations of 'witchcraft' too easily, – a levelling mechanism that responds to excess.[80] For example, in Maputo in 2007, I wished to designate a specific, qualified person for a technical task ("the best person") at an NGO. My designation was unacceptable to the NGO director. In a context in which interdependence is a key value, "the best" person is one who is especially able to relate to others, known for respecting the rules of reciprocity, and for sharing windfalls with others. Special professional or personal qualifications imply uniqueness, and are easily connoted with 'witchcraft' because uniqueness is equated with excess. Social recognition of uniqueness is unacceptable in this interdependently structured world; lower quality work is preferable to the idea that only one specific person could do the work. Chiefs, healers and diviners are the exceptions that prove the rule; their excess individualism is accepted, but it also carries a sense of ambiguity. This ambiguity may enable them to deal with malevolent 'witchcraft'.

In sum, for plurally constituted persons in Mozambique and DR Congo, social relations define the multiple public, private and collective selves. The plural, interdependent and relational *munthu* [person] in the studied Bantu cultures is open, allowing integration of other perspectives, both 'traditional' and 'modern.' Therefore, for any kind of legal, health, or educational intervention, the interdependency of persons should be addressed, enabling programs to mobilize people's emotions and stimulate behavioural change more effectively.

C. Public, private and collective selves

Public and private selves

Participant observation of practices in rural and urban Mozambique and individual and focus-group interviews in seven different provinces show that the majority of the population shares the notion of the interdependence of relational persons. I also observed in Mozambique a strong tendency to develop multiple selves in different group contexts. This finding corresponds to what Markus and Kitayama (1991:229) found with regard to the Japanese students they studied: "interdependent selves do not attend to the needs, desires, and goals of all others [but rather, that interdependence] will be most characteristic of relationships with in-group members." Kondo (1990:36-37) argues that mainstream anthropological studies of the *self* rarely convey the sense that the self is plural. In contrast, Triandis's (1989) differentiation among private, public and collective selves facilitates analysis of the apparently contradictory behaviour and speech of the same person in different contexts. Triandis defines three categories of self: "The *private self* is an assessment of the self by the self. The *public self* corresponds to an assessment of the self by the generalized other. The *collective self* corresponds to an assessment of the self by a specific reference group" (1989:507).[81]Triandis suggests that "the more complex the culture, the more frequent the sampling of the public and private self and the less frequent the sampling of the collective self." (1989:506). This applies in Mozambique and DR Congo, where differences between the *private self* and the *public self* emerge, both in urban and rural contexts.

The "production" of public selves occurs through the participation of the person in different social, professional, political, educational or religious groups. The diversity of values at work lead to the creation of *multiple selves* in both countries. The rural framework tends to create more homogenous selves than the urban one through stronger social control[82] over behavior; however, *multiple selves* also appear in rural contexts. These urban selves might be regarded as variants on the same theme, whereas more radical change is also possible in the rural world of healers (between bewitched, divined, possessed, exorcised etc.). Nevertheless, greater diversity is possible in big cities. Urban *selves* are flexible, allowing 'ancestral' values to combine with and adjust to postcolonial, religious, political, scientific and other influences. Although *multiple selves* appear at all level of the society, this tendency is most visible among elites. In Mozambique and DR Congo, there is a major cultural gap between the Western-educated decision-making elite and the majority of the population. Many members of the 'elites' (who are themselves diverse) are partially or sometimes entirely detached from the social and moral implications of reciprocity inherent in the *munthu* [person]. The personhood of 'elites'[83] members is a result of diverse political, historical, religious and social influences grounded in colonialism, Christianity, Islam, atheism, politics and Western science involving differences, which we may regard as important, but which from the perspective of healers' experiences are just viewed as variants of same theme. However, the kind of "Westernized education" to which elite members have access leads them easily to act against the porosity of strongly interdependent and relational selves

usual in the Bantu context, putting emphasis on more boundedness of the person in which individualism and competition are promoted (Taylor C. 2007a). These differences of valuation produce tensions leading to ambivalences towards "ancestral traditions" which emphasize relationality and reciprocity. Such tensions appear between parents and their children, as among those living in rural areas around Nacala Porto, the second largest city of Nampula province and among youth who start to reject the values and practices of their family while attending secondary school in the city. Simultaneously, Christian or Islamic influences promote a dualist perspective grounded in ideas of individual sin, which diverges from the strongly interdependent and non-dualist 'ancestral' moral values and practices.

In short, among the majority of Bantu speakers in Mozambique, cultural influences often create an "assemblage" of multiple selves as Langwick (2008) suggests by applying ANT theories that are grounded in concepts developed by the philosophers Deleuze and Guattari (see also Delanda 2002). Instead of hybridity (Bhabha 1994), which implies throwing over "tradition", I see a switch from one world to another in a back and forth process that mixes 'endogenous' values with Western individualism, and/or with dualist Christianity or Islam and other politically framed values. Simultaneausly, each of these worlds also involves fluid or sudden changes, which augment the multiplicity at stake. This non-lineal process does not necessarily lead to abandonment of "ancestral" paradigms and framings. People may drop them, but they may return to them later or in other contexts, (see Chapter One and the findings of Colson 2006 in the neigbouring Zambia). However, in dualist religions such as Islam or Christianity, especially in Kimbanguist and Zion churches, syncretism occurs through the integration of some, slightly altered, "ancestral" values and practices.

The different paradigms expressed through *multiple selves* are often recognizable; their analysis may allow better understanding of the emotional and social tensions at work. The latter are grounded in the combination of or confrontations between different knowledges, practices and values. This understanding, in turn, may help to recognize the reasons for the lack of efficacy and deleterious effects of some "modernizing" interventions in law, health and education. The necessity of dealing with divergent paradigms requires the self to shift, depending on public versus private contexts. A multiplicity of selves allows the same person to engage in behaviors, which may appear contradictory to outsiders, by separating the divergent worlds through "splitting" (see Freud 1977; Fanon 1952, 1969; Bhabha 1990b and Chapter Seven). For example, as her "professional self," a medical doctor working in the Ministry of Health in Mozambique may take a position criticizing the consultation of healers in the context of AIDS. However, outside of the workplace, she may recognize that traditional and biomedicine may be complementary in some ways and, in fact, be an initiate in traditional healing herself. She may also participate in Christian practices in which 'ancestral' rituals are criticized, but still participate in those rituals when among family. The construction of multiple private selves may create complex situations, for instance, in the case of the former Socialist Minister of Health, who says that he participates in (ancestral) ceremonies, as requested by his mother. In such a case, does he treat

his family as a semi-public sphere where he accepts ‘ancestral’ practices in order to avoid conflicts with his mother and other family members? If he does not participate, he risks ‘witchcraft’ accusations; his prominent political position can easily be seen as the product of ‘witchcraft’.

The notion of the collective “self”

The *collective self*, which I discuss here, should not be confused with “collectivism”. During colonial rule and in African forms of socialism, the strong interdependency observed in many sub-Saharan contexts was often misinterpreted as predisposition to “collectivism.” Several African philosophers vehemently reject this characterization of African societies (Geyeke 1997; Mosolo 1994). Collectivism was overemphasized by socialist ideologues in Mozambique and elsewhere (see e.g. Machel, Senghor and Nyerere), who associated it with “African ways”. Such an ideologically motivated focus on “collectivity” has been refuted by my Mozambican informants. For example, Emakhuwa farmers Vanteke and his wife Catharina, who lived according to ancestral traditions, resisted the forced collectivism of Mozambican socialism. Like many other farmers, they valued clan, community, relationality, interdependence and “ancestral” values, rituals and practices. Enforced collectivism, however, led to the violent destruction of their agricultural livelihood (Kotanyi 2003b).

In Mozambique and DR Congo, the *collective self* belongs to multiple groups, including the clan, initiation cohort, peer group, Christian or Islamic community, and other groups with shared norms, roles, and values. Such groups tend to have great emotional significance. As defined by Triandis (1989:507), “the *collective self* corresponds to an assessment of the self by a specific reference group”. This distinction between the *public* and *collective selves* generally fits with what I documented in both countries, where the *private self* is the *relational self* lived in the family and extended clan.

In rural contexts in Mozambique, there may be greater emphasis on the *collective self* relative to the *private self*, implying that one should adjust behaviour to the norms of the peer group, religious context or clan and community. In urban contexts, however, *private selves* seem to tend to be more complex and are strongly coupled with the need to develop *public selves*. Members of ‘elites’ groups, migrants, students in foreign countries, religious persons, etc., switch between multiple selves as they negotiate the combination of other cultures, which follow paradigms that differ from “ancestral” (endogenous) Bantu-speaking ways. These multiple selves may explain the apparently contradictory behavior of members of the ‘elites’, like the minister of health or the medical doctor, who behave differently depending on the in-group. People who visit the rural world regularly might partly experience their rural self in similar ways as their rural relatives. Those having little opportunity to experience rural life, and whose education put greater emphasis on individualism, will not experience ‘ancestral ways’ similarly, and may easily approach them with (negative or positive) preconceptions.

D. Coexisting dualist and syncretic notions of the person

Mozambican and Congolese people live amidst ancestral paradigms that must coexist with the dualist ones that undergird the sciences (see Chapter Seven), or religions such as Christianity or Islam. In this

section, I discuss the tensions that result from multiple paradigms and the resilience of traditional notions of the person – especially in religious contexts.

Soul and spirit

The Xirhonga-speaking healer Janeiro explained to me that "The 'soul' is religious, while *xikwembo* [breath/spirit in Xirhonga] is in our tradition." However, also using the Christian term 'soul', another Christian Xichangana healer insisted that the 'soul' is different from the 'spirit' [*moya*], because the latter determines how a person thinks. The Western and Christian notion of 'soul' dates back to Greek antiquity, when Homer referred to the *psyche* as the part of a person that continues after death as ghost or spirit. The psyche, associated with breath and vital forces, coexisted in a living being with blood [*thumos*], which gave a person his or her personal charcter, emotions, and feelings (see Martin and Barresi 2006). These notions are similar to Bantu speakers' notion of the 'spirit,' although Western metaphysics eventually conflated "breath" and "vital force" in the soul concept. 'Bantu' approaches, however, recognize the intermediary and ambivalent dimension of the "shade". Healers agree that both the Christian notion of 'soul' and the Bantu notion of *moya* are related to the invisible parts of the person. But many healers following ancestral logics distinguish *moya* from the shade, which includes the vital force.[84] Speaking of ‚soul' instead of 'spirit,' people often combine endogenous notions with Christian ones, but many healers continue to employ the ternary notion of the person.

Christian dualism differentiates the material body from the immaterial soul, which since the Greek Classical period (circa 530 B.C.E.) has defined the self as an individual distinct from all others. Ideally, in the Western tradition, the body and its senses should remain free from impurity, and under the control of the superior mind (Martin & Barresi 2006: 11). Both Christian and Bantu ancestral approaches consider the "soul" or *moya*/*xikwembu*] [breath/spirit] to be immortal. Mozambican healers try to bridge the differences by using Christian terminology, just as Christian missionaries and priests use endogenous terms to convey Christian notions and values. Nevertheless, most healers, like Janeiro, integrate their traditional views with Christian ones.[85] Janeiro may apply the Christian term "soul" to the components of the person, without adhering to the Christian dichotomy. When he is among other Christians or when he speaks to a white European presumed to be Christian, he uses the Christian terms, but as an *nyamusoro* [healer in Xichangana] master, he deals with the intermediary vital force of the "shade". Like Janeiro, many Mozambicans are Christian, and mix endogenous approaches with Christian (or Islamic ones). Mazinge (a Cindau male healer) says: "In the church, they call it *soul* [*alma* in Port.], but in our tradition it is *muhia* [breath in Cindau]" (South, 2008). *Muhia* is that part of the person that is reborn as an ancestor, an association that appears broadly parallel to the continued existence of the Christian soul after death. A reborn ancestor is not the 'soul' in the sense of an individual, but rather a multiply constituted entity like that described above.

African religious pluralism

Tensions arise from conflicts between divergent Christian/Islamic and endogenous paradigms. People deal with the tensions by mobilizing the *multiple selves* that comprise the *munthu* [person in Cindau].

Christian missionaries often obliged converts to drop the ancestral practices associated with their names and take Christian names (West 2005; van Reybrouck 2010; Behrend 1993; Langwick 2011).[86] Missionaries assumed this change would advance the conversion of Mozambican and Congolese people from tolerant (and ambiguous) pluralism to a dichotomous moral system, thus bringing Africans into a global Christian community. During the colonial period, this conversion served colonial political and economic interests, the effects of which are still visible. While Christianity (or Islam) continues to try to impose exclusivity in values and beliefs, such strictures are not always accepted locally. The violent alienation of people from their own language, clan, communities, and values through colonization occurred in broadly similar ways in Mozambique and DR Congo, albeit with significant regional differences. People were resettled and displaced in large numbers, removing them from the lands they associated with their ancestors and hindering free movement. Many were removed from their families and lost all sense of belonging. This process of displacement extended for decades through the violent post-colonial period in both countries. The harshness of the colonial assimilation process led to ambivalences and the loss of some of the basic endogenous social and spiritual values, and motivated many people to join new religious movements. The Catholicism, Protestantism or Evangelism propagated during colonialism, although using some ancestral terms (see Comaroff 1991, Behrend 1997, 2011) had the tendency to exclude 'ancestral' frames as "pagan". Catholicism supported strongly the colonial power in both countries; in South Mozambique several Frelimo leaders joined Protestant Churches by distancing themselves from Catholicism (Macamo 2001). As a reaction to the post-colonial socialist regime's (1978–1992) prohibition of "ancestral" traditions in the name of progress; later, in the 1990s, many joined new religious movements like Zionist or Pentecostal Churches. In DR Congo, the strong support of colonialism by the Catholic Church has led many people to join African prophetic movements, in particular establishing new churches, among them the Kimbanguist Church — a prophetic Congolese version of Christianity that includes ancestral frames, just as the Zionist Christian Church caming from South Africa[87] does in Mozambique. Since the 1990s, especially Pentecostal Churches and orther religious Christian movements have spread in Mozambique and DR Congo[88]. These movements cast their prophets, such as Simon Kimbangu, as African Christs and are often centered around the Holy Spirit. Followers appreciated the adaptability of Christianity to African socio-cultural requirements. The resulting syncretic forms of Christianity frame the multiple "bodies" of the person in diverse ways.[89] In contrast to Christian and Islamic dualism of good/bad, the ambiguous "shade" is neither female nor male (Devisch 1991), neither good nor bad. Rather, the "shade" frames liminal states in pragmatic and transformative ways (see Chapters Four/Six). Christian and Islamic influences affect current practices to varying degrees. Many people are masters of combining, or moving between, values, worlds, and paradigms. My observations in Mozambique show, that although these churches prohibit ancestral frames, followers do not necessarily respect these prohibitions, just as the people in colonial times were used to not respecting all the prohibitions imposed either by the colonial power or by the church.

E. Continuity, change and the plural person

Under colonial and post-colonial modernizing influences, 'ancestral' practices have been publicly discouraged in the name of *progresso* [progress in Portugies], but communities have developed subversive ways of conserving their values and 'ancestral' practices. If necessary, these practices are hidden. The socialist regime in Mozambique (1978-1992) exerted political, ideological and military pressure that required differentiating among *private, public* and *collective selves*. 'Ancestral' practices were officially prohibited in the name of "progress" as part of a socialist campaign intended to do away with traditions such as initiation and male circumcision.[90] One slogan of the ruling socialist party[91] was *'abaixo'* [down], meaning "down with obscurantism," which grounded the narrative of the post-colonial Marxist-Leninist 'state cosmology'[92]. However, 'traditional' practices, seen as "our culture" did not disappear; they were often practiced privately and secretly (Geffray 1990; Honwana 2002, Kotanyi 2003b; Arnfred 2011). Mozambique's history, colonial, Christian and more recently, has led to strong delineation of public and private. With the prohibition of traditional practices and the obligation to adhere to political ideology, many people display 'non-traditional' behavior in public, while privately practicing 'traditional' rituals. Today there are still social, professional, religious, educational and economic pressures that lead people to differentiate between private and public selves.

In Mozambique, urbanism allows more separation of private and public spheres than rural society, and promotes the construction of *private* and *public selves*. It also allows greater choice in group membership, making it possible for people to participate in groups with extremely different ideologies, values and practices. When the expectations of these groups contradict each other, people create a hermetical separation of the incompatible frames and values (Bhabha 1990b). This may occur more commonly in cities than in rural contexts, though it has also occurred in the countryside. Historically, the Emakhuwa "chiefs" appointed by colonial powers publicly behaved in one way—adopting Christianity for example—while "privately" among clan and community, they respected ancestral practices.[93] Similar behaviors occur in post-colonial contexts amidst divergent political values.

Many urbanized people are part of reconstituted cultural, often ethnic, groups that mix new influences with endogenous values and practices. As a result, urban, and some rural, people tend to follow pluralistic practicies in law and health, where they may use multiple medical systems. A "modernized" Christian person may deny the relationship between HIV/AIDS and ancestral taboo transgression. But the same person may wonder, after years of taking anti-retroviral (ARV) therapies, whether taboo transgression more appropriately explains their sudden HIV-negative condition. This occurs because occasionally, after years of ARV therapy, a person may suddenly test HIV negative, after years of testing positive, leading them to question biomedical science. Doubts about scientific explanations may lead to a return to 'ancestral' paradigms, and a shift in how the collective self is framed.[94] What matters is the internal coherence of the group paradigm, whether that paradigm is biomedical or ancestral, political or religious, scienfitic or legal. Belonging to one group does not automatically

cause conflict with another—even if official health, educational, legal or religious dogma may try to impose exclusivity. Many people practice paradigmatic inclusivity by belonging to several groups simultaneously, shifting from one to another according to need. This inclusivity is facilitated by interaction between the multiple selves of the plural person.

The notion of the person is important in law, health and education, given that institutions, such as clinics, hospitals, and courts, and development programs tend to apply an individualist notion of the person inconsistent with the interdependent, relational one I have described. In Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speaking contexts, the plural person is relational; such persons tend to see themselves as part of social networks that they live as multiple selves. One of the reasons that many HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns are ineffective is because they fail to address the interdependent person. Instead, they apply individualizing "mainstream" biomedical concepts (see Chapter Six). Similarly, national law applies individualistic concepts of the person, often neglecting corporate rights, and fails to deal appropriately with relational conflicts. Conflicts framed in terms of "witchcraft" cannot be adequately addressed by urban tribunals located far from the community, nor by punishments that target a specific individual rather than seeking mediation and involving all members of the affected group (see Chapter Six).

Notions of the person may change, but slowly. So far, 'modernity' has not produced major changes to the interdependence and relationality I observed in rural and urban contexts.[95] Despite significant economic and political changes, the socially bounded, plural and relational 'person' continues to dominate in Mozambique and Congo DR. As Okolo (1991) and Hallen (2006:128) have argued, the constant reinterpretation of tradition ensures its continued relevance. Jean Comaroff (1980) has documented continuity and change in the relationship between individual experience and cultural order among the Barolong Tatshidi of South Africa. Relations with the ancestors, for example, are still understood in terms of "shared kin substance" (1980:654). My findings in Mozambique are similar to Comaroff's conclusions regarding the Tatshidi thirty years earlier and to those of Ashforth (2005) and Wreford (2008) in South Africa, Schuessler (2001) in Zimbabwe, and Devisch[96] in DR Congo. These studies document the predominance of notions of interdependent and relational persons, connected to the ancestors to some degree, even amidst 'modernity'. Those Mozambican and Congolese following more independent notions of self, who do not share the endogenous "ancestral" paradigms, are mostly a minority. They are usually non-Bantu-speakers or with mixed cultural heritage.

Summary of the interdependent *munthu* person

I suggested that the plural notion of the interdependent and relational *munthu* [person in Cindau] involves *multiple selves*, allowing one to move fluidly between different worlds. In Mozambique and DRC, where inequalities are increasing, social pressures to maintain interdependence and engage in reciprocity often lead to tensions. Effective interventions require law, health and education practitioners to recognize and actively employ the strongly interdependent and relational characteristics of persons.

II. ‘Bodies,’ embodiment, emotions and cognition

We saw that in Mozambique and in DR Congo, healers argue that the physical body of a human person cannot be treated with success if there are disturbances of the “breath/spirit” of a person, or if the “shade” is weakened through “attacks”. Biomedical practices in hospitals, like those widespread in the studied context, treat primarily and, to a large extent, only the physical body. But well-being is dependent upon the condition of all three of the primary components of the person, and is not attainable by treating the physical body alone. In this section, I elaborate upon the concept of multiple “bodies” (used as metaphor). I describe those social and political domains that seek to mould and transform the physical body, especially through *biopower* (Foucault 1978). The exertion of biopower is especially apparent in health practices related to HIV/AIDS. I also look at how social and political tensions are dealt with, for example through ‘witchcraft’ or possession, and describe how the several ‘bodies’ involved are mediated through emotions.

The plurally constituted *munthu* [person in Cindau] as described above is what Mol (2002) calls the “body multiple,” discussing it in terms of “more than one but less than many,” in the treatment of a certain disease in a Belgian hospital. In Mozambique and DR Congo, we saw that the wholeness of the plural and dividual person encompasses three main components, which I discuss below through a structuring metaphor of *bodies* (see Lakoff & Johnson, 2003:46, on this kind of structuring metaphor) that serves to deepen the relations and interdependences involved.

First, what I will call the *“spiritual body* animated by *muhia* [”breath/spirit” in Cindau]. The *spiritual body* includes a person’s namesake and other protective ancestors and continues after death as an ancestral or wandering “spirit”. Second is the *vital body*, or “shade” [*muviri* in Cindau], with its “blood” and all other bodily fluids. Third is the physical body or shell. While the *vital body* and physical body disappear at death, the *spiritual body* joins the ancestors through transformation from *muhia* into *mudzimu* [breath into ancestor ‘spirit’] in Cindau. The three “bodies” referred to by my informants (spiritual, vital and the body-shell) constitute the “body multiple” and are interconnected through the senses and emotions. This corresponds to the conceptualization of Scheper-Huges & Lock (1987). As components of the “body multiple,” they are constructed through social and political action. The body multiple is part of and influenced by a larger “social body” comprised of family, clan, and community members, as well as ancestors. The social “body” is constantly inscribing values and norms upon each of the “bodies” of a person. Ancestors, for example, affect the “spirit”, as well as the “shade” (vital *body*) and the physical body. In contrast allopathic health interventions often intend to target just the body-shell. I will compare these categories with the concepts used in anthropology.

The multiplicity of ‘bodies’

Mary Douglas (1996: 72-91) famously developed the concept of two bodies: the social and the physical. Douglas (1970:65) observed that the human body is a “natural symbol,” and a rich source of metaphor. The body is both a physical and cultural artifact, blurring the boundary between “nature” and culture in narratives and bodily practices. Like Mauss (1934, 1938), Douglas considered the

human body to be a microcosm of society; bodily control was an expression of social control (1996:78-80). The body was permeable, protected by physical skin and by the second skin of the community, which establishes "boundaries, controls points of entry and egress, and codifies acceptable sexual behavior. The best immune system is the community" (2005:111)[97]. As early as 1992, Douglas argued that HIV prevention must focus on safeguarding the protective layer of the community.[98] Douglas's observation directly applies to Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speaking contexts.

Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987:7-8) address the multiplicity of "bodies" (as a conceptual metaphor) by proposing three basic categories: First, the **individual body-self**, which includes "the body-mind" comprising "psyche, soul, self, etc." (1987:7). Second is the **social body***,* which in accordance with Douglas is the expression of society in/through the physical body. Third, is the **body politic** (Scheper-Hughes & Lock 1987:23), which involves the state and those political actions that subject the physical body to regulation, surveillance, and control. The body politic is an agent of *biopower* (Foucault 1978), which is exerted via political and institutional control of the physical body. Below I use these concepts, discussing how people deal with political, social and emotional stress, which are expressed and "managed" through embodiment of multiple 'spirits' in certain persons. Finally, I look at how emotions mediate among the multiplicity of "bodies" involved.

The social world determines a person's well-being

The concept of *multiple selves* means that an illness cannot be treated as an individual issue (Honwana 2002, Matangila 2000). A person's well-being is determined by the social world, which is constituted by other persons and by the ancestors and other spiritual beings. The social world becomes inscribed in and upon all three *bodies* of a person. The inscription of the *social body* on the *spiritual body* occurs through interference of ancestors or other spirits. Ancestors can withdraw or restore their protection of a person, and spirits may claim revenge or compensation; these agents are experienced through the *spiritual body*. The *social body* may also act on a person's *vital force* (shade), especially through the intrusive acts of other persons. These acts are often framed as witchcraft or sorcery. In this interdependent world, the illness of a clan or family member indicates a disturbance in the social fabric of both the living and the dead. Hence, 'maladies',[99] as Langwick (2011:11) calls socially influenced health disorders, are rarely reducible to physical or mental disorders of an individual, as they are in biomedicine. In other words, those disorders that affect the well-being of a person directly concern the members of the social world surrounding the patient. Illness thus signals disorders in/of the social world; these disorders affect the person as a whole—that is, the spiritual, vital, and physical *bodies*. In case of illness, the first priority is to identify whether there is a disturbance in/of the social tissue, which must be repaired or "rewoven" (Devisch 1993a; Sax 2002) by locating the source of the disturbance. The identification of the source allows the means of treatment to be determined. "Traditional" medicine deals first with disorders related to ancestors and other spirits, transgressed taboos, or witchcraft. Biomedicine attributes many health disorders to "natural causes"—what healers

describe as "just coming like that." [100] In a traditional healing context, however, social disturbances are much more common sources of illness than "natural causes."

The body politic and biopower

In an anthropological approach, Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987:24) note that "the three bodies—individual, social and body politic—may be closed off, protected by a nervous vigilance about exits and entrances." Devisch (1991, 1993a, 2002, 2003a, 2003b) describes these processes in a Yiyaka-speaking context where the vulnerability of a person's "vital force" is attributed to penetration or violation of bodily exits, entrances, and boundaries (like skin, nails, hair), which allow attacks of "witchcraft" or sorcery. In witchcraft, Douglas (1999, 2005) saw interactions between the bodies of persons and the social body, which employed witchcraft to enforce normative values and social control. Her analyses (Douglas [(1992) 2005:99] and Foucault's concept of the disciplinary role of society are complementary. Douglas shows that witchcraft "accusations of immoral conduct are a technique of control against the weak and powerless…" and that "The history of the definition of a disease call to mind that the community constitutes itself also in a struggle for power between its members" (2005:99). While Mullings (1984:164) suggests that witchcraft and sorcery are used in contempory West Africa as "metaphors for social relations", I follow Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987:24), arguing that "witchcraft" becomes a cultural idiom for distress, whether emotional (envy, jaleousy), economic (inequalities) and/or political. Witchcraft as moral power (Stroeken 2010) is a means of social control, regulating social relations through emphasis on reciprocity among interdependent persons (see Chapter Four, Five and Six).

According to Foucault [(1976) 1998], the physical body is subject to *biopower*: "an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of *populations*" (1998:267)[101]. According to Foucault, *Biopower* is indispensable to the development of capitalism, which requires the insertion and control of bodies in economic processes. Foucault [(1963) 2002] shows how knowledge of the physical body is translated into institutional power over the body and its sexuality (Foucault 1978). Knowledge is employed in biomedicine and science in general to discipline and control both a single person and the population more generally (Foucault [(1969) 1970]. The discipline and control of *biopower* is most patently exerted through legally sanctioned surveillance, incarceration and punishment [Foucault (1975) 1977]. *Biopower* is evident in Mozambique and DR Congo in the attempts of the state to impose a national health system and designate biomedicine as the exclusive form of health care. *Biopower* is exerted in, for instance, the ways the state and other institutions regulate, control and approach the body through health policies and programs, including those related to HIV/AIDS. *Biopower* furthers the state's economic and political power by controlling the *population* through public health programs. In Mozambique, these programs have been strongly subject to Western economic influences, especially since the 1990s. Biopower is exerted through national health policies implemented via HIV/AIDS diagnosis, treatment, care, and education programs, including the promotion of ARV therapy. The policies are part of the

"National Strategy" of Mozambique defining the approaches that are officially approved or not. National and international HIV/AIDS interventions exert the *biopower* of the state. They are part of a globalized "AIDS business" (Pisani 2008; Green 2003; Matsinhe 2006);[102] they generate substantial income for national and international interests, in tandem with the pharmaceutical industry (Farmer 2001, 2003; 2005; Green 2011; Green & Ruark 2011). In this context, the economic interests of the *body politic* are entangled with political interests and institutional *biopower*.

HIV prevalence remains as high as 31% in 2007 (MISAU 2011) in the most affected southern regions of Mozambique, leading the Health Ministery to introduce radical measures. Contrary to the advice of UNAIDS, since 2008, the Mozambican Ministry of Health advised hospitals to conduct HIV testing in hospitals without patient consent.[103] This exercise of *biopower* is in part related to the weakening of the economy due to the epidemic, e.g., the need to educate 15% more teachers and medical staff following HIV/AIDS-related deaths.[104] The production of statistics is an example of *biopower* developed and used by institutions, organizations and states to reinforce their power, however, it is inevitable to counter global biopower of market, consumption and policies by using their own methods.
Further evidence of *biopower* is the marginalization of traditional medicine in Mozambique[105] prohibiting official medical staff from cooperating with agents of other health systems, such as "traditional" healers (see Honwana 2002; Mariano 2014, and Chapter Five).[106] The "cosmologies" of the state, of the political party supporting it, of the international organizations and the biomedicine tend to have exclusive cosmologies, centred on securing power. This contrasts the cosmologies grounding "traditional" medicine, in which life transmission and fertility are at the center of concern[107]. The Mozambican state assumes the supremacy of biomedicine in the diagnosis and treatment of HIV/AIDS, officially contesting any positive contribution of traditional healing to the epidemic, and despite recommendations from UNAIDS (2000, 2001), Homsy et al. (2004), Wreford (2008). Medical doctors claim that "healers should in case of AIDS symptoms just transfer their patient to the hospital".[108] Officially, healers are prohibited from treating people with HIV/AIDS; affected people are pressured by hospitals not to use traditional medicine. However, many patients use medicinal plants and traditional health services in tandem with biomedicine, as people reported in 2008 at the first National AIDS Conference, and as healers noted during the research DIALOGO (in 2006/2007). Simultaneoulsy, nurses from several districts in South Mozambique reported their positive experiences in cooperating with healers. When patients took herbal remedies as well as allopathic ones, nurses observed better outcomes than with those treated by biomedicine alone.[109] In fact, the attempts of the state to impose biomedical HIV/AIDS treatments exclusively have been subverted by many patients and healers, sometimes with the tacit approval of nurses. But patients often do so secretly, fearing exclusion from officially sanctioned treatments. Nurses cooperating with healers are threatened by the Ministry of Health with disciplinary measures. Nevertheless, combinations of medical treatments are usual in Mozambique and DR Congo, similar to those

described by Langwick (2008, 2011) for Tanzania. In Tanzania and DR Congo cooperation in treatment is not officially promoted, but neither is it condemned. The policies are more severe in Mozambique, and include intimidation and condemnation of both patients and medical staff.

In Mozambique, the interconnected *multiple bodies* (spiritual, vital and physical) of the person must be treated at the same time as the broader social body of kin and community to regain well-being. People often challenge the state's biopower—as exerted through the dominant biomedical paradigm—by seeking treatment for the transgression of taboos, for persecution by foreign spirits, and for "witchcraft." As several scholars (i.e., Kriege 1947; Evans-Pritchard 1976; Douglas 1970b; Geschiere 1995; Fisy & Geschiere 2001; Eze & Ciekawy et al. 2001; Niehaus 2001, Comaroff et al. 2001; Moore & Sanders et al. 2001; West 2005a; Meneses 2008; Igreja 2014) have demonstrated, accusations of "witchcraft" are used to regulate the moral economy and ensure reciprocity between interdependent persons. Such a social 'etiology' explains misfortune and death, provides a way to deal with uncertainty (Stroeken 2010), and frames morality and ethics (among others Kagame 1976; Mujynya 1978; Gyeke 1987, Wiredu 1995, 1996, 1997; Gbadegesin 1998; Matangila 2000; Bewaji 2004; Zigon 2008; Lambeck et al. 2010; Kutaawe Kasozi 201:78; Fassin & Lézé et al. 2014; Laidlaw 2014; Webb 2016) as vehicles of normative regulation and control (Douglas 1999, 2005; Geschiere 1995; 2013; Matangila 2000; Niehaus 2001; Stroeken 2010). Witchcraft accusations are grounded in the social and political discourse and practices of the group. Through socialization, these discourses and practices become inscribed on the physical bodies of persons. The power this process represents is not the institutional *biopower* of the state. It is nevertheless a normative form of social and political power exerted in the communities and intended to regulate behavior, especially behavior related to HIV/AIDS (Ashforth 2005, Rödlach 2006, Niehaus 2007; Quantara 2010), although in ways that significantly differ from state-sanctioned biomedical interventions.

Dealing with the political and social worlds through embodiment

In Mozambique and DR Congo, spirit possession, an embodied phenomenon, is a fundamental way of dealing with conflicts or disturbances resulting in the personal, social and political worlds. Possession may express historical trauma and emotional disruptions of members of the clan and community. Possession is also a means of empowerment for healers and diviners.

Embodiment in healing

The social world is embodied in peoples' search for peace and well-being in both Mozambique and DR Congo. Ancestors, "foreign spirits," and "witches" are all part of this social world; they act on both the personal "breath/spirit" (*spiritual body*) and/or on the "shade" (*vital body*). Both affect the well-being of the body-shell. Above I discussed the embodiment of ancestors in a newborn child through rebirth. Other forms of embodiment include trance states and possession of diviners and healers by 'spirits' that empower them. A great range of ancestral appear through possession; while spirits may assist with healing, they may also cause illness unless they are "domesticated." If an afflicted person does not deal with his or her possession by spirits, their suffering will continue

(Janzen 1992; Willis 1999; Behrend 1997; Behrend & Luig 1999; Dupré 2001; in Kotanyi 2003a). At the same time, spirit possession facilitates the expression of emotional, social or political distress and suffering through the physical body (Honwana 2002; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008; van Dijk, Reis and Spierenburg et al 2000; Meier and Steinforth 2013). Spirit possession is perceived in all the studied contexts as a "call" to become a healer or diviner; when the possessed person learns to "domesticate" the 'spirits', he or she becomes a medium able to mediate between the living and 'spirits'.[110] Spirit possession is thus a means of empowerment. This phenomenon appears frequently in Mozambique and DR Congo, and is used by diviners and healers in diagnosis and treatment. The embodiment of ancestors or "spirits" in diviners and healers implies that the possessing 'spirits' become those of the initiated person.[111] In exchange, these spirits empower the initiate to divine or heal others giving healers agency (Sax 2006).[112] These spirits, often called "bad" or "foreign," are highly ambiguous entities; they afflict the possessed[113], but they can also be useful. 'Spirit' possession is a deeply rooted and embodied way of dealing with emotions and with troubled political and social situations.

Embodiment through trance and possession as practiced in Mozambique (i.e. Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003a; Bagnol 2006; Igreja 2003) and in DR Congo (Janzen 1992; Devisch 1993a, 1996a, 2000a, 2017) are experienced as transformation. This personal and social transformation deals with social, historical and political conflicts by establishing and/or reaffirming group membership in the community. As an embodied, emotional process, transformation is simultaneously a social process of healing that addresses tensions of all kinds. Biomedicine pathologizes spirit possession: in a paradigm that privileges the unitary individual, the expression of multiple selves or spirits can only be considered psychopathological, as dissociation of personality. In contrast, the *munthu* [person] lives through *multiple selves*, which are regarded as normative, not as a "lack" of health.[114] The existence of *multiple bodies*/selves is inconsistent with the body/mind dualism operative in biomedicine. Nor does biomedicine provide a way of dealing with illness as a social phenomenon that touches directly or indirectly on other members of the clan, community and the invisible parts of the social world.

Embodiment and historical conflicts

Spirit possession as discussed above expresses both personal suffering and that of the social body. However, embodied spirit possession is also a way to deal with multi-generational personal and collective suffering resulting from warfare and violent conflict. Warfare, "bad" death, and inability or failure to properly bury someone (Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b) may give rise to unsettled 'bad' or 'foreign' spirits. Some of these spirits are (or become) part of long-term collective memory and may seek reparation 100 years after death. In 1999, I observed in Nampula possession by 'foreign' *Germani maciini*, the spirits of German colonials from Tanzania, and by *Portuguese maciini,* relicts of violent colonial conflicts. In Mozambique, Honwana (2002) describes healers' embodiment of the spirits of 19th-century Zulu warriors; these spirits help them to heal and divine. Similarly, Igreja (2003) describes the appearance of new spirits (e.g. *Gamba mfukwa* [foreign spirits in Cigorongozi]) in Central Mozambique following the last civil war (1978–1998). These *mfukwa* take revenge for the

soldiers, fighters and civilians who died "bad deaths" through violence and/or were not properly buried. Embodiment of such 'spirits' expresses historical stress or "trauma," the long-term collective memory of suffering. Such 'embodied remembering' enables healing of the social body to occur.

Although practiced in different ways in North or South/Central Mozambique, possession by 'foreign' spirits indicates that suffering caused by violent social, political, and historical conflict are shared emotional experiences[115] even though the possession, through trance, afflicts the body-shell of a single person. Suffering of a single person is exteriorized in grueling (but also liberating) dances, through which each "spirit" moves. These dances are experienced in public among members of the family, clan, or community. The public nature of possession through trance assures the transformation of both the suffering person and the bodies of others. That "culture is to society what memory is to the person" (Triandis 1989:511) is illustrated in such forms of possession, which enable people to deal with past trauma and integrate it with their present experiences (Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003a; Igreja 2003, 2008; Janzen 1992; Rijk, Reis & Spierenburg 2000; Meier & Steinforth et al. 2013; Mahumana 2014b).

Embodied emotions facilitate experiental learning and mediation

As I observed in Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003a), embodied and emotionally loaded spirit possession through trance allows people to deal actively with social and political conflicts and personal distress. Simultaneously, spirit possession leads to embodied[116] learning by diviners and healers through the expression and experience of strong emotions. My multi-sited ethnography does not prevent holistic undertandings. As Csordas (2002) argues, this transformative process involves *somatic modes of attention*[117], which allow the possessed to transcend the dualities of "subject and object, mind and body, self and other" (2002:258). Possession through trance fosters the "inscription" of social reality in the body (242).[118] This same process occurs through possession by ancestral or other spirits in Mozambique and DR Congo. Devisch (2016) elaborates upon the role of embodied emotion, which mobilizes the whole body to deal with the ineffable. Yaka embodiment involves the entire body and its senses through dance, song, shouting and speech. Devisch (2017:n.n.) sees two cognitive competencies involved: "prudential thinking," that is, reasoning power/knowledge; and the intuitive and imaginative understanding that he calls "feel-thinking". Both capacities are grounded in the body, but the singing and dancing he describes primarily affect the intuitive/imaginative mode. Dreams and spirit possession enable healers in Mozambique and DR Congo to learn how to divine and heal by experiencing those activities. Spirits also transmit information during dreams and possession, such as where to find a certain medicinal plant.[119] Devisch describes these dual ways of knowing as reasoning through the mind, as well as through emotion, intuition and experience. I suggest that possession through trance enables healers and diviners to experience healing learning and knowing in intercorporal and intersubjective (see Jackson 1998) ways via the *body multiple*. I discuss this kind of embodied and emotional learning in youth initiation rites in Chapter Five. Also the embodied interiorization of the taboos in each person is intercorporal and intersubjective. The thermo-sexual framings allow to deal with the taboos that regulate people's moral behavior (Chapter Three).

Just as Devisch (1990, 1991) argues that the emotions mediate among bodies through metaphor, Beidelman argues that through metaphor, we link the "realm of ideation with those of affect and feeling" (1996a:6). The narratives of healers in Mozambique show that they learn through the experience of emotion, as expressed in dreams or trance during spirit possession. Learning to 'manage' one's emotions is framed as 'domestication' of the possessing *maciini* [spirits in Emakhuwa]. Controlling one's emotions is part of the education of any *mutthu*[person]. It is a primary aim of gender-specific education; boys are trained to control fear, girls to practice restraint.[120]

Emotions are experienced (in all studied regions in both countries) in ceremonies, which start at night with the calling of the ancestors or 'spirits' through drums, song and dance. Many life-cycle events[121], including youth and healer initiations, healing sessions, and palavers mobilize the emotions. Their efficacy—and that of other rituals—is achieved through the emotional mediation of relations among the living and with the spirits and ancestors. Emotion facilitates "thinking through the heart", as Bantu speakers in Mozambique and in Southwest Congo describe it. Emotions bridge the "body, person, society and the world, values and ideas, persons and context, the-body-that-I-am and cognition, me and the other." (Devisch 1990:114). "Thinking through the heart" inscribes social realities in the physical body and creates emotional links between the body-self and society.

Observations of healing or mediation rituals in Mozambique and DR Congo show that transformation is experienced through the embodied flow of emotions. Embodied emotions are loaded with social power, and are one reason for the efficacy of rituals[122] that I discuss in Chapter Three. For instance, the physical action of invoking the ancestors involves the mobilization of the emotions of those performing and participating. The emotions involved in the relationship with ancestors are complex, involving membership in a network of kin, clan and community. Invocations are spoken in one's mother tongue, and recall one's eldest clan members and the community with which one shares values and practices. Emotions expressed in ancestral invocations tend to be quiet and internalized; they often occur in the private context of the family or extended clan. Such emotions contrast with extroverted expressions during trance and possession. In case of serious problems or conflicts, the *mpfumu* [chief] or his spouse (in a matrilineal context) will perform ancestral invocations in front of the community. In Nampula in 2003 I experienced the mediating power of ancestral invocations in cases of serious conflict, when I filmed "Viver de Novo" (Kotanyi 2003b). This film shows local ways of dealing with conflict through palavers and rituals. The screening of the film in the communities involved incited new conflicts. We suggested asking the ancestors' help to resolve the conflict through a *makeya* [ancestors invocation using flour]. The wife of the chief made the *makeya*. Although she did not speak the truth during the debate after the screening, during the makeya she spoke honestly to the ancestors in front of community members. Since the ancestors see and hear everything, people avoid lying to them, out of fear of their sanctions (becoming ill, or experiencing misfortunes of all kinds). Ancestral invocations facilitate mediation by reminding people—through their mutally embodied emotions—of the shared values, ethics and morals that ground their most fundamental sense of belonging.

Embodied emotions and well-being

Embodiment in ritual transcends the body/mind dualism that characterizes biomedicine in general in Mozambique and DR Congo. Science and biomedicine claim to be purified from "superstition" (Latour 1993, 1996, 2009b), and therefore delimit biomedical practices from spiritual or ancestral healing practices. In contrast, traditional healing recognizes the unity of the *munthu* [person] and seeks to balance all the involved *bodies*. Well-being can only be achieved when considering the ternary spiritual / vital / physical body as influenced by the *social body* and *body politic*. Well-being, a social and emotional feeling of belonging, derives from the body-self in balance with the "air/spirit", "shade" and "flesh", as Janeiro, a master healer living in Maputo, insisted. For him, there is no separation between these primary components of the *munthu*. Together, they constitute a complete person, who is defined through his relational capacities, exercised in the social worlds of clan and community, and the invisible worlds of ancestors and other spirits.

III. Summary and some conclusions concerning personhood

Legal, health, and educational practices associated with "modernization" often lack efficacy, as in the case of HIV/AIDS prevention programs, or fail, like national laws in DR Congo. These interventions fail to recognize local categories and values or address their implications for "development" programs. I have suggested that one of the most relevant categories is the notion of the *munthu* [person in Cindau]. From the perspective of my informants, the *body-self* of the *munthu* is composed of three main components: "breath/spirit", the "shade/blood*s*/vital force" and the physical body,"flesh". The "breath/spirit" involves ancestors and other spirits. The "breath/spirit" is closely related to the "shade", which is central to the relational capacity of the *munthu*. The shade, visible in the shadow, footprints or the outline of the body in the sand, serves as an interface between the person and other persons and their envirement (ecological and spiritual). The shade includes the vital forces found in the *ngati* or similar notions of "blood*s*" (including all bodily fluids), which affect well-being and determine fertility and potency. The physical body-shell disappears after death, while the 'air/spirit' continues on as either an ancestor or a wandering "spirit". An ancestor may be reborn as the "breath/spirit" and namesake of an infant; this ancestor is the special protector of this person. The heart is the seat of thought and intuition. I suggested that emotions bridge the spiritual and the body-shell, and the body-self and the others in the social *body* of kin, clan and community. The plural composite person related to its social worlds is affected by the *body politic*, which exercises institutional *biopower*. The findings suggest that *multiple selves* have the potential to coexist in a dividual *munthu*.

In Mozambique and DR Congo, the strongly relational and interdependent persons may employ *multiple selves* to reconcile public with private; they adjust their behavior according to the specific context of each group. Social, political, ideological, economic, cultural, religious and/or psychological pressures lead to the development of multiple *public selves* with different values, norms and practices. In other words, the strongly relational person acts differently depending on context, in order to behave

in accord with the values held by each group. Urban persons in Mozambique and DR Congo may experience and engage in more individualistic norms and practices than those in rural areas, given the greater number of in-groups in the urban setting. However, individualistic tendencies everywhere are strongly discouraged by the necessity of maintaining good relations with others, both living and ancestral or other spirits. Display of distinctive abilities, success or wealth are easily seen as excessive individualism and are framed as *wuloyi, okhwiri, kindoki* or similar "witchcraft" in both urban and rural areas. Despite the limitations on the development of individualistic behaviour, some people still express distinctive selves. The quality of a person is measured through his or her relational practices; strong relationality is seen as the social and moral "weight" of a person, influencing its honor.

Embodied ritual healing, resolution of conflict, and spirit possession are contexts in which the *multiple selves* of the *munthu* are expressed. The healer or diviner embodies 'spirits' as a medium speaking to patients, their kin and community members. Non-initiated persons embody possession by "bad" spirits as suffering; nevertheless, such possession facilitates the expression and resolution of complex emotions and distress resulting from traumatic or transgressive experiences either past or present. The present is intimately connected to the past, especially in the presence and actions of ancestors.

Historical changes in Mozambique and DR Congo, including (post)colonialism, modernization, and evangelical Christianity, have altered the life-worlds of Bantu speakers. However, the notion of the relational and interdependent person with its dividual potential to enact *multiple selves* has proven to be resilient. The same applies to deeply rooted 'ancestral' taboos (see Chapter Three).

I argued that understanding the interdependent and strongly relational *munthu* [person in Cindau] is necessary for interventions in health, education or law to be effective. National law and biomedicine, like in the context of HIV/AIDS programs or in mental health, address Mozambicans and Congolese as *independent* individuals. Modernizing health (through biomedicine), educational and legal programs would be more effective if they address the interdependence and interrelations of the persons they are intended to assist. Traditional healing and diagnosis through 'divining' and conflict mediation through palavers and invocation rituals, discussed in Chapters Four, Five and Six, rely upon the ternary composite *munthu*, which facilitates healing, negotiation, and resolution of conflicts and tensions, mediated through the actions of spirits and their agents (healers, diviners and chiefs). Emotions involved in rituals support effective healing, education and conflict resolution. Mobilizing emotional responses as motivational forces could increase the efficacy of health-education programs, especially HIV/AIDS prevention (see Chapter Three). The use of idioms, expressions, and proverbs, which invoke deeply rooted strong relational values, could also lead to increasing use of biomedical diagnostics and treatment, and may help to augment prevention of, for example, HIV transmission.

Chapter Three

TABOOS

SEXUAL & THERMAL FRAMING

Figure 16: CLEANSING OF TABOOS

A healer learning with her master (right), uses fire/smoke to cleanse a man who has returned home after being released from prison.

IN PROVINCE MAPUTO - SOUTH MOZAMBIQUE (2001)

Outline Chapter Three

In Chapter Three, on thermo-sexual frames, taboos and ritual effectiveness, in sections A, B, C and D, the "internal logic" of several *framings* relevant with regard to local approaches to HIV/AIDS and in living-law are examined, in a context in which the transgression of taboos is confused with HIV infection; transgressed taboos can be cleansed (HIV infection cannot). What must be taken into account to avoid new HIV infection in cases in which cleansing involves ritual sexual intercourse?

I analyze in **section A** the gendered and sexual frames, in **section B** the thermal frames, in **section C** transgressions of taboos leading to 'social transmission' (or pollution) through excesses of *heat* framed as 'dirt' by not-cleansed coitus, e.g., after death. I compare local concepts with anthropological or ethno-psychological approaches of the etiology of taboos.

Section D describes the most usual ways of cleansing after taboo-transgression in South/Central Mozambique. When adjustments of ways of cleansing are necessary to avoid physical contamination, they are applied more consistently when they respond to the basic implications of taboo-transgressions, namely, e.g., the necessity to neutralize excesses of 'heat' (cooling down through "washing").

In **section E,** I look at concepts of the effectiveness of ritual practices like those related to the *paradigms* discussed (ancestors, strongly relational persons, taboos or "witchcraft"). I discuss the involved notion of the 'real,' looking also at the emotional effectiveness of ritual means, introducing the notion of ritual "operators."

Section F shows as a *perpetuum mobile* the several variations on the same themes of the discussed framings; they are part of resilient cultural matrices constituting cosmologies that determine the paradigms in the practices, and which follow some commonly shared internal logics that appear most clearly in the chromatic frames widespread in the Bantu-speaking context. I discuss the networks of values constituted by the paradigms and framings; they require translations given other coexisting and in part competing values. The research findings show the tolerance implied in these 'ancestral' ways, which allow and afford ambivalences that are, however, not accepted in other dualistic approaches. I conclude by insisting on the variation on the similar themes observed.

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Chapter 3: Thermo-sexual frames – Taboos and Ritual Effectiveness

Introduction

The following fragmentary discussion of a few basic social and cultural frames relevant in the discussed context aims to understand the way that people deal with the paradigms described in this study. The implications of such frames rooted in "ancestral" approaches are mostly underappreciated, or wrongly evaluated by employees in the fields of health, education and law, despite their importance to many Mozambican or Congolese Bantu speakers. I will discuss the sexual and thermal frames which influence the ways people deal with transgressed taboos related to sex, blood and death that I also introduce theoretically in this chapter. These taboos interfere with HIV/AIDS in both countries.

I defined "paradigms" as patterns or models based on certain core and explanatory ideas and concepts determining practices that are grounded in a set of basic implicit assumptions involving specific values, categories, theories and practices, all of which are broadly shared and accepted by many, if not most, people belonging to the cultures described. We saw that paradigms define norms in the sense of a matrix; they are ambiguous, leaving room for interpretation; paradigms are constantly improved and refined. I will in this chapter discuss taboos, which are regarded as "ancestral ways" that I call 'ancestral' paradigms which are applied according to certain inherent "internal logics" (Bell 1992), and through certain frames and their respective framings[1] that I deepen in this chapter. Taboos follow certain very basic internal logics according to a specific and broadly shared paradigm of taboos as discussed below. Additionally, the harmfulness of several transgressed taboos can be, and usually is, neutralized through a wide range of different ways of cleansing that follow certain common framings ('ways to do').

In my use of the terms "frames" and "framings," I am not referring to a static framework or structure, but to specific active ways of dealing with the paradigms. I defined "frames/framings," in part following Goffman (1986), as a core set of assumptions emerging as explicit models of understanding, which make sense of events. The latter apply to ways of dealing in the practices with specific paradigms involving knowledge of all kinds, e.g., of ritual ways that are collectively held by a group or community and able to achieve the effectiveness of the activity that I will look at in this chapter. We saw that beyond Goffman's sense of "frames of understanding," I define "framings" in terms of specific ways of dealing in the practices with the predominant paradigms that I discuss. Framings, as a sort of 'grammar', allow the paradigms at work to be conjugated (in specific ways following certain patterns); the paradigms[2] define the contents as 'vocabulary' used in the described cultures. Frames and framings are transmitted through and appear in several ways and means; (1) through practices (see Bourdieu 1972; Sax 2002, 2009; Devisch 1993a, 2015); (2) through thought, words, songs, idioms, proverbs (e.g. see Crick 1976; Nathan 1994; Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Tourneux et al. 2008; Dauphin-Tinturier 2008; Lafon 2008; Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b, 2012); (3) through dreams (see Freud

2012; Devereux 1974, 1972); (4) through experiences (Karp 1980; Goffman 1974; Lakoff & Johnson 2003; Devisch 1993a; Stroeken 2004, 2008, 2010).
I will approach two of the several frames that exist in the cultures studied[3]: (1st) the gendering (either sexual or non-sexual) discussing the broad spread of sexual framings, and (2nd) their combination with the thermal frames and their respective framings. The paradigms express value and principles while I will use "framings" to discuss the means and the manner of dealing with these paradigms. Frames, framings and paradigms influence behavior of the people, in their relations, their way of living and their practices. Through examples, I show how this applies in the studied Bantu-speaking cultures in Mozambique and DR Congo. Instead of constructing a system, I seek to understand the internal logic of the paradigms and framings presented, which could help practitioners of any kind (in health, law, education or the decision-makers of programs of all kinds) to conceive their interventions in such a way that they may take better into account the complexity of the paradigms and values involved in the people's practices. Showing the relevance of the discussed frames and paradigms in the context of Bantu-speakers' endogenous life-worlds, I suggest that they constitute a *modus operandi* (Lévi-Strauss 1966; Nathan 1994, 2001a; Sanders 2008, 2003) of a dynamically interlinked network of framings which leads to an efficiency of the locally defined goals. Efficacy implies that the culturally grounded framings allow the achievement of the desired goals in the respective practices according to the involved paradigms. Framings belong to what Jacobson-Widding (1999) refers to as 'muted structures' that are in accord with the author's 'implicit models' and "apart from the 'dominant structures' depicted in public discourses on normative principles" (1999:283-284). These 'muted structures' are not explicitly articulated, but rather implicitly referred to in ritual action, which often applies for the ritual approaches in law, health and education in the examined 'Bantu' cultures, through which healers practice the art of "turning meaning into matter" (Stroeken 2008:467).

Ritual efficacy, as I will discuss, involves sensory experiences that I analyze below concerning taboos or later in the context of bewitchment. I follow Stroeken (2008:471) who insists –in accord to Bourdieu 1980– on the structuring characteristic of the sensory experiences, which generate transformations of the socially and bodily 'structured' *habitus*. This implies the capacity to externalize or even to change the "codes"[4] of bodily comportment; experiences carry within themselves "sophisticated sensory codification" (Stroeken 2008:473). The term "code" has for me a problematic mechanistic connotation (I prefer "sensory modes" of Howes 1991) to address the non-verbal and multi-sensorial experiences at work. However, in case of transgression of taboos, or of *kindoki* similar notions of "witchcraft", "code" is appropriated in so far as the transgressions provoke some "automatic" reactions in the involved persons (section C below). Most relevant is the cross-cultural potential of the "sensory codes", which relate the social to the biological; this allows understanding the somatic involved e.g. in processes of bewitchment (Chapter Four) or by transgressed taboos (below). The sensory codes stimulate biological as much as social processes, relating the social to the biological (Stroeken 2008:474). This applies for the transgression of the thermo-sexual taboos, which

activate what I call the "sensory code of dirtiness" through excesses of "heat" (see below). Sensory codes also apply for rituals neutralizing bewitchment, which deals with the "sensory code of intrusion" (Stroeken 2008; Chapter Four and Six).
The discussed paradigms and framings are neither presented as a complete view of one cosmology nor systematized; the picture should show evidence of the underlying "internal logics" (Bell 1992) in accordance with what my informants qualify as "ancestral ways." The latter are related to the first settled ancestors, following a *value rationality* (Weber 1921/1968:85-86) which is determined by value-as-such, involving an ethical motive. I subscribe to Evens (2008:303) that human rational thought always refers to values, rationality being itself a matter of morals (Stroeken 2010) and ethics (Zigon 2008), which is also the case for Bantu-speakers in both studied countries, as I have discussed in Chapter Two. The predominating perspective of many of my informants follows non-dualism (Evens 2008), corresponding to their ancestors' ways; however, dualist frames often appear (following other paradigms) in an alternating way, in worlds involving a multiplicity of values and paradigms.

The currently lived traditions, grounded in "ancestral" frames are part of the Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speakers' life-worlds that I discuss. They follow what Evens (2008:151-52) calls *mythic rationality*, the logic of which he defines in contrast to instrumental logic, as a normative rationality (grounded in Weber's value-rationality). Evens shows that normative rationality is an intelligible and penetrating means of comprehension influencing human practices; it is a rationality which allows to produce a certain coherence of meanings that influence or determine the practices. Evens (2008:12) sees in contrast *mythic rationality*, which he defines as non-dualistic. He suggests not to essentialize the mythological characteristic by not reducing it to "logos"; the function of *mythic rationality* is to select ends, and to provide capacities to generate (create) actions. Evens understands *mythic rationality* as grounded in thinking through deference to the Other (Evens 2008:337), what predominates in Mozambique and DR Congo. The author argues further that *mythic rationality* implies a logic of life rather than a thought, and that this logic must be understood in terms of practice (Evens 2008:162). The author sees this kind of rationality as irrational only if rationality is defined in terms of logics of rational scientific rationality; what Evens relates to the mythic perspective does not necessarily include a logic of a capacity to abide contradiction, but implies a perspective[5] that does not adjudge true and false (2008:163)[6]. Following a standard of comparison as a matter of ethics instead of utility or mathematical logical proof, *mythic rationality* is used to achieve practical results through embodied effective actions, e.g. in the practiced rituals, divination, possession, cleansing, healing, mediating palavers and so on. For Evens, a mythic perspective implies ambiguity (2008:165)[7] in an equivocal picture of 'reality', which corresponds to some of the social and cultural paradigms that I discuss (e.g. "witchcraft/sorcery").[8] By differentiating cleanly between fact and value, *mythic rationality* grasps facts in terms of value.
While the observed elements can be ordered in more than one way, the principle and specific framings involved show what I call "internal logic" (see Bell 1992), that is, certain logics inherent to the

discussed paradigms and frames, which I see in the studied context as following the just-defined non-dualistic *mythical rationality* according to Evens (2008). The observations show strong resilience of the "internal logics" discussed below. An understanding of these "internal logics" appearing in the framings allows one to deal with the paradigms analyzed in this study; it is most relevant for communication in the areas of health, education and law. I relate to "internal logic" the 'endogenous' (as originated within) characteristic that in the studied context tend to follow non-dualistic approaches grounded in a *mythic rationality*. The latter emerges from ancestral values, as my informants relate them to 'the elders' or the "first settled" ancestors, less in a historical than in a "mythical" way (grounded in 'founding narratives', which provide sense of belonging of specific linguistic groups of people). The ancestral connotation might be in part invented or reinvented, however, the people agree in their use of "ancestral" as a category that they relate to their *ntumbuluku* [Bantu traditions] (Honwana 2002; Mariano 2014). The discussed internal logic follows values that – at least partly – differ from the values and dualist logics that are grounded in Christianity, Islam, Socialism, sciences, etc., and which influence all the multiple life-worlds that I describe, illustrating *multiple modernities* at stake (see Chapter Seven). The objective of my researches and analyses is to find out how communication can be adjusted in order to achieve greater efficiency, based on dialogue, allowing improved interventions in health, education and law (Paulo Freire 1970).

I discuss especially those frames which have relevance for AIDS: **in section A,** I analyze the gendered and sexual framing, introducing with it the frame of fertility and of life transmission. **In section B,** I go into depth on thermal framing, which allows an understanding of the logic inherent to several ritual practices in the field of wellbeing, health and health education (in youth initiations) and of the transformation of conflicts in law as practiced in living-law in the communities. **Section C** explores the notion of taboos, which regulate social morals and ethics, elaborating those dealing with sex, blood and death. **Section D** looks at the usual ways of "cleansing" transgressed taboos, which apply the gendered and thermal frames. It discusses the involved basic principles and the alternative means of cleansing which respect these. **In section E,** I discuss the efficacy of the frames in achieving their intended transformative aims, such as practiced in ancestral invocations, or in cleansing treatments, or in the several endogenous ritual manners of protection from and neutralization of the harmfulness of witchcraft, or such as the palaver dealing with conflicts and the ritual separation of *ndoki* ['witches']. **In section F,** I show the resilience of the frames which, with the paradigms, constitute cultural matrices bearing ambivalences and tolerances of differences in a dynamic "*perpetuum mobile*" [perpetual move] in the lived-worlds. I suggest that the discussed paradigms and their framings may appear to be very remote from the 'modern' or urban realities; but they remain active among urbanized people, even without much consciousness of the frames described below, an unconsciousness corresponding to Jacobson-Widding's (1990, 1991) characterization of 'muted structures'.

A. Gendered and sexual frames

Genital and non-genital gendering and HIV/AIDS

In order to bridge the gap appearing between the biomedical approach in the context of HIV/AIDS and current and popular practices, I will discuss both genital and non-genital gendering, in order to understand the high relevance of fertility as a primordial value. The understanding of this value implies seeing that sexual framing is interconnected with the various gendered life-worlds. The gendered frame refers not necessarily to genital sexuality, but to a broader understanding of gender, reaching beyond bodies, as Sanders (2008) insists.[9] Gendering is based first of all on non-physical factors which are assumed to influence fertility (Devisch 1993a; Sanders 2008).[10]

A biomedically trained reader, – primarily regarding HIV infection as occurring from contact with infected genital fluids (or blood) –, might consider that non-genital gendering has no relevance for HIV transmission. Even though this is true, non-genital gendering (related e.g. to the primordial value of fertility or to the transgression of taboos) influences people's values and practices in genital gendering, which includes practices related to HIV transmission. In this sense, both levels of gendering have relevance in the context of HIV/AIDS, for diverging reasons.[11] For example, cleansing rituals after death which may lead to transmission of biological infections (see section D) are broadly practiced in South and Central Mozambique and East Congo; their inherent logic and specific practices can only be understood by taking into account the necessary thermal framings as well as the paradigm of 'cleansing'. Analyzing cleansing rituals using only the biomedical understanding of biological transmission hinders an understanding of the internal logic at work; following an exclusively biomedical logic prevents one from determining how to motivate people to avoid risks of biological transmission (e.g. of HIV) during ritual cleansing. This is one of the several issues which a cultural approach to education on the prevention of HIV transmission must investigate, and which should be taken into account in application.

The diverging endogenous and biomedical framings at work in the context of HIV infection require looking at sexual, genital gendering and non-genital gendering separately. This is the case because the endogenous cultural approach following 'ancestral' ways does not see biological contamination as a primary or unique concern in order to achieve wellbeing; for many patients, it is of primary importance to first treat that which involves what I discussed in Chapter Two under the summarizing notions of the *social body* and the *vital body*, which determine and influence the person. We have seen that the social life-world encompasses not only the living, but also the ancestors (living-dead) and other wandering, unsettled "spirits". The multiple social life-worlds determine the relational and interdependent person in all of its multiple components[12], encompassing also the sociality of a person, its *social body* (its capacity of relations, honor, etc.) and its relations to its whole environment.

Looking at the sexual and genital gendering is also relevant because of the predominant value of what constitutes a "complete" adult person securing life transmission, as I discuss below. This value encompasses the preponderance of the value of procreation. In the studied context, disorders in

procreation are –according to "ancestral" ways– assumed to require first identification and treating the disorders in the *social body* (involving ancestors) and in the *spiritual and vital body* of the person in order to successfully achieve procreation. The same connections apply when the physical body must be treated (e.g. by HIV infection); they play a significant role in the preventive behavior (e.g. with regard to HIV/AIDS) of a person (see Chapters Five). People argue that a person's wellbeing is easily endangered by what I call 'social contamination' ('pollution' due to an excess of "heat," that the people call "dirt")[13] related to transgressed taboos (discussed below). The main symptoms of HIV infection are often mistaken for the effects of this 'social contamination' on the physical body. The "cleansing" of such "dirt" is a priority in people's concerns, and to be done before undertaking biomedical testing and treatments or prevention of biological contamination. But, given the high risk of biological contamination (e.g. of HIV) and the reduced use of condoms in Mozambique and DR Congo, we must also approach genital gendering in its very physical aspects, through framings like a wet/dry or a tight/large vagina, as briefly discussed below. I will show that these frames are interconnected with the sexual and thermal framings and that the sexual frame is not seen as being related to the physical body alone.[14]

Background on sexual frames relevant to HIV/AIDS

As an introduction, a look at the usual metaphors in the sexual framing reveals some relevant issues. Copulation is thought to be analogous with other processes, such as eating (Fialho 1998; Wolf 2001), as in the saying (in reference to condoms) that: "You cannot eat a banana with its skin." In Tete, sex has a good "taste"; it is "sweet" (Bagnol and Mariano 2008). Terms for sexual organs parallel those for objects used for food preparation: a mud pot (a mortar) is a common euphemism for the vagina, and the crusher (the mortar stick) for the penis (Mariano 2001). Common Xichangana/Xitshwa expressions equate a fertile woman with "the mortar that makes good flour."[15] (Nhaombe 2007). "To eat in the same pot"[16] is to share a husband (Nahombe 2002:246); "the pot broke" refers to an aborted pregnancy[17] (Nhaombe 2007).[18] For the Bantu-speakers in Tete province (North Mozambique and for Bantu women in Malawi), sex can be sweet or sour. 'Sweetness' is also called 'heat' and is hindered by condoms, according to Bagnol and Mariano's (2008:579) informants in Tete. 'Heat' is as necessary for fecundity (life transmission)[19] as sunshine is for the crops (Fialho Feliciano 1998).[20]

The transformative flow of sexual fluids and 'hotness' of coitus

Female healers in Mozambique consider regular sexual intercourse to be good for women's health; the growth of the child in the woman's womb requires regular sexual intercourse and the flow of male semen.[21] Also, the hindering of the flow of male semen during sexual intercourse (e.g. by using condoms) diminishes the man's pleasure and implies waste. Some women share this opinion, while others do not. However, women agree with men on the value of male semen: "you do not eat a banana with its skin" is a widespread argument against condoms. Women discuss the necessity of not "losing" and being able to "retain" the "white blood" (semen) of the man. The notions of flowing or blocking are important to the framing: a woman's womb blocks a man's semen just as the lack of rain hinders

land fertility (Fialho Feliciano (1998).[22] Wellbeing requires unblocking the flow of body fluids such as semen, blood and milk (see Taylor 1992).[23] The flow of semen is fundamental to sexual intercourse: sexual fluids possess vital power that is conceived as being highly 'active' (hot), with ambivalent characteristics; it allows "life" but can also lead to "pollution." Coitus is extremely "hot," as a mixing of "hot" fluids and genital friction that also produce "heat." Non-allowed coitus may produce excesses of heat, called 'dirt' (see below). Coitus, as a mixture of different sexual fluids is a 'fusion' with great transformative potential in cleansing, land fertility and rain-making rituals (Fialho Feliciano 1998; Jacobson-Widding 1979, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c; Sanders 2002, 2008).[24] The mixture of the male "white blood" with female moisture has an ambivalent power, generating life or, in the "wrong" context (after birth, abortion, death, during menstruation seen as "black blood"), inhibiting wellbeing. In the Cishona-speaking context, as Jacobson-Widding (1989) observes, 'heat' is associated with any kind of fusion or mixture of substances. See sections C/D below on the cleansing ritual required after death as one example of the centrality of the separation of mixtures in all Bantu-speaking cultures.

How "wrong" coitus may disturb the social order

The relationship between sexual and thermal frames is evident in several taboos concerning bodily fluids, especially blood, semen and women's genital fluids. Excess 'heat' occurs through: (1) the 'heat' of friction in coitus; (2) the mixture of body fluids; (3) life situations involving liminality; (4) coitus with some 'wrong' person; (5) coitus occurring in the 'wrong' place or condition. These conditions are assumed to cause sterility (human and otherwise), abnormalities, disease or death.[25] Several taboos concern coitus, blood and death; healers all over Mozambique explain that taboos were left by the ancestors so that their descendants may live better. Below, I elaborate on the thermal frame.

The wet or dry frames – sexual pleasure and condoms

In Sofala (Central Mozambique), initiation rites counselors and female healers insist that a woman's vagina must be dry and tight. Bagnol and Mariano (2008:578) show that the frames of 'hot/cold', 'dry/humid' and 'closed/open' are discussed in northwest Mozambique by women in the context of the insertion of vaginal products used to dry the vagina,[26] a practice which influences condom use. The authors demonstrate that condom use can be problematic in cultures where sexual intercourse requires a dry vagina and where a too-'wet' vagina can lead to divorce. This frame is not merely a metaphor but a concrete issue; to a large extent, in Mozambique, men expect a dry vagina.[27] Beidelman (1993:37) notes that fluidity signifies not only continuity and fertility but also uncontrollability. This frame applies to cultures in which a dry vagina is preferred to a wet one: a dry vagina implies that female power (e.g., desire) is under control. Control is a matter of common sense; red fire, like blood, is useful, but it requires control lest it become dangerous. The 'proper' balance of wet/dry is related to the frame cool/hot (see below); both are applied differently in different groups.[28]

Female initiation godmothers in Sofala[29] insist, as do male and female informants in Tete (Bagnol and Mariano 2008), that sexual pleasure depends on a "tight" vagina. While this might be seen as a purely male perception, in Central Mozambique, women connect their own pleasure to the tightness of their

vagina, saying that they have pleasure all the same, but that too large a vagina leads to the loss of the husband. Bagnol and Mariano describe the use of products to narrow the vagina and make it dry. Godmothers in Central Mozambique say (in 2005) that painless sexual intercourse indicates something went wrong. Women prefer to have pain rather than lose their husbands, a clear example of how women's pleasure is socially structured. This perspective explains, together with the priority placed on life transmission, why condoms are so infrequently used, as evidenced by the high HIV prevalence.[30] The man's pleasure is only one reason for refusing condoms.[31] The relevance of fluid flow, of a dry vagina and the valuation of life transmission is often underestimated in current biomedical approaches to HIV prevention, which largely emphasize the promotion of condoms, including in Mozambique.

The priority of life transmission, which is not solely a physical issue

For Mozambican informants, sexual fusion is framed as either a "bad" or "good" mixture of blood. This relates directly to fertility. A marriage without children is seen as a 'bad mixture of blood,' meaning couples without children; 'a good mixture of blood' implies a sexual relationship leading to many healthy children. All informants emphasize the necessity to have children. The priority of life transmission appears in several expressions relating to pregnancy: e.g. "*Kuxurhisa ntombi"* in Xichangana for "to satiate a girl" – South Mozambique, (Nhaombe 2002:210). The clear relationship between fertility and sexual intercourse is expressed in the studied context in the practice of prohibiting post-menopausal women from engaging in sexual intercourse. The expression "hatching rotten eggs"[32] refers to intercourse with a sterile woman, illustrating the high value and significance of fertility in conceptions of sexuality. No one (man or woman) without a child is considered to be a complete adult; a childless person has not assumed 'responsibilities'. This is framed even further in the Emakhuwa/Elmowe context, in which a person not initiated into adulthood cannot be buried as a 'complete' adult person, for the birth of a child constitutes the endpoint of initiation for men and women. Often, a person who did not have a child can hardly become a protective ancestor.[33] Such prohibitions demonstrate the importance of life transmission among Bantu-speaking cultures, both matrilineal and patrilineal, in both Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003a; Mariano 2014) and Congo (Devisch 1993a). Kagame (1956) argues that procreation is seen as the way to overcome a definitive end through death[34], and Samb (2010:82) notes aptly that it is understandable why in "the Bantu culture"[35] the absence of procreation is the "misfortune of misfortunes."[36] The priority of life transmission leads to delays in diagnosing HIV infection, influencing its treatment and prevention in a significant manner; HIV counselors explain that young people living with HIV do not think of condoms or other forms of prevention before having conceived and given birth to at least one child, but generally more than one are regarded as necessary.[37] However, in Mozambique (as in DR Congo), HIV is transmitted largely through heterosexual intercourse.[38] Women argue that three children are not enough; it should be at least five[39]; Mariano (2014) notes that procreation has priority for HIV prevention in Mozambique. In this context, the sexual and gendered framing is basically socially determined, in contrast to predominating biological and materialist biomedical approaches. Bridging with

biomedically informed approaches to HIV prevention must respect the value of life transmission in all its dimensions. A responsible member of the National Council combating HIV/AIDS in Maputo declared to me in 2014: "If you have a strategy on fertility, I'll buy it."[40] Obviously, prevention campaigns fail to adequately approach the strong relationship between sexuality and the value of life transmission, framed as requirements of procreation, just as biomedical services dealing with infertility have difficulties acknowledging the psychosocial framing at work. Fertility is not perceived, either by healers or many other persons, simply as a physical issue; it requires, first, the support of ancestors, which may facilitate or hinder the fertility of persons[41], animals and land (Fialho Feliciano 1998; Devisch 1993a); human fertility is seen as analogous to land fertility.[42]

Transformative ritual processes in life transmission and fertility/infertility

In the following, I discuss a healing ritual for human infertility which demonstrates the strong relevance of ancestral support in dealing with this issue. Looking at ritual healing processes allows an understanding of some basic aspects of an endogenous approach to health in terms of wellbeing. Moreover, it enables one to understand a number of issues such as the idea of social 'pollution' through taboo transgressions and the ways in which it is cleansed (as discussed later); some of the "internal logics" of initiation of all kinds (Chapter Five) and/or of ritual treatments for the neutralization of harmful "witchcraft" (Chapter Four); and ritual mediations in families/communities (Chapter Six). Ritual approaches show the basic principles relevant in all the studied areas. Given that healers and chiefs argue that they have to treat the "real" issues at work in disorders of all kinds, I ask what is seen as most 'real'? The "realities" at work are not necessarily material and visible realities, as lawyers or biomedical staff argue on "scientific" grounds. According to many of my informants, the "realities" influencing disorders involve either ancestors or other "spirits, or the transgressions of taboos or the realities "of the night" (as an expression evoking "witchcraft/sorcery"). Such invisible issues are experienced as realities with great impact on the living and are often assumed to have a stronger "weight" than material realities. I ask: how do the embodied experiences relate to the analogical ways and metaphors used in treatments, palavers or ways of cleansing?

The analysis of a healing ritual referring to human fertility allows an understanding of Bantu-speakers' approach to ritual in general, as applied in the studied contexts. It allows an understanding of the "internal logic" (Bell 1992) of means of ritual cleansing that involve sexual intercourse, as well as the recognition of useful alternatives which might achieve the required ritual results efficiently and in culturally appropriate ways (see sections C and D). The following example shows how a healer in the treatment of a couple activates the necessary ancestral supports that allow procreation. I suggest that such ritual treatments may have relevant somatic effects (see Wreford 2008; Langwick 2011).

Influence of the paradigm of the ancestors on fertility

In parallel ways in Mozambique and DR Congo, the potency, fertility and life-transmission ability of the individual are intimately linked with the ancestors. The ancestors may block the procreative capacity of their descendants, as demonstrated in healing treatments dealing with infertility.[43] In its

non-genital frame, which is relevant for land, animals and humans, the Mozambican *ntumbuluku* [Bantu traditions], as among the Yaka (in South-West Congo), connote fertility with the ancestral "origin" of life transmission. The latter is not seen (solely) as a product of genital sexuality (as biomedicine sees it), but as dependent on ancestral support (Devisch 1993a; Mariano 2014).[44]

Healing stages to allow fertility involving ancestors in an Emakhuwa context

In 1999, in a populous borough of Nampula (the second main Mozambican city), I observed the treatment of a woman and her husband to restore their life-transmitting ability. "Traditional" healing is used by many Mozambicans, who consult healers for relief from reproductive disorders (Mariano 2014). The Emakhuwa-speaking healer treating this couple was recognized as a good healer; he traveled extensively, gathering much knowledge and capacity in healing. He conducted this healing session by applying a syncretic combination of traditional "ancestral" ways and a very small number of Islamic framings.[45] *Muluku* [God in Emakhuwa] was invoked in the introduction, but throughout the healing ritual it was the support of the *minepa* [ancestors in Emakhuwa] that was requested at several times in different ways. I will describe the sequences of this treatment, which illustrates that ancestors are assumed to influence human fertility. In further comments, I add observations from other treatments showing some basic implications of the described therapeutic and ritual steps; they make clear that the observed treatment steps involve broadly used ritual "techniques".

1st Sequence: At the opening, the healer calls for the support of the ancestors by performing a *makeya* [offering] in accordance with the Makhuwa tradition, putting flour on the ground and invoking the ancestors by calling their names. The healer additionally uses sticks of incense during the *makeya*, an Islamic practice that many Islamized people combine with 'endogenous' ancestral Makhuwa tradition. **2nd Sequence**: The healer prepares the central place where the woman will be cleansed and treated. The healer delimits the place of the treatment (which is a 'traditional' requirement in healing according to ancestral ways), not by making a circle on the ground, as is the traditional way, but by drawing the shape of a mosque with a thin line of flour (combining the Makhuwa framing of flour used to invoke the ancestors with the mosque as a strong Islamic framing, in a 'creolized' manner). **3rd Sequence**: The ritual cleansing of the woman is performed by the healer, who makes circles around the woman with a chicken, which is later offered to the ancestors in a meal prepared with medicinal plants (which the woman and her husband eat at the end of the treatment).

4th Sequence: The healer and all participants dance and sing all night to summon the protection of the ancestral spirits (those of the healer and the maternal ancestors of the woman). The healer's ancestors help him to contact the maternal ancestors of the treated woman in order to support healing. In this matrilineal context, the woman's maternal ancestors are those in charge of restoring her fertility. **5th Sequence**: The healer specially prepares the gall bladder of the chicken: the importance and the signification of the gall bladder is shown by a newly qualified healer in South Mozambique, who puts the inflated empty gall bladder of a sacrificed goat on her head at the end of her *twhasa* [graduation]

(see Kotanyi, 2003a).[46] Ngubane (1977) explains how the gall bladder is used in several nubility and marriage rituals of the Zulu in order to secure ancestral support for the girl's and woman's fertility: according to Ngubane, the gall bladder allows direct contact with the ancestors. This is also applied in this treatment.[47] **6th Sequence**: The healer cooks a meal with the offered chicken (for the ancestors) by mixing it with healing plants. The herbal plants (or minerals, or parts of animals) that are used are intended to activate analogical procedures that I will not further elaborate here (see Fialho Feliciano, 1998). In this case, the healers also used burned pages with verses from the Koran (a syncretistic treatment 'technique'). **7th Sequence***:* The ritual treatment combines the gendered framing referred to above and the thermal framing described below. In the morning of the all-night treatment, a final ritual action of two children (couple) seen as entirely "cool" (having never had sex) takes away any remaining "dirt" before the treated wife and husband share the offered chicken meal, demonstrating the gender complementarities for fertility.[48]

Comment to the 1st sequence: A healer invokes his own ancestors and those of the persons he is treating in order to appeal for the protection of all of these ancestors, which may influence the efficacy of any treatment, and in particular the treatment of fertility, as well as the efficacy of the actions of the healer and their effects on the patients. **Comment to the 2nd sequence:** The delimitation of the treatment place is practiced by most healers that I observed in Mozambique and in DR Congo. Ways of delimiting the space of treatment vary, but have the same aim: prevention of the harmfulness of the patient's disorder from reaching others and the harmfulness of others from reaching the patient. **Comment to the 3rd sequence:** I observed such "cleansing" of patients with a chicken in several treatments (not only for infertility) in Mozambique and also among Yaka healers in South-West DR Congo. The chicken becomes the container of any harmfulness framed in terms of (polluting) "dirt" carried by the patient, allowing its "extraction".
Comment to the 4th sequence: This healing ritual for the restoration of disturbed fertility illustrates the syncretistic combination of framings grounded in the endogenous Bantu-speaking culture (in 'ancestral' Makhuwa healing procedures), in this case combined with Islamic elements. Five of seven steps of the treatment involve actions addressing the relationship with the ancestors, demonstrating that ancestors are not seen as secondary but as the main forces involved in restoring human (or other) fertility[49]/[50], even for an Makhuwa healer involved in Islamic religion. *Muluku* [God creator far in the sky] is addressed only in the opening, and Allah through the form of a mosque delimiting the healing space in the morning, when the last "cleansing" treatments were performed, and through the insertion of Koran pages in the cooked chicken that the patient and her husband eat. However, the repeated verbal invocation of ancestors – through dancing, drums and the ritual offering of a chicken, reinforced by its special preparation, including the ritual use of the gall bladder – shows that ancestors are seen as the main agencies able to allow or hinder fertility.[51] Mariano (2014:218) states that, in South Mozambique, besides the individual, the "ancestral spirit's desire" finally ensures motherhood and fatherhood; having children pleases the ancestors, as they are the protectors of their descendants.

Mariano argues that ancestral “spirits” are invoked “to help to remove misfortune and to be clean in order to conceive” (2014:166). Nevertheless, in her study seeking to bridge the biomedical and healers’ approaches, Mariano does not relate fertility in the first instance to ancestors as my findings in an Emakhuwa context in North Mozambique show, just as Devisch (1993a) suggests for the Kiyaka-speakers (DRC), and Jacobson-Widding & van Beek et al. (1990) for several African cultures.[52]

Beyond symbolism – embodied experiences transform

Healers, diviners or chiefs generally argue that they have to localize and treat the “real” origins of the disorders (either in health or in law). In contrast to the materialist approaches of conventional biomedicine as practiced in the studied countries, or the practices of official law courts, in which legal proceedings are based on tangible evidence, we need to deepen the notion of what healers, chiefs, their notables or initiation rites counselors see as the most ‘real’ dimensions. I showed in Chapter One and above that the ancestors as living-dead are a very real dimension, being part of the social worlds of the living persons. From this perspective, “real” is not solely what is material, visible and tangible; the immaterial “actions” of ‘spirits’ of all kinds putting pressure on the living are perceived not only as real, but as the “real” origin of several disorders, conflicts or diseases. Similarly, the ‘polluting’ and excessive “hotness” (called “dirt”) resulting from transgressed taboos are “real,” although invisible. Also, emotions like envy or jealousy (e.g. through inequalities), which are framed in terms of *okwiri* or similar notions of “witchcraft,” are often considered the “real origin” of the respective disorders or of conflicts among the living. They are seen and perceived as the most “real” issues in terms of relevance to health, wellbeing and peace among the living and in their relation to “spirits,” either ancestors or other spirits of all kinds. Healers argue that treatments “in the hospital” (biomedical) grounded in material interventions can have efficacy only if the invisible and immaterial “realities” are clarified, cleansed and/or treated; if their harmfulness is neutralized and the required balance of reciprocity (between all the involved social entities, either ancestors or other spirits or living persons) is re-established, these sources’ hindrance of fertility, health, wellbeing or peace may be avoided.

Baudrillard (1978) argues that the ascription of what is “reality” is a matter of power, and Van Rinsum (2001) questions the “power of defining” exercised by certain institutions and entities (like by Christian institutions or the former colonial power). “Power of definition” is currently strongly at stake, e.g., through the postcolonial state, national and international biomedical institutions, official written law practices and structures, or notions of so-called Universal Human Rights claiming universal validity although they in part carry certain values (of individuality) that many people don’t share. All of these institutions and contexts define the validity of “realities” in accordance with certain values – emphasizing materiality in terms of “sciences” that are assumed to underlie any rational definition of what is to be recognized as “real” – just as Christianity and Islam each pretend to be the unique, “real” religion. Descartes and Kant determined the prevailing notion of what is scientific, asserting the separation of the symbolic from the real order, while in the postmodern debate the symbolic order as a volatile network of signifiers prevails (see e.g. Latour 1991). Grounded in

Bergson (1934b: 99), Lacan (1979) uses the notion of "the real" to define matter and sheer being as opposed to the imaginary, possibilities and appearances. According to Lacan (1977:280)[53] "the real" addresses what is neither symbolic nor imaginary; for him the symbolic order includes language, culture, social exchange and the unconscious. However, this separation of the symbolic from the real order contradicts the perspective of the practices of divination and rituals in law and health that I describe. Stroeken (2004a/2004b) also shows that it does not correspond to the perspective in Sukuma divination practices, which all follow the assumption of "the possibility of the real's presence in the symbolic order" (2004b:2). The *real* is e.g. in Sukuma divination, according to Stroeken "something (…) given out of the blue, which the oracle offers amidst its rich symbolism and discourse" (2004b:2). And as the author points out, the reality in divination is about "to account for the coming-into-being, for *the real*, behind the symbolic" (2004b:4)[54]. According to Stroeken, "the real" reality in the Sukuma context, is similarly as in the Bantu cultures that I discuss, first of all located in the realm of ancestors, which "holds [*the Sukuma following the ancestral paradigm]* the key and truth regarding their success, fertility and misfortune" (Stoeken 2004b:3). The people using the paradigms and rituals that I describe as transforming their realities, insist that they reach beyond the symbolic (see Rosny 2006).

Along with many anthropologists (and psychotherapists), I argue that we must take seriously what is "real" for the persons whose life we describe (or treat). Since it is impossible to give a general definition of "reality", the use of the term always reveals the values at stake.[55] In the studied context, the ancestors that are sources of life are, as Stroeken (2004b:6) accurately insists, the seats of "the real" in the search of sense by death, affliction and misfortune, - what applies for the cultures that I discuss. Also other spiritual entities that influence the living are strong "realities," just as 'real' as the effect of transgressed taboos, or of so-called "witchcraft" or sorcery, or of dreams. All are "realities," not least given their transformative effect. The ritual healing that I described above (and in Chapter Four) and like ritual procedures used for mediation of conflicts (in Chapter Six), may produce the intended transformative processes when coherently following the internal logics of the involved paradigms, and their required framings (see Sanders 2008; Evens 2008).

The transformative effects of the described intangible "realities" are similar to the effects that dreams may produce on the dreamer; dreams have transformative effects through the metaphors, analogies, inversions, condensations and other phenomena occurring in dreams (see Freud 1923[56]). Although symbols are often at work in dreams, the effects of the various phenomena of dreams are not merely "symbolic" but "real," being embodied in the dreamer, influencing his/her emotional, spiritual and physical state. This includes the person's "vitality" in terms of either the weakening or reinforcement of the "vital force," the most vulnerable component of the person in the studied 'Bantu' context (Chapter Two/Four). The metaphorical and analogical ways in which emotions are expressed through inversions or condensations in dreams (Freud 1923) also occur in ritual actions of all kinds (as discussed in this study). I will later discuss their transformative and "real" effect on the emotions, the spiritual state and the physical state of the dreamer, which influence his/her whole state, just as ritual

actions influence the whole state of the ritual participants. While materialistic thought may accept that 'real' emotions are expressed in 'real' dreams in analogical and metaphorical ways (which are also used in rituals), the latter are often reduced to representations (Csordas 2002; Sax 2004, 2006a, 2009:247; Holbraad 2010, 2011). Performative ritual theories (Turner 1968, 1974, 1982, 1986; Schechner 1977, 1985, 1993) emphasize the performative characteristic of rituals either as symbolic acts (Dow 1986) or, like Bourdieu (1972), Csordas (2002), Sax (2002, 2009) and Sanders (2008)[57] all insist, beyond their performative characteristics, rituals are transformative through their embodiment in practice, and through experiences by means of multiple senses (Devisch 1990, 1993a/b; Stroeken 2008), which also apply in the witchcraft-neutralization rituals discussed in Chapter Four/Six.[58]

I also show below that palavers and other mediating rituals and those neutralizing "witchcraft" treat the whole social field, not just the involved individuals (Kendall 2001) – re-weaving it – given that the disorders are caused by stressed relationships (Devisch 1993a; Sax 2009:245). Similarly, the above-described healing of compromised life-transmitting ability localizes the disorder in the disturbed relationship with ancestors (who are seen as part of the social world of the affected persons, and are embodied in each person through his or her namesake). Locating the problems of fertility and infertility in terms of the decisive influence of ancestors helps to relieve the stress of the affected couple and may have positive effects on their ability to conceive a child – not only through the placebo effect (Pignarre 1995; Brody 2000; Kaptchuk 2002; Moerman 2002; Kaptchuk 2002; Sax 2009:245, Nathan 2001) but also through internal experiences of the patients altering the consciousness of the patient (Kapferer 1983) or through the restoration of the "sacred self" (Csordas 1994), which can lead to somatic effects that may allow the restoration of the capacity of procreation.

Embodied transformative processes and the floating realities of emotions

From the perspective of my informants, the analogies or metaphors in the ritual processes produce transformations without necessarily distinction between mind and body perception. These transformations are for Csordas (2002:55) relates to somatic modes of attention based on inter-subjectivity, which he defines (following Jackson 1989:135) as an embodiment in a common ground where the self and other are in the same environment in an interweaving of familiar patterns of behavior. The metaphors at work in rituals (healing or mediation) are not just "representations" of disturbed relations; they embody them (Sax 2009:247; Csordas 2002), producing transformative experiences (Devisch 1993a). This occurs in treatment for fertility, as described above: in treatment neutralizing the harmfulness of witchcraft, or in 'palavers' applied to mediate conflict issues, or in cleansing rituals and in initiations of all kinds (of youth, or of diviners, healers or chiefs) that I discuss throughout this study. The embodied transformative processes occurring in such rituals correspond to Sanders's (2008:105)[59] suggestions that rituals may produce the particular outcomes they intend to produce. He argues aptly that particular ritual actions lead to transformations with concrete outcomes for the involved persons, both through embodiment and through the application of particular combinations of actions, words and embodied metaphors (i.e., through their specific framings).

Devisch (1993a, 1996a, 2015) adds that this involves all the senses of the persons involved.[60] The whole body and consciousness are one through the experiences in dreams, rituals, initiations or 'palavers'. This corresponds to my observations of practices of diviners, healers, initiation counselors and traditional authorities. For instance, the Emakhuwa-speaking healer Horacio reports his initiation as a healer, in which he remained submerged in a lake for a week. He does not differentiate between the "realities" of his emotional experiences in dreams at night and his daytime realities; all his embodied emotional experiences are "realities", which involves his emotional and spiritual body that he perceives as a unity with his physical body, into a single reality.[61] Healers and diviners in Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b) experience dreams similarly to Yaka healers, as a privileged medium of contact with the world of the deceased (Devisch 2003a, 2009[62], 2015), who inform the living on issues of the past, connected with the present, and which influence the future. Experiences in dreams and the notions of the shade are very close to each other in Horacio's descriptions of his initiation in water. They constitute an inter-corporal field (Devisch 2002:70). Fantasies are involved, which are experienced in an embodied way as "realities" by the Yaka diviners described by Devisch and by the healer/diviner Horacio in Mozambique. This corresponds to the description by Jacobson-Widding (1991) of the Kongo cosmology (in Bas-Congo, neighboring the Kiyaka-speakers' territory in Kwango), in which there is water between the two worlds, and in which the shadow and the fluids have exactly the same 'power'.[63] In other words, the two sides of the mirror are not lived in separate ways. It is a capacity and ability of the plural person to live simultaneously in several worlds, - not a pathological state (see Chapter Two). While Western psychiatry would define this as schizophrenia if a person is unable to take metaphors other than literally (Bateson 1990:190), Bateson argues that hallucinatory episodes might be spontaneous attempts to get some multiplicity back into perception. For Bateson, it is about the systemic totality of experience. In the experiences of the healer/diviner Horácio during spirit possession, dreams and daytime "realities" are not sharply separated. Stroeken argues: "A study in terms of experiential frames allows for a dynamic understanding of culture that can account for an individual's shift of experience without having to surmise cultural contradiction" (2012:231). I see the embodied and transformative experiences of the healer Horácio (in dreams or through possession) in terms of living in multiplicity and "embodiment of living-in-the-worlds".[64]

Another example is the manner of achieving social peace in a session of palaver among Kongo people in Bas-Congo. The notables counseling the chief conduct the palaver between community members, who are in conflicts through dances, songs and locally well-known metaphors and proverbs. The latter do not just have symbolic efficacy, but transform the conflicts at work as experiences in an embodied and mediating way; all these means are embodied in the counselors' gestures and voices, allowing movement and change in a complex articulation of the relations and emotions of the people involved in the conflicts (Kotanyi 2012).[65] Through his dancing (with specific gestures) and singing (specific words), the dancing old counselor "seduces" the parties to overcome their conflicts and accept compromises allowing reinstatement of social peace. Applied in living-law practices in Bas-Congo,

"embodiments of our living-in-the worlds" are current practices which achieve efficiency in mediations by promoting social peace (see Chapter Five). In all the rituals discussed in this study, the means of efficacy in achieving the intended aims involve the activation of ethical and moral power (Stroeken 2010), as the following sections illustrate.

The transformative power of metaphors

In his impressive studies of metaphors, Fernandez (1972, 1974, 1982, 1993) developed theories explaining how metaphors work and have transformative effects. He shows that metaphors, like proverbs, follow several strategies[66] with respect to feelings; metaphors operate upon continua, helping, e.g., to reorient the disturbed continuum. Fernandez views metaphors, like proverbs, as a predication upon inchoate situations or pronouns (1972:43). Metaphors create a movement, taking their subjects, moving them along a dimension or a set of dimensions, and translating experiences from one domain into another; like the notion of excess "heat," the "dirtiness" of which must be cooled down and cleansed (see below). The metaphoric predication can be self-fulfilling; metaphors arise in fantasy and can be put into action (e.g., in rituals), producing transformations. Metaphors can be compensatory representations; when they are acted upon, they can become images in terms of plans for behavior (55). Of central significance for the Bantu context that I discuss is how Fernandez argues that metaphors involve various continua, which constitute "cultural quality spaces" (48[67]). Examples of metaphors operating upon continua are, e.g., the notion of "being eaten" in the case of bewitchment, or by transgressed taboos, the notion of "excessive heat" combined with "dirtiness" requiring cleansing. Verbalized, implicit or embodied metaphors operate and allow changes for the participants in ritual performances like "dying and being reborn" in cases of bewitchment (Chapter Four) or separating two presumed 'witches' (Chapter Six) ritually or by cleansing.

B. Thermal frames: Creation requires "heat," health requires "cool"

In several studied cultures, sexual heat—necessary for creation—is the result of the fusion of distinct but complementary elements –female/male; rain/earth– (Fialho 1998; Sanders 2008). After creation, rituals, including the annual rite to thank the ancestors for the harvest, facilitate cooling down (Kotanyi 2003b). When excess sexual heat is augmented by the "hot" blood of birth, a cooling cleansing ritual is necessary. In Mozambique, this cleansing often involves sexual intercourse between the parents of the baby before the parents may continue with "normal" sexual activity.[68] There are several prohibitions concerning coitus in South and Central Mozambique; violation of these requires ritual cleansing. These prohibitions (taboos) appear in the context of life-cycle transitions involving blood or death[69] and in connection with agricultural production, hunting, war, initiation, and certain political situations,[70] all classified as "hot." These situations are considered dangerous for both the land and the people and are highly "contagious" through the transmission of excess "heat." The socially polluting dangers (all kinds of disorders) have to be managed by the chief and/or a healer, lest the contamination negatively affect the community as a whole or some of their members. The 'internal logic' (Bell 1992) of the prohibitions and management of the transmission of 'heat' framed as 'social'

contagion (see section C) involves thermal frames: blood, semen and vaginal fluids are classified as "hot," as are coitus, hunting, war, and circumcision. A hot situation becomes too hot when combined with hot things, activities or situations such as abortion, mourning after death, seeing dead in warfare or bad or violent death. Also, the exchange of sexual fluids is potentially dangerous for a person already in contact with "hot" blood following birth, or with "black blood" during menstruation or after abortion, and especially after death.[71] All excess heat requires ritual cleansing.[72]

The internal 'logic' of thermal frames

Thermal frames occur in several contexts, for example following healers' explanations of rituals around sexual prohibitions and their transgressions, which are assumed to provoke symptoms similar to AIDS or tuberculosis (TB);[73] or in the required ritual purifications of persons (Kotanyi 2003a) and land (Kotanyi 2003b) following warfare or natural catastrophes, such as flooding or a fire. The thermal frame matches the sexual frame in Mozambique (Green 1999; Kotanyi 2005; Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007; Kotanyi & Krings-Ney 2009). Fialho F. (1998:389) explains the cosmological ('ancestral') context of thermal frames in terms of complementarity of hot/cold with female/male, corresponding to the production of rain, which depends on the sun (hot), the moon (cold), the north wind (hot) and the south wind (cold).[74] These basic complementary principles are common across the studied cultures.

The cosmological context in the lived-worlds of thermal frames is apparent in several stages of the lifecycle; living/dying constitutes a cyclic process of birth, life, death and rebirth (Feliciano 1998:390 and Chapter One).[75] Healers throughout Mozambique described several thermal frames and repeatedly stated the necessity of being "cool" during circumcision, a healing treatment, their initiation as healers or when collecting medicinal plants in the bush. However, lack of heat may also be a problem. The Emakhuwa healer Horacio explained to me a treatment that he performed to protect a woman against *okhwiri* ['witchcraft'], arguing that health disorders can be caused by excessively hot or cold bodies. Horacio argues that thermal framing involves balance; illness or disorder occurs when balance is disturbed.[76] "Heat" marks the transition from one state to another, for example, from child to adult, life to death. Excess "heat" occurs in the transitional or liminal stage (Turner 1967). Excess "heat" may be produced when "heat" associated with a transitional state combines with the "heat" of an activity such as coitus, war or hunting; these conditions require cleansing to neutralize the danger.

The alternation of hot and cold during the life-cycle

Cleansing is necessary before having sexual intercourse after any transitional period; after birth, abortion, first menstruation, circumcision or death; or during an initiation process (of youth, chiefs or healers). Diviners, healers, chiefs and initiation counselors (in several provinces in 1999-2003, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008 and 2014) identify the same life situations that require purification as Fialho Feliciano (1998) describes for the Thonga in South Mozambique in terms of alternation between hot and cold states throughout the lifecycle.[77] Puberty marks the passage to the heat of adulthood: a girl becomes hot at her first menstruation, a boy at circumcision. Men are classified as hot and become hotter in situations such as hunting, fishing, warfare or sexual intercourse. Women, who are classified

as cool, become hot through menstruation, sexual intercourse, abortion, childbirth, or after the death of a husband or child. In such hot states, a woman may not put salt in the food that she cooks.[78] Post-menopausal women (not procreating and assumed to not have coitus anymore) are classified as in a cold state, and, with old men (who may have coitus), are regarded as the living persons who are closest to the ancestors. Death is considered a hot state until decomposition of the flesh; the exposure of the bones signalizes the end of the transformation of the deceased into a cold, protective ancestor, (ca. a year after death). See Chapter One.

The thermal framing influences the wellbeing of the living

In 1999, I had an intense discussion with a group of *mwene* [head of family] in a community in the Muecate district, in the north province of Nampula. Explaining why their community members actively participated in the civil war, the eldest described the relevance of the rituals, which the FRELIMO party prohibited after independence in the name of progress, what FRELIMO called "obscurantism" implied prohibition of all religious and ritual practices, even burials. The emotionally loaded narrative of the *mwene* Pinto G., who was community chief at that time and brother of the current chief, expressed the despair people felt at that time: "Here at home [i.e., before independence], we were living in accord with our tradition: youth were going to the initiation rites; the cemeteries were regularly cleaned. We invoked our ancestors through *makeya*. We were conducting the ceremonies for the dead and those for the ancestors. [But after independence] in the 'community villages' where we were obliged to live, the *makeya*, the cleansing of the graves and the initiation of the youth were not allowed anymore![79] We disapproved of that" (in Kotanyi 2003b).

In the early postcolonial times in Mozambique, prohibitions of traditional practices, including burials, healing rituals and rites of passage, drove the disoriented people (especially those in the North and Central Mozambique, where cultural practices were and continue to be deeply rooted) into the arms of the opposition movement (Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003b). It is obvious that the resilience of the "ancestral" practice does not depend primarily on such historical experiences. But many Makhuwa chiefs supported the liberation movement FRELIMO throughout the anti-colonial war; the same chiefs supported, after independence during the civil war from 1978 until 1992, the fight against the then Marxist-Leninist FRELIMO, because FRELIMO tried to prohibit any "ancestral" or "traditional" (including all religious) practices, which they qualified as obscurantism, in the name of "progress" (Geffray 1991). The healer Horacio Massauwa, son of the former chief of his community, told me that these prohibitions, which the people experienced as worse than in colonial times (given that they came from their 'own' people), brought the people in his region (North) to support the oppositional RENAMO[80]. During his narration Horacio was shouting in his despair (in Kotanyi 2003b).[81] Similarly desperate, other family heads of his community described the central importance of youth initiation, healing and burial rituals as necessary to re-establish thermal balance and safe transition between different states that I describe in this chapter. When such rituals are not performed, all types of illnesses and misfortune may occur; the world of the living is then perceived as totally chaotic and

dangerous. The dead who are not properly buried become persecuting 'spirits', instead of protective ancestors.[82] The balance between hot/cold implies the complementarity of the living and living-dead.

"Hot" and "cold": Beyond positive and negative

The Makhuwa healer from the Muecate quoted above usually wears "cold," white clothes when dealing with excess heat (during healing treatments). There are hot things, hot places, hot moments and hot persons. Hot elements, such as salt, ashes or red, are common across several Mozambican cultures: healers, chiefs and initiation counsellors similarly reported the danger of a woman putting salt in food after the death of her husband or child, or after an abortion, unless a cooling "washing" ritual was conducted (see also Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007).[83]/[84]

Excess of "heat" is associated with aggressive people and those who have violated taboos. Mozambican Cisona speakers just like the Cisona speakers in Zimbabwe (Jacobson-Widding 1989) consider 'witchcraft' and states of possession to be hot.[85] My informants (in 2006) like the informants of Jacobson-Widding (1989) and Turner (1965), all state that heat is connected with disease, excitement and danger, while coolness is connected with ancestors, health, peace and order.[86] Health, wellbeing and fertility require the right thermal balance.[87] As Jacobson-Widding aptly argues, "the two poles heat and coolness are not only expressed in terms of negative or positive connotations, for heat is also connected with the creation of new life" (1989:27).[88] Certain diseases, such as tuberculosis in South and Central Mozambique, produce heat and are linked to violation of taboos. In 1999 in North Mozambique, measles and smallpox were often mentioned as especially hot diseases by Makhuwa healers.[89] Understanding thermal frames is necessary in order to promote appropriate ritual cleansing, as required after the transgression of taboos, in ways that may prevent HIV transmission.

Cooling down after death

Passage through chaos in the transformation process in initiation or after death

The dead must be separated from the living through several cooling stages. In 2001, I was fortunate to be able to see a huge final burial ritual for an old and very respected woman in a region of Nampula province (Makhuwa context) a year after her death. It revealed a lot about the complexity of the cooling-down process in order to achieve the transformation of the dead to the living-dead with qualities of protective ancestors. This issue is relevant to HIV prevention.

During her life, the woman to be buried, Catarina (see Kotanyi 2003b), was initiated into the secret *Eyootto* spiritual community.[90] Her burial ceremony was held one year after her death and was intended to secure her passage from death into ancestorhood as a *munepa*[91]. It was the last stage celebrating and securing the successful cooling process after death. The ceremony involved long preparations, a lot of food and fermentation of *otheka* [millet beer], the latter being a basic ritual element that parallels (analogically) and facilitates the transformation process. People throughout the community participated. The community chief had to be present and drink the *otheka* as an important step in mediating the transformation with the necessary support of the ancestors of the territory in which the deceased was born, lived and was buried.[92] This mediation is conducted through the

community *mwene* [leader/chief], who has to invoke his ancestors (supposed to be the first-settled in that territory) in supporting the transformative procedure. In burial ceremonies in this region, youth dance with drums all night, as is the case among Kiyaka, Kisuku or Kikongo-Bantu speakers in South-West Kongo (Devisch 1989).

The atmosphere became extremely hot – drumming with dances and highly sexually loaded movements. I could not bear it, since I did not understand how this chaotic sexually framed (late at night in the darkness) atmosphere, could be part of a burial ritual.[93] Only much later, through research in South-West Kongo (Kwango), did I come to understand the "inherent logic" of the involved chaotic frames (involving coitus), which allow the complex process of cooling down the heat produced by death and facilitating the transformation of the deceased into an ancestor. The hotness of chaotically practiced coitus is meant to neutralize the death-induced chaotic situation that has disturbed the established social (and emotional) order. This applies for death in general. Such ritual procedures follow the logic of "the same treating the same" (Sanders 2008), which Devisch (1993a) characterizes as a homeopathic logic. In Mozambique and in DR Congo, it involves several ritual inversions to remedy the social and emotional disorder that follows death (Devisch 1981; Jacobson-Widding 1999:219).[94] Devisch describes Yaka burials in which people carry the corpse in apparent confusion and disorder, searching for the right direction and going backwards on the way to the grave. They are searching for the presumed *buloki* [witch] who could be the "source" (not the 'cause') of the death. Death is mostly seen as being caused by "witchcraft"; natural death is rarely seen as such. Death produces a rift in the social tissue, which must be reweaved. The burial ritual is the first step to such reweaving, which occurs in several steps, in general until one year after the death when the transformation of the dead into an ancestor is finalized. The practice is different in Mozambique, but the necessity of reframing the social order through a chaotic situation and the sexual loading is the same. It encompasses (1st) the necessity to identify if the death was caused by witchcraft (Bagnol 2007). And it may encompass (2nd) a chaotic "upside-down" situation in which taboos are transgressed, allowing restoration of the social, emotional and moral order. In the night of the last burial ritual for Catarina, the youth had chaotic sexual intercourse (transgressing the norms), just as in burial rituals in Kwango (according to several of my informants in 2010). This was an example, how in the studied matrilineal Makhuwa context[95] and in Bantu-speaking cultures in South-West Kongo, a proper burial ritual transforming the dead into protective ancestors implies chaotic transformative procedures, which follow principles of inversions that combine the sexual and thermal framings. Improper burial, however, does not cool down the deceased, who as a result become dangerous, wandering spirits that are vengeful and unpredictable.[96]

Reshaping of relations through chaotic ritual processes grounded in inversions

Using inversions, rituals reshape the disturbed situation, a disturbance arising from the liminality: e.g. of a dead person who has not yet become a protective ancestor spirit; a hot ill person; or a neophyte youth, chief or healer who has not yet been completely initiated. The inversions support all kinds of

transformations: The process of transformation occurs through rituals reshaping of the relationships that, at the same time, confirm the social relationships (in the clan and/or the community). A ritual transformation often passes through a chaotic situation, which is performed during the ritual before reaching the new established order, which the ritual confirms. Inversions are not signs of rebellion against the usual order, but means allowing its confirmation through a cathartic stage of chaos (see Bell 1992). This holds also for any *twhasa* (graduation from a healer initiation in South Mozambique) or, in the North, for seclusion during an initiation into the secret spiritual society *Eyootto*.

C. Taboo violation and "social transmission"

Taboos regulating the social order

In the studied Bantu-speaking cultures, the sexual and thermal frames structure numerous taboos, which are currently active in similar yet varying ways from one culture to another (Douglas 1970, 1994; Douglas and Calvez 1990; Green 1999). There are strong interferences of several of these taboos with HIV/AIDS diagnosis, treatment and prevention in both studied countries, - this is why I elaborate on this paradigm. Many people confound the physical signs of the transgression of taboos related to sex, blood and death, to the mains symptoms of AIDS (chronic cough, skin rash, slimming and diarrhea). In 2005, Cisena- and Cindau-speaking female initiation rites counselors (Kotanyi and Krings Ney 2009) as well as Cishona, Cindau, Emakhuwa, Elomwe, Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa and Zulu-speaking healers in Mozambique described taboos which appear in all of the studied cultures (also in DR Congo).[97] Many informants state that the transgression of several taboos [*zvinoera* in Cishona] is assumed to lead to diseases, such as those listed in Table 3.4. and 3.5.[98] E.g., intercourse between parents is prohibited after birth until the umbilical cord detaches, to avoid 'polluting' the baby, as well as during menstruation, so as not to 'pollute' the man through coitus with the "black" blood of a menstruating woman. Widows and widowers pass through a liminal period during mourning, until the deceased becomes an ancestor. Early anthropological studies of South African tribes (e.g. Willoughby 1932) describe several categories of taboos, which apply throughout the life cycle.[99] Many taboos referred to in early ethnographies (e.g., Junod 1919 for Mozambique), are currently being practiced.[100] Willoughby observes that, even if the rituals regarding ancestors are not particularly visible, the taboos cannot be overlooked, - which currently also applies. In his comparative study of cultural etiologies in Africa, Westerlund (1989) shows that even in societies where the etiology of "witchcraft" does not appear (e.g., the Maasai), taboos have always existed. In Mozambique and DRC, taboos influence wellbeing, appearing in connection with key life events such as birth, circumcision and death, including menstruation, abortion and violent or "bad" death.[101]

I observed the relevance of transgression of taboos after the civil war in Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003a) and their interference with HIV/AIDS prevention in both countries (Kotanyi 2005; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009; Kotanyi and Lapika 2010). Kubik (2007) suggests that it is easy to implement new taboos, but 'old' taboos tend to remain resilient: they do not readily disappear, even with pressures to

"modernize." My studies confirm this observation. During my first studies on psychosocial treatments of postwar trauma among children and women in Mozambique between 1998 and 1999), I was confronted with taboos. Below, I restrict my discussion of taboos[102] to those concerning sex, blood and death, since only these are relevant to HIV/AIDS prevention. Healers from South and Central Mozambique attribute cough, skin problems or slimming to the transgression of taboos. These taboos interfere with AIDS and TBC, which involve the same symptoms.[103] I will show that these taboos are related to the respect of ancestors and that they may influence the regulation of people's behavior.[104] These taboos exist in all the cultures studied in similar, yet varying ways. In Chapter Five, I show how they interfere with the diagnostic of HIV infections, discussing complementary and inclusive ways to communicate in this issue (in Appendix 5.1.).

The transmission of excess heat as "dirt"

In order to understand the interferences of the transgression of taboos with HIV infection, it is necessary to deepen the internal logics implied in these taboos, which activates notions of "transmission" differing from the notion of contamination, which is usual in the biomedical approaches. Healers show that transgressed taboos related to sex, blood and death, produce "excesses of heat" or dirt. All kinds of informants (e.g. people living with HIV/AIDS and healers) argue that excess hotness is "contagious" in terms of socially framed "pollution" (Douglas 1990); it is dangerous to the affected person and to others. Such a concept of transmission (Caprara 2000; Bonnet and Jaffré et al. 2003)[105] competes with biological concepts of contagion. Both types of transmission or contamination are relevant to most Bantu-speakers. Transgression of taboos is supposed to produce "dirt"[106]. Zulu-speakers in Mozambique and South Africa refer to it as "darkness", a hot, liminal state (Ngubane 1977). Darkness also applies to those who have been 'bewitched'. Both taboos and "witchcraft" imply transgressions of the social and moral order, involving hot states, provoked by certain acts of the living (either willingly or unwillingly).

Contamination by excess heat after warfare

In 1999, I heard several stories of women or children kidnapped or raped during the violent civil war in Mozambique (1980–1992) (Kotanyi 2003a). In Nampula province, healers and the chiefs insisted that people returning from war had to wait at the border of the village before they could rejoin the community, so as not to endanger the lives or wellbeing[107] of others by transmission of excess heat. First, the women and the children (just like the soldiers) had to be cleansed by the community chief or a healer. The excess heat was related to the unburied dead, those who had been improperly buried, or those who had died a bad and/or violent death.[108] Those suffering "bad" deaths could become persecutors, "bad spirits"[109], instead of ancestors. In South Mozambique, people complained that the lack of 'cleansing' made it difficult for women and children to reintegrate socially after the civil war. Such "washing" was practiced systematically in the province of Nampula.[110]

Taboos related to sexual intercourse after death without cleansing

Healers indicate that 'cleansing' (locally called "washing") before coitus, is absolutely necessary after the death of a life partner.[111] Cleansing prevents the "shade" of the deceased from calling the living partner to follow him or her. The cleansing permits the "separation" of the former couple, which is expressed by the phrase "to cut the straw" (Nhaombe 2007).[112] Cleansing after mourning cools down the excess heat that is associated with the "mixture" of "hot" sexual fluids and the frictions in coitus in combination with the heat of the dead person, with whom the widow/widower formerly had sexual intercourse. The hot liminal state between life and death makes the widow or widower highly vulnerable (Turner 1967: 94).[113] Those who wash, carry or bury the dead are also "hot," as they are "polluted" (Bagnol 2007). 'Cleansing' after death[114] through ritual sexual intercourse is the main taboo-related practice interfering with HIV/AIDS (see Chapter Six).

Disrespect of ancestral prohibitions related to blood, sex and death

The transgression of taboos implies that not only the transgressing person will show the physical signs of ancestral sanction; other persons are just as exposed to the resulting 'heat'. One example is the infant disease *omutupha mwaana* [in Emakhuwa] that involves coughing, loss of weight, fever, diarrhea, paralysis, distended belly, anemia, and yellowish skin.[115] All these are seen as physical "signs" that one or both parents may have had sexual intercourse without after-birth cleansing; the father may have had sexual intercourse without the required after-birth cleansing with the mother.[116] Also an uninitiated Cindau-speaking girl, who has sexual intercourse with a man without her parents' knowledge, may provoke back pains in her mother. Cisena-speaking (patrilineal) women speak of the taboo of unmarried girls having sexual intercourse (girls still must be virgins at marriage), whereas the matrilinear Makhuwa do not frame it as a taboo, but as a shameful issue.[117]

The efficiency of ancestral ways in dealing with the involved paradigms

The *nyamusoro* [diviner/healer] Amos P. lives near Maputo in South Mozambique. He was a member of an Evangelical Church. In 2008 he explained that God and his church were not strong enough to heal effectively; he returned to his more effective ancestral practices.[118] This is also the case for other healers. Amos argues that if cleansing[119] is not performed after a death, diseases always appear. Amos, like all other healers, diviners, initiations rites counsellors or chiefs in both studied countries, argues that "a lack of respect for 'prohibition' [taboos] provokes disease among members of the family."[120] In South and Central Mozambique, the "signs" (as healers call them) of these diseases are weakness, difficulty in breathing, coughing, headache and back pain. Members of the family of the deceased may vomit blood, swell, lose weight, lose their hair and nails and become pale. They are also some of the most frequent symptoms of AIDS.[121] These "signs" indicate sicknesses called *tingati tinyingi* (Mahumana 2013:164) that healers in the South relate to *ntima* (associated with death, darkness and impurity), or *ngati*, associated with blood and the environment (2013:159-163). Sicknesses categorized as *ntima* or *ngati*, or similar notions, are seen as requiring cleansing treatments in addition to any other treatments, for instance in biomedicine.

Mazinge, a famous "modern" healer in Inhambane, is a very successful farmer with his own tractor, which is unusual in Mozambique. His consulting hut next to his home is large, built with cement and with good furniture. Mazinge uses biomedical terminology mixed with 'ancestral' terms and notions. His obvious commitment to "modern" practices does not prevent him from being a well-known healer and diviner who follows an understanding of wellbeing that implies the "ancestral" values and concepts. For him, like for his colleagues, ancestral rules (primarily) define health; their violation is the main source of illness, disorders and misfortune. Even though he regard himself a modern person, Mazinge holds convictions similar to those of other "traditional" healers in South and Central Mozambique. He says: "Ancestral rules must be respected, in order to avoid *tsanganico* [diseases due to taboo transgressions]. When this respect is missing, we catch *pringaniso* [idem]."[122] Mazinge attributes the death of his own son (infected by HIV) to such disrespect. The fact that such an economically successful, 'modern' person sticks to his "ancestral" perspective (and values) shows, how strong and 'sense-giving' these paradigms related to taboos concerning sex, blood and death are.
A widow or widower transgressing the ancestral rules of abstinence from sexual intercourse without after-mourning cleansing may provoke "diseases" related to taboo transgressions[123], affecting all the family members of the deceased person. Only in the case of a man having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman the physical sign of the transgression experienced by the transgressor himself is a hernia. Diseases appearing as a consequence of taboo transgression exhibit symptoms similar to those of HIV/AIDS or tuberculosis in Mozambique and in DR Congo. Healer Mazinge put it in this way: "Menstruation opens the suitcase, and the husband cannot close it; he may catch TB, coughing blood as if he were a menstruating woman, but it is not due to the disease [AIDS]."[124] Table 3.4 lists taboos related to sex, blood and dead in Sofala (Centre) according to life-cycle events. These taboos apply in the South and in the North, although with some differences, as shown below.

Physical symptoms associated with each transgression may differ from one region to another, just as cleansing does, according to a regionally grounded social and cultural *habitus.*[125] One difference between patrilineal and matrilineal societies in Mozambique is that in the matrilineal Emakhuwa/Elmowe-speaking context the signs (symptoms) of *mwiikho* [taboo] transgression are not associated with the loss of weight, coughing or skin sores, but rather with wounds or swollen feet, legs, belly or body.[126] Cleansing through coitus with the sister/niece or brother/nephew of the widower/widow occurs even in the matrilineal context of Nampula less frequently now[127], being condemned in Christian, Islamic and biomedical contexts, especially since the HIV epidemic. It is described as a "former" practice, which does not necessarily mean that it is not practiced anymore, but that the people know that it has been - since long time ago - officially not been accepted.[128] Cleansing through ritual coitus after death is practiced in patrilineal Southern and Central Mozambique, as well as, according to different framings in several regions of DR Congo – where, additionally, the brother/sister of the deceased often has to marry the widow/widower. The latter is also a widespread practice in the Mozambican Bantu-cultural context.

Two taboos exist in the Makhuwa culture, but not in South or Central Mozambique: (1st) the taboo of seeing a corpse before initiation[129], (2nd) the prohibition of coitus between the parents of a boy during his circumcision (until the healing of his wound).[130] This prohibition exists in all cultures practicing male circumcision. Transgression of this prohibition is presumed to lead to the death of the son.

In the Makhuwa/Lomwe context, symptoms of taboo transgression apparently do not interfere so systematically with AIDS prevention as they do in South and Central Mozambique, where most of the symptoms of taboo violation are nearly the same as those of AIDS. However, in Nampula, many healers think that AIDS is associated with swollen legs and feet, which are also symptoms of several violated taboos (Table 3.5.). This shows that in a Bantu-speaking context, effective HIV-prevention education must include in its communication the interferences due to taboo-transgressions.[131]

Taboos frame the social rules determining behavior of the interrelated persons

In Mozambique[132] and DR Congo (Jacobson-Widding 1979, Lapika 1992), as in many African cultures[133], taboos related to sex, blood and death regulate the relations between persons (especially concerning their shade/vital force/bloods and physical body) in the broad social context involving the living and living-dead ancestors as discussed in Chapter Two. Such regulation of behavior expresses the transgression of social rules in terms of physical symptoms (Kubik 2007) as elaborated below. Transgression results in what Douglas (1990, 1994) calls "pollution"; she links taboos with community values that Mauss defines as "learned" behavioral rules that are transmitted from generation to generation through enculturation.[134] Transgression of these rules, framed as taboos, undermines the group's morals and ethics, which endangers its members; however, these morals and ethics that regulate behavior related to coitus, blood and death are thermally framed, in terms of an excess of heat which can be "washed" (cooled down) to reestablish the right balance. Douglas argues that "pollution is a weapon for mutual coercion" (1994:6); she shows that while the physical body-self is determined by the *social body*, the *social body* also constrains perception of physical body-self. Douglas shows with pertinence that the rhetoric on risk is assigned to the individual, while pollution through taboo-transgression concerns the *social body* of the person (1994:27-29), which involves the social world including the ancestors; both the person and the social world are affected.[135]/[136]

From the perspective of the ancestral 'moral' rules framing behavior around coitus, blood and death in the Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speaking context, many people prefer the etiology of the transgression of taboos (as excess of heat) to the symptoms of HIV infection (often neglecting this possibility), in part because transgressed taboos can be cleansed (which gives hope) – and thus don't leave any feeling of individual "guilt."[137] The Christian dualist morality easily provokes confusions; the ancestral paradigm of 'taboo transgression' (which is not framed in terms of 'sin' or 'guilt') is not based on a good/bad dichotomy, which may easily be forgotten when the issue is addressed in terms of 'morals' (see Wolf 2001), although moral is involved. In the ancestral mode, once the transgression has been cleansed, no guilt remains. In speaking about morals in relation to taboo transgression, it

should be clear which paradigm is in play: it is about a pragmatic need to restore thermal balance grounded in non-dualism, which does not involve an individualizing or stigmatizing morality.

Sense-giving etiology and social control of bodily fluids

The just-discussed specific 'moral' framing of the bodily transgressions of taboos activates social control mechanisms in Mozambique and DR Congo (Douglas 1990). Cultural perceptions and fears of body fluids and their exchange reflect parallels between the human body and the social body, confirming Douglas. The notion of "social contamination," which Douglas calls "pollution," assumes that taboo transgressions cause sickness, implying a "mindful body" (Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987).[138] In Mozambique, most bodily fluids are powerful and have high polluting potential[139], which can be mindfully activated in a comprehensive approach to HIV and AIDS prevention (see Chapter Five). The term for semen (*ngati* "blood" in Xichangana/Xirhonga) is used for all human fluids framed as "blood" in all the studied Bantu languages, which speak of red, black and white 'blood'.[140] Semen and breast milk are understood as white blood; menstrual blood is considered polluting black blood[141] (see Chapter Two and Appendix 3.3 on the chromatic frames). Simultaneously, in the studied Bantu-speaking cultures, semen is considered to be blood in purified form (see Taylor 1992:67), which may explain why sexual intercourse is often considered the most efficient means of purification for taboo-transgression of several kinds, especially after death. The flow of "*ngati* ("blood" – the bodily fluids) between persons illustrates the interdependent nature of persons in Mozambique and DR Congo, where social relationships—and the wellbeing of the *vital body* (shade) and of the *spiritual body* ("breath/spirit")—are perceived as much more significant than "just" the physical health of any single human being. In societies that subordinate the individual body-self to the influences of the "social body" and of the "body social" as described in this study, "sickness" (or "maladies", Langwick 2011), which address wellbeing in general. Illness is often attributed to the breaking of social and moral rules (taboos), or to disharmony within the family or the village community, or to malevolent social relations (i.e., sorcery), as Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987:15) also argue.[142] Such socio-centric etiologies require ritual therapy to manage the relationships among living humans, and those with ancestors, spirits, family and clan members and the community at large.

Anthropological theories on taboo 'etiology'

In search for grounding the resilience of taboos, I briefly discuss some theories related to taboos. Anthropology is not sufficient; I will also use complementary ethno-psychological proposals.

"Pollution" and liminality

We saw that bodily fluids are glossed in the studied Bantu languages as *ngati* "bloods",[143] (including semen, vaginal fluid and tears). These are all framed as "hot" and "dirt," showing their highly contagious potential.[144] The South African anthropologist Harriet Ngubane mentions the polluting, contagious nature of "gestation, lactation, parturition, death, bereavement or treatment with black medicines which symbolize death" (1976:274). Ngubane (1976, 1977) views taboos as a means of dealing with liminal states between life and death; she connotes taboos with "a mystical force, which

diminishes resistance to disease, creates conditions of misfortunes, disagreeableness and repulsiveness" (1976:274). To a large extent, this also applies in the studied Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speaking cultures. However, informants do not report "mystical forces" involved in transgressed taboos, which most informants in both countries relate to rules "inherited from our ancestors." We saw in Chapter One that ancestors are perceived neither as "supernatural" nor as "mystical" entities; as former living persons, they remain invisible but alive as "living dead" as long as the living recall them. However, I fully agree with Ngubane, following Douglas (1967, 1970), Leach (1964, 1971) and Turner (1967, 1968, 1974), who all associate liminality and danger with several life-cycle events involving taboos as listed Tables 3.4 and 3.5. Ngubane's findings parallel the statements of Mariano (2007), Bagnol (2007), Lapika (1998) and my own informants in Mozambique (Kotanyi 2005; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009) and DR Congo (Kotanyi and Lapika 2010). Ngubane (1976, 1977) puts "purity" and "impurity" in quotation marks to indicate the limitations of these English terms and the influence of Christianity and Islam. My local informants never used the terms "purity" or "impurity"; instead, they spoke of "dirt," "washing," of "small vermin or animals" or excess "heat." They also never used the term "pollution" applied in anthropology (*sensu* Douglas 1990, 1994); Ngubane uses "pollution" only in quotation marks (1976:274). Today, this term refers to environmental contamination and contaminating impurities rather than to 'social pollution'. Ngubane (1976: 274) speaks of "mystical pollution," while "social contamination" may most aptly highlight the contrast with biological contamination from the perspective of my informants (facilitating communication with persons informed in biomedicine). I don't see much that is "mystical" in the notions of transgressed taboos; in fact, the thermal paradigm is quite pragmatic. Improper behavior provokes excesses of "heat" and the "anger of the ancestors and their sanctions", but this anger of the living-dead is clearly due to and "provoked" by the behavior of the living.[145] However, such a socio-centric etiology requires appropriate ritual therapy to manage the disturbed thermal balance involving the relationships with the ancestors, who are part of the social world; the disturbance also touches other persons, not only the transgressing person (Table 3.5).[146]

An ethno-psychological approach to taboo etiology

Socially framed and individually internalized rules

The regionally common reference to certain physical "signs" (symptoms) in South and Central Mozambique (e.g., coughing, mucus production, skin rashes), and in the North (swollen feet, legs, belly, body, or feeling bad), correspond to Kubik's (2007)[147] findings. Kubik suggests that transgressed taboos automatically produce a physical response. Stroeken's (2008) (and Howe's 1991) concept of *sensory codes* (or *sensory modes*), which I elaborate on below, applies in this context.

The transgression of the described taboos related to sex, blood and death, which are loaded with moral norms, lead to the activation of what I call the "sensory code of *dirtiness*" through an excess of "heat." This code does not imply material dirt but addresses invisible dirt, which occurs through excesses of (non-physical) "heat." We saw that my informants argue that the "dirt" of transgressed taboos must be

"cooled down" through cleansing. The embodied teaching of taboos, as I observed e.g. in youth initiation in Central and North Mozambique, leads to an internalization[148] of the taboo rules, which become part of the unconsciously yet deeply rooted rules structuring the person's behavior. While this does not mean that a person always respects them, the transgression of cultural taboos (e.g., not cleansing after the death of the spouse) produces a variety of physical symptoms consistent with locally learned and accepted norms around taboos, which in all the studied cultures in Mozambique and DR Congo are associated with the behavior rules for living left by the ancestors. To "respect these prohibitions" is connoted with "respect" for the ancestors. Many healers suggest that the short slogan "Respect" should be used extensively in health education, especially in TB, STDs and HIV prevention (see Chapter Five). "Respect" primarily means 'respect for taboos', but it evokes many other implications related to ancestral moral and ethics.

I agree with Kubik's (2007:11) approach to *mwiikho* [taboos in Emakhuwa].[149] Legal enforcement of taboos is unnecessary, since they are deeply internalized. In the context of taboos, people regulate themselves in accord with social norms, which becomes also evident in the slogan 'Respect'. As an anthropologist and psychoanalyst, Kubik argues in a multidisciplinary and complementary approach (Devereux 1972) that it is a person's unconscious psychological apparatus—not society—that sanctions behavior and responds to violations in psychosomatic terms; that is, emotional or psychic distress is reflected in physical 'symptoms'. The descriptions of my informants imply that it is the ancestors who sanction the transgressions in living.[150] My observations of education of youth in initiations show that the ancestral rules of behavior are induced in the neophytes in deeply embodied ways as "the" entity defining correct behavior.[151] They are transmitted through enculturation by family and community members, and through initiation, using metaphors in songs, verbal advice, proverbs and dances to transmit cultural knowledge in unconscious and embodied ways. Such transmissions are unconscious, like a kind of "programming" that, through the internalized ancestral rules (taboos) learned in an embodied way, "automatically" produce somatic reactions as a consequence of taboo transgression (on embodiment, see Csordas 2002; Sax 2002, 2003, 2006a, 2009).

In the perspective of the *sensory shift* (Stroeken 2008), these processes are not like in psychosomatics mainly psychic but they are reactions of the whole body activated through certain *sensory codes*. This concept is rooted in the analyses of all senses, taking into account senses reaching beyond the "classical" senses of vision, smelling, touch, hearing, etc. as discussed by Merleau-Ponty (1945) and Devisch (1993a, 1996a). The *sensory codes* run meaning into matter, allowing ritual ways of dealing with them (Stroeken 2008: 467). Three of the four sensory codes discussed by Stroeken (2008) for the Sukuma context are especially relevant in my studied context: First, the *reciprocal-receptive code* of social exchange that Stroeken relates to "being-with" and which I see as "living-with" (Chapter Seven). Second, the *intrusive code* of witchcraft suspicion is related to the third sensory code, the *expulsive-presentational code* of divination and exorcism. A fourth sensory code discussed by Stroeken is activated in states of possession in which the intrusion is accepted by healers or diviners

who become mediums. I would add a fifth sensory code, which is activated by the transgression of taboos (e.g. those related to sex, blood and death) that are loaded with 'ancestral' moral norms; they activate the "*sensory code of dirtiness*" framing the excesses of "heat" in the thermo-sexual frame. We saw that my informants argue that the transgressed taboos must be "washed" (inside) through medical tea, and (superficies) the skin with medical plants – related to the physical "signs" involved in such transgressions (e.g. skin rash, chronic cough, loss of hair/strength, diarrhea and slimming).

The internalization in the "bodily memory" of the norms of taboos –with their respective "signs" of transgressions– is induced through several educational processes: Where youth initiation is not practiced, education given in the family and community have similar effects. The same taboo may lead to different, regionally framed "signs" or symptoms. In South and Central Mozambique, engaging in sexual intercourse before cleansing after a birth or death leads to coughing, skin problems, and loss of weight or hair, while the transgression of *mwiikho* [taboos in Emakhuwa] in North Mozambique leads to weakness and edema. The "signs" appearing in the physical body of "polluted" persons (family members or those who live in proximity to the transgressing person) are defined locally/regionally and thus may differ from one culture to another, but it is common to all of these cultures that the transgression of taboos related to coitus, blood and death produces physical effects. I suggest that the "sensory code of dirtiness" activated through transgressed taboos have "socio-somatic" (my own term) effects in the individual body-self of the transgressing person, as well as in that of persons who are touched by the transgression and receive the transmitted "excess of heat." The repercussions of taboo-transgression in the individual physical body of all the persons who are affected occur in somatic ways as socially influenced bodily symptoms caused by "excess of heat".
Kubik suggests that new taboos are easier to implement than to eliminate. For example, some of the taboos recorded by Junod (1912) are still in force, despite the spread of new religions and biomedicine and a Western scientific perspective. People living with HIV/AIDS in the capital Maputo and surrounding districts indicate that they have sought traditional cleansing treatments for taboo transgression in addition to HIV testing. While many accept the existence of the HIV virus, people are convinced that their *wutomi* [life/wellbeing in Xirhonga] requires more than "health" in terms of the physical body alone. The conviction is widespread (and supported by healers) that physical health requires respect for the ancestors and their rules, including proper action following taboo transgressions. In short, I suggest that respect for the ancestors and their rules, framed in terms of taboos, is not a mystical issue, but part of internalized behavior rules allowing *wutomi*.[152]

D. Cleansing after taboo-transgression

In case of transgression of the taboos, there are several ways to 'cleanse', which are framed as "washing." These rituals activate in persons the socially embodied moral connotations involved in certain categories of prohibitions. These, in turn, define in specific contexts: (1st) which transgression of which taboo produces what kind of "signs" in the physical body of what kind of person; (2nd)

whether and how each kind of transgression can be neutralized through cleansing, (e.g., it is mostly assumed that incest cannot be cleansed). In Mozambique, ritual cleansing is considered the most appropriate way to prevent or treat "social contamination" that occurs through transgression of taboos related to coitus, blood and death. In the context of HIV, the possibility of 'cleansing' fosters hope, but also leads to a delay in confronting the disease biomedically (by means of testing, diagnosis, treatment and prevention), leading to numerous premature deaths.[153] While most transgressed taboos can be cleansed, HIV infection cannot. However, much confusion occurs given that in South/Central Mozambique and in parts of DR Congo, the "signs" of transgression are the same as those of AIDS. While some cleansing practices do not present any risk of biological contamination, others do. As said before, cleansing practices differ from one region to another, but the applied principles in terms of framings and "internal logic" (Bell 1992) are the same. I will describe some of the methods of cleansing that are most commonly used.

Ritual cleansing with plants and "washing"

As described above (see Tables 3.4. and 3.5.), cleansing must occur before resuming sexual intercourse after having sex with a menstruating woman, or when a girl has sex at too young an age, or after a birth, an abortion or a death. The form of cleansing depends on the locally accepted ways. Xithswa-speaking healers explain a cleansing after death:

> "After the burial ceremonies, the widow must stay at home [in seclusion during mourning]. She must then find a person who will cleanse [*ndzhaka*] her. If no family member will do it,[154] she can take a man from outside. In this case, she must consult a [male] healer who will prepare the couple.[155] He prepares the [cleansing] roots and washes the couple with them. After that, there is a small ceremony; a drink must be presented to the family, who must take it."[156]

In this case, the person to be cleansed must prepare the drink and present it to family members; both, the cooking with fire and the drink itself, effect the cleansing. The same obligation exists for a widower, and for people returning from a war. The beginning of my film "Viver de Novo" (Kotanyi 2003b) documents how after 1992 women returning home from captivity after the war, were cleansed with plants and water. The transition between the hot and the cooled-down, 'cleansed' states, is achieved with a lace of blades of grass around the wrist before being washed with water and medicinal plants. After cleansing, the person takes off the lace and leaves the place without looking back. Not looking back includes not speaking about what happened, although the cleansing itself may sometimes involve words from the treated person. The cleansed person should not recall (and not speak) anymore about the transgressing experiences in order to impede the repetition of this misfortune. In the province Nampula, the interviews that I made (in 1999), in several parts of the province, show that, just like the soldiers, most women and children returning from captivity consulted healers and passed through cleansing rituals, which were performed in many different ways. In the film "SpiritBody" (Kotanyi 2003a) a nurse tells that her niece came back extremely disturbed from captivity. She sent her to a healer; the ritual cleansing allowed her niece to recover. Healers argue that witnessing violent and "bad deaths" (of persons who died far from their homes, whose burials lacked certain required

rituals) or being raped produces polluting excesses of “heat.” Treatments in South and Central Mozambique may also involve narratives, with the patient saying what he/she experienced.[157] However, speaking out about transgressed taboos occurs just one time; speaking out during cleansing is an additional means of “extracting” the harmfulness.[158] After that, a patient must never talk again about the episode (not “look back”), because that would obviate the cleansing. Any mention of what happened may vivify the ‘hotness’, just as invoking the ancestors sustains them (Colson 2006.)

Crossroads cleansing

Cleansing at a crossroads is a common practice in Mozambique and DR Congo. The inherent logic behind the use of the crossroads for cleansing is that crossroads are places where many people pass and take with them the “dirt” or excess heat deposited by the rituals.[159] The person who committed the transgression goes to a crossroads and performs a ritual. Crossroads are also used to mark e.g. the end of a treatment. For a sexually transmitted disease, the remedy may be buried at the crossroads; words describing a “bad death” may also be “left” there, for instance, an account of death witnessed during warfare. Crossroads are effective because they facilitate transitions between different states: e.g., impure ‘hot/dirt’ *vs.* pure ‘cold/cleansed.’ The person to be cleansed explains aloud[160] the problem at a crossroads, and makes a small offering (similarly to the way ancestors are invoked).

Cleansing after a death

Cleansing after a death is the most important cleansing and is required in order to liberate the widow/widower from the shadow of the deceased. Although each region has its particular practices, the underlying logic is the same: the heat associated with the death must be neutralized through ritual action. The polluting excess heat is due to the (hot) death of the partner, with whom the widower or widow used to have (hot) sexual intercourse (coitus). In South/Central Mozambique, “contamination” from excess heat (causing *ntima* sicknesses related to death/darkness/mourning – Mahumana 2013) may affect any member of the family of the deceased person, meaning that the widow/widower is more subject to social pressure (from the clan members) to perform the cleansing, given that she or he is the person transmitting the polluting excess of “heat.” However, in the North, among Emakhuwa-speakers, excess heat tends to afflict only the remaining partner, who may be affected; cleansing ends with the cutting of the hair[161] of the widow or widower, which should be done in the bush, where the hair will be buried. The *orapihiwa* [cleansing bath] using specific plants removes the shadow[162] of the deceased from the widower or widow, who should have no sexual intercourse during the 40 days after the death, until the cleansing takes place. This mourning period is much shorter than in South or Central Mozambique, where it may last for six months to a year, until the final ceremony is performed, and the deceased becomes a “home spirit” or ancestor.[163] In Southwest Congo, cleansing occurs through an inversion of the normal behavioral rules, on the most eventful night of the funerary ritual, during which the sexual taboos are suspended (Devisch 1981, 1998, 2000).

Cleansing after death through ritual coitus - "*kucinga*"

During the intermediary life situations, in which the person passes from one state to another, the involvement of sexual intercourse leads to a production of excessive "hotness"; this requires cleansing rituals with the objective of "cooling down" states of excessive 'heat'. Abolishing the boundaries between two distinct persons and genders, coitus, as the fusion of man and woman, is seen as one of the 'hottest' situations in all the studied cultures. Sexual intercourse is assumed to produce an excess of 'heat' when it happens in combination with other 'hot' situations like contact with the blood of birth or the "black" menstrual blood; after an abortion (a double source of hotness: hot blood and death), during circumcision, or after death or a violent and "bad" death (war).[164]

The internal logic of cleansing through ritual coitus follows the "homeopathic" principle (Devisch 1993a) of the logic of "like-attracts-like" described by Sanders (2008:155); excessive hotness can be neutralized by a strong hotness. Healers explain that some transgressions are cleansed through sexual intercourse because excess "heat" is neutralized the same way it was transmitted, i.e., by coitus. A widow must wash away the shadow of her dead husband by having ritual sexual intercourse[165] with another person, who may perhaps become her next husband (but not necessarily, depending on the *habitus*). In this form of cleansing, the heat of ritual coitus cleanses the heat produced by contact with the deceased.

However, cleansing after death may involve biological risks when coitus is required, e.g., by coitus with a widow/widower of a person who died from being infected by HIV. There exist, however, several "alternative" ways of cleansing, which combine thermal frames with the sexual frame (or with other analogical frames based on knowledge of how heat/coolness are transmitted). E.g., the required ritual of cleansing through sexual intercourse may occur with the brother or sister of the deceased, and the cleansing might be "transmitted," e.g., through hot tea or food cooked by the "cleansed" sister. In South and Central Mozambique, the sexual partner (or so-called *coq*) may not be an affine, and sexual intercourse with the person may never recur.[166] The practice of the same person cleansing several widows is criticized as being highly risky. Given the HIV epidemic, many people seek alternative ways; however, cleansing through coitus is difficult to abolish. Many healers defend the necessity of cleansing through coitus,[167] and the practice may still occur in some communities despite biomedical warnings and legal prohibitions. Being precautious, healers describe the practice in the past tense, they know that the Ministry of Health prohibits cleansing with coitus because of its biological risks.[168] The "DIALOGO" research that I coordinated with Xichangana, Xirhonga, Zulu, Cishona, Cisena and Xithswa-speaking healers, initiation counselors and chiefs determined that *kucinga* [in Xichangana ritual cleansing using coitus] persists. At the presentation of our results at the end of the first year of this research, an official in the Ministry of Health argued that *kucinga* was no longer practiced.[169] Meanwhile, this person recognizes it as a current practice which the Ministry now officially tries to prohibit. However, experiences of healers show that it is better not to prohibit practices, because it just leads to their being maintained in hiding, especially given the historical prohibition of any ancestral

traditions by the postcolonial socialist state (between 1976 and 1992). Negotiation with chiefs, healers and local authorities, as agents able to influence behavior in the communities, might be the best way to convince people that the whole community should agree to practice certain ritual ways of cleansing in the future which do not present risk of infection, as discussed below.

The healer woman Elsa Elisa described another method of cleansing to be used after the death of a spouse. Practiced by Bitonga speakers in South Mozambique,[170] this means of cleansing uses clothes or cooked food. In 2001 and 2008, Elsa E. explained to me, that in her region the usual cleansing method through sexual intercourse takes three nights. In the first night, the widow has intercourse twice (with the brother of the deceased or with someone else) on a piece of clothing that belonged to her former husband. In the morning she throws the clothing behind the door of her bedroom. In the second night, she has intercourse with the same person, on the same piece of clothing. In the third night, this is repeated twice again. In the morning, she throws the cloth in the garbage outdoors, definitively cutting the bonds with the deceased spouse.[171] In all the studied groups, not only the widow/widower, but all members of the family of the deceased must be cleansed. The transgression of the taboos related to death are the most important in view of the risks of physical contamination (e.g., of HIV), raising the question of whether alternative cleansing procedures are possible. E.g., in Central Mozambique, healers and female initiation counselors insist that cleansing is performed in the Cindau-speaking context without sexual intercourse. Cleansing is transmitted from the widow to the family, e.g., by making a tea and giving it to family members following her own cleansing through sexual intercourse.[172] Cleansing in this way does not involve the risk of biological transmission of infections. I will go into this issue in greater depth after analyzing the inherent logic of cleansing.

The ‘internal logic’ of cleansing and dealing with liminal transitional states

Cleansing is required especially in cases of physical contact with blood, sex or death, and is associated with moments in life when a social, physical or spiritual transition takes place. Such transitions are characterized by uncertainty as to the state the person is in; these moments are ‘unclean’ and potentially ‘polluting’ (Douglas 1970, 1990, 1994, 1999; Turner 1967:97). In addition to liminal states that require cleansing, transgressions produce ‘dirt’ that can and must be cleansed. The cleansing performed after the war allows us to understand the inherent logic of cleansing excess heat after death. In 1999, Salimo, a famous healer from Nampula province, told me how he cleansed children returning from war. The intricate ritual ended with a washing with medical plants. In the main sequence, the child went through a tunnel and under an arch, and was washed. While the tunnel or the arch allows the enactment of “passage” from one state to another, the washing closes the “cleansing.”[173] All three ‘cleansing’ ‘techniques’ are metaphors for transition, as described by Van Gennep [(1912) 1981], illustrating the strong resilience of similar “cleansing” ways applied in Mozambique and DR Congo.

Besides the necessity of marking in an embodied way the passage from one state to another, new, state, the necessity of cooling down the excess heat at work is the central principle that applies in most

cleansing in the studied context, for instance, as stated above, in the cleansing of a widow or widower in order to liberate her/him from the shadow of her former husband/wife, which can be achieved in ‘cleansing’ through ritualized coitus. The heat of coitus with a man implies the hotness of (1st) the flow of semen mixed with (2nd) the woman’s vaginal fluids and (3rd) the friction. The excess of “heat” produced in this way neutralizes in the widow the excess heat that occurs after the death of her husband.[174] Such cleansing follows analogical ways combined with what Devisch (1993a) calls the inherent ‘homeopathic’ logic (the same treats the same in extremely diluted form), according to which an excess of ‘heat’ can be neutralized by another type of ‘heat’ in accordance with the “like-attracts-like” logic (Sanders 2008:155).[175] This implies the existence of various kinds of heats (Jacobson-Widding 1989:27, 1979). In this sense, the ‘hottest’ moment of coitus (“hot” as a mixture) is at its peak, which corresponds to the ‘hot’ moment of death. However, the ‘hot’ contact with the deceased, which must be ‘cleansed’ with ‘hot’ sexual intercourse, can also be cleansed through other kinds of “hotness” (see below).

In short, cleansing is required in any transition framed as ‘hot’, which involves other ‘hot’ situations. The cleansing ‘techniques’ are analogical and apply the ‘homeopathic’ principle of “like-attracts-like”; they can also be activated through metaphors, allowing the use of several other alternative means of cleansing. While coitus neutralizes excesses of hotness (like cleansing through fire), most cleansing usually involves a finalizing ritual bath for cooling through water with plants or roots.[176] According to the same logic, “hot” traditional beer (“hot” through the fermentation) is required in combination with the cooling invocation of the ancestors, who are, by definition, “cool.” Or, using the hotness of cooking in an analogical manner, some cleansing rituals require, for example, a woman to serve tea or porridge that she has made for her family/lineage in order to transmit to them her clean, cooled-down state. Often, the cooking step closes the cleansing, which in this way is transmitted to the other family members. Given the risk of HIV transmission, in South/Central Mozambique, as is usual in the Cindau-speaking context, widows prefer to be cleansed by serving food (or other techniques), without any direct exchange of sexual fluids through coitus; but some pressure to practice cleansing through coitus still remains.

The production of excess “heat” is assumed to occur in the mixing of opposite elements. The avoidance of such potentially ‘polluting’ mixtures appears in several situations: in the isolation of the newborn child or of neophytes during their initiation (youth, healers and chiefs), or in the isolation of warriors, women and children returning from war.[177] Some circumstances imply chaotic upside-down situations, and all produce an excess of hotness, which can and must be cooled down and “washed.”

Using and performing, inversions reshapes the disturbed situation of uncertain states of liminality; persons are “at risk” when they are in passage from one state to another (unborn to new born, child becoming an adult, etc.).[178] Inversions are used in all kinds of rituals supporting all kinds of transformations: the process of transformation happens through the ritual reshaping of the relationships, confirming the social interrelationships (in the clan and/or the community). A ritual

transformation often has to pass through a chaotic situation, occurring during the ritual at the stage before reaching the new established order, which the ritual in turn confirms. As discussed in Section A above, Fernandez (1972, 1974, 1982, 1993) argues that transformations occur in/through rituals, in which the inchoate (unformed, rudimentary) is acted out through metaphoric predication. Transformations through metaphors may occur, for instance, through the translation of experience from one domain into another by virtue of a common factor (1972:46), which may also involve inversions. However, inversions are not signs of rebellion towards the usual order, but are means allowing the reestablishment and confirmation of the social order through a cathartic stage of chaos allowing reshaping the relationships of the living and the living-death.[179] In this context, several rituals (e.g., youth initiation in Chapter Five) discussed in this study confirm Bell's suggestions that "ritual does not control; rather, it constitutes a particular dynamic of social empowerment" (1992:181). This explains the resilience of such rituals, as Arnfred (2008) argues.

Alternative ways of cleansing after death

The danger of the biological transmission of disease motivates the widow/widower to alter cleansing practices through ritual coitus to avoid contamination. People living with HIV in South and Central Mozambique listed a number of ways to cleanse a widow of the shadow of the dead,[180] many of which apply the principle of "like-attracts-like" logic of cleansing through coitus in other analogical methods. The examples below illustrate this principle.[181]

Changes in cleansing methods show that they are not necessarily fixed; they may be adjusted, as long as those involved feel that they are receiving proper cleansing. It makes no sense to propose ritual coitus with condoms, because the 'heat' during coitus is produced by the flow of semen, which a condom hinders. Informants described alternative ways of cleansing in which coitus is replaced by another ritual act with similar analogical power. One simple way is for a man to jump three times over a woman who is lying down; this form of cleansing corresponds to and embodies the cultural expression "the child was jumped" (meaning that the parents did not conduct the required cleansing ritual after the child's birth). The expression 'to jump' is used in reference to many transgressions involving coitus. Another alternative is that another couple (e.g., the son with his wife) engages in cleansing coitus near the widow mother (in the next room or hut). The cleansing is transmitted to the family through a tea served by the cleansed woman to the widow on the morning after the cleansing. If coitus was performed by the widow's son and his wife, in the morning, the son's wife makes the widow hot tea, which the widow then serves to the family of her deceased husband, thus transmitting her cleansing to all family members.[182] This alternative applies the basic principles: the hot drink transmits the cleansing effect of (hot) coitus and neutralizes the excess 'heat' of the dead. In Nampula, healers report that cleansing through a ritual bath in sand [*orapa itáyi*], or sleeping where a person died (taking the place of the dead person buried in the sand), are alternative ways of cleansing. In South Mozambique, people living with HIV/AIDS know and employ several different cleansing alternatives, corresponding with the observations of Offe in Zambia (2004, 2010).[183]

E. The effectiveness of ritual practices in the lived-world

In order to understand the efficacy of the ritual practices described in this study, I will analyze the effectiveness of the rituals and practices that I described above, and those in Chapter Four, Five and Six. After looking at the way rituals deal with emotions, I pursue in greater depth the issue of symbolic vs. "real" transformative practices, which involve invisible forces, and discuss the notion of "magic". Finally, I discuss scientific theories concerning ritual efficacy and show some similar logics appearing in all the cultures studied.

Ways of dealing with emotions and relations

The discussed rituals, which intend to restore "life" (wellbeing – see Chapter Five) or to mediate in conflicts as discussed in Part II of this study, are means which (a) deal with relationships (either between the living or with ancestors or other 'spirits') and (b) allow the living to deal with the involved relations, interdependency and emotions through specific ways and means which provoke the expected transformations. I will discuss how emotions (and the heart) as interface between the self and the others (Devisch 1998:156) are involved in the management of invisible forces that affect the living, looking also at the involved ritual means. The induction of taboos as rules of conduct involves metaphorical, mimetic and repetitive means of education which do not only mobilize conscientious reasonability verbally, but mobilize, most of all, the person's sense of morals and ethics by using embodied and emotionally loaded means (proverbs, analogical and metaphorical idioms, songs, dances, drums) and by inducing the necessary rules in the body.[184] This is, e.g., how taboos are taught during youth initiation (Chapter Five), or how conflicts are mediated in Southwest Congo (Chapter Six). While Beidelman (1993) discusses the described practices in terms of "imaginative representations" as "re-evocated emotions," I see in the applied ritual procedures embodied transformative means which are not "representations" but lead to concrete experiences in the body, involving emotions. My observations of rituals (initiation, healing, divination and dealing with conflicts) confirm Beidelman, who shows how metaphors are rooted in the senses and appetites: "Our sight, touch, taste, and smell, and the appetites and physiological demands of our bodies (sex, nourishment, elimination, and shelter)" (1993:6).[185] Devisch's (1993a, 1986, 1996a) phenomenological approach, describing ritual practices in Southwest Congo, also emphasizes the embodiment of emotions that are experienced through all senses. The senses and appetites transport emotions in the ritual practices that I observed in Mozambique and DR Congo, which "re-invoke" not only emotions in the "imaginative mind" (Beidelman 1993), but also direct experiences in the body wholeness, which are transformed through embodiment involving emotions (see Csordas 2002; Sanders 2008). Csordas shows that religious beliefs are embodied in ritual or religious practices through analogies or metaphors; the same occurs in the above-described healing and 'cleansing' practices that seek wellbeing. This observation applies to those practices that I later describe in *lived-law*, or to the treatments for bewitchment, which either follow the logic of "like-attracts-like" (Sanders 2008; Devisch 1993a) or other ritual framings like "sending back" malign bewitchment or sorcery (see

Chapter Four). Do these cultural framings achieve their goals? How do these analogies and rituals work? These questions are relevant to an understanding of the risk-posing cleansing rituals that interfere with HIV prevention. A differentiated understanding of these questions allows negotiation, in appropriate ways, of alternative ritual means of 'cleansing' instead of generally prohibiting certain "cleansing" practices. Such analysis is also relevant to understanding the ways in which malefic "witchcraft" is neutralized or how taboos are induced in youth education through initiation.

Symbolic versus "real" emotional efficacy of the analogical procedures

Fialho Feliciano (1989:434-435) argues that in the context of the Thonga[186] (most Bantu-speakers in South Mozambique), the practices – including the effects of rituals and healing on the physical, emotional, psychic, and spiritual body of a person, as well as on the social body of the group – are grounded in "symbolic "efficacy. In accordance with structuralism, the author explains 'symbolic' efficacy as based on the belief that material activities are dependent on the network of the forces of the invisible world. I have never heard a healer in Mozambique say that the involved means in rituals were symbolic. Like Sanders (2008), I am also not convinced that the involved means and effects are just 'symbolic', although symbols and metaphors are used (see below).

However, Fialho Feliciano provides useful categories for the analysis of ritual efficacy. He suggests two main levels of interaction, which are confirmed by my observations. First, he assumes that what he relates to "symbolic" procedures, based on analogies, interacts in a dynamic of what he calls the "magical,"[187] and which I see as specific dynamic forces at work. Stroeken defines this force in his definition of magic, relating it to the Sukuma medicine with an emphasis on the underlying structure: "Whatever plants are used, at least one ingredient called *shingila*, [literally 'access'], should be added to wed the power of plants to the subject's intention" (2012:1). Healers in South Mozambique use "*gona*" as a most powerful "medicine" (composed of a mixture of very diverse ingredients). Stroeken emphasizes that the use of such power implies the knowledge that one can never be sure of the outcome of "magic" and that it includes accepting a fundamental instability as part of life. The latter expresses the basic philosophy of life that seems to apply to the Bantu cultures that I discuss; it conveys a specific epistemology (see Chapter Seven). I subscribe to the analyses of Stroeken, but I will not use the term "magic" – mainly because the numerous healers and diviners that I observed and spoke with in Mozambique and DR Congo never use it.[188]

The second means of ritual effectiveness is, according Fialho Feliciano[189] and Mahumana 2013, the kinship system, which references ancestry, building a network of rights and obligations constituted by rules and prohibitions which have partly been described above. These interactions involve prescriptions, respect for prohibitions and confidence in the rituals that produce or allow lively communication between the living and the ancestors and other "spirits". Rituals reframe the social networks, e.g., burial rituals produce the disjunctions that are necessary between the living and the ancestors. The same is true in cases of misfortune or disease attributed to the ancestors and resulting from transgressed taboos or failure to perform, or to improperly performed burial rituals.[190]

Fialho Feliciano combines these levels of ritual effectiveness with a symbolic approach — consistent with Lévi-Strauss's (1958) structuralism and Turner's (1967) symbolic analyses —, developing a network of interwoven symbolic interpretations grounded in the identification of the sexual, thermal, culinary, digestive, bodily, chromatic, topographic and ethno-botanic frames (which he calls "codes"). The Bantu-speaking informants in several Mozambican provinces all describe these frames in similar ways, e.g. in terms of thermal, gendered or other framings in the life-cycle of Mozambican Bantu-speakers (see Appendix 3.1). But a symbolic interpretation (as by Fialho Feliciano) of ritual practices as described above and in the following chapters does not necessarily correspond to the perspective of my Mozambican informants. Ritual practices, in their experiential and multiple "structures" or, rather, internal logic (Bell 1992; Bourdieu 1972; Stroeken 2012:2) may simply do what they are reported to do: e.g., a cleansing ritual "washes of the dirt" that has arisen through transgressed taboos, cleansing the whole affected body-self (including its "air/spirit" and "shade"), and this occurs "really," not just symbolically. My argument corresponds to Sanders (2008), who argues that a rainmaking ritual generates rain in reality—not symbolically—in order to achieve fertility. Sanders claims aptly that anthropologists should listen to and respect their informants' explanations. This corresponds to Viveiro de Castro's (1998) suggestion of a *perspectivist* approach which takes the perspective of the studied persons.[191] Indeed, in my several studies in Mozambique, I rarely met a healer or a community chief who would speak of 'symbolic' efficacy. Rather, they all explain that their ritual practices are intended to achieve a concrete objective: fertility for the land or for people, repairing relationships with the ancestors, cleansing of the "dirt" and cooling down those who become excessively "hot" through a taboo transgression and so on. These practices use analogies or metaphors which work effectively, following a "like-attracts-like logic" in accordance with Sanders (2008), or applying a homeopathic approach[192] in Devisch's terms (1993a). Healers state and demonstrate that through the support of their ancestors or other spirits (in dreams or trance and possession), they are able to divine (localizing "the sources of disorders"), to heal or to achieve some other objective. I recall my discussion of "reality" in Section A, in which I questioned definitions of "reality" only in terms of what is tangible. I discussed the significance of dreams for Bantu-speaking diviners and healers[193], in that they allow communication with ancestors or other spiritual beings, which provide new knowledge to the living (Kotanyi 2003a; Willis 1999; Devisch 1993a, 1996a, 2002; Langwick 2011).[194] Dream interpretations play a significant role in healing, just as they are important for any human "life" (as balanced well-being involving peace with all entities belonging to the life-worlds – see Chapter Five). While content and interpretation of dreams is culturally constructed (Devereux 1974; Róheim 1950), their importance to the living (for physical and emotional health, seen as "psychical/mental" in biomedicine, "spiritual" in many cultures) is universally acknowledged.[195] The categories to which the effects of dreams are related differ in accordance with diverging paradigms (traditional medicine of all kinds, biomedicine, psychotherapy, psychoanalysis, different religions, etc.)

For Mozambican and Congolese healers, the worlds “of the night” (dreams involving ‘witchcraft’) and “of the day” of tangible realities (involving willing acts of sorcery) are both perceived as “reality,” being part of their life-worlds. They are seen by healers as necessary and unavoidable, given that there is no day without a night. In several rituals and treatments, the healer is in dialogue with entities in the invisible world, employing techniques of ‘divination’, trance, possession or dreams as fundamental means of communication providing knowledge and power. Gestures, words and embodied analogical metaphors have power and effects that some call “magical” (S∅rensen 2007; Stroeken 2010[196]). Mauss and Hubert (1906) define ‘magic’ as the art and power of word and gesture, which applies in the discussed context. However, healers in Mozambique and DR Congo rarely refer to ritual practices as magical. Like dreams, rituals or healing procedures act on the involved multiple bodies at the same time through acted or imagined pictures, words or gestures in embodiment. This produces social and emotional effectiveness, applying inversions and analogies in embodied metaphors, which have transformative effects on the living.[197] In short, I suggest that they all achieve a ‘real’ effect on humans through analogical procedures just like in dreams[198] and rituals (cleansing or healing, etc.). Occurring in particular cultural ways, they may have physical, emotional and social effects.

Introduction to the theories on the efficacy of rituals means

Medical doctors, nurses, teachers and lawyers following materialistic sciences and biomedicine often disqualify any kind of ritual treatment as non-scientific or superstitious. ‘Diviners’, healers, counselors of both genders and chiefs who all regularly use ritual means argue that when rituals are performed properly, by the right person, at the right time and place, they achieve their aims. The fact that many people consult ‘diviners’ and healers, send their children to initiation rites and participate in palavers and rituals allowing the treatment of conflicts in the community shows that they obviously see benefit in these means. The question is how ritual effectiveness works, i.e., how rituals achieve their goals. Besides the clinical theoretical models of efficacy used in biomedicine and psychology, anthropology applies models of efficacy in terms of persuasive, structural and social support (Turner 1967, Levi-Strauss 1968, Janzen 1978, Csordas & Kleinman 1990). Mahumana (2013:205) notes aptly that the models of effectiveness (of the practices) are interrelated and not mutually exclusive. In this section, I summarize some theories about the rituals’ effectiveness from the fields of anthropology, scientific pharmacology and ethno-psychotherapy. The latter investigates how “traditional” therapists (all over the world and in Africa) achieve healing by using rituals and means that F. Feliciano (1998) and Stroeken (2010) call “magical”. There are a number of cognitive theories explaining the efficiency of “magic” and ritual means that I will not elaborate on.[199] In my view, in Mozambique and Congo, healers, diviners and revealers, in their manner of treatment, assume to a great extent the rule of what the Western world calls psychologists, psychotherapists or sometimes priests.[200] ‘Diagnosis’ made through *kuhlahluva* [to ‘divine’ in Xirhonga[201]], ritual treatments, palavers and rituals dealing with social conflicts (like those I describe in this study) have effects on different levels. Concerning ritual healing and diagnosis through ‘divination’ (see my discussion of the notion of ‘divination’ in Chapter

Four), Western psychological and psychotherapeutic science would characterize the efficacy that healers achieve through ritual means as grounded in the psychosomatic (Groddeck 1917, 1923), whereas Mozambican "traditional" healers argue that their effectiveness acts in the 'real' world – that is, implicitly, beyond the involved persons in their wholeness, encompassing the persons surrounding them in the several worlds of the living, including the living-dead, such as ancestors or other "spirits." The somatic effects on the physical body may arise from psychical sources, as much as through social, spiritual or environmental influences. I will review theories used in anthropology that provide especially fitting responses to my descriptions of ritual practices in my studied context.

A widespread persuasive model regarding the efficacy of rituals and traditional healing is the effect of 'suggestion', as described by Coué ([1922] 2007)[202]: suggestion produces psychosomatic effects. I will not delve deeply into the subject of the psychosomatic (Groddeck 1917, 1923)[203]; though, psychosomatic effects (provoked through suggestion, induction, inversion, analogy, and metaphor in ways that I elaborate on below) are involved in ritual efficacy to a certain extent.

Sax (2009:245-246) presents three main hypotheses explaining the efficacy of ritual healing. First, rituals alter the body of the patient. This corresponds to Lévi-Strauss's structural model implying that rituals "manipulate the sick organ" (1963:192). Sax notes that authors like Turner (1988) advanced 'neuro-physiological procedures' to explain the efficacy of healing rituals. 'Neuro-physiological procedures' correspond to the psychosomatic efficacy. Sax and Quack (2010a, 2010b) focus on the placebo effect[204] (usual in pharmacology), referring to, among others, Moerman (2002), who relies on the conviction of the healer that his or her techniques and interventions are effective. The conviction of the patient is also relevant. My observations of ritual practices confirm all these arguments.

A second hypothesis that Sax advances, together with Frank and Frank ([1973] 1991) and Csordas (1983, 1988, 1994, 1999, 2002), is that efficacy is achieved through alteration of the consciousness of the patient. I suggest that ritual healing transforms as much on the unconscious as on the conscious level. Both levels are strongly interconnected; however, I suggest that in ritual healing the unconscious changes dominate in the efficacy of the observed ritual procedures. Nevertheless, even if unconscious, the transformations are "real" and not just "symbolic" (see below). According to Stroeken (2008), the efficacy of ritual healing should also be related to the sensory efficacy of ritual therapy (as sensory training). This is grounded in the above discussed "sensory codes" *of dirtiness* concerning the transgression of taboos, and the sensory code *of intrusion* by "witchcraft" (see Chapter Four).

In his third hypothesis, addressing the social models of effectiveness, Sax argues that the reorganization of the social field of the patient (household, family, lineage, neighborhood and village) diminishes patient stress. In Chapter Two, I showed that the persons define themselves in relation to others, living in strong interdependence. Observations in both countries validate in a sub-Saharan African context the arguments of Sax (2002, 2004, 2010a/b) as well as Kendall (2001) and Halliburton (2003); see Turner (1967, 1968); Janzen (1978, 1992), Stroeken (2010); for DR Congo, Devisch

(1993a, 1996a); for Mozambique, Honwana (2002); Igreja (2003, 2008, 2014); West (2005) and Meneses (2000, 2004a/b), among others, who all show how health is a social phenomenon.

The effect of social and cultural frames should be seen in the context of the respective cosmologies of the life-worlds that I describe (see Devisch 1993a, 1996a/b, 2015; Fialho F. 1998). Cultural frames, which are at the same time social frames, are effective because they situate human beings relative to others and to their whole environment (also ecological), influencing their own state of being. We saw that for Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speakers, the social environment includes the ancestors and/or other spirits of the dead located near the living (in the earth, rivers, caves and mountains)[205] and, more remotely, God in the sky.[206] Some of the "traditional" (ancestral) cosmological references appear as less obvious in urban environments, which involve more different life-worlds than rural environments. References to ancestral or other spiritual influences in general do not disappear in urban contexts, but tend to be confined to more private spaces (Honwana 2002; Bagnol 2006).

In addition to the ritual effectiveness achieved through placebo, suggestion and the changes in the social environment, the co-founder of ethnopsychiatry in France, Nathan (1994a/b)[207] argues that the efficacy of traditional healing is also achieved through narration, generating sense (Augé and Herzlich 1984) via verbalized or embodied inversions and analogies. Nathan and Hounkpatin (1996) compare the traditional healing ways of the Yoruba with psychoanalytical therapy, showing how in both approaches the sense provided through embodied or verbally stated words transforms the persons and their relations and health. Many rituals that I observed include a narrative; e.g., healers give oracles, assuming that as a 'diviner'[208], they are "just" a medium of the ancestors or other spirits that determine the oracle contents. Sense-giving narratives also appear in palavers and rituals treating conflicts that involve 'witchcraft,' where, e.g., some "witch entered into" the bewitched person (Kotanyi, 2012). Nathan (1994b) and Parada Marques (in Kotanyi 2003a) argue that such narratives locate the disorders outside of the suffering person, facilitating his/her dealing with the disorder. In addition, Stroeken (2012:50) shows that Sukuma healers produce a cure through minimal interference, allowing and reinforcing a self-healing process[209], which also applies to the contexts that I studied. When healers perform in exaggerated ways, differing too much from the usual frames, they generate suspicion; in Bas-Congo, four young practitioners were kicked out of a village because of their exaggerated showing off, which demonstrated that they were not efficient healers (in Kotanyi, 2012b).

The ritual healing or conflict mediations that I observed mobilize a multiplicity of universes (visible, invisible, individual and collective) (Nathan, 2004b) allowing disorders to be dealt with or "repaired".

The ritual "operators"

On a more "technical" level, Nathan provides useful theories that substantiate ritual efficacy in more depth. Nathan (1994a:145-151) explains ritual efficacy through the notion of 'therapeutic operators,' using Lévi-Strauss's (1966:20) notion of "operators," which open up the set being worked with, and which allow its reorganization (see also Sperber 1979). Such a concept of therapeutic operators fits the above statement by Fernandez (1972), which shows that metaphors operate upon continua and may induce transformations. The same kinds of "ritual operators" are applied in the ritual practices that I

describe in this study. For Nathan, 'therapeutic operators' act on the patient as constraints, similar to Emile Coué's (1922) notion of suggestion; an example of 'suggestion' in the sense described by Coué appears in the neutralizing treatment of *okhwiri* [bewitchment in Emakhuwa] described in Chapter Four. At the end of the ritual treatment for a patient who drinks too much alcohol (which he relates to bewitchment), the healer Horácio makes a verbal suggestion: "I do not drink; you should not drink either." While suggestions are not always so obvious, the observed rituals generally involve suggestions in some form (embodied or verbal). They combine the efficacy of metaphor, analogy and suggestion, as discussed below. Mozambican and Congolese healers use suggestion a great deal in their way of healing (see in Kotanyi 2003a). Nathan discusses three 'therapeutic operators' – inversion, mediation and analogy[210] – which are systematically activated in the rituals that I discuss, either in health or in living-law practices. I will call them "ritual operators." Inversion[211] and analogy are used in the ritual healings of "sending back", which neutralize harmful witchcraft that I describe later,[212] or in the rituals that separate two *ndoki* [witches in Kikongo] and in the reconciliation of conflict (Kotanyi 2012, 2003b). The agents conducting the ritual establish and induce analogies. Analogies are embodied and activated rhetorically through metaphors, proverbs, idioms, and songs. Nathan (1994a:149-150) notes that analogies have long-term effects, far beyond the actual induction, which is one aspect explaining the efficacy of the discussed rituals. This applies to the long-term effect of taboos established by Kubik (2007) which I discussed above.

The third (therapeutic) and *ritual operator*, mediation, occurs regularly between the living and several kinds of spiritual beings, either through invocation of ancestors and offerings, or when healers are possessed by several spirits helping them to divine and to heal. Such mediation is the primary role of the diviner, healer or chief, all of whom are agents able to activate the power given to him or her by the all-seeing ancestors or by other spirits. The attractiveness of such ritual means lies in their mediating characteristic that is able to work with, and through, the invisible, dealing, among other things, with uncertainty (see Stroeken 2010). Allowing the reestablishment of disturbed relations, the mediating *ritual operators* treat social, emotional, relational and spiritual disorders. Levi-Strauss (1958) and Nathan (1988b: 144) argue that the efficacy of shamanic healing (as in psychoanalysis) is grounded in its active ordering of the affective chaos, through the involved "symbolic" functions. I agree, but instead of symbolic procedures, my observations of "traditional" healing in Mozambique and DR Congo confirm Nathan (1994a:53), who shows that instead of "symbolic" or "magic" efficacy, the healers apply coherent technical procedures to achieve practical effects. The embodied analogical metaphors evoked in songs and gestures by notables in mediating palavers in Bas-Congo (Kotanyi 2012) construct an embodied narrative which seduces the conflicted parties into resolving their conflicts. Nathan (1994a: 115-116) suggests aptly that neither symbolic nor, often, psychological efficacy are at work, but that it is much more logical constraints, activated through the ritual actions/means, which have an effect through their intrinsic strength, which impel the patient to transformation. In my view, such "logical constraints" imply commonly accepted frames (among all

participants) which implies that when I do a certain action, in a certain context, in a certain way, it will achieve a certain result. This encompasses the creation of an environment allowing the action to be achieved effectively; e.g., with the demarcation of the healing space, or the cleansing of transgressed taboos, or the sending back of "bewitchment," or the separation of two *ndoki* [witches], etc.

Nathan's almost technical categories of "therapeutic operators," which I use in terms of *ritual operators,* explain how religious or non-religious rituals, and healing treatments, using metaphorical and analogical means, can facilitate restoration of the order of the set of the required relationships through mediation. This implies that interference by invisible forces requires specific means allowing one to adequately communicate with such forces: rituals, divination, possession, trance and dreams that are able to activate therapeutic or ritual 'operators' through inversions, analogies and mediations.

F. Frames in cosmologies as "perpetuum mobile" in the lived-world

Below, I discuss interconnected cultural frames, showing how they build fluid cultural matrices constituted by networks of values, which require translation of their ambivalent characteristics. The described approaches are based on plurality, not necessarily on opposite duality.

Effective cultural frames are embedded in kin relations and the production of crops, fish, cattle or persons (Fialho F. 1998). Fialho Feliciano speaks of codes[213]; I prefer "frame", which has a less "mechanical" connotation than "code." His study implies that the codes/frames that organize resource management and production also organize relations of power, conflicts, religion and healing. To understand the cosmological context of these frames, one must first look at the life-world (Devisch 1993a, 2015). According to Comaroff (1980), cosmology includes the people's views of their own environment, and the influences on their social, political, economic and emotional relationships in the life-world.[214] I describe several paradigms that the people relate to their "ancestral" life-world, and which have strong relevance in all the studied Bantu contexts in which this life-world coexists with other life-worlds (e.g. Christianity, Islam, sciences, urban and rural life-worlds, etc.). Against this background, I suggest that the urban life-worlds in Mozambique and DR Congo tend to change more rapidly at the material and cultural levels than they do at the cosmological level, at which the discussed basic paradigms, with their respective "ancestral" framings, show strong resilience. The latter applies even when the framings are adjusted to certain requirements (e.g. in health or law).

The 'ancestral' framings (e.g. the way to practice in rituals) are rooted in rural worlds (which was the world of the eldest ancestors); they determine to a large extent the experiential (ritual) levels in which the changes are not so strong. The culturally constructed and shared values and practices tend to remain more constant than the life-worlds that give rise to the frame repertoire. In short, the life-worlds change more rapidly than the ritual frames that are often used to deal with them. Paradigms with their respective frames are currently applied in urban contexts independently of the life-world from which they arose originally, which may have since changed. Culture constantly changes, but central paradigms, values and themes remain, fused in a constellation of practices; this resilience does not imply that the paradigms and values are fixed, remaining the same over time. On the contrary, I

agree with Tcherkézoff (1983:69-77) that cosmologies as life-words act as a *perpetuum mobile* [perpetual motion], a dynamic set of values which may undergo changes over time and be transformed (Brandstroem 1991:130). This recalls Fernandez' (1972) notion of "various continua" and Deleuze's (1968:56, 1969:75) philosophical concept of *univocity,* which I discuss in Chapter Seven. For Bantu-speakers in both countries, these values are embedded in a 'modern' context replete with religious, political, ideological, economic, scientific and cultural values that may sometimes contradict each other. Nurses in Maputo often reference "*the culture of our origins*"—those cosmological components that cannot be discarded: they are part of the 'order of things' (Devisch[215]). These values and involved means may diverge from the professional, scientific, religious or political convictions held by the same persons, or the means recognized in those contexts as acceptable. This implies that the involved *perpetuum mobile*, in various continua stated with a certain *univocity,* is simultaneously involved with different multiplicities and with a great deal of polysemy (Mbongo 2013:33).

Resilience of cultural matrices

Even amidst Christian and Islamic influences, the resilience of the notions of interdependent persons and 'ancestral' taboos were apparent in my research with workers and employees in sixteen breweries in Kinshasa in DR Congo. In 2011, I discussed with them taboos related to sex, blood and the dead. These female and male peer educators between 18 and 45 years old came from different Bantu-speaking cultures of several provinces, speaking 12 different Bantu languages. I observed that the majority knew well the 'ancestral' taboos related to sex, blood and death, just as they all acknowledged the existence of "witchcraft" in their "modern" urban life. Many of them are also engaged in a Christian Church. E.g. the members of several urban groups of people living with HIV could describe[216] a large number of possible ritual framings that can be used in ritual cleansing after any transgression of taboos, and this in ways respecting "ancestral" requirements without provoking physical contamination through HIV or other STD. These descriptions matched very well with the descriptions of healers and of some nurses. Many urbanized people living with HIV were confronted in their extended families or surrounding with the idea that they do require cleansing given some transgressed taboos. Many HIV-infected people consulted healers.[217] I suggest that the urban resilience of those taboos as paradigms grounded in "ancestral" norms might have emotional reasons. Like many urbanized Mozambicans, university students or workers in beer factories living with HIV in Kinshasa also search for explanations for their misfortune and answers to their question of the "why." Simultaneously, taboos as behavior rules are passed from generation to generation through embodied and mimetic education and through practices transmitting emotionally the grounding morals and ethics. They remain alive not as cognitive knowledge but as rules providing meaning to life, to misfortune and to death, in ways regulating the relations among the *bunthu* [persons in Cindau].

For Mozambique, Fialho Feliciano (1998:297) argues that traditional cultural matrices remain relevant even in large cities like Maputo. Although not all Mozambicans live according to traditional values, the majority does follow them in part, and this in most diverging intensity,– some people being full of

ambivalences. This finding is consistent with data from Beira, Manica, Chimoio cities in Central Mozambique and Nampula.[218] Nacala Porto cities in North Mozambique, and corresponds with my observations in Kinshasa. In Fialho Feliciano's terms, the "same system of representations [is] connected with the same logic" (1998:297).[219] These representations are not necessarily "systematic," but they follow their own inherent logic. Ancestral paradigms and practices, which have been transformed through time, are currently connected in people's lives with other networks[220] of paradigms and practices that most people in Mozambique and DR Congo connote with "modernity" (e.g. Christianity, Islam, and socialist or modernization ideologies, such as biomedicine and Western-style education and official law). Comaroff (1980) argues that cosmologies are the consciously perceived order. However, I subscribe strongly to Jacobson-Widding's observation that many Kikongo Bantu-speakers (in DR Congo) are unaware that rituals "give voice to more or less 'mute' conceptions" of how the world is constructed" (1991:178).

Simultaneously, the people combine the various values and moralities involved in their "modern" life with the "ancestral" values and practices in dealing with necessities in law, health and education. For instance, young women in the city of Beira study at Western-style universities in order to achieve economic independence from men. The same young women argue that a woman must participate in female initiation rites, despite the fact that those rites transmit gender notions that do not correspond to the 'modern' desire for equality. Constant negotiation is required as change occurs and group membership shifts, forcing the person to deal with in part contradictory values in different social contexts, as I discuss in Chapter Two, and as emphasized by Beidelman (1993:7). In their tolerance for multiplicity and in the potentialities of the plural connotations of analogies and metaphors, the involved paradigms and involved practices and values allow one to reflect on and deal with the ambiguities implied in life and death (see Ricoeur 1969:68).[221] I suggest that the power of cosmology as life-world is vested in part in consciously perceived ordering and in mostly muted concepts reflected in practices which are deeply rooted in non-dualist notions of morality and ethics allowing sense to be given to life, death and complex social, political, economic and emotional situations.

The internal logic of interconnected cultural frames and practices

I described in this chapter the "internal logic" of some of the most basic ways involved in ritual practices, such as sexual and non-sexual gendering and thermal framing, showing how they apply in taboos related to sex, blood and death. The described paradigms and the specific ways of dealing with them in ritual practices build an interconnected network. This network implies metaphors (Beidelman 1993) which are never isolated; they mediate analogies. I agree with Fialho Feliciano (1998:298) that the network of analogies in a given culture is in general very extensive and has an 'internal logic' (Bell 1992) that is firmly grounded in emotion and *habitus* (Bourdieu 1972). Kubik (2007:27) argues that 'symbols' work in the unconscious and lose their efficacy when they are explained and made conscious. However, many, if not most healers, diviners and many other informants do often not distinguish between these 'symbols' and the *real*.

An understanding of the internal logic of locally relevant social and cultural paradigms, metaphors, analogies and their framings may motivate educators and health and human rights workers to take them into account. According to Merry (2003, 2006), effective interventions must be consistent with, rather than in opposition to, the internal logic of local frames.[222] This requires identification of, for instance, culturally appropriate cleansing practices; respecting local framings permits adjustment of the rituals in order to reduce biological risks. Understanding the frames determining the usual specific ways of dealing with the involved paradigms requires understanding how people interact physically, socially, emotionally and spiritually with each other and with their environment. Fialho Feliciano (1998) describes for South Mozambique the close relationship between agricultural and human fertility framings, which activate sexual, thermal, culinary, digestive, acoustic, tactile, chromatic, topologic and vegetal modalities. Fialho Feliciano argues that these "codes" (which I rather call frames/framings or modalities) are interconnected in a dynamic involving "similarities, differences, oppositions, complementarities and antagonisms" (1998:377).[223]

The chromatic framing

The chromatic framing demonstrates that the studied Bantu-speaking cultures have in common several basic connotations and ritual implications of the colors white, red and black, as described in Appendix 3.7. Janzen (1992) and Jacobson-Widding (1979) argue that these commonly shared connotations with these three basic colors illustrate in the most visible way the similar connotations with the paradigms that I describe in this study (ancestors and other spiritual entities, taboos and "witchcraft/sorcery"). Without entering into the details described in Appendix 3.3, I will look at two aspects in detail, which are most relevant for the further understanding of this study.

Mediating ambivalence between white and black connotations

The red clothing used in Mozambique by healers during certain treatments (Kotanyi 2003a) has an ambivalent dimension, mediating, according to Jacobson-Widding (1979, 1991), between the opposing categories of white (associated with cooling, mourning and purification) and black related to "witchcraft/sorcery" or possession by Zulu warrior spirits or, among Emakhuwa-speakers, by the powerful *maciini,* the worst spirit Nakuru. However, this potential is hidden.[224] It is the undetermined quality of red—the "neither-nor" dimension—that imbues the color with its "dynamic potential" and "power" that Jacobson-Widding (1979, 1991) and Feliciano (1998) qualify as "magic" and that I would more neutrally and pragmatically relate to its "transformative power." White and red are both considered powerful, and they are seen as complementary (Turner 1976:80-81). White stands for reason[225] and knowledge; it is more powerful when combined with red (sensitivity). Therefore, healers often combine the colors during treatment. The introduction of red "proves," according to Jacobson-Widding (1979:371), "that 'good' is equivalent to 'evil'." This corresponds to Evens's (2008) notion of non-dualism; it involves practices that seek mediation, or according to my observations (Chapter Four and Five), provide means allowing the "neutralization" of harmfulness, given that it is possible to "annul the distinction between them and to prove that one is as good as the other" (Jacobson-Widding

1979: 372). This [non-dual] logic goes beyond that of categorical oppositions and leads to “a kind of cognition, in which scope is left for irrational factors which defy classification” (Jacobson-Widding 1979: 374). The author explains this dimension for the Bantu-Kikongo speaking cultures in Bas-Congo as an awareness of the limitations of human knowledge and of the ambiguities of social rules.

We saw that in the studied Bantu-speakers’ context, the prohibitions (taboos) are most often combined with the potential for cleansing in case of transgression (but incest cannot be cleansed). The ambivalence discussed above makes it difficult to find a link between this type of thinking and the strict distinction between good and evil of Christian churches, such as the Pentecostals or the awakening churches in Mozambique and DR Congo). Similarly, biomedicine reduces all moral issues to a simple dyad of matter (the physical body) or mind (seen as psychical), or the presence or lack of biological contamination. Ambivalence in such contexts implies irrationality and indeterminacy. Certainly these dimensions exist in the “modern” world, but they tend to be sidelined or neglected.

As stated above, the red clothing used in South Mozambique by healers during certain treatments has an ambivalent dimension, mediating between white (i.e. cooling, as a mourning color and for purification) and black (i.e. related to witchcraft, or during possession by Zulu warrior spirits). The significance of the three colors is, according to Jacobson-Widding (1979, 1991), that the third ambivalent, red dimension has the potential to mediate between the opposing categories of white and black. This potential is, however, hidden.[226] It is the undetermined quality of red—the “neither-nor” dimension—that imbues the color with its “dynamic potential” and “magic power” (Jacobson-Widding 1979, 1991; Feliciano 1998). White and red are both considered being powerful and complementary (Turner 1976:80-81). White stays for reason[227] and knowledge; it is more powerful when combined with red (sensibility). Therefore, healers often combine the colors during treatment. The introduction of red “proves,” according to Jacobson-Widding (1979:371), “that ‘good’ is equivalent to ‘evil’.” Such a dialectical thinking leads to the possibility of mediation, to “annul the distinction between them and to prove that one is as good as the other” Jacobson-Widding (1979: 372). This internal logic goes beyond that of categorical oppositions and leads to “a kind of cognition, in which scope is left for irrational factors which defy classification” Jacobson-Widding (1979: 374). The author explains this dimension for the Bas-Congo Bantu-speaking cultures as an awareness of the limitations of human knowledge and of the ambiguities of social rules.

The ambivalence discussed above makes it difficult to find a link between this type of thinking and several other paradigms that are usual either in Christianity, in biomedical sciences or in the legal system of written law. In biomedicine, ambivalences are considered to imply irrationality and indeterminacy; in Mozambique and DR Congo, in official written law derived from Roman-German law, ambivalences prevent clarifying whether the “perpetrator” is “guilty” or not (see Chapter Six). Ambivalent dimensions exist in the “modern” world, but they tend to be excluded given that they are “unclear,” or neglected due to a lack of means necessary to deal with them. Stengers (1995) and

Latour (1991) show that the "sciences" tend to eliminate ambivalences in processes of purification[228]. Nathan (1995) shows that such purifications are connoted with societies emphasizing uniqueness, whereas worlds integrating ambivalences emphasize multiplicity.

Paradigms and framings constitute networks of values

Cultural values change and mix with other sets of values through time. Jacobson-Widding (1989:17, 1979, 1990a, 1990b, 1991) shows how Bantu-speakers build a 'system of symbols', which she defines as a coherent system of cultural values. Instead of speaking of a "system," I follow Actor Network Theory (ANT),[229] which considers networks of values neither mechanistic nor 'systematic'.[230] This corresponds more closely to the described non-dualist practices, which are able to deal with the relevant paradigms with the capacity to manage ambivalences and accommodate to ambiguities, in keeping with the internal logics that I described above.[231] ANT theories (Latour 1994, 1999) consider all types of beings and things (including ancestors and other 'spirits') to possess "agency" (see Sax, 2006). Following ANT approaches, it is central in the discussed context that the frames and paradigms I describe are not merely grounded in 'symbols' (Devisch 1993a; Sanders 2008) or just express 'representations' (see Sperber 1974; Hénaff 2008 and Devisch's critique of Turner's symbolic theories, 1993:50). Rituals are less about metaphorically representing the world than about engaging with it (Devisch 1996a), Sanders 2008:23), Sax 2002, 2009). The knowledge in rituals is primarily intrinsic epistemology grounded in practices (Bourdieu 1972; Jackson 1989). The way the ritual practices deal with the paradigms gives sense to the lived experience (e.g., of disease or misfortune, see Augé and Herzlich 1984; Stroeken 2010); paradigms and ritual framings provide means of transformation (e.g., restoring wellbeing, cleansing "dirt" and excess "hotness," mediating conflict or neutralizing malign "witchcraft").

Misunderstandings require conceptual translation

Misunderstandings often occur in communication related to health, education and law, necessitating translation between the involved cultural paradigms with their specific framings. When these are adequately taken into account, bridging is possible. For Latour (1991, 2006[232]) and Merry (2003, 2006), transformation requires translation and mediation. It is therefore inappropriate to single out one element of a cosmology, which should be seen as a network belonging to the discussed life-world.

African sociologists and anthropologists criticize the widespread ignorance of the complexity and diversity of African cultures. On the other hand, the colonial "divide and conquer" policy exaggerated differences between African cultures, creating artificial "races" and ethnicities.[233] In such a historically and ideologically determined field, I argue that the identification and valuation of useful elements in local cultural frames may facilitate applications in diverse domains. In Part Two of this study, I look for the 'translations' appearing in the application of most influential cultural paradigms related to: (1) conflict mediation in living-law practices and (2) health in general and HIV/AIDS specifically.

In summary, frames and framings constitute sets of ideas, patterns of practices and techniques for dealing in specific ways with specific paradigms and realities, transforming them in order to achieve

certain results (such as fertility, procreation, cleansing, divination, healing, restored wellbeing or mediation of conflicts) on the basis of values expressed in the framings and paradigms. Following Lévi-Strauss (1966)[234], Sperber (1979) and Nathan (1994), I suggested the notion of *ritual operators* such as inversions, analogies and mediations (Nathan 1994 (145-151), which are used to organize culture and practices. I argued that the functioning of the operators makes sense of life-worlds and holds society together (Hénaff 2008:76, 116) through the "fabrication" of narratives (Nathan 2006: 143) that provide consistency. I discussed how certain frames (e.g., sexual gendering and thermal framings) allow transformations and certain results in dealing with, among other things, the states of in-between (and excesses of "heat") that are vulnerable yet full of productive potential.

Inherent ambivalence, dialectic and tolerance

I described some elements of the cosmologies of Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speakers' life-worlds (Devisch 1993) without creating an artificial complete picture of a 'system' or entire cultural universe. The described "ancestral" paradigms with their framings of sexual and non-sexual gendering, when combined with the thermal frames, determine taboos related to sex, blood and death. These imply a 'moral' power, which, in Mozambique, appears in the way people approach AIDS; this 'moral' power is emphasized by Beidelman (1993), Wolf (2001) and Stroeken (2010); it is in my view a non-dualist moral in this context. Beidelman (1993:7) insists that the involved analogies and metaphors (which he relates to "symbols") are neither constant nor consistent, and he warns against the search for internal consistency, – although people do know what they mean (as Stroeken noted accurately in a personal communication). The lack of constancy is true given the multiplicity of creative applications. However, I see "internal logics" (as Bell, 1992, argues for rituals in general), which I discussed and which Jacobson-Widding (1979, 1989, 1991), Devisch (1993a, 1996a, 2015) and Fialho Feliciano (1998) show and analyze for the studied Bantu-speaking context.[235]

One central internal logic is, as Evens (2008) shows, that non-dualism implies a capacity to accommodate and to deal with ambiguities; the ritual treatment of malign *okhwiri, kindoki* or similar notions of "witchcraft" by healers, or its neutralization through palavers and rituals in living-law practices illustrate this capacity in several ethnographic examples. In the context of taboos, the accommodation and dealing with ambiguities appears especially in the way urbanized people living with HIV switch between several and quite diverging allocations in their search of the source of their misfortune and disease. Their narratives show that they experience the "ancestral" ways (e.g. cleansing of transgressed taboos); many consult also "religious" healing like those provided by the Zion, Kimbanguist or Pentecostal Churches, and most of them consult biomedical services regularly. The ambiguities appear e.g. when a person who took ARV treatment for two years –and meanwhile reacts negative at HIV testing– begin to doubt if finally the healers are not more right when they argue that the source of their disorder is related to transgressed taboos. The involved ambiguities are grounded in the most basic issues, such as the ambiguity of the dead that Beidelman (1993:42) describes: "The dead themselves are the epitome of potential disorder: yet they are also immensely powerful and are

the ultimate source of fertility and life." Such descriptions of the dead correspond to the perspective of Yiyaka Bantu-speakers in DR Congo, as Devisch (1981, 1993a, 1996a, 2015) describes, and they correspond to the perspective of many Mozambicans who invest much time and energy in dealing with the dead in ways meant to secure a "good death," allowing the dead to become protective ancestors and not unsettled "bad" spirits. The way Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speakers approach death, including the cleansing that death requires for the widow/widower and all family members, and at the same time, the role that ancestors are assumed to play in allowing or preventing fertility, both illustrate the dialectic inherent to 'Bantu'[236] thought and practices in sub-Saharan Africa.[237]

Christian "purification" to eliminate ambivalence

Christianity, as currently practiced in Mozambique and DR Congo in its many forms, seeks to eliminate the ambivalence associated with the color red as described above. The trinity, in which the Holy Spirit mediates between God and Christ, his son, is the means of "purification" among Pentecostal, Independent and similar evangelical Christian movements. This trinity diverges significantly from the Bantu approach; it intends the elimination of ambivalence and is used to reinforce the Christian values of good and evil as an opposed duality. This dual antagonism did not always characterize Christianity; it originated in the Catholicism of the 11th century (Delumeau 1978). The African versions of this version of Christianity involve the vilification of non-Christian cultures, religions and healing traditions (Behrend 1997, 2011: 151-152). The process of "purification" (Latour 1997:178-194) eliminates uncertainty through enlightenment. This process appears in the use of colors in the new Christian churches, for instance among the Zion Christians in South Mozambique.[238] Kiernan (1991:26-39) analyses the color-coding in Zulu Zionist Churches in South Africa, showing the complexity of the process of "purification". Zionists use white and blue-green, apparently dropping the ambivalent and transitory dimensions of redness (with its connotations of blood and violence) used in the therapies that I observed in Mozambique and DR Congo[239] Kiernan (1991:28) references Ngubane's (1977) suggestion that, in the therapeutic context, blue-green (water, sea, sky, vegetation, hope) is subsumed under white, the positive pole, while black—and its association with witchcraft— occupies the opposite, negative pole. Nugbane (1977:120) argues that white stands for excessive and abnormal purity. In the Zionist context, blue-green implies control of excess and represents the replacement of the mediating color red with blue-green (Kiernan 1991:30–31). Ngubane further argues that white is exclusively associated with ancestors, as for all the studied Bantu-speaking cultures in Mozambique and DR Congo. Beyond public discourses that array Christianity against tradition, as marked by the use of blue-green/white rather than red/black, Zionist Christian practices convey strong respect for the ancestors[240]. This example shows how African churches integrate, often in indirect ways, a basic Bantu value: respect for the ancestors, which, in African cosmologies, is necessary to secure the wellbeing of the living. Some African forms of Christianity (e.g., the Zion or Kimbanguist[241] churches) win followers through their integration of African paradigms, albeit employing changed frames. The changes through Christianity have consequences that may stigmatize

and undermine peace and unity (Behrend 1997, 2006; Tonda 2002); this is the case in the elimination of ambivalences which allow the neutralization of harmfulness.

Conclusion: Variations on a theme

The paradigms and their frames and framings discussed in this chapter are the results of centuries of cultural change and exchange; the Bantu-speaking cultures I describe are in no way 'pure' cultures.[242] I argued that, as the result of a number of influences over time (Merry 2003, 2006), the cultures of Bantu-speakers now living in Mozambique or DR Congo are the result of great mixture and transformation processes (see Map 3). Despite these transformations, there are some common, basic elements; this continuity amidst change is often underestimated. Different "ancestral" rules and external influences lead to creative local adaptations of shared frames.[243] Frames related to gender, sexuality, involving thermal, chromatic or other basic framings are applied according to local practices and ancestral rules. We have seen how these frames provoke the intended transformative processes (cleansing, healing and so on). The three common colors (white, red and black) retain in all studied Bantu cultures similar meanings, being in part used differently. In short, in the 'ancestral' framework of Bantu-speaking cultures, white is associated with coolness and the ancestors; red with heat, force and transformative power; black with witchcraft. While there are many variations, the framings described above follow, across cultures, common internal logics in the Bantu-speaking cultures.

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Figures 17a/b:

Every day for a period of weeks, the *nyangarume* (herbalist) administers a cleansing treatment to a deeply traumatized patient. in Inhambane province, South Mozambique.

In all provinces, healing plants and roots are used for the cleansing of excess of 'heat' due to transgressions of taboos.

Chapter Four

KINDOKI, OKHWIRI, NIPAKO VULOYI, WULOYI, UFITE ‘BEWITCHMENT’

Figure 18: Treatment of “dying & being reborn”
A bewitched person feeling “death” can be administrated ritual treatments allowing to neutralize bewitchment and to recover his/her vital forces.

– Kwango, South-West DR Congo (2010) –

Outline of Chapter Four

Following an introduction to the subject of 'witchcraft/sorcery' in the countries studied, I systematize in three parts the perspective of my research subjects in Mozambique and South-West DR Congo.

In Part I, I introduce (A) the notions of 'witchcraft/sorcery' in matrilineal societies, (B) diagnosis through divination and (C) in treatments used in ancestral ways.
In Section A, I describe the ritual identification and cleansing of *nokhwiri* 'witches' as practiced by diviners and healers. I introduce emic categories and basic frames of 'witchcraft' in Mozambique, which correspond to those common in South-West DR Congo.
In Section B, I introduce the diagnosis of 'witchcraft/sorcery' through divination or revelation; both are fundamental steps in neutralizing harmfulness and treating conflicts.
In Section C, I describe and analyze three treatments conducted by healers intended to neutralize *okhwiri* and *kindoki*. I also analyze a hybrid therapeutic approach to "new"[1] versions of malefic 'witchcraft' in DR Congo in children stigmatized and isolated as *ndoki*-children [witch-children].

In Part II, I discuss key notions of the weakening of the vital forces, e.g., through 'eating in the night.' I analyze some basic framings of what the people refer to as 'ancestral' ways, looking at the inherent ambivalent logic of 'witchcraft/sorcery,' which involves the law of retaliation.

In Part III, I discuss controversies within some theoretical approaches surrounding the ethics and norms found in endogenous notions of 'witchcraft,' and I explore notions of "constructive" and "destructive 'witchcraft'" and the management of uncertainty with attention to the danger of inappropriate cultural projections of specific ethics and morals that are wrongly stated to be universally dual.

Appendixes Chapter Four

Table 4.1.	Bantu terminologies of 'witchcraft' or sorcery
Table 4.2.1.	Types of 'Witchcraft & sorcery' in patrilineal societies in Mozambique
Table 4.2.2.	Types & Implications of 'witchcraft & sorcery' in patrilineal societies in Mozambique
Table 4.3.	Types of 'witchcraft & sorcery' – in matrilineal societies in Emakhuwa and Elomwe
Table 4.4.	Categories of persons involved in 'witchcraft/sorcery' – in Emakhuwa and Elomwe

“We don’t have any problem with the *muroyi* [‘witch’ in Cishona];
we are just concerned about the bewitched person.”
Josefa Ropia Mayumba, healer and diviner in Central Mozambique[2]

Chapter 4
The paradigm of *okhwiri, kindoki* ‘witchcraft’ & sorcery

Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the complex ways in which power issues, emotions, tensions and inequalities – mostly among the living – are framed in terms of *vuloyi*[3], *okhwiri,*[4] *nipako,*[5] or *kindoki,*[6] *buloki*[7] or other similar notions of the so-called “witchcraft or sorcery” paradigm, which appears in the context of everyday life in Bantu-speaking cultures of Mozambique and DR Congo. This ambivalent phenomenon diverges from the Christian framing of witchcraft (*sorcellerie* in French; *feitiçaria* in Portuguese), which associates it exclusively with satanic maleficence. In the study area, however, connotations with ‘witchcraft’ are framed as a weakening of the vital force that may lead to diseases (or death) or misfortune, and which may result from infighting, inequalities, conflict, uncertainty, emotions like envy, hate, anxieties, etc., involving a moral power that may have benevolent or malevolent objectives.[8] The endogenous approaches to so-called witchcraft differ significantly from the “western” approaches, which are grounded in the medieval Christian tradition or in Enlightenment-era legal thought (i.e., Kant 1797, 1871). The latter classify witchcraft as, respectively, superstition or as a criminal issue subject to evidentiary “proof,” reducing it to “evil” or “crime.” I suggest that dualist and dichotomizing or legal approaches to ‘witchcraft’ often increase stigma; my conclusions are consistent with those of Behrend (1997, 2009), Langwick (2011), Fisiy and Geschiere (1990), and Geschiere (1996). In contrast to “western” approaches, I will show that endogenous approaches of sending back, untying bewitchment, or separating two *vuloyi, ndoki, nokhwiri* [‘witches’] can neutralize malign effects of ‘witchcraft’ without generating stigma or feelings of guilt. Endogenous frames often avoid naming ‘witches’, being concerned with the bewitched person not with the ‘witch’ and focusing instead on extraction, protection and cleansing the affected persons. Healers deal with states of weakening (of the *ngati* “blood*s*”), providing cleansing with treatments that reinforce the shade [*ndzhuti* in Xichangane] and the vital force (see Mahumana 2013). I also show that many healers and chiefs in Mozambique and DR Congo ground their interventions in shared norms.

My perspective on the paradigm of *vuloyi*, *okhwiri,* or *kindoki,* or similar notions of witchcraft is experiential,[9] from the perspective of those experiencing it, either as victims or as the healers making the diagnoses, like *nyamusoro*, *mukulukhana*, *ngaanga ngoombu* [mediumistic healers], following actualized ‘ancestral’ frames, or the chiefs who also apply ritual means to heal and neutralize their harmful effects. Devisch (2005b: 374) relates it to a “fertile immersion in the imaginary,” acknowledging the ambiguous nature of the phenomenon and its embeddedness in ‘ways’ that my Mozambican and Congolese research subjects describe as following ‘ancestral’ ways. As Meyer (1999) demonstrated, even members of Christian religions in Africa who were encouraged to reject

their ancestral practices often ended up integrating them with the 'new' religion. Bhabha (1994) sees the mix of such divergent paradigms as hybrids, which makes it difficult to identify their constituents. I argue that one may identify the paradigms at work in practices. Syncretism or hybridism implies changes and transformation, and may or may not involve distortion of the main aims and framings of the 'ancestral' approaches of these paradigms. If the framings and goals of a paradigm are changed, it may affects the whole paradigm, which may become another. E.g., when Christian churches ascribe individual 'signs' to a person designated as a *ndoki* ['witch' in Kikongo] and impose individual confession, this individualistic and dual approach eliminates the strongly relational and social moral/ethics of the non-dualistic, ambivalent 'ancestral' approach of *kindoki* [witchcraft in Kikongo]. These changes replace this paradigm with another, dual moral (see the 3rd case study below). However, the inclusion of a praying to God or Allah at the beginning of a treatment or a palaver must not necessarily change the applied paradigms if the respective goals followed by the practitioners and users correspond to the "ancestral" one, e.g., to seek mediation in a palaver rather than punishment.
Identification of an approach as following "ancestral" ways does not assume any cultural 'purity', which in my view never existed. Rather, it provides criteria that allow differentiation of the respective values and aims involved in divergent paradigms and their framings (see examples of such analyses by Wiredu 1980, 195, 1996, 1998). However, especially concerning the discussion of this paradigm of so-called witchcraft, it seems to me to be necessary to approach it from the perspective of the persons involved in its use, avoiding the projection of external and inappropriate values, morals and norms. This is all the more necessary as, since colonial times, the endogenous agents of healing (healers) in both countries studied have often been reduced to "witches"; several African philosophers aptly reject those tendencies that reduce African specificity to witchcraft and magic. Such widespread reductions lead many Africans and scholars to be very careful in the way they discuss this paradigm[10]. Carefulness implies not reducing this paradigm to static ontological states of being in terms of identity (see section D in Chapter Seven). My findings show the complex floating character of this paradigm addressing becoming, which allows changes in dealing with the person's strong relational frame.

Several terms are used to address 'witchcraft' or sorcery[11] in the Bantu languages of Mozambique and DR Congo, including *vuloyi*[12], *okhwiri,*[13] *nipako,*[14] or *kindoki,*[15] *buloki*[16] (see Table 4.7). Although the connotations of 'witchcraft' in English are not equivalent to those in the Bantu linguistic context, I will use the term, following anthropological conventions[17]. I use the local term and also 'witchcraft' to refer to my informants' understanding of the phenomenon. This paradigm appears in the form of gossip, rumors, accusations, suspicions, diagnostics of healing and protecting practices in all the studied cultures, in both rural and urban areas. Concerns about 'witchcraft' interfere with the prevention of HIV, treatment and care of AIDS, as well as of other terminal or chronic diseases, such as tuberculosis or leprosy (Niehaus 2010). 'Witchcraft' is also activated by tensions/conflicts among persons, and is handled as a judicial issue in local communities. Discussing the ambivalences involved, I will show that in addition to neutralizing malign witchcraft − in part using the same term

for “witchcraft/sorcery” as in DR Congo − chiefs, diviners or healers may also activate its ‘benign’ feature, which implies e.g. protection or the acquisition of power and wealth (West 2005)[18]. In contrast, the Christian or official law does not admit any positive connotation of “witchcraft”.

In addition, some may perceive witchcraft to be exotic or primitive, a pre-Enlightenment phenomenon, a view disproved by both Favet-Saada (1977) and Hauschild (1979).[19] Rejecting the exoticisation of witchcraft, I approach it through the perspective of my informants, and attempt to avoid filtering them through my own perceptions or educational preconceptions. Like Sanders (2001), Nathan (1994), Lewertowsky & Nathan (1998), Sørensen (2007) and Stroeken (2010), I don’t see witchcraft as an issue of belief, but rather as a social and moral way of dealing with power, conflicts, emotions, uncertainty, and inequalities.[20] Lévi-Strauss (1962, 1969) calls such phenomena ‘operative modes,’ which deal with the complex realities of daily life (and death) often through rituals, which apply endogenous frames. My intent is to understand the observed paradigms from the emic perspective.[21] Colleagues in Mozambique and in DR Congo, influenced by their own religious or ideological views, often begin discussion of witchcraft by denying any involvement with it. In response, I encourage an open-minded dialogue on the multiple realities of human being and of modernity.[22]

Brief historical background in Mozambique and DR Congo

In contrast to the British in Tanzania or the Belgians in Congo, Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique did not introduce anti-witchcraft laws. Meneses (2008, 2010) and Honwana (2001) show that the colonial Portuguese, like official post-colonial approaches to healing and divination often emphasized its otherness, considering such medical practices superstition. Only the use of medicinal plants[23] was considered legitimate, thereby dismissing most ritual healing practices. Healers/diviners were persecuted (between 1920 and 1930) banished or imprisoned by the colonial regime. Such persecution was supported by Christian missionaries. Later, absent adequate medical care, the regime unofficially tolerated healers and diviners.[24] The practice of ordeal[25] and other kinds of tests of guilt or innocence, however, were prohibited, since such practices were seen as competing with the colonial law.[26] However, the Portuguese judiciary used diviners to identify witches. Such contradictory approaches contributed to the conflation of healers and diviners with witches, according to the emic idea that only a witch can identify other witches. Later (1976–1992), the early post-colonial socialist regime reinforced the stigmatization of healers through general prohibitions of any ‘traditional’ practices. Today divination and healing are officially allowed in Mozambique, however, many Christians, or/and former socialists, or non-religious people perceive these practices as dangerous and occult. This does not prevent people from consulting healers and diviners.[27] Geschiere notes that early anthropologists tended to categorize and dichotomize, denying “ambiguities and sliding qualities” (2006:64) that characterize witchcraft discourses, as when chiefs and healers speak of the protective power of sorcery or witchcraft. In the matrilineal Makhuwa context (North Mozambique) both notions are differentiated as *nipako* or *okhwiri*, while the matrilineal Kikongo-speakers in Bas-Congo tend to use the same term *kindoki* for both connotations. This is also the case in Kiyaka (Kwango in RDC)

concerning *buloki* (Devisch 2001, 2005). Stoeken[28] accurately notes (in a personal comm.) that in matrilineal societies the bewitching power comes from the maternal uncle, directly via life-force/blood tie, which is very ambiguous. It is partly a proof of special powers, whereas the bitter witch, such as the paternal aunt in patrilineal societies, is often regarded as rigidly evil. This differentiation applies perfectly in Mozambique and in Southwest Congo. Apart from the regional differences, and those related to the kinship structure, I suggest that it is current of central importance that Christianity has reduced the local notions of any "witchcraft" to maleficence − an invention of Christian missionaries and colonial administrators − which Behrend (1997:175-178) shows for Uganda and which applies to all the studied cultures.[29] As with Junod in Mozambique, Christianity introduced dualist and dichotomizing moral categories in Uganda[30], associating God with absolute good and Satan with evil.[31] However, beside many commonly shared tendencies, there are differences in sub-Saharan Africa. There is no unique definition of 'witchcraft'; it is a paradigm that eludes any clear definition.[32]

A dialogical approach to 'witchcraft' or sorcery

The inherent ambiguity of witchcraft is one of the most difficult issues to address in a dialogical and inclusive approach intended to inform those working in the health and legal systems. Currently, one of the local responses in Mozambique and DR Congo to commoditisation and the unequal access to resources is to make witchcraft accusations.[33] Below, I show that it is possible to approach witchcraft or sorcery without exoticizing or essentializing the cultural Other. In Mozambique and DR Congo, witchcraft is a current issue. The challenge is to follow local frames and avoid projecting western or Christian views. I assume that without lapsing into dichotomy, differences should be respected (Stroeken 2012:13). As among the Sukuma in Tanzania (Stroeken 2012: 33), witchcraft involves reciprocity, intrusion, expulsion and subversion. While the local terms may differ, the values and frames in many Bantu-speaking societies are often very similar.

I. Notions of 'witchcraft' in matrilineal societies

A. In the Emakhuwa-speaking context of North Mozambique

Identification and cleansing of *nokhwiri*

In 1999, at the end of shooting the film «Viver de novo - Não se decide sozinho[34]» (Kotanyi 2003b), I observed local ways of transforming conflicts within and between two neighboring communities in Muecate district. Together with the Mozambican *Instituto de Comunicação Social*, we filmed an annual *esaakha* [thanksgiving ceremony] to invoke, remember and thank the ancestors. The ceremony ended with the ritual identification of witches among community members and with their cleansing. The ceremony was organized and led by the healer Horácio: he organized this "thanksgiving" ceremony for his [ancestral spirits[35];] similar to those *esaakha* ceremonies that healers organize annually in Nampula province. The ceremony started at night with an invocation of the ancestors through an offering of *makeya* [invocation of ancestors with sorghum flour]. Several people performed this *makeya*: first, the community chief, then the healer's wife. A third person, the representative of the

RENAMO[36] party, which had a camp in this area during the civil war (1978–1992), was also invited to offer *makeya*. Each person, by "placing" the *makeya* flour, invoked their own ancestors. Like other communicative practices, this invocation maintains the reciprocal relationship between the living and the living-dead (*Sensu* Mbiti 1969) and secures ancestral protection for all community members.

Below, I describe some parts of the ceremony in order to illustrate one of several ways to neutralize *okhwiri*[37] [unwilling witchcraft'] in Emakhuwa and Elomwe of North Mozambique.[38] The *esaakha* ceremony started in the evening and lasted until noon the next day. During the night, there were several invocations of the *minepa* [ancestors] through drumming and dance. A goat and two chickens were offered and shared with the participants.

Horácio used this ceremony to treat, with some success, tensions between him and the chief, who was his "brother."[39] Horácio had repeatedly had difficulty accepting that he was no longer the community chief, as he had been in the first years of the civil war, soon after independence. His father was the former chief. After the death of Horácio's father, the family's eldest son designated Horácio as *mwene* [community chief], in the interim. In a matrilineal society like that of the Makhuwa, the chief's son does not inherit the position of his father. Horácio remained in power until he was accused of *okhwiri,* and he had to leave very suddenly in the middle of the civil war. Accusation followed by the departure of the accused *nokhwiri* (Horácio) is a common way to express and deal with social tensions. This is the case in the Makhuwa/Lomwe context and elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa (Thomas 2000). Horácio lived away from the community for a few years. His maternal aunt (who was the eldest living sister of the former chief), passed chiefly power to her nephew following a decision made by the elders of the ruling clan, and in accord with matrilineal rules.

However, Horácio could not accept the loss of political power, which he claimed by patrilineal right, introduced by the Portuguese that was always contested locally. Even a famous healer like Horácio must deal with conflicts engendered by divergent paradigms. He related his despair regarding the prohibition of ancestral practices by the former post-colonial regime in Mozambique. In healing contexts, Horácio references the Makhuwa matrilineal tradition, so his patrilineal claim is surprising. My questions during filming renewed the tension between the brothers. In order to treat the conflict, Horácio invited his brother, as the community *mwene* ['big' man/chief], to open the annual *esaakha* ancestral ceremony. The invitation was a gesture of respect. During the ceremony, Horácio repeatedly requested his brother be the first to invoke the ancestors in a *makeya*, thereby recognizing his brother as community *mwene* [chief]. The recognition was verbal, in the beginning, using the mediation of the *minepa* [ancestors]. After the first *makeya,* Horácio ancestral spirits possessed him. The *minepa* asked the chief, through Horácio's voice, whether he still followed their rules. The chief answered: "Yes, I do." With this answer, the chief recognized Horácio's ability to communicate with the *minepa* and to mediate between them and the living. This reciprocal recognition provided the background to the later identification and cleansing of the *nokhwiri* [witches]. Early in the morning, Horácio took a cleansing bath in the pool where his maternal *minepa* reside and where he was initiated as a healer. After putting

the *makeya* [flour offering] on the water, and requesting that his brother (the chief) make an offering and invoke their ancestors, Horácio started the ceremony. Taking turns, each participant held a mortar and pestle, while Horácio determined through divination whether the person was a *nokhwiri*. Every participant agreed to be examined in front of all involved, 50 to 60 people of all ages. Horácio separated, in the general silence, those designated as *nokhwiri* from the rest. They went to take a cleansing bath in the river assisted by Horácio's wife. The cleansing closed the issue for those involved.

In spite of a bit of tension during the identification process, there was no stigma attached to the designated *nokhwiri* [unwilling 'witches'], not even not when Horácio found that his brother, the community *mwene* [chief], had bewitched one of his own younger daughters. The *mwene* accepted this finding in front of the community and went to the river to take the cleansing bath[40] to remove the unintentional *okhwiri* ['witchcraft'] toward his daughter which had been identified that day by Horácio[41]. At the end, the *mwene* was very satisfied, and the tensions between the two brothers was diminished. Yet, when I visited the community a year and half later, Horácio noted that while the tensions had not completely vanished,[42] the situation had improved. The relaxed atmosphere during the divination and identification process shows the community's acknowledgment of *okhwiri* (as unintentional and occurring mostly in the night, especially in dreams) and their acceptance of Hóracio's ability to detect and cleanse it. This was an ordinary, if not daily, event, one taken as a matter of course. Nor was the ceremony an ordeal, in which people take a special drink and vomit to reveal the presumed witches.[43] After the cleansing, everyone involved, especially the *mwene*, seemed relieved that *okhwiri* had been cleansed. Community members felt united under the protection of their common ancestors. This 'reweaving' of social and emotional bonds mediates as much among the living, as between the living and the living-dead (the ancestral spirits who first settled the area protecting those living in the territory). As the primary descendent of the first settler, the *mwene* is best situated to activate the protection of the *minepa* [ancestors] for the well-being of everyone living in the community. It is most of all these *minepa* who give the community *mwene* the authority to rule.

I was surprised to see how satisfied the chief was; he was not angered by his identification as a *nokhwiri* in front of the community. Rather, he was happy about how Horácio had showed respect for his position as *mwene* [chief] and how the *esaakha* ceremony had proceeded, allowing both reparation of the relationship with Horácio and his own cleansing. The atmosphere was similar to that of another ceremony in which the same *mwene* requested an outside healer to cleanse and ensure protection of the land.[44] Such cleansing of the land and people is framed as excess 'heat' and employs the paradigm of *mwiikho* [taboos]. Cleansing using a ritual bath with medicinal plants occurs after a war, some other calamity, violent death, return from extended absence or incarceration, or following burial, especially improper burial. Taboo transgressions produce harmful excess heat. Cleansing of taboo violations is similar to the cleansing of *okhwiri* [witchcraft], which is also 'hot.' However, *mwiikho* and *okhwiri* are different paradigms. Additionally, as I noted above, in a non-dualist approach (see section C below)

the identification and cleansing of unintentional *okhwiri* does not involve guilt or sin as a central notion in Christianity (Weber 1934). Nor does it involve persecution of the *nokwiri* ["witch"]. In the Emakhuwa paradigm, everyone has the potential to do unintentional *okhwiri*, but not everyone behaves as a *nokhwiri*. Nevertheless, *okhwiri* addresses inequalities, excesses of all kind and everyday emotions like envy, jealousy, fears of death, interpersonal relations, and social conflicts (Devisch 1986:123; Geschiere 1995). In this sense, it is difficult to find a person not touched by it.

'Witchcraft' or sorcery categories in matrilineal contexts in Mozambique

Healers, diviners and chiefs in the study area categorize witchcraft according to its origins, contra Sanders' (2001) findings in Tanzania. Emic categories derived from both male and female informants in eight provinces are identified in Tables 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4.[45], illustrating types of witchcraft in patrilineal South and Central Mozambique and the matrilineal North, respectively. The tables are not intended to be comprehensive or systematic, but rather to illustrate the fluidity of the categories. The floating characteristic of witchcraft (Devisch 2005:381-82) escapes clear classification (Sanders 2001) due to the required secrecy (Geschiere 1995, 2013) and ambiguity characteristic of a paradigm dealing with uncertainty (Stroeken 2010). This paradigm addressing the ineffable (Devisch 2015a) is best described in terms of its fluidity and floating characteristics, as a nebulous phenomenon "of the night", as described below. The Emakhwua/Elomwe generic term *okhwiri* generally refers to witchcraft "of the night"; people compare it to the sucking of a mosquito[46], or to the presence of some small animal in the belly. While the terms for specific types of witchcraft differ between matrilineal and patrilineal societies in Mozambique and DR Congo, informants describe the same sorts of witchcraft/sorcery, albeit using terms specific to their respective languages. The classification of this paradigm in terms of an issue "of the night" should not lead to its reduction to the occult or to 'magic,' as often occurs in anthropological literature; the broad range of emotions and everyday life situations that this paradigm may also address calls such reductions into question. My findings show that this paradigm may address antisocial behavior, and/or emotions like hate, rancor, envy, jealousy, etc., which "jeopardize the norms of sociality and interaction" (Mahumana 2013:145). As such, it is the counterpoint of the ideal *munhu* ['person' in Xichangana], which is basically defined as a relational person. However, my findings also show that this counterpoint—harm and malevolence—is regarded as a necessary part of the human, just like there is no day without night. In a non-dual approach, this ambivalent paradigm addresses a power and knowledge that are useful and necessary in order to protect the family, clan or community members, and which may help to neutralize harm and malevolence, when it is involved.

'Witchcraft' transmitted unconsciously or unwillingly (*okhwiri, olowa* in Emakhuwa/Elomwe) may be inherited at birth, by 'jumping', or by dreams about 'eating' bewitched 'flesh'. *Okhwiri* derived from envy: "It is not provoked by drugs, it just enters the person"[47]; *oloiwa* (or *olowa*) is transmitted at night by "sucking the blood" [vital force] of sleeping people. Framing witchcraft as "eating" or (metaphorical) "poisoning" is common among informants in both Mozambique and DR Congo. Informants differentiate between willing and unwilling witchcraft. *Opahuliwa, nipako,* and *opakiwla*

witchcraft committed willingly is termed “sorcery” by Evans-Pritchard (1976); what he refers to “witchcraft” is in Emakhuwa *okhwiri* and *olowa*. Marwick (1970), Devisch (2012), and Rödlach (2006) do not see a clear distinction in endogenous terminologies between willing manipulation through “drugs” (or objects) that Evans-Pritchard calls ‘sorcery’ and the unwilling sort that Evans-Pritchard calls “witchcraft”. There are common tendencies, but the regional differences make general definition questionable.

According the Cishona-speaking diviner Rupia (in Bagnol 2007:38) in Central Mozambique sees bewitchment as the focus of healers’ work –not the ‘witch’. Indeed, emotions, inequalities, desires and fantasies are central dimensions, as the third case study below illustrates. Devisch (2005: 370-371), too, shows that for the Yaka *ngaanga ngoombu* [diviner], the bewitched person is the center of the preoccupation; bewitchment is achieved through interactive bodies consumed by forces founded in phantasies, inter-subjective worlds of desires, corporeality and the search for significances.[48]/[49] Following Devisch (2005), both notions of sorcery and witchcraft are grounded in the same inter-corporeal dynamic of personhood. Makhuwa/Lomwe healers/chiefs describe many sorts of witchcraft, beyond the basic differentiation between inherited witchcraft [*okhwiri*] and bought/done sorcery[50] [*nipako*, *opakiwa*, *muretche, mathupu*[51]] using manipulated object, drugs or roots (Table 4.3.). Makhuwa/Lomwe chiefs, healers, diviners and initiation rites counselors describe additional sorts of witchcraft. E.g. *esikwi,* which emphasizes envy and retaliation; *opahuliwa* for vengeance; *olipelela***,** protective witchcraft; *olapa*, a spoken curse[52]; *opuhula* is related to stealing and offences involving provocation (e.g. taking someone’s wife or running away with a girl forcing her into marriage).[53]

Witchcraft and the kin group

In a Makhuwa or Lomwe cultural context, only family members can transmit *okhwiri*. Stroeken’s informants made the same claim among the patrilinear Sukuma in Tanzania. That means, the invisible network of witchcraft relations arose in large measure from kin relationships: “the witch is an absolute outsider within – kin” (2012:120). This applied in that way until forced villagization of *ujamaa* in Tanzania in late 1979s, −since that time also a neighbour was expanded to the category of potential ‘witches’ (which however, applies currently in any city or urbanized context in Mozambique or DRC). The narrowness in the kinship leads in general to the connotation of ‘witchcraft’ within the kin (Evans-Pritchard 1938; Favret-Sadaa 1977; Geschiere 2013); however, outsiders may become insiders through marriage, and therefore engage in witchcraft (Stroeken 2012:139). In matrilineal societies in Mozambique, a man living on the land of his parents-in-law is often dependent on them and therefore be easily suspected of witchcraft as an ‘outsider.’ In a patrilineal context, the wife, as the outsider, is more easily suspected. This is common in both studied countries, but currently in Southwest DRC and in Mozambique witchcraft may extend beyond the kin group, involving neighbours or colleagues[54]. This change to the witchcraft paradigm is not only current in urban settings but also appears in some rural contexts, as in Bas-Congo, a phenomenon that Stroeken (2012) associates with loss of access to land, rising population densities and the compression of time and space.[55] Van Binsbergen (2001:237-

240) describes how South African Bantu speakers frame witchcraft as selfish individualism, highlighting the moral ambiguities inherent in new economic modes. Selfish individualism violates moral codes of sociality, which kin groups in Mozambique and DR Congo must continuously construct and maintain in order to secure kin relations. Witchcraft accusations are increasingly used to deal with conflicts between neighbours or colleagues at work.

Okhwiri: transmitted at birth

According female informants, *okhwiri* (or *olowa*) has multiple connotations (Table 4.3.) and may be transmitted before or at birth through the mother or be caught by a person present at birth (usually a family member), or after birth but before the umbilical cord detaches. The child needs immediate treatment to prevent its death. A child with bites on the belly must have been bewitched, as with colic.[56] Many children's diseases are associated with *okhwiri* and are treated as such by healers, who argue that *okhwiri* is unwillingly transmitted. Makhuwa/Lomwe healers and chiefs mention also the *okhwiri* transmission, which may jump from a *nokhwiri* ['witch'] man to a child at birth.[57] Jomene, a semi-urban healer, explains that a man, though impossibly pregnant, can unconsciously transmit *okhwiri*.[58] Makhuwa healers explain the child's illness with reference to *okhwiri* as the "real" source.

'Done' or 'bought' witchcraft as willingly provoked sorcery

Makhuwa/Lomwe healers describe another category of *nipako* or *mirece* [witchcraft "done" through "drugs"/medicine], which is not inherited but "done" by a living person (the inherited category is called *"okhwiri*"). Informants from all the studied cultures in Mozambique speak of "done witchcraft" in terms of 'drugs' or of 'stepping on'[59] something. Fialho Feliciano (1998) and Stroeken (2010) call such witchcraft 'magic'; Evans-Pritchard (1976) and Ngubane (1977) regard it as 'sorcery'. It corresponds to the kind of witchcraft described by South and Central Mozambican healers (Tables 4.2. and 4.3.), or to the use of *n-kisi* [drugs, charm, medicine] or *yiteki* [ancestral sculpture, figurine or fetish] described by Devisch (1999, 2001, 2002a, 2002b) for Kiyaka speakers in Southwest Congo. Fetishes (cognate of Portuguese *feitiço*) have been part of Christian discourse on idolatry since the first century A.D. A fetish involves the transformation of a natural body, the fabrication of images, and the alteration of natural processes using manufactured objects (Tobia-Chadeisson 2000:67).[60] Portuguese travellers along the Guinea Coast and missionaries misinterpreted the sculpted wooden figurines used to invoke ancestors as objects used to venerate gods, which ancestors are not (see Tobia-Chadeisson 2000: 72). Today in Mozambique, '*feitiçaria'* is the generic term for 'witchcraft' or 'sorcery'.

The Makhuwa category of *nipako* or *mirece* [willing witchcraft] implies that a person uses plants or prepared objects (often called "drugs") in order to make people sick, out of envy.[61] In all studied regions, healers have different kinds of 'containers' for such powerful objects; the healer Horácio prepared them in an object in the form of a snake (in a piece of cloth) to be used during rituals and treatments[62]. *Nipako* are destructive 'mixtures'[63], which violate boundaries, and are considered in all the studied traditions to be especially dangerous.[64] Such 'mixtures' are prepared either as protection (used for 'constructive' aims), or to destroy other people.[65] This might happen by manipulating

footsteps[66], which are assumed to weaken a person's shade through special potions, or through objects, like those Kikongo or Kiyaka-speakers call *n-kisi,* or other *yiteki*, which are loaded with spiritual and material energies.[67] The ingredients of such mixtures are the greatest secrets of specialists. In Mozambique, and among the Yaka in DR Congo, they are made of plants and animals[68] or traces of blood, especially menstrual blood[69], intimate human fluids, the saliva of a fool, the head of a cock, nails, hair or sand vitrified by lightning (Devisch 2002a:77).[70] Devisch (2002b) explains that all these elements refer to the 'shade' or 'shadow' that constitutes the 'double' of an individual's body-self. Bodily secretions carry traces of their origins; as liminal substances, they all have bivalent qualities. Devisch (2002a, 2002b) calls these elements "amalgams of versatile malefic forces" activated by the malefic object or by speaking the name of the intended target. As noted by Devisch (2001:101), the sorcerer plays, like the fetish, with bodily substances in a most disordered manner; the bivalent power of the sorcery is 'morbid and life-seeking', and can be used to achieve either aggression/destruction or protection/construction. Therefore "done" sorcery (unwilling witchcraft) is a paradoxical paradigm; it embodies the contradictions and ambivalence inherent in the social system (Balandier 1993:41)[71].

Activated to achieve individual goals, 'done' sorcery exists within "a universe 'incompatible with moral personhood and community" (Shaw 1997:857). For Devisch, it occupies the border of social reciprocity and kinship rules; "fetish functions as a point of strange delirious contamination (…) between transgression and restitution of the social code" (2001:117). At the same time, chiefs activate sorcery for 'constructive' ends, in order to protect their territories and the living members of their community, something I have found in Nampula and Bas-Congo (see also West 2005: 72–77).

Bought okhwiri combined with night-time okwhiri

The Elomwe-speaking healer Jomene describes the combination of different kinds of bought *okhwiri* [witchcraft], showing how slippery the categories are. Jomene's narrative shows how 'ancestral' framings are combined with modern technology, such as an electric freezer:

"One can buy *okhwiri* here in Molocue. The *nokhwiri* ['witches'] have many secrets; if there were no secrets, people would never die. *Nokhwiri* take the flesh of persons [i.e., the vital force in the person's shadow] and put it in the freezer in the same way we put goat meat in the freezer. When witches want fresh meat, accidents happen. After you have shared meat with other *nokhwiri*, you must make your own contribution of fresh meat"[72] (Bagnol 2007: 89; my translation; my emphasis). Jomene shows the internal logic of 'bought' *okhwiri*, is here combined with "meat" consumed during the night with the members of a 'family' of *nokhwiri.* One may become a member of a family of witches by eating apparently normal 'meat' received from a neighbor or from a member of one's own family (who is a *nokhiri*), either during the day or, most often, while dreaming. The bewitched person becomes involved in an endless cycle of reciprocal obligations—*the same kinds of kin-based obligations that exist among the living*—and must acquire the vital forces of others, first of all his or her kin in order to 'give fresh meat'. The often-used notion of "killing" refers to the weakening of the vital force residing

in the shade; weakening may occur in different ways,[73] including "blood sucking," often described as "sucking" the vital force from a person, which weakens and may even kill a person.

Constructive or benevolent witchcraft

Informants agree that witchcraft can kill and that there are types of benevolent (constructive) witchcraft—"useful"[74] or "protective"[75] witchcraft. Elomwe-speaking healer women explain protective witchcraft: "*Olipelela* is an *okhwiri* [witchcraft], which does not kill. It is when the husband brings food with a good bag of animals from hunting. There is also the *okhwiri* of the protection of the children at home.[76] It keeps the children from dying because of other witches. The father has *okhwiri* in his belly, preventing the witches from coming into his home. There is also the witchcraft of sending a drug [[77]] to the home of somebody in order to make the people living there suffer."[78]

Although the Makhuwa/Lomwe healers and chiefs identify categories of witchcraft similar to those of informants of South or Central Mozambique, the benevolent or protective witchcraft is more commonly mentioned in the descriptions of Makhuwa/Lomwe informants, and is more rarely mentioned in South or Central Mozambique. Lomwe healers/chiefs refer to *opahuliwa* [witchcraft of vengeance] as a combination of protective witchcraft and witchcraft 'done' (consciously) with 'drugs.' Such witchcraft can also used when something is stolen, such as a man's wife. Thus, *opahuliwa* has two sides: a benevolent one to defend oneself, or a harmful one to attack others.[79] Luck, success, and many friends are all associated with benevolent witchcraft; such a person is considered difficult to bewitch. A woman practicing benevolent witchcraft will have children who are well protected.[80] Great luck in life requires as much explanation as misfortune, illness or death: all extreme circumstances—being 'too rich' or 'too poor'—are suspect.

West (2005) makes the key observation for the Makonde matrilineal context in North Mozambique that such distinctions go beyond the apparent dichotomy of good or bad; as Devisch (2002, 2005a) argues, the most prevalent characteristic is ambivalence.[81] Witchcraft can thus make sense (of death or other incomprehensible issues), but also "suspend sense" (Devisch 2002:91). My findings suggest that the broadly shared distinction between benevolent (benign, constructive) and malevolent (destructive) *okwhiri* is part of the general ambivalence of many Mozambican and Congolese people regarding their ancestors' ways, which I describe in this chapter.[82] However, there are differences in the intensity in which ambivalence is openly addressed; people in matrilineal contexts seem to address it more openly than those in patrilineal societies. The distinction between benevolent and malevolent 'witchcraft' as discussed below is highly relevant in a paradigm that deals with ambiguities in general and with the paradoxes of life and death in particular. In Mozambique, Makhuwa/Lomwe[83] healers/chiefs describe an apparently more complex notion of witchcraft and sorcery than healers/chiefs from the patrilineal societies of South/Central Mozambique, where Christianity has a longer history than in the North[84]. Among matrilineal Bantu speakers of North Mozambique, the "ancestral" form of this paradigm is very similar to that prevailing in matrilineal Koongo and bilineal Yaka contexts in DR Congo.

B. *The central role of diagnosis through 'divination'*

The problems of the connotations of the terms used

The diagnosis of the origin of disorders, conflicts and 'problems' is a preliminary and central step in the process of the treatment and neutralization of problems of all kinds. Ethnographic scholars usually translate terms like *kuhlahluva* (in Xichangane/Xirhonga) as "divination" or "revelation" for the processes of diagnosis, applying several means, techniques and procedures in endogenous medicine and lived-law practices, which use, among others, means to 'divine'. I will sometimes use the term "divination" (and "revelation" for some Christian contexts, e.g., in Bas-Congo in RDC), however, it is questionable whether the terms "divination"[85] and "diviner" are appropriate in the Bantu context. The Latin etymology of "divination" references divine entities who respond to human questions about the future, while in English, "divination" refers to telling the future in general[86]. However, neither the *ngaanga ngoombu* diviner/healers in Kwango (DR Congo), nor the *tinyanga* or *nyamusoro* [healers] in South/Central Mozambique, nor the *mukulukhana* in an Makhuwa/Lomwe 'ancestral' context in the North attribute divinatory agency to "divine" entities. In these 'ancestral' ways, none of the agencies is a god—even if the creator God or Allah might be invoked briefly in certain cases. Rather, agency is attributed to the living-dead, 'spirits' of the dead (ancestral or not), who speak and act through the diviner, who mediates between the client and the invisible beings (Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003a; Ganjo 2007, Igreja, 2015). In all the contexts studied, such a localization of the source of the disorders or "the nature of the problems" (Mahumana 2013:175) is necessary in order to heal and resolve them.

Mahumana translates *kuhlahluva* as "diagnosis," which is also problematic: "diagnosis" tends to reduce the complex procedure to a technical act, as biomedical diagnostics are used to establish the present situation, while in the context discussed, *kuhlahluva* [to 'divine' in Xirhonga] and similar processes also imply statements concerning the past and the future of the persons requesting this "diagnosis." The practice involves several means, techniques and types of procedures performed with the help of spiritual agencies either involving states of possession (of the practitioner) or not. It often includes, through the specialized healer, observation and psychological evaluations of the requesting persons and the members of their kin who may be present in the session or not. It may also imply some auscultation of the patient in case of health problems, often ending with a negotiation of the 'diagnosis' (Mahumana 2013:166-182), while the specialist provides some counsel (Kotanyi 2003a).

The translation of the term for this complex procedure is as problematic as the term 'witchcraft' for *wuloyi, okhwiri, kindoki*; neither phenomenon has any appropriate translation in European languages. Due to its common use in anthropology and in several western languages, as well as the lack of another adequate term, I will speak of 'divination', or following Mahumana, I may use 'diagnostics,' depending on the context. I use the term 'revelation' (as used in DR Congo) to refer to Christian religious or prophetic 'divination' associated with the Holy Spirit in Protestant or Pentecostal church rituals.[87] Devisch (2012:82) suggests, "Christian diviner-prophets surreptitiously coalesce [a] Christian divine figure with the ancestral spirits (though often overtly diabolized)." The agent at play is a

hybridized “Holy Spirit/Ancestor,” with its “capacity to animate [and] recapture life forces”, combines ancestral frames with reference to a supreme being. This transfer of legitimacy from the ancestors to a divine entity implies a subliminal Christian dualism, which clearly distinguishes good and bad—a sharp distinction that ancestral approaches avoid. Observations show that approaches reducing truth to sharply defined “bad” and “good” risk the danger of stigma and persecution. Behrend (1997, 2009) describes the consequence as social stigma, which may not relieve the suffering of those involved.

The current multiple practices

The diagnosis is made using several means and techniques, depending on the skills, initiation and experience of the specialized healer. In South Mozambique, such a healer undergoes a long apprenticeship (involving personal experiences of dealing with their own diseases and suffering) in order to learn the necessary ‘techniques.’ In the Malkuwa/Lomwe context in the North, my numerous interviews with healers about the ways they became healers show that a *mukulukhana* [healer] is assumed to discover how to heal and make diagnoses in their own initiation, through the help of ancestral or other spirits in dreams or possession, passing through suffering and times of searching and learning “in the bush” (which includes learning to recognize medicinal plants, based in part on ancestral knowledge[88] – knowledge that might later be reinforced by the teachings of elders).

In Southwest DR Congo, the *ngaanga ngoombu* [diviner] among the Kiyaka speakers is accepted as a ‘specialist’ able to identify and neutralize harmful *buloki*. In South/Central Mozambique, the *tinyanga, nyamusoro,* are healers who use ‘divination’ as a means of diagnosing and treating all kinds of physical, social and emotional disorders. In Makhuwa/Lomwe regions, the *mukulukhana* [healer] makes divination using ancestral ways, –some times combined with Islamic elements. In many cases, the ‘diviner’ transmits, through voice or body, the spirits’ message.[89] Embodiment of ancestors, or of ‘foreign spirits’, happens through possession and trance[90]. Healers use several means in order to make diagnoses (dreams, visions, trance, possession, ‘divining bones’, divination basket or many other ‘techniques’ like, e.g. “TV divination”- see Igreja, 2015[91]). Healers in both countries indicate that they take their knowledge from ancestors or spirits, which provide them with the necessary authority and legitimacy. We saw that ancestors, as living-dead and other spirits, are members of the social world of the living for several generations and are perceived neither as divine nor as supernatural.[92]

The procedure of ‘divination’ is a central way to provide explanatory models of uncertainty, death, sources of conflicts, misfortune and diseases, and it is a central step for the neutralization and treatment of harmful ‘witchcraft/sorcery’, either through broadly recognized specialized healers and/or chiefs within local frameworks of law. Divination is part of the process of dealing with ‘witchcraft’ and is perceived as the most appropriate way to “identify” whether the source of the disorder is related to any kind of ‘witchcraft’ or sorcery. Devisch (2005:369) views the diviner’s oracle as a crucial third party, which facilitates mediation between the bewitched “victim” and the “perpetrator,” who is often never identified. In this way, the aggressor (‘witch’) remains invisible while the harm is dealt with by “sending back” (or untying) techniques applied in non-dualist approaches.

In this section, I briefly introduce what I refer to as the 'ancestral' approach to divination. I don't address any ancestral issue in term of the purity or authenticity of ancestral approaches. Rather, I suggest that it is useful to differentiate between ancestral, Christian or other modes (such as official written law). I identify a few basic principles of divination/diagnosis[93], which facilitate mediation in palavers and neutralization of harm while also avoiding stigmatization. I do not describe these in detail; see Janzen (1982, 1992), Jacobson-Widding (1979, 1990b, 1990c, 1991), Devisch (1991, 1993a, 1994, 1996a, 2000a, 2012a/b) for DR Congo; and Honwana 2002, West 2005, Ganjo 2007, Meneses 2008, Mahumana 2013 and Igreja (2015[94]) for Mozambique.[95]

A few implicit basic 'principles'

Divination is considered by healers, chiefs and notables and by the persons involved in witchcraft accusations, as the most appropriate means to diagnose witchcraft. These expert informants argue that there is no need to search for material proof of witchcraft, given the intangibility of the issues involved. From the ancestral perspective, causation of *wuloyi, okwhiri, kindoki, buloki* or similar notions of 'witchcraft' are not framed as sin. Who attribute their ritual practices to their earliest ancestors, *vuloyi, nokwhiri, ndoki, nloki* [witches] are usually not named; divination indirectly approaches the source of the problems, and involves treatments that "send back" the witchcraft (Section C), which does not require identifying any witch.[96] As Ropia, healer in Central Mozambique observes, healers are just concerned about the bewitched person (in Bagnol 2007:38.)

Divination has the goal of reweaving disturbed social bonds (Devisch 1993a), identifying the source of the disorder. The specialized healers approach the issues in very indirect and metaphorical ways, allowing people to deal with their problems, conflicts, unbearable or unspeakable emotions, anxieties, wishes and so on. Fundamental is the plurality of possible utterances, which are not fixed and do not claim to be unilateral and absolute truths.[97] Werbner (2001:208) suggests that wisdom divination is not expected to offer the truth of personal knowledge; it negotiates a "truth-on-balance," in a pragmatic search to understand suffering and moral dilemmas, reweaving people's relations. Stroeken (2004, 2012) observes that "Sukuma divination assumes that reality, like the subject's experience and inner landscape, is at heart not something constructed but something found in an emerging from the ancestral realm that is 'out there.' The diviner is meant to be receptive to the 'real' dimension of practice that is the ancestral or spirit source of the life course" (in Devisch 2012:86).

Such a notion of what is 'real' correspond to the perspective of my informants and differs radically between endogenous ancestral views, on one hand, and official written law, materialist sciences, and Christian approaches on the other (see Holbraad 2012). The experience of divination makes sense of misfortune, death and diseases: As Ganjo notes "uncertainty may vary between two extreme poles. On the one hand, [there is] the total assumption of the *aleatory* as something 'real' and as the underlying principle to uncertain events (…). And, on the other hand, its complete determination by extra-human logic or entities (…), which have in common their attempt to ascribe sense and causality to the randomness and uncertainty that make them seem as knowable, regulated, explainable, or even

dominated by human beings." (2007:20–21) Such "domestication" of the aleatory implies that nothing happens by chance (Ganjo 2011:83), and that a cause should and can be identified and neutralized.[98]

Clients tend to consult several 'diviners.' Diviners enable other practitioners (healers, chiefs, notables) to 'treat' the malefic, harmful effects of witchcraft. Isabel Parada Marques, Mozambican child psychiatrist, argues that the etiology of witchcraft has an alleviating effect, since it locates the problem outside the person, facilitating treatment.[99] Field observations show 'ancestral' frames for "traditional" treatments follow the logic of extraction (de Rosny 1981, 1996), cleansing (Wreford 2008) and neutralizing by sending back the bewitchment (Kotanyi 2003a), by 'untying' it (Behrend 2011), or by separating the presumed *ndoki* ['witches'] (Kotanyi 2012) and providing means of protection.[100] After such treatments, the person is in general free of social stigma[101] and the harm has been neutralized.

Divination dealing with floating signifiers

The psychosocial etiology of *okhwiri* (or similar notions of witchcraft), imply 'floating signifiers' (Lévi-Strauss 1960; Gil 1985; Devisch 2001), which require diagnosis that corresponds to the 'floating' characteristic of this paradigm. Diagnosis allows the intangible and the unspeakable to be addressed, but must avoid confusing the intangible with the tangible world.[102]

Lewertowski and Nathan (1998) regard witchcraft psychologically as reduced to the duality of perpetrator and victim; Devisch (1986, 2003a) argues that Yaka diviners or healers who identify or treat *buloki* [witchcraft] constitute a third position. Diviners, healers and some chiefs applying non-dualist ritual means are mediators perceived as able to neutralize the negative effects of witchcraft. In all the studied cultures, diviners following ancestral frames deal with this 'floating' paradigm by approaching the task indirectly, in many cases not naming, but formulating with metaphors and analogies that which normally cannot be said. As Eze (2001:269) notes: "The dynamic of sorcery stems from a 'nebulous' zone 'below' and prior any cognitive and ideological cultural and social distinction". According to this logic, a diviner dealing with a 'nebulous' zone can only be successful by remaining 'nebulous' in order to deal with the floating forces and energies, fantasies, compulsions and desires in play. This floating dimension involves not naming any 'witch,' but enabling the bewitched 'victim' to seek treatments (extracting, cleansing, sending back or 'untying' and protecting) that allow his or her vital forces to come back to 'life' and neutralize harm.

The efficacy of 'divination'

Devisch[103] notes (2012b:84) that diviners' acts are related "to more or less primordial energy fields at play in fecundity, sociality, and the cosmos, and in everyday life […] the diviner is also the authoritative interpreter with regard to the client's trans-worldly destiny, the ungraspable otherness […], or witchcraft and sorcery." He adds that dealing with "uncertainty, indeterminacy and overwhelming alterity" the diviner develops a "dreamlike and vague shadowy perception of ancestral spirits." (2012b: 87). In divination, a *ngaanga ngoombu* [diviner] is "dealing with the inter-generation and inter-subjective 'response-ability' to the traumatic hieroglyphs of the one's life-world" (idem 2012a: 116).[104] Conflicts and tensions among the living are grounded in real emotions and uncertainty

which, through their "techniques", diviners/healers identify and domesticate.[105] These descriptions correspond to the procedures of diviners in South Mozambique that I observed when possessed by 'foreign,' or 'bad' spirits who did not became ancestors (see in Kotanyi 2003a). These spirits afflict a person who does not accept the call to become a healer or diviner[106]. Through possession, initiated healers establish relationships with 'bad' or foreign spirits, which the healer learns to 'domesticate' during its initiation. The spirit will then help the healer to divine or heal. When possessed, the diviner overcomes 'the boundaries of ordinary selfhood' (Willis 1999:98).[107] Overcoming boundaries implies overcoming time and place and is based on a notion of a "densely inter-connected and hence, in principle, interdependent and inter-informed" (Devisch 2012b: 89) world.[108]

C. Treatments of harmful okwhiri or kindoki 'witchcraft'

My description of treatments neutralizing malefic witchcraft illustrates the inherent coherence or at least internal logic of thinking in the "ancestral way," which my informants see as grounding the efficacy of the rituals of extracting, cleansing and protecting.[109] In my third case study, I discuss hybrid treatments that combine ancestral with Christian frames.

Endogenous ways of neutralizing harmful 'witchcraft' or sorcery

Each type of witchcraft has its own treatment. Witchcraft with "drugs" [*nipako*)] in the sense of "medicine", framed as "bought" witchcraft [*opahuliwa*], requires treatment with "drugs"[110] and corresponds to the witchcraft, which is "done" (willing). A healer neutralizing witchcraft involving the theft of footsteps[111] is *olipa wawa*; *olipa issikwi* treats those bewitched by a witchcraft "thrower."[112] Among Emakhuwa/Lomwe speakers, every kind of witchcraft has the potential to be neutralized.

'Ancestral' approaches provide several ways to neutralize malefic witchcraft. Buakasa (1980:149–150), discussing *kindoki* [witchcraft] by Kikongo speakers (DR Congo) listed several means of neutralization, which are similar to those of Emakhuwa/Elomwe speakers in Mozambique. (1) Invocation of ancestors and respecting their prohibitions secure their protection against *ndoki* [witches] and *kindoki*; (2) the use of '*n-siki*' [prepared objects], called 'drugs' as protection; (3) not provoking envy by avoiding excess; (4) not accepting food outside of one's own sources; (5) giving a protective name soon after the birth of a child; (6) being strong or powerful; (7) undergoing an ordeal; (8) isolating or physically removing the accused (or killing, which is currently rare in the traditional approach)[113]; (9) conducting a ritual separation of the different factions of the kin group in conflict; (10) reconciling through public *nfunguna* [speaking out] in Kikongo.

I would add the treatment of 'dying and being reborn,' which I observed in North Mozambique and in Southwest DR Congo. Sending back the witchcraft to the witch[114] is also a well-known practice in both countries; similarly, the Acholi in North Uganda speak of 'untying' (Behrend 1997). Below I describe and compare two cases of 'dying and being reborn'. The treatments represent a hybrid mix combining ancestral endogenous frames with Christian and so-called 'modern' frames. The examples

demonstrate the logic behind the Bantu ancestral approach and the Christian approach, and show how hybrid applications can lead to limited results. I then question whether the treatments achieved the goals of reestablishing social peace. When treatment did not lead to peace, or did not alleviate suffering of those involved, I ask why it was unsuccessful and what the consequences were.

The first case study: the 'dying and being reborn' treatment of '*okhwiri*'

I rarely met in South and Central Mozambique anyone declared to be a 'witch'; however, in North Mozambique, such statements are common among Kikongo speakers in Bas-Congo. In Alto Molocwe, at the border to Nampula province, together with my colleague Brigitte Bagnol and our research assistant Mangalaes Constantino, we met a healer who identified himself as a *nokhwiri*. He might have recognized it, given that a *nokhwiri* ['witch'] implies, among others, some ambiguously powerful life-force in his matrilineal societies. He told the following story:

> "I am a *nokhwiri* [witch]; it is my parents who discovered it, my uncle. They brought me to Gilé, where I had a treatment in order that I do not eat members of my family. *Okhwiri* is as the bird called a bat, staying in the belly. I do not know how it came into my belly, but my parents discovered it through a divination. It was my uncle, who bewitched me together with other people of my family. My uncle killed only one person of those that he bewitched; he destroyed the grave of my sister, who died because of my uncle, a *nokhwiri*."

The healer Alberto told us that he was treated and that he is no longer a *nokhwiri.* The proof for him was his large family: "I have four wives and 24 children. I received the treatment of 'dying and being reborn.'" (Bagnol 2007:87). Alberto's statement refers to the "dying" of his shade, or vital force. I describe such a treatment below, demonstrating why persecution is unnecessary in the *ntumbuluku*[115] [Bantu ancestral tradition]. Albertina's treatment in Nampula was performed by the healer and diviner Horácio (Kotanyi 2003a). I compare it to a similar treatment in Kwango (DR Congo) conducted by the diviner (*ngaanga ngoombu*) Pointe Noire. Although there are differences between the treatments, the healers followed similar principles[116] and the steps they performed while healing are similar to rites of passage (van Gennep 1981). I will demonstrate the similarities of the employed steps of treatment comparing a treatment of "sending back" provided by the healer Horácio in North Mozambique, and similar treatments given by the healer Pointe Noire in South-West DR Congo (in Kwango).

The context of the treatment

In 1999, I interviewed Horácio, a Makhuwa healer and diviner [*mukhulukana*], and several *mwene* [clan-chiefs] about why the community had actively participated in the civil war against the governing FRELIMO party between 1980 and 1992. Horácio was touched by my perseverance in asking for concrete descriptions of the social and spiritual disorder that may occur when crucial rituals are not performed - those, which were forbidden during the socialist regime as "obscurantist religious practices."[117] The participants in this focus-group interview in Horácio's community were surprised to see a 'white woman', who acknowledged the significance of Makhuwa rituals, when Mozambican representatives of the state and the FRELIMO party did not. After the discussion, Horácio waited for

me on the roadside for an hour and a half and offered me a calabash of freshly crushed sorghum, used to invoke the ancestors [*makeya*]. This was the start of our friendship. Horácio agreed to my filming the treatment he performed for a woman that his divination[118] identified as victim of *okhwiri* [unwilling witchcraft] and later he explained all the steps of the treatment (Kotanyi 2003a). He only asked me not to show the film in his community, where I showed instead the film "Viver de Novo" (Living again, Kotanyi 2003b). Horácio viewed the other film "EspiritoCorpo" at the district health center, which was two hours by car away from his community. Horácio was proud of the result.

Years before my field observations, Horácio treated Albertina, who was a victim of the civil war. She had been kidnapped, raped and forced to live far away with a soldier for several years. Her treatment at that time dealt with her inability to bear healthy children. According to Horácio, her children came into the world "without any skin." A metaphor: 'giving birth without a skin' refers to a birth following a serious *mwiikho* [taboo] transgression, normally after incest, which is the most abject and worst kind of *okhwiri* and has no treatment. Albertina suffered so many rapes by soldiers that Horácio considers it the worst kind of *mwiikho* violation, which he assumes to have caused her children to die, or be born dead. After the treatment given by Horácio during the civil war, Albertina gave birth in 1990 to a child. The child was still healthy after her return home in 1992, where I met her in 1999. At the time of our visit, she had a second healthy baby. Because of the success of Horácio's treatment, Albertina trusted him. During his three days in Albertina's village, several patients came to consult Horácio. On the first day, Albertina's mother complained to Horácio that Albertina was not well: she was drinking too much alcohol. The healer slept in their house and I slept in a tent next to the house. In the middle of the night, I heard strange sounds from the house, a sort of prolonged whimpering, very soft, and then getting louder. This was Horácio during divination, finding the diagnosis for Albertina in his dreams. In the morning, Horácio prepared the treatment, which took an hour, performed in nearly complete silence; he gave Albertina some counsels at the end. Horácio's healing practices can be described as embodied analogical metaphors, though the healer and his patient do not see them in metaphorical terms.[119]. Horácio explained later that his maternal ancestral spirits had visited him during the night to show him the source of the problem: Albertina had been pushed to drink by *okhwiri* [witchcraft]. He performed a 'dying and being reborn' ritual treatment, extracting and neutralizing the *okhwiri* and protecting her against future attacks. There was no need to look for the *nokhwiri* ["witch"] and no association with sin. This is important, because the use of the European terms 'witchcraft' and 'sorcery' easily leads to misunderstandings, implying the persecution of the 'witch', who in the forms of Christianity practiced in Africa are associated with 'sin' and 'culpability'.[120]

Sending back okhwiri 'witchcraft'

Horácio's treatment involves a series of techniques typical in Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speaking cultures. I describe the treatment steps, which do not always happen in the same way, but which follow the basic principles of extracting, sending back, cleansing and protecting.

▲ **One - Preparing the remedy**: Horácio rubs a root with a stone, preparing the medicinal plants that he will use during the treatment. Later he explains: "This *macari* remedy that I am rubbing is to 'vaccinate' her body against *okhwiri*. To cleanse her with a bath so that she won't be bewitched any more. She has been pushed to drink: it was not through her own will" (Kotanyi 2003a).

▲ **Two – Delimitation of the ritual space:** Horácio prepares by delimiting the treatment space with a circle.[121] He uses a round flat braided basket (as women use to sieve grains); the inner borders are lined with something that looks like a snake. This powerful 'loaded' object is in this case made of cloth and filled with secret 'drugs'—herbs but also other powerful substances.[122]/[123] Horácio tells Albertina to step into the protected area of the basket. Later he explains: "The basket makes a person alive, it fills the belly." As to the snake in the basket, he explains: "It encircles the body and delimits it. The person is in the middle, and it protects her body. It is like closing the door of the house, so that nobody can enter"[124] (in Kotanyi 2003a).

▲ **Three - Cleansing and protecting:** the healer has Albertina hold a pestle in a mortar, while he passes a wooden spoon all over her body, from head to feet. Later Horácio explains: "I put her in the basket and I wave a spoon over her body because the person is bewitched with food. This is why we use cooking utensils to cleanse the bewitched person. I use the mortar, the basket, the spoon and the kneader.[125] When somebody sends *okhwiri*, he drops it in the food, in the basket, in the mortar. This food must be destroyed. This is done by the basket, the mortar and the spoon; their work is to protect the person." (in Kotanyi 2003a)

▲ **Four – Using a chicken to facilitate transition from 'death' to life:** Horácio gave Albertina a chicken that she held in her hands while kneeling in the basket. Horácio covered her with a *capulana* [loincloth in Portugese]. Standing at her head, he lights a candle and passes it over her body, while she kneels under the *capulana* together with the chicken, in the middle of the basket. He speaks a short prayer by holding on top of her head pages from the Koran[126]. Later he explains: "This chicken represents her body. All bad things will remain with this chicken; she will become healthy. The person is bewitched with a chicken. I use a chicken like those used for a burial, to pull her out of the cemetery, where she is. I join the chicken with a *capulana* because the dead [at a burial] are covered with a *capulana* in the cemetery. I am taking her out of the cemetery; I am taking her out of the death in which she is. All that will end. She is under the *capulana*; I have to pull her out of the fire in which she is. I am preventing her death, she cannot go; she must become healthy" (in Kotanyi 2003a).

▲ **Five - Cleansing through 'washing':** Horácio gives Albertina a cleansing bath, putting some stones in the water and passing a stone over her body. He finally throws water to the four cardinal points, activating all the vital forces of the environment, combining the elements water, air, and stones from the mountains.

▲ **Six – 'Vaccination' with 'drugs'**: Horácio asked a woman to assist him in making cuts on Albertina's body, using a fresh razor blade purchased by Albertina: at her wrist and ankle, her forehead, her breastbone. Horácio took some black powder (of burned medical plants) out of a small

horn and his female assistant put some of it in the cuts as a ‘vaccine’. The healer explains: “There are very hot bodies and others very cold. For those very cold I use the *macari* root remedy, and I put it in boiled water to cleanse her. After that I can vaccinate her and her whole body, which was very cold, becomes a good body” (in Kotanyi 2003a).

▲ **Seven – (a) Sending back the *okhwiri*, (b) appeals for ancestors’ support and (c) suggestions regarding the patient’s future behavior:** Horácio sits with Albertina, shows her how to prick a candle with a needle, repeating the following words: (a) “For me, you are this candle. When I arrived here, I did not meet you at home. You were drinking (…)”. (b) Today, I request [the ancestors] for this mother to be well and to be fortunate [*request addressed to his own and to hers ancestors*]. If somebody wants to find her body, he should find this candle. All that, what was done to her should be taken away by *Muluku* [God] until *lantiria* [where the ancestral spirits abide]. I ask for this favour: come out of the cemetery and go back to who bewitched you. As in the cemetery, a hoe is required to dig the grave; here is a cutlass, here is sorghum, and a chicken, a knife, a mat with a *capulana* [loincloth], and a sickle, which are all used to bury the dead. This mother, I do not drink, she also shall not drink [*this is a suggestion addressed to the patient*]. I ask that my sisters and my brothers be born [*request addressed to her ancestors*]. You, candle, she must become healthy. I believe in her; this is the truth, my heart is merry. (c) She must stop drinking, have a good life, good fortune, money, marry and have a family. When I come back here, I want to feel proud. Please” (in Kotanyi 2003a).

▲ **Eight – Counselling:** Horácio ends the treatment with counselling. He advises Albertina to not worry that somebody might take the marks of her footsteps in the sand, and to never accept food from an unknown source. At the end, he requests the payment for the treatment.

Basic principles of the ‘dying and being reborn’ treatment

Horácio treats *okhwiri* according to the following general principles. **First:** trust in the healer is necessary. Albertina trusts Horácio because of her earlier treatment, and she shares with him the etiological categories inherent in his therapeutic approach. **Second:** the space of the treatment must be delimited. Before starting treatment, the ‘problem’ must be isolated through the delimitation of space. This delimiting prevents the ‘problem’ from jumping onto others and the penetration of any new *okhwiri* in the patient. [127] **Third:** only the extraction of the ‘bewitchment’ allows its final neutralization. At the end, the *okhwiri* pulled out of the patient remains in the chicken,[128] helping to take over the ‘death’ condition of the weakened shadow of the patient. Many healers use chickens in treatments. The chicken (which in this case is not killed) is assumed to absorb the malign effects of the bewitchment. The chicken enables Horácio to extract the *okhwiri* from Albertina, and materializes both the process of separation and the cause of the problem. In this case, the chicken is one of several ritual elements that allow both the healer and the patient to visualize the *okhwiri* extraction. The chicken helps to free Albertina from her anxieties by providing a physical form to which they can be attached or embedded. Albertina participates with great concentration and confidence in Horácio’s treatments. Extraction is often a treatment used to neutralize bewitchment (de Rosny 1981; Kotanyi

2010). **Fourth**: Healers performing such treatments materialize the process through their embodied performances (Csordas 1983, 1988, 2002; Sax 2009). They "pull" the shade of the client out of the state of "death" which the bewitchment provoked. Horácio applies this treatment using the same kinds of instruments (sorghum, a knife, a mat with a *capulana* [loincloth], a sickle) that are usually required for a burial. Other healers perform this step in different ways, as I describe below for DR Congo.

Fifth: When a person is "dead" through bewitchment, it is possible to bring him/her back to life, using ritual ways involving "sending back", extractions (of any remaining harmfulness), cleansing, fortification of the vital force and its protection (which corresponds to healing practices usual among the Sukuma in Northwest Tanzania – see Stroeken 2004).

These basic principles correspond to the explanations that Horácio gave me as analysis of the steps of this treatment. I will add some other analytical means, without applying a uniform analytical framework, which would be artificial. About the **1st general principle**: The necessary trust of the patient in the treating person is a basic principle valid for any treatment (also in biomedicine as much as e.g. in psychotherapy). About the **2nd principle**: The necessary delimitation of the treatment space illustrates the jumping characteristic assigned to "witchcraft" in all the studied contexts. It implies the idea that the capacity to behave as a *nokhiri* ['witch'] can be transmitted from one living to another living through space, which makes it dangerous and feared.

About the **3rd principle:** I will use the concept of the "transitional object" of Winnicott (1953), which is useful in order to understand the role of the chicken in such treatments, involving extraction of harmfulness of bewitchment through *okhwiri*. According to Winnicott (1953), a *transitional object* allows a baby to bridge between the inner and outer reality; between "me" and "not-me". It is Winnicott's idea of the creation of an "intermediate" and "third area" which leads me to use this concept. The chicken embodies the extraction of the harmfulness at stake, and is as such an intermediary and *transitional object,* which allows releasing the patient. Horácio explained: "The bewitchment goes in the chicken which takes it away". In this case, Horácio did even not kill the chicken; alone its use as *transitional object* achieves the required effect.

About the **4th principle**: This treatment illustrates one possible ritual way to bring back to "life" a person "dead" through bewitchment. Horacio performed and embodied analogies and metaphors involving inversions. Devisch's (1996a, 2001, 2002) discussion of the efficacy of the powerful substances used for fetishes and Kubik's (2007) discussion of taboos both show that analogies, metaphors and inversions are at work, though the persons involved are not necessarily conscious of them. Kubik argue that they must remain unconscious in order to work, which corresponds to the view of healers. Healers and their patients may differ in their understanding of how these ritual treatments function. Horácio describes literally "pulling" Albertina's life force away from death, while some healers and diviners in South and Central Mozambique argue that they use metaphors. In any way, such performed ritual healing is not representation; the embodied metaphors and analogies make the therapeutic action work (Sanders 2008; Nathan 1994, 1995; 2001a). This treatment of pulling the

patient's "shade" out of 'death' involves analogical metaphors, which are materialized in the objects required for burial. These objects make the "dead" condition of the patient's shade concrete, allowing dealing with it; the shade (vital force) of the patient can be "pulled out of the death"; the activation of such analogies produces the intended transformations, releasing the suffering person.[129]

About the ritual ways neutralizing bewitchment: Sending back the bewitchment to its source is the objective of such 'ancestral' rituals. See a similar use of "sending back" among the Sukuma (Tanzania) in Stroeken 2008. In the treatment given by Horacio, the hot fire of the candle pulls the 'dead' shade out of 'hot' death in accord with the principle that "like attracts like" (Sanders 2008)[130] described by Devisch (1993a, 1996a) as a 'homeopathic' approach. The healer's words and the ritual actions induce in the patient the will to become well again[131]/[132]. Sending the bewitchment back to the witch is the best way to neutralize it (see also Stroeken 2008:477); it occurs without any identification or persecution of the presumed witch. Horácio pulls Albertina's weakened shadow "out of the cemetery". This struggle to pull her "dead" vital force back to life involves Horácio's own vital forces. As the Bitonga healer Elsa E. in South Mozambique explained: "As a healer, you need power and strength to fight *wuloyi* [witchcraft in Bitonga] or bad spirits" (Kotanyi 2003a). The spoken words and the will and agency[133] of the healer combine in the ritually performed actions to effect treatment.[134]
The "sending back" action recalls the secret and forbidden treatments for witchcraft practiced by healers in India (Sax 2009: 219-230). Sax shows that treatment employs a level of force or aggression intended to match that of the bewitchment.[135] He insists on the highly ambivalent morality of such practices; those sending back the bewitchment see their actions as defensive, and those of the unknown "witch" as offensive. But these distinctions are not clear. Given this ambivalence, many people regard healers as witches (see also Igreja 2015).[136] Healers and chiefs explain in Mozambique and DR Congo that it is only possible to defend against bewitchment by knowing how to bewitch.[137]

Cleansing is an inherent part of most 'ancestral' treatments dealing with the disturbed moral order. With the 'hot' medical root and water, Horácio cleanses the physical body of the bewitched patient, activating the thermal frames, transforming her too 'cold' body into a 'good' balanced body, as he explains. The cleansing prepares Albertina to receive the plant extracts inserted in the skin, as powder inserted through small cuts with razor blades[138], which also works to restore thermal balance.

Protection against future attacks. All the treatments neutralizing witchcraft that I observed involved a protective step; the patient must feel protected against eventual future attacks.

In summary, Extracting, cleansing, and sending back are techniques that neutralize the harm of witchcraft. According to the 'traditional' (ancestral) wisdom of Bantu speakers, witchcraft is part of the human condition; it can be eliminated, but prevention is required against future attacks. The ritual act of sending back witchcraft (which parallels the way it was transmitted) is for the benefit of the "bewitched" and follows the law of retaliation (that I discuss below in Part II). 'Sending back' releases the bewitched person, which is the purpose of the treatment. Therefore, healers argue that they are

only concerned with the condition of the bewitched person[139] (but some people argue that the services of such healers are also used to bewitch people).

In DR Congo, a healer applied a similar treatment (see below).[140] It is significant that this 'ancestral' Bantu way requires neither the identification of a particular person as witch, nor his/her persecution. The treatment and neutralization of 'bewitchment' through "sending back" seems to contrast treatments that involve "identification" of the "witch" that I discuss in Chapter Five. Stroeken (2004) argues that the "identification" of the 'witch' trough divination would often in itself treat the issue at stake, without requiring further treatments or persecution of the identified "witch". To my mind, the term "identification" is misleading. Indeed, as Stroeken insists (2004:48), in Mozambique or South-West DR Congo, in cases of a designation of the "witch" (even with naming in divination), does not lead necessarily to his/her persecution. In the 'ancestral' frame, the designation allows locating the source of the problem outside of the suffering person: it helps him/her to deal with it.[141] However, currently, when this paradigm is used to connote children with *kindoki* ['witchcraft'/Kikongo] in DR Congo, it use perverts the ancestral framings (see the second study-case below and in Chapter Six).

In case of unwilling *okwhíri* or similar notions, applying to the treatment of "sending back" given by Horacio, it addresses a dimension that needs cleansing, not persecution. The healer Mother Elalie in Bas-Congo argues (in the 3rd study-case below and 2nd in Chapter Six) that a child involved in "*kindoki*" ['witchcraft'] needs treatment. This approach contrasts to that of the legal system, which would try to identify the witch through material proof making it "a criminal act" out of it, or Christian approaches involving public confessions[142]; both approaches often lead to stigmatisation of the people identified as witches, who in turn become victims themselves.[143]

Albertina was relieved after her treatment. Horácio's healing shows the internal logic of the efficacy of intangible, metaphorical and ritual approaches to witchcraft such as *okhwiri*. Several other kinds of treatments for harmful witchcraft follow a similar logic: for example, to 'untie' by unbinding a knot in a stem of grass three times, as *ajwaka* [healers] do among the Acholi in North Uganda (Behrend 1997:157). In such cases, bewitchment is to be 'tied' and the treatment can 'untie' the victim.

Second case study: neutralizing *buloki* in DR Congo

The opportunity to observe this treatment appeared after showing the film "EspiritoCorpo" (SpiritBody), with the treatment described above and performed in Mozambique, to tradipractitioners in five different areas of Kwango, in the province of Bandundu in DR Congo. Healers'[144] reactions indicated that there are similarities between Congolese and Mozambican healing practices. The *ngaanga ngoombu* [diviner] Pointe Noire, a ca. 65-year-old community chief, is one of the best healers of the Inana, the name for the Lunda's paramount chief[145], whose territory and power reaches far beyond Kwango. Pointe Noire kept smiling to me during the film, especially during Horácio's treatment, showing his satisfaction and understanding of what Horácio was doing. A few days later, I visited Point Noire at home. He was with a number of community members and three patients. He immediately started the treatment of a man and two women (one of whom was pregnant). All of them

were ‘bewitched’ through *buloki* and, according to Pointe Noire, had been turned (unwillingly) into *nloki* [witche/Kiyaka]. Pointe Noire’s treatment showed only slight differences from Horácio’s. The main objective was to extract the ‘dying’ patient from her or his ‘death’ state and to have the three treated patients “reborn’, extracting all harm, cleansing and protecting them. I describe just a few steps of the treatment in order to highlight the similarities and differences to the treatment given by Horácio.

▲ **One – The rebirth of the patient’s ‘shadow’:** The place where treatment occurred had two rectangular holes for graves. Pointe Noire started to fill one of the holes with branches from trees and set them on fire to produce smoke. He spread a mat over the hole and had the pregnant woman lie down on the mat. He covered her with a *pagne* [woman’s loincloth in French] similar to that used by Horácio. This procedure achieved three objectives: First, it embodied through analogy the state of death and allowed the patient to be “reborn out of the fire where she is” as Horácio had explained earlier. This effect was achieved in Pointe Noire’s treatment with leaves set on fire, with the rising smoke from the hole covering the patient. Second, the fire corresponds to the excess ‘heat’ generated by the state of *buloki*; the fire in the holes neutralizes the ‘hot’ state of the patient according to a like-attracts-like logic. Third, the smoke is a cleansing agent. Fire[146] like water, medicinal plants or the flow of sexual fluids during intercourse is a means of cleansing or cooling down.

The male patient was lying in a second rectangular hole beside the first hole, and the healer covered him with branches, leaves and a mat. While Pointe Noire was treating the woman, the male patient suddenly jumped out of the ‘grave,’ experiencing his ‘rebirth’. The woman had her ‘rebirth’ by standing up (after being treated in the grave, as just described), not like her neighbor, nor like Albertina in North Mozambique; but all three are forms of ‘rebirth’ achieved through ritual treatments.

▲ **Two – Ritual transition from one state to another:** Pointe Noire marked the ritual stages of separation and transition more clearly than Horácio did. After being pulled ‘out of death’, the patients passed under an arc made of branches, which marked a rite of passage.[147] I had to pass under a similar arc specially prepared for my visit, when I visited Kasungo Lunda.[148]

▲ **Three – The delimitation of space:** Pointe Noire delimited the treatment space of the three patients with an oval marked on the ground.

▲ **Four – Cleansing with branches soaked in hot water, plants and a bath**: The three patients were cleansed with branches and green leaves soaked in boiling water with medicinal plants. In addition, the patients took baths, similar to the cleansing performed by Horácio.

▲ **Five – The chicken –a means extracting harmfulness (as transitional object):** Pointe Noire also used a chicken to extract all the remaining harmfulness from the patients.[149] He circled the living chicken around each patient. Horácio said that when Albertina was together with a chicken in the basket, all the remaining *okhwiri* would pass to the chicken to be “thrown away.” He did not kill the chicken. Pointe Noire, after surrounding each patient with the same chicken, killed the chicken by breaking its neck and throwing it behind him, thereby disposing of all residual *buloki* [in Kikongo].

▲ **Six – Protecting the patient against future attacks:** The protection that Point Noire gave his patients differed from Horácio's. Pointe Noire had a box for each patient in which he put some of their hair and nails. For Point Noire (as for Horácio), these are elements of a person's shade and contain a person's essence, which is vulnerable to bewitchment (see Chapter Two) and can be used to heal or destroy them (Devisch 2002). The healer gave the boxes to each patient as protection against future attacks. Protection is a necessary step involved in all observed treatments dealing with bewitchment.
▲ **Seven – Closing the ritual to confirm the rebirth**: Pointe Noire closed the treatment in two steps common in African cultures. First, he cut the hair of the patients, as is done on the seventh day after a child's birth to confirm this or her good 'arrival' among the living. A widow or widower may also cut his or her hair at the end of mourning. Second, the patients shared a fresh meal,[150] confirming the success of the treatment.

Common frames, techniques, finalities and efficacy in becoming

The treatments performed by Pointe Noire and Horácio are both forms of "dying and being reborn." Both treatments: (First), pull the patient out of the death of bewitchment (= separation in a rite of passage). (Second), enable the rebirth of the patient. (Third), extract any remaining harmfulness of *buloki* or *okhwiri* and transfer it onto an object of transition—in this case, a chicken, which allows the extraction of harmfulness, functioning as intermediary between the inside and the outside of the treated person. (Fourth), cleanse the patient and (fifth), protect the patient against future attacks.
Both treatments use analogies and ritually embodied metaphors. The effects of *okhwiri* or *buloki* imply the "death" of the vital force. Healers and patients do not consider this "death" to be a metaphor: When a person's vital force is dead, the person "is" dead. It has seemed appropriate in anthropology to suggest that this "death" is a metaphor, symbolizing the loss of force/power/fortune; many African people (see e.g. Rosny 2006 et al.) reject such a reduction to a symbolic representation. Other anthropologists use theories of *fundamental ontology* (of Heiddeger)[151]; the latter would imply in case of witchcraft that the "death" of the vital force is to be regarded ontologically as a state of death. Devisch (2005) makes clear that ontology should not be interpreted in this paradigm. Following the perspective of my informants, I see in such cases a virtual state of "being dead" – but in a state of becoming (see Deleuze 1968, 1972)[152]: This kind of "death" is not definitive; the person can be "pulled out of the death". I don't suggest that the bewitchment is metaphorical—patients experience suffering and weaken until feeling dead. This somatic physical and psychical state is that of a disempowered or nonfunctional vital force, which might sometimes-even lead to physical death.[153]

The efficacy of the healing is in each case also achieved through inter-subjectivity[154]. The treatments empower the affected persons; healing is achieved through at least five forms of interaction between healer and patient. Efficacy is achieved first through the confidence of the patient in the ability of the healers to treat; second, through the confidence of the healer in his/her abilities (Sax 2009). Confident healers show that there are ways of dealing effectively with their suffering (see Wreford 2008a, 2008b). Third, ritual treatments involve embodied interactions between the patient's and the healer's

physical, spiritual and vital *bodies* (Csordas 2002; Sax 2002, 2004, 2009). Fourth, in best cases, the *social body* is involved in healing; community members participate in the process through testimony, which may prevent stigma and promote solidarity with the suffering person. Such social involvement during treatment may diminish currently, as the third study-case below shows. However, "witchcraft" accusations are products of the social; the witness of kin or community members is the best way to allow the neutralization of harmfulness. The involvement of the social body —that I observed in several study-cases in Mozambique and DR Congo[155]—, demonstrates how this paradigm and its treatment embraces not just the suffering person but also the involved kin, clan, and community members (see also Sax 2009). The involvement of the social body is fundamental, since 'witchcraft' is often an expression of tensions or conflicts within the group. It is these relations between the people involved in those conflicts that require treatment. Finally, interactions between healers and patients are effective because improvement of the patient demonstrates that the vital force has been revived ("reborn") through the healer's actions, thus marking the end of the treatments of both the patient and the community (see also Stroeken 2004; Sax 2002, 2009; Csordas 2002 or Sanders 2008).
Both healers I observed—Point Noire in DR Congo and Horácio in Mozambique—neutralize "witchcraft" ("identified" through divination) in ritual ways of extraction, cleansing and protection—applying different "techniques"—, similarly to what de Rosny (1981, 1996) describes for Cameroonian. All employ frames that healers and their patients connote with their "ancestral ways".

Like Devisch (2005), I suggest avoiding any interpretation of the described practices in fundamental ontological terms (see Chapter Seven), which to my mind imply the danger of fixing the described practices, which are not static but involve ambiguities (see below) and fluid changes. I suggest, firstly, that such treatments do not so much expressing "being" since they are ways of "living" (see Ingold 2011). Secondly, that such treatments deal with uncertainty, anxieties, feelings of weakness or disempowerment, misfortune, social isolation or disease in a constant movement of becoming (see my discussion of ontology in Appendix 7.1. and in Chapter Seven). Paradigms such as *okwhiri* or *buloki* enable people to deal effectively with death, tensions, conflicts, emotions or ungraspable problems (as Parada Marques argues in Kotanyi 2003a). Such ritual treatments allow avoiding the perpetuation of conflict or problems resulting from punishments, which have no neutralizing effects. The patient's positive reactions after the treatments signal the neutralization of harmful *okwhiri* or *buloki* in terms of effective resolution of their disordered feelings and state of "bewitchment". In such treatments, that employ non-dualist "ancestral ways", there is no need for identifying or persecuting a specific person as "sinner" or "perpetrator", as is required in Christian or legal approaches to witchcraft.

The witch is unimportant, what matters is the relief from bewitchment

Ropia, a widely known and esteemed older *nyanga* [healer][156] and diviner in Manica district in Central Mozambique observes "We don't do anything to the witch [*muroyi* in Cishona]; we don't have any problem with the witch; we are just concerned about the ill person." (in Bagnol 2007:38).[157] Notions of *okhwiri* in the cultures studied locate the problem "outside of the patient, to allow him to deal with it,"

as the medical doctor Parada Marques remarks (Kotanyi 2003a). When this objective is sidelined by hunting and persecuting the presumed 'witch', the purpose of treatment—to enable the suffering person to deal with misfortune—is impeded. ...

Analyses of notions of *kindoki* or *buloki* in Southwest DR Congo

Below I discuss the notions of *kindoki* (in Kikongo) and *buloki* (in Kiyaka), which provide the foundation to my argument that Bantu-speaking societies share a common approach to 'witchcraft.' The approach to witchcraft among the matrilineal Makhuwa people corresponds to that of the matrilineal Koongo in DR Congo and to Yaka culture, as described by Devisch. Both matrilineal societies take approaches to witchcraft similar to those of patrilineal or mixed societies like that of neighboring Kiyaka speakers in Kwango. Their chiefs, healers and other informants (community notables, community members, judges and court assistants in official law) present *kindok*i (in Kikongo) as knowledge[158], power[159] or intelligence[160] and as a special ability to 'see' with a double sight (Lubanzadio Luyaluka, 2009:12). Buakasa (1980:138-4) defines *kindoki* as a force, a power that can be used to protect or to destroy. This definition corresponds to the Makhuwa understanding of *okwhiri* [witchcraft] in North Mozambique. *Kindoki* is seen as secret knowledge owned only by the initiated, allowing a *ndoki* [witch] to access the other, nocturnal world—the world of dreams—in order to generate or to prevent evil. Kikongo chiefs from Bas-Congo (West DRC) explain that the eldest uncle of the family must be a strong *ndoki*, like the chief of a Makhuwa family or clan. Strong *okhwiri* is necessary to protect the family. This is the same power that the Lomwe/Makhuwa healers use for healing or divining. Biomedical doctors, nurses or Christian religious persons in both Congo and Mozambique claim that healers and diviners working in such contexts are not healers, but witches.

Main types of witchcraft

Community chiefs from Bas-Congo explain[161] the main types of witchcraft: "there is the *kindoki* [in Kikongo] protecting[162] the family. This is 'constructive' *kindoki*, while 'negative' *kindoki* destroys."[163]/[164] Chief Bungalo[165], a member of the Kimbangudist Christian Church, defines *kindoki* similar to how Makhuwa chiefs define *okhwiri*, while at the same time referencing a Christian notion of duality. Contrary to Chief Maluvane from South Mozambique, Chief Bungalo has no fear of employing the potentially 'positive' (benign, benevolent or constructive) dimensions of witchcraft:

> "*Kindoki* is satanic; it implies jealousy. However, there is also the *kindoki* allowing the chief of the community or the chief of the family to protect his family or community. Those chiefs must have the knowledge of *kindoki* in order to protect their family or their community. They cannot accept that some people come and destroy their people. The family chief protects his family to let it multiply. This is the *kindoki* that we want; we appreciate it here in Congo. When I see this type of *kindoki*, I buy it. However, there is also the *kindoki* that kills people by eating the vital force in their shadow, which is the satanic *kindoki* [associated with envy]. This happens with one's own brothers or with the people from one's own neighborhood" (interviews in 2011 – in Bas Congo in DR Congo).

Although involved in the Kimbangu Church, Chief Bungalo sees his chieftaincy practices as in accord with his ancestral legacy. Similar to the Christians in Ghana that Meyer (1999) describes, Chief Bungalo adjusts the Christian approach to his own (ancestral) requirements. He refers to witchcraft in terms of 'eating in the night'[166] (with a group) and 'eating' the members of one's own family, as it also appears in Mozambique.

Kikongo-speaking chiefs identify three sources of *kindoki*: through heredity (often unconscious), by buying (intentional), and by transmission ("jumping") from an initiated onto an uninitiated person. Chiefs in Bas-Congo consider *kindoki* a phenomenon that occurs among the living; it comes from conflicts that may lead to the destruction of human life. Protective *kindoki* [witchcraft][167]is practiced by an uncle, who must be initiated in order to protect his family; this type corresponds to the 'constructive' witchcraft of West (2005) and Geschiere (1997), or to the 'benign' or 'life-seeking' of Devisch (2005b). If a family member experiences problems, the uncle has not provided sufficient protection, and will have to assume responsibility for the misfortunes, diseases and deaths in the family. This is similar to the neighboring Kiyaka or Kisuku speakers[168]. Devisch describes *buloki* [witchcraft/sorcery] among the Yaka as the ability to bewitch (or 'eating commensally') as "inherited from birth, either by one's mother or maternal uncle". According to Devisch, "The uterine lineage describes bewitchment as a form of selfish eating or feeding from the blood of a consanguine. Bewitchment is portrayed as an oral drainage of forces, in a perversion of the family's basic web of sharing and commensality" (2005:380–381). The Kikongo-speakers, like the Kiyaka-speakers consider that witchcraft can be 'inherited.'[169]

Like *buloki* [witchcraft/sorcery] in neighboring Kwango, *kindoki* in Bas-Congo is framed similarly in all Mozambican Bantu-speaking cultures. *Kindoki* is associated with a wide range of conflict situations, dreams, desires or emotions: jealousy, envy, evil intentions, the evil eye, misfortune, bad luck, good luck, illness, chronic disease and death. Buakasa defines evil as an absence of life, as emptiness or something missing (1980:139). Dying, losing one's life is also a part of this "evil". Death is part of the human condition. Congolese and Mozambican notions of witchcraft therefore address issues of concern to all humans, framing them in their own ways. *Kindoki*, according to Bukasa, invokes accidents and all that is hated, envied or desired. Buakasa, like the Bas-Congo chiefs or notables and Kiyaka, Kisuku, Kipendele or Kikongo-speaking healers in Kwango, distinguishes two types of *kindoki*: *kindoki* by essence (inherited) and *kindoki* by *n-kis*i, using material intermediaries—objects to influence people. The latter corresponds in Mozambique to witchcraft that is 'done' or 'bought' intentionally and to Zande 'sorcery' (Evans-Pritchard 1976). *N-kisi* or *yiteki* [wooden statuettes or figurines] are, according to Buakasa (1980) and Devisch (2001, 2002a, 2002b), fed with menstrual blood or blood from birth, and using the nails, or hair of people who were 'eaten' (bewitched). These manipulated objects correspond to the strongest 'remedies,' as Congolese people often call "drugs" and which South Mozambican healers call '*gona*' (in Xirhonga) or, *nipako/mirece*

(in Emakhuwa/Elomwe) in the North.[170] Chiefs in Bas-Congo add a third type of witchcraft—*kindoki* that is transmitted through jumping from one person to another (unconsciously).

The 'verification' if 'witchcraft' is involved

Among the Kikongo, Yiyaka, Suku and other Congolese Bantu speakers, it is often necessary to verify whether a witch has caused a death. This verification is also necessary in cases of chronic, or unexplained diseases, which may also be provoked through human interventions (either willingly or unwillingly) by witchcraft independently if the source of the disorder also has a biological medical designation (for example HIV/AIDS). The verification (if witchcraft is involved in a death), is always done by a person recognized as able to communicate with the ancestors and other spirits.[171] This person must have the required authority and be able to 'see' (with a 'third eye' in Mozambique). This is usually a diviner in the Southwest DR Congo, or a "revealer"[172] [*mmbikudi*[173] in Kikongo] in a Christian context such as Independent, Kimbanguist, Pentecostal or Prophetic churches. Alternatively, a 'traditional' chief can identify witchcraft. Chiefs and notables of Bas-Congo explain that a connection between the living and the ancestors is necessary in order to identify and neutralize *kindoki*, but that sometimes people use ancestors (at a cemetery) to perform witchcraft.[174]

As in Mozambique, chiefs from Bas-Congo described the ancestors with the omnipresent ability to hear and see everything. This notion of omnipresence exists among all studied Bantu-speaking cultures. Assessor judges, assigned to mediate locally as members of communities in Bas-Congo, explain: "*Kindoki* exists between the living, but official justice does not recognize it as such, and makes it into a [legal] infraction; divination regarding *kindoki* is seen as slander [and may] lead to legal action."[175] Such contradictions between official and local views on law increase social tensions, and difficulties dealing with conflicts due to emotions, such as jealousy, envy, or to social inequalities. The judicial denial of the existence of witchcraft is perceived as absurd in Bantu-speaking societies. On the other hand, to deal through written law with conflicts framed as witchcraft is often seen as inadequate, as it neither treats the conflicts nor neutralizes the involved harmfulness (Chapter Six).

The transmission of 'kindoki'

Mr. Kalomba, Chief Bungalo's wisest counselor, describes transmission of *kindoki* through food:

> "For instance, when I am *ndoki* [witch], I cannot do it alone; I must search for partners for this *kindoki.* I need associates. This *kindoki* is given through food. You see these onions here; I take my 'spirit' and I put it in some onions that I prepare. I put my *kindoki* in the onions that you will eat and they will 'contaminate' you. It is through these onions that I come "in" you. Where you spend the night, I can take you and we will go together to the land of *kindoki*. There, like here, there are chiefs, there are kings, military—all the same categories of people just like we have during the day—it is the same model. This is *kindoki* by transmission."

This statement shows that *kindoki* is associated with the night and an inverted set of rules. *Kindoki* is, fundamentally a paradigm addressing individuality by inverting the rules of kin-based solidarity and

reciprocity[176]. Kalomba, noting that a witch doesn't act alone, refers to the pressure exerted by *ndoki* on their victims, who are trapped and feel obliged to participate in the destructive night-time 'eating':

> "An *ndoki* who is very intelligent during the night may not be at all during the day, just like wild animals. The *ndoki* during the night is more intelligent than an educated person is. There are two types of intelligence: natural intelligence and that of the *kindoki*. In the night, the *kindoki* has four eyes; two visible eyes and two invisible eyes allowing him to see everything in the body, just like a microscope. While the protective *kindoki* can be done during the day as much as in the night, there are also *ndoki* who can attack you in the night as much as during the day, transforming into a snake,[177] disappearing, or transforming into a car to hit somebody and disappear. They can act like that in daytime. An *ndoki* may come to the market to steal money without you seeing it. This is the reason why the chief of a family has to protect the members during the night as much as during the day. The *kindoki* of the chief of the family has only two eyes; but those working with the power of God and with the spirit of his ancestors show him all that happens in the night. Through such means, he may see what can happen to his family, showing him if there are some *ndoki* wishing to destroy, to 'eat', to 'kill' a member of his family—in this way the ancestors and God will show him everything."[178]

This description, switching between day and night frames and mixing ancestral with Christian frames, shows that the Christian belief in God doesn't hinder witchcraft. Further, the transmission of *kindoki* through food is not a physical transmission, but a spiritual one.[179] Such a transmission way [*vandussa*] initiating in *kindoki* is considered to be much more dangerous than any physical transmission.[180]

Third case study: hybrid treatments of 'witch' children in DR Congo

During the last twenty years, children accused of being *ndoki* have become a widespread phenomenon in cities and in East Congo (de Boeck 2000) where children were forced to participate in military or paramilitary actions. The same phenomenon currently occurs in rural areas such as Bas-Congo and seems to be grounded in rising poverty. The land has being sold out since colonial times (and until today) without compensating the population, which loses not only their ancestral places, which provide identity and means of subsistence.[181] At the same time, urbanization destroys social bonds within the families'.[182] The unending crises, the permanent and extreme states of impoverishment, may lead to a new solidarity, like the 'villagisation' observed by Devisch (1996b, 1999b, 2000) within a capital of Kinshasa, where ancestral approaches are combined with Christian religious and other 'modern' frames. The unending crisis leads, however, to the deterioration of endogenous rules of kinship, as described by Dilger (2010) in relation to the rise of HIV/AIDS, and is related to 'structural violence'[183] in general. Parents reject their children through *kindoki*—the "dark side of kinship" (see Geschiere 1997), while religious movements reproduce the occult while fighting it (Behrend 2009:32), increasing the number of marginalized children.[184]

Below, I illustrate hybrid use of ancestral frames mixed with Christian framings applied in a world full of unattainable wealth and desirable commodities. Children are currently often designated by family

members as '*ndoki'* –'children-witch'. On the basis of two children's narrative, I discuss the difference between the ancestral notion of 'speaking out' and of confessions framed as sin. I compare the hybrid approach of Mother Elalie, a healer in an isolated village, with the ancestral modes described above. I question whether this treatment frees the children of their suffering and of their stigma.

Gérard's story

Gérard[185] is eleven years old and very alert. I met him in Bas-Fleuve district, Bas-Congo (Western DRC). Mother Elalie, a small, elderly and handicapped woman treated him. As a handicapped child, Mother Elalie too had been seen as *ndoki* ['witch']. She discovered at age seven her ability to 'see'. The treatment of an *ndoki* child by Mother Elalie takes three to five months. The parents or relatives bring the children to her. Between fifty and eighty children, as well as a few mothers with their babies live with her in very modest conditions. All the children relate a personal history in which a family member was ill or died, or the father/mother remarried, usually in difficult economic circumstances. All of the *ndoki* accusations were made by kinsmen. Gérard explains the reasons for his treatment by Mother Elalie; his narration is a performance. He tells his story in a way that distances him from his own experiences, as though outside of himself; he speaks without intonation, as if by rote or like he is drugged (which he is not). His narrative must have been repeated several times before, during the 'speaking out' treatments given by Mother Elalie, in situations similar to confession, as I will discuss.

Mother Elalie shows my team the night-time treatment she gives the children, cleansing them with water[186] and giving them a drink with medicinal plants[187] after their 'confessions.' Mother Elalie explains that she 'sees' on the children's forehead whether they are *ndoki*, but she claims to be neither a diviner (following "ancestral" ways), nor a *mmbikudi* [*revealer* in Kikongo] following Christian ways. Her healing knowledge comes from God's 'Holy Spirit.' She is one of the many prophetic healers in sub-Saharan Africa.[188] Mother Elalie was once a member of a Christian church, but had bad experiences. While no longer a member of a Church, she is obviously influenced by her Christian as much as by endogenous 'ancestral' background. The treatments that she provides occurs in the evening, since *kindoki* is an issue 'of the night.' According to Mama Elalie, after two to four months, the children are treated.

In his narrative, Gérard tells of 'eating human meat at night' and of a world hopelessly poor, of maddening inequalities and of the irresolvable contradictions of 'modern' life. He tells of sex with a beautiful European woman, of inaccessible riches, a television, an airplane trip, money and cars. He speaks fast and without stopping to breathe. Here is a short excerpt from 2011:

> "When the three months were over after I ate the first human flesh, the president,[189] who sacrificed his father-in-law, then his mother-in-law, whom we have eaten: it was pork. Than the wife of the president gave…. her husband, whom we ate: this was a bull, which we ate during a month at nighttime. Mother Jolie sacrificed the child of my maternal uncle. This child, called Patricia, we ate her: Patricia was a rabbit. Pafiote gave her mother: she was a cow, which we ate during a month at nighttime. Mayi could steal his sister called Mamy: she

was a trout. We told her to give it over; she gave us her intelligence that we could use during the night. It was not a daytime intelligence. She gave us her head, which we used for the fire at night; we used her hair like the shell of palm nuts to set the fire. Brahanam gave the child of his mother, called Alfonse; we ate her: she was a chive. Cesar gave us the child borne by Fifi; we ate her. He took it from the belly of her mother. It was not bigger than a rat: it was easy to steal. Cesar sacrificed the child of his sister. Beki had nobody to give, but he gave his own testicles so that they could be used during the night as our bell. It was me who rang it. I had to be on the top of the village at the time of ringing. I came running [and] clung to the penis: the penis next to the testicles gave a sound like 'gong'. This sound signified that we were ready to eat human flesh. However, then it was my turn; they started asking me to give people.

'-You have to give us people, because you ate a lot of our flesh.'

I responded: 'Where should I find people to sacrifice?'

'- Give us, because you have enough to give from your family! Give your father.'

I refused.

'- Give your mother!'

I refused. They hit me during the night. We *ndoki* [witches], we are not hit with a whip, or with the fists or with the feet, but with an iron bar, which prevents losing human flesh. They hit me during the night. I saw that I was about to die, so I gave my paternal uncle, who was living in Konde-di-Yanga. We ate him: he was a very fat bull. We consumed him during a month. Those are the people that I killed before they brought me here to this treatment. They made a trap for him because I did not give my father, and I removed the trap, so that he would not die. They tried to oblige me to push my father to hit my mother and to kill her, but I refused. Our pots in the night are tomato conserves, which are not the same as the daytime pots: our pots are sanctified by our president. Our pestles differ from those of the day, they are cans of sardines. Our fields are the powder of bamboo trees. We have put a mirror on one end of avenue Kiba: all the money of the Kiba people is caught there, where the mirror is. We the *ndoki*, we don't take just a part of the money: we take it all. God forgives me, I did not want to do this. If I forgot something, the spirit helps me say it."

Gérard's narration[190] took one-and-a-half hours. In his phantasmagorical narration, the boundaries between day and night are blurred, as if this endless series of nighttime killing and sex were part of everyday life. The end shows a Christian 'confession' pattern, like all the narratives of the children treated by Mother Elalie.[191] Of the 52 children that I questioned, all had a relative either dead or ill, and were seen as *ndoki*, which was considered the 'real' explanation for the misfortune among their kin. Ascribing the source of disorders to children has little to do with 'ancestral' notions of *kindoki*, but is rather a perversion of them (see below). These children are sacrificed by their families.[192] Gérard's narrative shows how he appropriates the ambiguous ancestral connotations through his omnipotent phantasmagorical story.

Thomas' story

The father of fourteen-year-old Thomas was present and expressed his satisfaction with Mother Elalie's treatment of his son: "He is much better than in the past months, he has become 'beautiful' through the treatment". Thomas' story follows the usual pattern of transmission of *kindoki*, of the obligation following the inverted rules of reciprocity, of taboo transgression, and excessive sexual and material desires. An old man called Ngungu transmitted *kindoki* to Thomas.

While differentiating between tangible and intangible 'realities' more than Gérard, Thomas jumps back and forth from day to night constantly. Thomas differentiates the tangible from the intangible 'realities' more than Gérard. In a cemetery, he touches a ghost, a skeleton giving him and his *ndoki* 'family' extraordinary power. He tells of people appearing in public naked (a shocking transgression associated with *kindoki).* He has a daytime and nighttime intelligence. He eats from the 'rice of the other world', which is 'sand', and saves his brother from being 'eaten' by giving his own intelligence to the witches and by stealing money from his brother. The 'president' of his group of *ndoki* has a knife to cut human 'flesh' and a syringe to take the 'blood' of children at the entrance to the hospital. The 'president' transforms villages into cities and banana leaves into dollars. He finds for Thomas a very beautiful woman "who cannot possibly refuse him."[193] The 'president's' hotels are the cemeteries, and Thomas says that he can transform things through incantations into Boeing airplanes. Thomas may have picked up some of his story from the other children's narratives and 'confessions', mixing it with his own version. He finished his narration with the same formula as Gérard, asking God for forgiveness for his errors.

Both Thomas and Gérard describe their phantasms, wishes, and anxieties packed into stories that employ the ancestral framings of eating relatives and neighbors in the night, of having been unwillingly forced by a witch initiator. Through these narratives, the boys have access to the unattainable commodities of the rich, such as hotels and airplanes. Thomas reproduces an illusory world of mass media in a parody[194]; imitations of TV shows are mixed with Christian frames, combining frames of what is seen as part of 'modernity' with those of 'eating in the night' of *kindoki*.[195] The children's imaginaries in the *kindoki* paradigm allow them to integrate the multiple parallel worlds that surround them: the 'traditional' *ndoki* themes (Devisch 2005) (eating human flesh, stealing fertility) appear mixed with the *fata morgana* of illusory 'modernity'; material goods, fantastic adventures and sexual experiences become attainable through the imagination of the narrator. The framings are the same as in 'traditional' (ancestral) witchcraft accounts, simply actualized through 'modern' technology and symbols of wealth. In the above describe context I see some effects of the loss of kinship relations in current times of permanent crises and of economic uncertainty, which, however, do not always imply loss of ancestral-spirit ideas, although, the latter are easily weakened. In Bas-Congo, ancestors remain inalienable entities regarded as necessary to achieve wellbeing.

One may also argue in this context that ancestors act as invisible *transitional objects* (Winnicott 1953, 1971) as "first not-me objects"[196]. *Transitional objects* facilitate the transition from the omnipotent

feeling of the child/person and provide a capacity to relate to the others (which Winnicott relates to "objectively perceived" objects[197]). This concept of Winnicott deals with situations in which fantasy and reality overlap; according to Winnicott, the involved attunement gives the child opportunity to stay with his fantasy, illusion, and hallucination of creating the external, while paradoxically allowing the infant to de-illusion. However, in the application of this concept to the studied cultural context, ancestors are regarded neither as fantasy nor as illusion or hallucination. They are an inherent and necessary part of the social world of the living; simultaneously, they allow the living to create to a certain extent an external space, although the ancestors are strongly internalized entities e.g. through the ancestor giving the name of a person. The relative externality at stake supports the living to deal with life's imponderability; they provide an omnipresent moral/ethical instance, helpful in many life situations (see Chapter One).

Devisch (2005b:379) argues, using the concept of deterriotorialization of Deleuze and Guattari (1987:250) that "Witches sense out emotional and sensual lines of flight to "deterritorialize" themselves into a line of self-empowering (or, possibly, annihilation) maleficent witchcraft." The "deterritorization" through the imagination of Gérard and Thomas is doubled, given that their imaginary worlds are those of adult men, not what I would consider usual in an eleven or fourteen-year-old male child. These children are robbed of childhood; they exist in a world full of poverty, unattainable but visible wealth, inequalities and anxieties. Childhood is lived in an imaginary world, saturated with adult desires for inaccessible persons and things, what Chagga of Tanzania call *tamaa* –meaning desire– (Setel 1999:58-64), a new paradigm of 'modernity.'[198] *Tamaa* changes personal circumstances and is based on a new set of values and personal ambitions for 'a better life.' *Tamaa* expresses a cultural commitment to an external economy, which "has been exacerbated by economic decline" (Setel 1999:63). Like *tamaa*, the phantasms in children's narratives from Bas-Congo express the inattainability of their desires.

Children *ndoki* are not part of the 'ancestral' frame in DR Congo; they constitute a new and unusual version of *kindoki*, a version that applies yet perverts ancestral frames. According to Kongo tradition, the *kindoki* paradigm doesn't apply to children. Geschiere (2006:52-61) describes *ekong* [witchcraft using zombies] as another new version of witchcraft in Cameroon, which bears some similarities to *ndoki*-children in DR Congo. *Ekong* involves 'killing' and 'selling' people to have them work at night, to make other people rich, in what is apparently a market-type economy. *Ekong* involves capitalist enterprise, an adaptation of the ancestral frames of "eating at night" and "stealing from the neighbor's field". However, perhaps "selling people" in order to make them work as zombies is not so new; it is a frame that recalls colonial-era slavery, in which people were sold to work on plantation. Igreja (2003, 2006, 2008) and Honwana (2003) describe the emergence of new kinds of spirits after wars in Mozambique and demonstrate how the rich imaginary is mobilized to deal with violent traumas. In a similar way, the imaginary mobilized through *kindoki* deals with inaccessible wealth, the origin of which cannot be explained, if not as the work of zombies (*ekong* in Cameroon) or through 'eating in

the night'. Such dynamic and fluid adjustments of frames also appear in the narratives of *ndoki* children in DR Congo. Among both *ekong* and *ndoki* children, an inverted form of kinship is central to the night-time world. The imaginative narratives of the children involved in Mother Elalie's treatments are like those of the Camerooner *ekong*: "frightening and fascinating, (…) [an] unbounded witchcraft-world" (Geschiere 2006:61). The latter links the local reality of the family to the global reality and produces the illusion of having access to the 'free' market economy, speaking of their "chief" of their "society of the night" using airplanes, TVs and other commodities to which these children and their families have little or no access. Geschiere notes: "This special capacity to relate – or even to articulate – what in the jargon of modern social science is termed the "micro" and the "macro" might be the secret for [the] continuing resilience [of witchcraft]" (2006:61). I suggest that this capacity recalls the 'secret' but broadly shared notion among healers that mixtures of all kinds are 'hot' and have the powerful potential to induce transformations.[199] The issue illustrates also the later discussed versatility of this paradigm: to have power implies to produce 'hot' mixtures, but at the same time, children producing (verbally) extremely 'hot' mixtures (in their narratives) can only be *ndoki*.

In Thomas's narration, being rich, having a beautiful wife, two basic male desires, mix with the fear of witches and the subliminal desire to share their power. Feelings of guilt also appear. In seeking an explanation for rejection by the family, Western psychologists find feelings of guilt among children in industrial societies whose parents are separated or whose parents are dead (Grinsberg 1992). 'Eating bewitched flesh' and being forced to 'give' one's relatives are expressions of similar feelings of guilt. However, the formulaic and manly ritualized statement at the end of the narratives of Gérard and Thomas—"God forgives me, I did not want to do this"—led to the question if this shows an evidence of the feelings of guilt of these children. Some of these children show obvious and strong talents (e.g. intelligence); in this case, they do not appear broken, telling their story with pride. Those children who make an impression of being broken and ill, are - as the weakest part of society - marginalized and expelled from their community (family). They are "made" to those who are presumed to have provoked the death or disease of their relatives; however, in their phantasmagorical narratives, the children's desperate resistance to giving up their relatives to be eaten, does not only reflects the violence and the destruction they are exposed to. It also reflects the virulence of this paradigm. Using this paradigm of *kindoki* in which their relatives wedged them, at the end of their narratives they must yield, since the rules of reciprocity are as valid at night as in daytime, although in an inverted or perverted way. The usual rule of reciprocity is perverted in the *ndoki* obligation to "give" (to "kill") the shades of relatives. The obligation occurs after having "eaten" from the "flesh" of people "given" by other members of a secret group of *ndoki*. Finally, Thomas narrates the children's exposure to power through the president of the group of *ndoki*. The children share the 'president's' omnipotence. Like the president of the state, the *ndoki* president has money, hotels, airplanes and women. Faced with the incomprehensible rejection by their families, in their phantasmagorical narratives the children still want to protect their relatives. However, the capitalist value of individual enrichment succeeds

against traditional kinship solidarity by obliging children to 'give' relatives to be 'eaten' and by allowing the 'president's' boundless accumulation of wealth. In a traditional setting, the chief is the only person allowed to accumulate wealth, with the understanding that he will redistribute it in case of need. In such hybrid phantasmagorical discourses, it is unclear which values finally prevail; the boundaries between traditional values and modernity seem to blur. The use of "modern" technologies such as TVs or airplanes may suggest greater hybridity than there actually is. The "ancestral" notion of *kindoki* is actualized in *ndoki* narratives in which modern goods may feature, expressing the growing inequalities that burst the people's relations in clan and communities, which are confronted with an expending wild capitalism.

The bivalent approach of kindoki in the endogenous ancestral mode

Among the Koongo in Bas-Congo, improper behavior is framed in two basic 'ancestral' paradigms: either through *nsiku* [ancestral taboos] or *kindoki* [witchcraft]. In Chapter Three, I showed that the ancestral approach[200] to taboo transgression involved no simple dualism of right versus wrong (Behrend 1997:171), and no personal 'guilt' or 'sin'. The same is true for the ancestral approach to witchcraft, which associates it with excessive individuality. Strongly individualist behavior, either constructive or destructive, is easily framed as *kindoki*. Contrary to the Christian approach to witchcraft, *kindoki* is not automatically harmful; it can be protective, or associated with wisdom or success in life.[201] When it is harmful, it can be neutralized.[202]

Structural responsibility for restoration of the disturbed social order

In ancestral frames, *kindoki* [witchcraft in Kikongo] or any other disorder related to health or misfortune, finding the 'real' cause is in the primary concern. 'Real' causes belong to the spheres of influence of the ancestors or other spiritual beings, or are related to the realm of the night (dominated by emotions, anxieties, dreams). Such an approach is contrary to the position of sin 'inside' the consciousness or will of the individual. In the Koongo social and cultural context, in disorders related to *kindoki*, causation resides in the lineage of the bewitched person. In other words, in the matrilineal clan context in Bas-Congo, bewitchment is in general associated with the maternal uncle, the one who is responsible for the protection of members of the clan as a leader in the kin group (Buakasa 1980: 147, 149).[203] When the maternal uncle acknowledges the cause of deaths in the clan, due to his *kindoki*,[204] no one will blame him. On the contrary, all involved are fully satisfied by his acknowledgment. By taking upon himself harmful *kindoki*, the maternal uncle recognizes the social tensions for which he is structurally responsible, and facilitates their proper treatment and neutralization. 'Speaking out' (in the ancestral mode often framed as 'imposed consent'[205]) may appear as 'confession', but it is more a ritualized recognition of the social nature of the tensions and allows treatment of the disturbance among the involved family members, reestablishing social balance and peace. 'Speaking out" is not an individual confession; nor is it framed as 'sin.'

Nfunguna, 'speaking from the heart' framing

In order to analyze the narratives of the *ndoki* children, I discuss the syncretism operative in treatments using 'confessing' frames, like those of Mother Elalie.

Buakasa's (1980: 269) analyses of *kindoki* correspond to the current explanations given by chiefs and notables in Bas-Congo in 2011–2012. Buakasa shows that neutralization of harmful *kindoki* may involve *nfunguna*, which he glosses as 'confession', but which linguists translate as 'speaking out'.[206] *Nfunguna* [to say out loud in Kikongo] is only used in extreme situations, such as chronic illness, bewitchment, bad luck, or initiation to *kindoki*. According to Buakasa, *nfunguna* must involve everything that members of the family of the sick person, the victim of *kindoki*, keep inside themselves. *Nfunguna* is therefore not the suffering person speaking out, but rather those surrounding the sufferer must 'speak out' all their bad intentions, any 'black ideas' related to the sick person. Because illness is caused by the bad or 'black' thoughts of members of the lineage, its neutralization requires them to desist and publicly 'speak from the heart' (see also Stroeken 2010). 'Speaking out' happens just one time; after that, you must not 'look back', because that would revive the transgression. The involved person should never again speak about the issue. The idea is that any mention keeps it alive, just as evoking the ancestors keeps them alive as living-dead (Colson 2006)

According to the logic of *nfunguna*, illness will not end if kin relationships are unsound. However, members of the lineage have the ability to reinstate healthy social relations in the family by willingly handing over the patient to the healer. It is only under such conditions that the healer will be able "to fight with his own *n-kisi* [prepared objects] against the *ndoki* and defeat him".[207] As Buakasa has observed, the healer requires the *nfunguna* 'speaking out' (which Buakasa translates as 'confession') from all the lineage members in order to heal the patient. Buakasa does not speak of individual guilt, but rather the importance of hearing the bad intentions and thoughts of *all* the family members of the ill person. *Nfunguna* has little to do with the notion of confession related to individual sin and to personal responsibility in a Christian or legal context. The focus is on rebalancing the kin relationships, in the sense of a "truth-on-balance" in the face of uncertainties and contingencies in town and countryside (Werbner 2001)[208]. Given that the quality of the interdependent persons' relations defines the moral and ethics, "truth" is negotiated in a search that balances people's relations in securing best peace and wellbeing. Divination provides explanation (Stroeken 2004); wellbeing and peace require a truth able to reweave the persons' relations (Devisch 1993a).

The individual and the notion of 'sin'

In many former colonial states in Africa, the notion individual was promoted through the imposition of European law. The 'individual' exists in contradistinction to endogenous ancestral approaches that associate individuality with witchcraft. In many forms of modern, Protestant Christianity, each person is responsible for his or her behavior, unable to attribute wrongdoing to spirits, ancestors, or witches. In the endogenous ancestral tradition, the cause of problems is often lack of respect towards ancestors. Forgetting ancestors or breaking their prohibitions may cause misfortune or disease, when the

ancestors respond by sanctioning the transgressing persons or the people around them[209]. Taboo transgressions (Chapter Three) are highly inter-subjective and socially framed; they nearly always involve more than just the suffering person. Witchcraft, in contrast, is the most individualized frame that I identified in the studied cultures,- albeit it is at the same time the paradigm that most frames the obligations of reciprocity in the group. Taboo transgression doesn't involve just the individual: problems are most often related to circumstances beyond the individual[210] and usually involve at least two persons in their strong interdependency; individual 'responsibility' is a concept relatively foreign to ancestral frames (though it has been promoted by Christianity since the colonial occupation). Individuality is traditionally framed as witchcraft, a paradigm that generates strong social pressure. Healers, diviners, and chiefs—who are all initiated in (and feared for) their secret knowledge (framed as *vuloyi,*[211]*okwhiri,*[212] *nipako,*[213]*kindoki*[214] witchcraft)—are the only persons expected to behave as individualists.
Contrary to the interdependent approaches usual in the Bantu-cultural context, Christianity and Islam introduced the notion of individual 'sin' in sub-Saharan Africa. 'Sin' internalizes guilt and relies on the idea of an individual with free will. In Congo and Mozambique, Catholic, Protestant and evangelical approaches (e.g., Pentecostal or Kimbanguist) encouraged confession[215] to free the individual from internalized guilt framed as sin, which in certain cases may have liberating therapeutic results, albeit at the cost of imprisoning the person in a "diabolic responsibility" (Zempleni 1975:213)[216]. Augé (1975: 230) has argued, like Ortigues and Ortigues (1966) that African societies, following the logic of respecting the eldest, employ "persecutory models" by which ancestors or 'bad' spirits pursue the living. Stroeken, however, suggests that 'ritualized persecution' may be 'therapeutic' (2012:210)[217], an observation confirmed in Mozambique by the descriptions of the healing power of spirits (see Honwana 2002, 2003; Kotanyi 2003a, Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008).

Confession—and forgiveness—might be perceived as liberation from endless obligations to ancestors or spirits. This is one argument that explains conversions to Christianity in Mozambique and DR Congo. However, the issue is complex, because the dominant socio-cultural frames associates individuality with witchcraft. Christianized people, who are at the same time grounded in their own ancestral traditions, may be torn between two approaches that are so partially contradictory. Practice of *nfunguna* 'speaking out' brings relief for the suffering person, deconstructing the individualization of *kindoki* by involving several other people, - this dilutes the duality between a presumed "witch" and a suffering bewitched person. *Nfunguna* avoids stigma since the people around the suffering person recognize their own "bad" intentions or how they contributed to the problem. In the "ancestral" frame, "speaking out" facilitates resolution among all those involved and limits individual culpability. Confession in the Christian context has greater potential for stigma, since it is public or semi-public, and connoted with individual guilt through "sin". In its focus on individual responsibility, confession reinforces the individualization implied in *kindoki*. However, confession leads to forgiveness, while in a legal context, it leads to punishment, which is obviated in "ancestral" ways and frames.

Confession and notions of evil in Christianity and Islam

Of three palavers I filmed in 2011 in Bas-Congo involving children accusing adults of bewitching them, two achieved reconciliation of without any 'confessions' from the children and applied 'ancestral' frames in a syncretic way. The 'diagnosis' that related these children to *kindoki* came from 'revealers'[218] belonging to prophetic churches or movements. Some of the parents of the affected children used their services for the treatment, or sought other types of treatment for the children. There are multiple and complex syncretic possibilities for the treatment of witchcraft. In Bas-Congo, all kinds of Kimbanguist, Evangelist, Pentecostal, and independent prophets or pastors act as 'revelators'; they are socially recognized as religiously grounded 'healers'. Some parents seek treatment from Catholic priests.[219] In such a hybrid context, the healing practices of Mother Elalie combine ancestral frames with those of the surrounding Christianized world.[220]

Colonists and missionaries in Congo, as in Mozambique, introduced in both countries to the dichotomous Christian approach to evil.[221]/[222] Several versions of Christianity in DR Congo and Mozambique (First) vilify witchcraft, reducing it to just badness, (Second) introduce an individualized notion of sin and guilt, and provoke social stigma in which 'confessions' are made in public at church or on TV). (Third) The history of witch-hunting in Europe influenced the handling of witchcraft by Christian churches and prophetic movements in Africa and led to significant stigma (in colonial times (Behrend 1993, 2011; Meyer 1999; Langwick 2011) as well as in post-colonial times, Behrend 2009).

Christian approaches (as often practiced in DR Congo) see God as absolutely good. Many emotions, desires, and conflicts expressed through *kindoki* [witchcraft in Kikongo] are framed as 'evil' and are associated with individual sin. Such Christian views appear in the narratives of the *ndoki* children. I suggest that the narratives of *ndoki* children correspond to a kind of semi-public 'confession' as is found in Christian frames. These confessions are not *nfunguna* [speaking out] in which all the members of the kin group are involved. The individualized narratives of the children appear to concern their personal 'sins' and badness (although their narratives concern the night-world of dreams). Their semi-public 'confessions' creates, out of the night phantasms, nearly tangible realities through repetition. The children hear several versions of *kindoki* 'stories'; influenced by the other narratives, the children construct their own versions, making a very concrete reality of *kindoki* through their own and commonly shared imaginaries. All follow the same pattern. Hearing each other during their common treatment sessions, the children use the same frames to construct their 'identities' in a sea of transgressions. The children's narratives make *kindoki* a reality, created and reinforced witchcraft through the repetitions of public 'confessions' (Behrend 2009).

The individualized narratives of the children do not mobilize members of the kin group; there is no process of mediation leading to reconciliation, as it would in an ancestral approach. In Kwango and Bas-Congo the divination occurs in public, at daytime, while in Mozambique it is mostly private, but the patient is never left alone. Most often, he (or she) is accompanied by relatives who speak for the

patient. The oracle, supported by the relatives' testimony, provides the third participant[223] breaking the polarization of victim and *ndoki* (Devisch 1996a, 2012). The embodied performance of the *ngaanga ngoombu* [mediumistic healer in Kiyaka] during the treatment thus creates a third space in which to dissolve the social and emotional tensions.[224] In-depth analysis of divination practices is not possible here. However, during the divination sessions that I observed, especially in South Mozambique, several spirits were embodied in the healer and questioned the participating family members. This procedure creates a very efficient third intermediary participant that Bhabha (1990a/b) calls a "third space" (a "between two") that allows family conflicts to be at least treated if not resolved.
In addition, through the treatment of Mother Elalie, family members do not 'speak from the heart,' reporting their own 'bad thoughts and black ideas' (Buakasa 1980:269) towards the children. On the contrary, in their narratives, the children take upon themselves (like Jesus Christ), the burden of the social, economic and moral disorder in the family. The adults do not assume responsibility for the children they brought into the world; they make the children responsible for their own fear of death or of illness and for their economic limitations. The children, as mediums, express through their own violent dreams the wishes, conflicts and desires of the adults in a language of adults. The wishes of the adults become the children's phantasms. At the same time, in the mix of ancestral 'imposed consent' and Christian confessions of sin, there is the widespread notion that to recognize involvement in *kindoki* [witchcraft in Kikongo] allows social forgiveness.[225] Echoing these perverted uses, the surrounding adult world transforms the victim children into perpetrators through semi or fully public 'confessions'. The narratives of the children are similar to the kinds of confessions made in several Pentecostal, independent, and charismatic or prophetic churches. Fears, emotions, and desires expressed in the day and night-time world of dreams or fantasies become tangible realities. The hysteria surrounding *ndoki* children may even lead to the idea that the official legal system may be able to deal with the intangible and uncanny world (see Geschiere 2006a, 2006b, 2013).[226]

In endogenous traditions, the notion of evil is for the intangible world not predominant like it is the case in the Christian or Islamic approaches. The intangible world is connected with the ancestors, as strong moral and ethical references; they are not devils, as they are framed in Christian views.[227] Similarly, Islamized Makhuwa healers in North Mozambique speak of 'Satan', when describing the 'bad' effects of the disturbing *maciini*[228] [foreign spirits], by which they are possessed; these spirits embody disorders all kinds. Christianity and Islam introduced dual and dichotomizing notions of evil vs. good, which is part of the 'invention' of Africa (Mudimbe 1988)—the construction of a Christianized or Islamized view of religions of the books on African cultures and religions (Behrend 1997, 2011; Meyer 1998,1999; Langwick 2011). As described previously, non-ancestral 'spirits' are perceived as the unquiet dead, who seek revenge for their 'bad' deaths (through violence or improper burial). My informants suggest that such beings are not bad, but rather ambivalent. They can produce suffering but they can also help divine or heal[229]. Healers assert that they receive from such beings

their knowledge and ability to divine[230] or heal, even if they speak from ('bad') 'foreign spirits.'[231] Such beings are not reducible to simply 'evil.'

Does Mother Elalie's treatment liberate the children from suffering?

Although Mother Elalie does not demonize the children, who she sees as suffering and requiring treatment, it is questionable how many children she frees from their persecuting and obsessive phantasms, though she seems to have the best intentions.[232] Mother Elalie provides a few stigma-free months for the children. But when they return home, the children encounter the same family members who provoked the witchcraft accusations in the first place. These family members are rarely directly involved in their treatment, therefore it does not secure the social reintegration of the children.[233] The factors limiting the efficacy (neutralization of harm) of the treatment given by Mother Elalie illustrate, what is involved in witchcraft framed as *kindoki*.

First, as a social construction, *kindoki* [witchcraft in Kikongo] emerges through rumors (see Geschiere 1995, 2001) that affect the *social body*, whose tensions are embodied in the bewitched person. Its deconstruction therefore requires a social arena, minimally involving close kin. In *nfunguna* [speaking out in Kikongo], in the ancestral approach, it is the kin group members surrounding the children who should 'speak out' all their 'bad' thoughts towards the children accused as *ndoki* [witch]. Alternatively, in the "ancestral way" (as it is currently practiced in neighboring Kwango), it would be the person with the strongest social position in the family (usually the eldest uncle), who would assume the position of the *ndoki*, thereby identifying the conflicts to be dealt with. The most important point is that healers or diviners are not treating individuals, but rather are concerned with reweaving social relationships. By providing a ritual framework, the healers and diviners are (re)constructing the boundaries between the living and the dead, and between the day and night worlds. However, treatment by Mother Elalie does not accomplish this restoration of boundaries.[234] Approaches focused on individuals, such as *ndoki*-child involved in individual 'confessions', do not occur in the framework of the family/community, and therefore cannot neutralize the socially grounded harm.

Second, in their narratives, the children permanently transgress the most sensitive *n-siku* [taboo]: killing, stealing, having sex as a child, eating organs (including sexual organs) of people. In the Bantu ancestral approach, as in the Christian one, any thought or speaking out is like the action itself. The repeated 'confessions' invigorate the violent fantasies, instead of helping the children to get rid of them.

Third, Mother Elalie, like many prophetic healers in sub-Saharan Africa[235] attributes her healing powers to a divine intermediary (God or the Holy Spirit), both of which involve Christian moralizing frames of guilt and sin. A diviner [*ngaanga ngoombu*] in the neighboring Kwango district acts as mediator between the day and night worlds[236], without using Christian moralizing frames. The *ngaanga ngoombu* during the oracle, and the following treatment, overcomes the polarizing positions of victim versus *ndoki* [witch]. The healer might use a chicken[237] as an intermediary to extract the remaining harm, as did the Makhuwa healers Horácio and the Yaka healer Pointe Noire.[238] Like

Devisch's (1986:131) descriptions for Kwango (2010) and my observations in Nampula (1999), and according to informants in Central Mozambique, diviners and healers neither search for witches, nor name them.[239] Mother Elalie, too, avoids stigmatizing witches, whom she does not identify. And she does not see *kindok*i by children as evil, but rather as requiring treatment. However, her hybrid treatment (combining ancestral with Christian frames) does not neutralize the harmful *kindoki*. That is, the *kindoki* is not extracted, sent back or untied; the child is cleansed, but not protected.
Fourth, in spite of distancing herself from the Christian churches, Mother Elalie's healing methods are rather similar to public confession at church and on television. Due to the problematic use of semi-public individual confession-like frames, her hybrid ancestral/Christian approach involves very diffuse notions of personal 'guilt'. The same formula at the end of the narratives of the children illustrates a common Christian pattern: "*May God forgive me; it was not my will, but the will of those living with us*." This formula involves a request for forgiveness (with implications of sin and individual guilt), but also denies that the child was willingly involved in *kindoki.* This formula demonstrates how the children are wedged between ancestral and Christian frames, rejecting individual guilt while at the same time asking forgiveness.

The hybrid treatment of Mother Elalie is just one example among many Christian approaches.[240] Analysis of her healing approach shows that the combined frames are incompatible, often hindering effective healing. The children that she treats—more than 70 between ages 6 and 20—tell what appear to be individual stories about being *ndoki*; the stories appear to be learned by heart. This did not appear as directly imposed by the healer Mother Elalie who combines ancestral and Christian frames. But in her healing sessions in the night by which all the patients may participate (sharing all the limited space of the compound of the healer, a place without electricity) imply that the children repeatedly hear narratives of those that are treated. I did not see in which situations the children had opportunities to tell their narratives before, but in the way the children told me the reason why they were in treatment, appeared partly in a somehow "trained" way. This may derive from repetitions of their own narratives and/or because they heard so many similar stories from their peers. The narrative of each child, addressed to me as a researcher, was an individual 'performance', but in their stereotyped narrations, the children have very limited space for personal choices (De Boeck 2002). It is relevant that any kind of confession produced more detailed knowledge about witches and cannibals, leading to a further proliferation and differentiation of the cannibal discourse and gave additional proof of the reality of occult forces, as Behrend (2009:43) argues in her analysis of Catholic fundamentalist witch-hunting in Uganda. The healing place of Mother Elalie (like the witch-hunting Catholic churches in Uganda) became places of transmission (of knowledge) and 'contagion'. In their phantasmagorical narratives, repeated in a confessional style, the children permanently transgress (in words and thoughts) the most sensitive *n-siku* [taboo]: 'killing', 'stealing', having sex as a child, having sex as a younger person with an older one and an adult, 'eating organs and sexual organs of people'.[241] The children's difficulties in separating the realm of the night from that of the day (in their

narratives) illustrate the limitations of a treatment that keeps alive these phantasms. In the Bantu context, any thought –or speaking out– is like the action itself. Only those few children, like Thomas, whose father attempted to reintegrate his child, seem to have a chance of healing. The other children, isolated from their relatives, miss the required socially grounded treatment.

In summary, Mother Elalie's treatments against harmful *kindoki* do not neutralize harm as effectively as do the currently applied 'ancestral' approaches of healers like Horácio or Point Noire. This occurs for three reasons: (First) because those who accused the children are not involved in their healing. (Second) because Mother Elalie's plant-based treatments (washing and drinking) and confession neither untie nor send back the *kindoki* or ritually extract the unwilling *ndoki* from the bewitchment and don't protect the children from future attacks. (Third) mixing the notion of *kindoki* with Christian notions of 'sin' individualizes the harm and creates pressures to confess (semi-publicly), remembering and giving life to the phantasms, without banishing them.[242]

A parody of 'modernity' and structural violence

The narratives of the *ndoki* children are a hybrid cocktail of 'traditional' *kindoki* frames—'eating relatives'—and a parody of 'modernity' (Devisch 2011:367-404), mixing fear, transgression, (structural) violence, death, and sexuality together in a sensual and embodied process (Devisch 2002a). The children's narratives recall the practices of the *Mpweve ya Nlongo* Church in Kinshasa, in which Devisch sees "the creation of a critically lucid junction between different cultural horizons from the village to the urban society in the throes of globalization" (2011:399). While Devisch writes of a "critically lucid junction" of 'parodied modernity', the narratives of the *ndoki* children contain mostly unfulfilled and obsessive desires. The children express the daytime phantasies of the adults in the (inverted) language of the night,[243] evoking a transgressive and sexualized world, characterized by unreachable but visible material wealth. Devereux (1996) has demonstrated that dreams are framed in the dreamer's socio-cultural norms.[244] At the same time, phantasms are an echo of the daydreams. In this sense, the 'confessional' narratives of the *kindoki* [witchcraft] phantasms of the children "eating" their relatives reflect the perversions of the world in which they live—a world that mixes multiple realities, producing simultaneous, coexistent and parallel versions of "modernity"[245], in which various "modes of existence" (Latour 2012) clash. In Bas-Congo the lively 'endogenous ancestral'[246] practices are mixed with other religious, administrative and legal paradigms. The 'mode of existence' based on reciprocity and redistribution of limited wealth is incompatible with a liberal market economy, in which wealth is possible only for a minority. This incompatibility generates perversions like children designated as *ndoki*, who are victims of structural violence.

Anthropological views of hybrid frames of 'witchcraft' in sub-Saharan Africa

While Devisch (2011:399, 1994, 2000, 2003) describes the stigmatizing methods usual in charismatic churches in Kinshasa, Behrend (2001:43) shows how they promote the notion of occult forces in Uganda. Devisch (1995, 1996b, 1998, 2011), Fancello (2008), Meyer (1999, 2002), and Tonga (2002, 2008) describe the perversion of witchcraft in a demonizing (mostly Christian) interpretation. Devisch

(1996b, 1996c, 2001, 2002, 2011) denounces the reduction of witchcraft to a dichotomy that lacks a third, neutralizing dimension. Christians argue that confession implies the possibility of ‘repentance’ and forgiveness. However, Behrend (2009) notes that Christian frames tend to produce stigmata: the people ‘confessing’ *kindoki* in a public or semi-public context remain suspect and will be the first targets for future accusations. The confession did not neutralize the ‘witchcraft’, but concentrated it on certain individuals. In the prophetic churches in Kinshasa, described by Devisch, the prophet alone identifies[247] which aspect prevails – and I add that this occurs without the active involvement of the kin as is usual in *nfunguna* [speaking out], which could promote reconciliation and neutralize harm.
Behrend argues, however, that cleansing after confession actually does provide relief in the Catholic framework of her study in Uganda, which may correspond to Devisch’s (2011) descriptions of how the use of water during healing sessions may reduce suffering. Christian charismatic healing sessions of ‘exorcism’ extracting the ‘satanic’ or ‘evil spirit’ may provide some relief from the anxieties or suffering of the patients and of the involved family or community members. According to Behrend (2009:42), Catholic fundamentalist ‘healing’ facilitates reintegration in the community (although the stigma remains). Taty Kuketuka reports that in Kinshasa, after public or semi-public confessions in Pentecostal churches, stigma remains.[248] It is the stigma of being marked individually by the “guilt” of the publicly confessed “sin”. The conflicts and tensions among family or community members are not addressed, and the forgiveness promised by Christianity cannot alone prevent that confession reinforces individualization processes through its implied insistence on individual responsibility. The latter is easily misunderstood in certain misinterpretations of ‘witchcraft,’ like that of the anthropologist Laidlaw (2014). He interprets in such a notion an “attribution of responsibility” by re-interpreting Evan-Pritchard’s (1937) discussion of witchcraft among the Azande for his own construction of new theories of ethical anthropology. From the paradigm of ‘witchcraft’ discussed by the Azande, Laidlaw derives a notion of “responsibility” which seems close to notions of ‘individual responsibility’ that are not necessarily at stake in the ‘ancestral’ framing of the so-called ‘witchcraft’ paradigm in such social and cultural Bantu-speaking contexts (Central and East Africa)[249].
In another way, churches produce individualization (and stigma) through assignation of sin (Behrend 2009). Stigma is reinforced in the dichotomous approach usual today on Christian private TV channels financed by U.S. churches, which regularly broadcast public ‘confessions’ of witches following Christian views of personal guilt, instead to locate the disorder in the social body and to seek mediation and perhaps reconciliation. As chiefs and notables argue, such approaches miss adequate means to neutralize the harmfulness at stake (the intrusion) without generating stigma. A public use of confession generates individual stigma, given that members of the kin group are not ‘speaking out’ reciprocally, not sharing the weight of the conflicts and not seeking *truth-on-balance*. Such confessions cannot lead to restoration of the social balance stated by Werbner (2001).
Along the same lines, Igreja (2013) discusses the practice of ‘surrender’ in a hybrid use of the ‘eating in the night’ frame: he describes how in Central Mozambique in 2009 a leader of the national healer

organization (motivated by personal and political interests), manipulated the post-colonial administration through his/her misunderstanding of socio-cultural paradigms. Igreja (2013:23) shows that a similar confessional frame is currently activated by healers in so-called traditional approaches of *uroi* [witches] in Gorongoza (Central Mozambique), framed as a cultural practice named *tchitso* [to surrender], which according to Igreja is used as a 'practical rationality' (Obeyesekere 1992) by exaggerating their confessions with surreal claims of their witchcraft abilities. Igreja explains that *tchitso* means to surrender by accepting culpability, even if allegedly innocent, in the face of unbearable pressures. *Tchitso* [to surrender] recalls the endogenous frames described above of structurally assumed responsibility within the kin group and the 'speaking from the heart' (*nfunguma*) in Bas-Congo, or what Devisch calls 'imposed consent'. Igreja considers that individual 'confession' is not part of 'ancestral' approaches to witchcraft in Bantu-speaking cultures in Mozambique. Political interests may lead to misuse of confession's similar frame. *Tchitso* as described by Igreja (2014) is no longer embedded in any kin structure; it is misused to promote personal and/or political interests.

There are multiple hybrid versions of approaches to witchcraft involving individual confession and cleansing in prophetic charismatic churches in sub-Saharan Africa that dichotomize *okwhiri, buloki* and similar notions of "witchcraft". Some scholars (e.g. Dilger 2005, 2009, 20210; van Dijk 2001 2006), emphasizing the role of new transnational religious movements, insist on their use of and engagement with local traditions (Dijk, 2006:122). However, such authors (like Pfeiffer 2002, 2006, for Mozambique) tend to neglect the resilience of 'ancestral ways' described in this study and by many authors. See e.g. Janzen 1992; Beidelman 1993 1997; Willis, Chisanga, Sikazwe and Nanyangwe 1999; Schuessler (2001); Werbner 2001; Van Binsbergen 2002, 2001; Honwana (2002, 2003), Himua 2003; Igreja (2003, 2006, 2008, 2014, 2015); Meneses (2003, 2004, 2006, 2008); West 2005a; Bagnol 2006; Dauphin-Tinturier 2005; Niehaus (2001, 2007); Sanders (2001, 2003, 2008); Devisch (nearly in all his quoted writing), Stroeken 2010 and Wreford 2008a/b, or Nzundu 2012. Hybrid modernity theories (following Bhabha 1994) seem to imply that because all approaches are hybrid, it makes no sense to discuss 'ancestral' frames. I discuss later (in Chapter Seven) the continuity with changes involved. Any idea of "pure" ancestral ways is absurd amidst cultural multiple contacts; this does not prevent people from referencing them or combining them with other frames. Many of my informants (healer, diviners, notables or chiefs) differentiate between the different paradigms at work, showing their often divergent objectives, results, and values. Such a differentiation is possible and useful.

Kindoki frames in a 'modern' world

Ndoki require knowledge and power, to which only the eldest uncle or chief has access through initiation[250]; children are not mature enough to have this kind of knowledge and power.[251] I agree with Tonga, that children designated as *ndoki* materialize a culture going mad, victims of structural violence (Janin & Marie 2003). Cultural collision with the individualizing 'modern' access to commodities produces alienated versions of local cultures, inverting basic frames, such as the *kindoki* paradigm. It expresses, at the same time, the experience of everyday life, in which often children or

young men[252] have types of knowledge that older adult men or women lack. According to de Boeck (2005:194), this new relationship to children expresses the deep resentment of adults who, with their limited knowledge, endure the endless economic crises in DR Congo.
The narratives of the children in Bas-Congo show that they possess the ‘vocabulary’ and ‘grammar’ of *kindoki*: their own adaptations of the common frames give them prestige among the other children. Van Dijk (2001) and Wyllie (1973) argue that ‘confession’ involves the construction of identity. Yet, in the narratives of the *ndoki* children, this construction occurs negatively, creating an anti-identity based on inverted social norms devoid of the values of kinship and reciprocity (see Geschiere 1995, 1997, 2006). In reference to the violence of the children’s phantasms and identity, Tonga’s observation is relevant: “It implies the principle of reality, which imposes the transformation and the destruction of identity, i.e. the transformation or the destruction of the relation to others, which are simultaneously the relations to the objects and to ones-self” (2008:326). In this sense, the narrations of Gérard and other children highlight a disturbance involving to a certain extent anomie; the anomie is not full but appears in the hybrid phantasms of the adults that the children parrot, mixing ancestral and ‘modern’ frames. Most of the children treated by Mother Elalie have family members who have died or are ill, or the children themselves have an inexplicable chronic disease; this corresponds to the “ancestral” framing of the *kindoki* paradigm. However, we saw that the latter does not apply to children who are not as powerful and protected as the maternal uncle, who is usually in the position to be accused of *kindoki* in the “ancestral” matrilineal framing. Is it a sign of anomie to transfer the position of the *ndoki* on the back of children, often the weakest members of the group?

Bongmba argues (1999:56) that witchcraft, in such an African context, constitutes a totality. Children like Gérard merge in *kindoki*; they are consumed by it and lose themselves in the illusion of their ‘personal’ narratives. A child like Thomas, whose father supports him, is able to differentiate between day and night time, becomes able to take advantage of the cleansing treatment; he is able to reestablish a sense of himself as a person grounded in his social bounds. When the social world does not provide such connections, the children remain stuck in the anti-identities they have created.

According to chiefs and their counselors in three rural districts, the endogenous tradition of *kindoki* in Bas-Congo requires special knowledge and abilities. All insist that before the last twenty years *kindoki* appeared only among the adults, old people ‘with white hair’, unfit for work, fed by the young.[253] Accusations against children pervert the notion of *kindoki*. Devisch (in a personal comm.) argues that such perversion does not follow the scapegoat paradigm involving “sacred” dimensions (Girard 1972). Rather, *kindoki* is a perversion used by adults to get rid of the many children they are unable to care for. In turn, children in Bas-Congo (in 2011) often accuse adults of bewitching them (Kotanyi 2012), even adults outside their own kin group, further transforming the endogenous notion of *kindoki*.[254]

Hybrid definitions between the ancestral and the Christian approaches

Elsa E. is a Bitonga-speaking herbalist healer from South Mozambique who also attends Catholic Church. Married to a Portuguese mechanic, she participates in many worlds simultaneously; she switches easily between divergent frames in a small urbanized centre on the main road running across the country from north to south. She follows the local healing frames that she inherited through dreams from her deceased aunt, with whom she communicates through regular ritual *kuphahla* [invocation of ancestors in Bitonga]. Elsa E. does not use spiritual possession and she insists that she only heals with the help of medicinal plants. She also invokes the ancestors (hers and those of her patients) and uses cleansing treatments, following the sexual and thermal frames presented in Chapter Three. She explains about *uloi* [witchcraft in Bitonga]:

> "It goes from person to person. A witch will never bewitch a spirit, only a person. The witch is not a spiritual being, however, witches are presumed able to use spiritual beings in order to achieve their goals to harm the living. Witchcraft comes from rancour. Witchcraft brings misfortune. The witch is ambitious, but the witch may not know he or she is a witch. Anybody can be a witch; it may come through the reincarnation of a person, who was a witch in life and transmitted it to a person, who then becomes a witch [without knowing]. Witchcraft implies a 'bad spirit' that only makes bad things. Thinking or speaking badly, this happens, but it is *uloi* [witchcraft]. A person with a bad spirit, such a person may act and speak like a witch. It is a person who has a bad spirit; it is the bad spirit acting in him or in her" (Elsa E., 2001).

In her hybrid definition, Elsa E. syncretizes ancestral frames with dualizing Christian notions of witchcraft as badness, which is a widespread tendency in South and Central Mozambique, and in urbanized areas in DR Congo among Christianized people.[255] While in the Makhuwa/Lomwe context in North Mozambique, healers, diviners and chiefs (just as in Southwest DR Congo) rarely limit witchcraft to just badness as Elsa E. does. They all tend to emphasize that *okhwiri* [witchcraft in Emakhuwa] (like *kindoki* in Kikongo*)* involves power and knowledge.[256]

During a workshop in South Mozambique, the director of the project (in which I worked) said to me: "A witch is someone like you, someone who knows too much!" It shows that even Western-educated people in the capital understand the logic, that witchcraft is associated with power or knowledge, a common notion among all studied Bantu-speaking cultures. Such "knowledge" is assumed in the Bantu tradition to be transmitted through dreams, initiation or to be "inherited". Among the matrilineal societies, every male *mwene* [family head] needs it, just as every community chief or healer must have it in order to protect their family, their community and their patients. This is seen as constructive, 'benign' witchcraft as "intelligence" that may be used positively or negatively.

Benign notions of witchcraft appear in the early writings of Junod, an evangelical missionary (1936, republished 1996) who compared notions of witchcraft in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Europe to the Tsonga (South Mozambique) *vuloyi* [witchcraft].[257] Junod notes that "the clearest difference is that for the Tsonga, we are still in the time of pre-dualism, in which the opposition between a good Spirit

and the moral (God) and the spirits of badness (the demons, Satan) does not yet exist in the religion." (1996:458). At that time just as currently, in the 'ancestral' approach prevails rather the more complex notion of ambiguous evil which implies to live in parallel with rigid evil. Junod's observation suggests that pre-Christian notions of witchcraft were not so different in South and Central Mozambique from those of the Makhuwa in the North today.[258] Nevertheless, Junod's statement, like the hybrid definition of Elsa E., suggests why witchcraft is such a controversial issue, especially among those who adhere strongly to Christianity, or who reject ancestral approaches.in the name of "modernity".

II. Analyses of *okwhiri, buloki*, and *kindoki* as 'witchcraft' paradigms

Summarizing the findings of witchcraft and sorcery common to both Mozambican and Congolese informants, I will analyze the characteristics appearing most frequently. In the following section I deepen the understanding of the weakening of the vital forces (being "eaten" in the night), discussing the involved notions of reality and morality in the floating field in which the endogenous logic of witchcraft are grounded. Concerning basic elements of the anthropology of witchcraft and sorcery, I analyze the ambivalence between constructive and destructive witchcraft and I discuss the critics of this paradigms made by African scientists in an ethical debate conducted by philosophers, scholars of religion and anthropologists. See in Tables 4.2. and 4.3. the summary of types of witchcraft in the studied linguistic groups in Mozambique.

The weakening of the vital forces

Informants from Mozambique and Congo DR describe similar types of witchcraft, indicating minimal differences, even between countries geographically distant from each other. Common to all is the ambiguous nature of witchcraft, the idea of 'darkness' or secrecy and the association with the night.

"To eat the bones of a goat"

Any explicit verbalization should be avoided (because it activates witchcraft); metaphors are employed instead and each language has specific expressions. Janeiro, a Xirhonga-speaking master healer working in the capital Maputo, did not know the Changana expression, 'to eat the bones of a goat"[259], meaning to be forced to 'eat' others in the night, as described by Xichangana-speaking hospital counselors from their AIDS patients. However, he knew a similar frame involving a trap for the witch made with kids' bones.

This example shows the kind of metaphorical expressions, which are useful for AIDS counselors in communicating with their patients who feel bewitched. Counselors should know the metaphors and frames useful in indirectly addressing witchcraft; discussing about *wuloyi* requires that the term *wuloyi* is avoided (or similar terms) in order to facilitate the establishment of a dialogue with their patients.

Envy, jealousy and ambition

In all the cultures studied, the primary cause of witchcraft is envy, jealousy or ambition.[260] Mazingue, a famous healer and diviner in South Mozambique, identifies three basic characteristics of witchcraft: first, it occurs among the living; second, it expresses envy or jealousy; and third, it often involves

members of the same extended family (clan).[261] In general, people say that only those close to a person "know his secrets", allowing him to reach and weaken the vital forces of others. Witchcraft may also be employed by colleagues or neighbors, both of whom are in close proximity to the victim.

'Being eaten in the night' weakens the shade and the vital force

Cisena-speaking healing women, like most informants, explain that *ufite* [witchcraft] is related to envy. *Ufite* appears during the night, when a person dreams about receiving meat to eat or of being bitten by a dog.[262] Sena women associate witchcraft first with the nighttime world; with all kinds of harm or evil appearing in dreams. The interpretation of dreams in terms of witchcraft is common to all the studied cultures; dreaming to accept food or to eat are the most common.[263] At the same time, to 'eat' can also mean to have sex.[264]

There are several ways to transmit *wuloyi* [witchcraft] in Cindau through dreams. The shade "eaten" through witchcraft is embodied in the nails, hair, footsteps, shadow, body fluids or excrement, which all contain the vital force. The vital force can easily be 'stolen' during the night, which is expressed as 'being eaten'.[265] Cindau-speaking healers describe acting as a n*wuloyi* [witch] in the night:

> "*Nwuloyi* have a lot of ways to bewitch people. We have "witchcraft of the night"[266], which occurs during the night, when the person sleeps and the witch comes and calls you. You hear it as if someone calls you in your own house. If you answer, they take away your *vuri* [shade], which they keep in a snail shell. This is how the *nwuloyi* [witch] kills, because it is very difficult to come out of a snail shell[267]. With this type of witchcraft, that imprisons the shade of the person[268], they inform their colleagues [witches] to come and to kill the person [killing his vital forces]. However, those who have good spirits, they refuse to kill—and wait until the next day. Those spirits help. This is when the family seeks a diviner to find out what is going on. The sick person must invoke the ancestors during the night. You must do this ceremony fully naked, at the foot of a tree. With the proper remedies and by saying the name of the sick person, he or she may then recover."[269]

The same group of Cindau-speaking healers and chiefs explained the weakening the shade:

> "Witchcraft by persons 'going by night' is like this: first they study how to catch your shade. When they know, they give you a 'drug'. You will dream that you are poisoned. The *nwuloyi* [witches] bring madness and suffering: they can kill. They are living."[270]

Sena female healers and initiation rites counsellors confirm their Cishona-speaking colleagues' assertion that witchcraft occurs in dreams as 'eating in the night'[271]. Many Bantu speakers share this frame of witchcraft as paradigm phenomenon "of the night". Sena healers add that a person with a good spirit does not dream as a perpetrator, but as a victim.[272]

The explanations of Xichangana, Cishona, Cisena and Cindau-speaking healers, diviners and initiation counselors give a picture of 'eating', 'killing' or eating 'meat', all of which are metaphors[273] used in Bantu and in several other African societies.[274] 'Eating in the night'[275] or 'killing' through witchcraft

establishes a direct link with the shade, the seat of the vital force. The shade or shadow[276] is for all the Mozambican Bantu speakers the most fundamental part of the person after the breath/'spirit' element.

Devisch (1986) describes the vital force residing in the shade in Kiyaka-speaking societies, showing the complexity of this notion: "*M-mooyi*, the pulsional and psychic vital force, enables the body, or rather the individual, to overcome time and space. *M-mooyi* indicates breath, blood, sperm, life, vigor, the vital impulse, desire, volition[277], intuition, the psyche, the principle that dynamizes and coordinates the totality of the body and brings us beyond ourselves through olfaction, sexual appetite, procreation, the piercing gaze, perspicacity, courage, words of authority, and so on" (1986:126). Stroeken, an anthropologist initiated as diviner and healer by Sukuma practitioners, describes witchcraft in similar terms. He writes that it is "first and foremost a sensory experience" (2012:124). Such aural or visual "intrusions" have "poisonous" effects experienced as "…invasion[s] of the permeable bodies." (Stroeken 2012:125) The sense of invasion, poisoning and weakening may lead to physical death[278], without the necessity of any poisoning through material substance. Local Bantu-speaking healers and chiefs reject the idea that these "intrusions" are merely a 'symbolic' process.

'Eating in the night' is a very resilient frame in sub-Saharan Africa. Geschiere (2006b) discusses *ekong,* witchcraft using zombies, as a new frame in Cameroon. Such resilience also appears in the 'new' version of *kindoki* in DR Congo in the form of so-called children *ndoki* expulsed from their families in times of permanent economic crises. All the 35 interviewed children were designated as *ndoki* by kin members of their surrounding adult world; their relatives accused them either of the death of one of their family members or of their illness. These are classical frames of *kindoki,* which, however, were formerly applied to old people. Since they were simultaneously most respected (assumed to know most) they were mostly feared. The application of *kindoki* to children as the most vulnerable members of the group signalizes strong disturbances in a society which attacks (expulses) those youngest members who don't seem able to secure their future. The current frame of "eating in the night" reflects the extreme economic inequalities faced by many in Mozambique and DR Congo (see Saw 1997 for a similar example). Such a frame expresses desire for highly visible but unattainable wealth, while the *kindoki* paradigm explains the ineffable (Devisch 2017) or/and unbearable, such as premature death due to HIV/AIDS (see Behrend 2009 and Chapter Five).

Witchcraft as 'real'

Mozambican or Congolese people of all social groups (urban and rural, Western-educated or not) insist that witchcraft is real. The jurists, healers and other participants in a conference on "Justice and Witchcraft" in Cameroon (2005) argued that witchcraft is not just symbolic, as anthropologists present it, but a very real issue (de Rosny 2006). Geschiere (2006: 62) argues that "witchcraft is a discourse and as such it has its own reality", with violent effects, presenting researchers with a "difficult dilemma." Jewsiewicki (2001) and Geschiere (2006) criticize the lack of epistemological pluralism when dealing with the ambiguities of witchcraft, which challenge "the very principles of scientific knowledge" (2006:65). Following Devisch (1996a, 2012) and Stroeken (2012), I argue that witchcraft

is an experience involving, among others, feelings, emotions and desires; it is more than discourse, though it is often conveyed though rumors and gossip. The feeling of being emptied of vital force up to the point of feeling or being nearly dead is very real. It is not an issue of "believing". It is self-evident for the people that emotions are experienced in terms of being victim of witchcraft through bad dreams, misfortune, diseases, inequalities and so on. These embodied experiences are not merely symbolic and may produce both physical and psychological weakness.

What do informants in Mozambique and DR Congo mean when they describe witchcraft as real? Fear is part of the witchcraft paradigm (not only fear of death, although, a death will often provoke witchcraft accusations). In a world emphasizing social interdependence, which for Bond (2001:155) includes relations with ancestors, witchcraft often involves the closest family members, neighbors or colleagues and disagreements, inequalities, injustice, envy or jealousy. Fear, envy, and jealousy are emotions that informants actually experience, even though they may be expressed in metaphors, often in condensed or violent terms.[279]

Below, a Cishona-speaking healer distinguishes witchcraft from murder and describes their 'reality':

> *Mr. Mutata:* "This [witchcraft] is the issue of the courage of a person. The one killing on purpose—with a hard heart—this is a crime. There is the *uloi* [witchcraft in Cishona] in the night, without knowing, this is inherited: it is the *uloi* that you are borne with. Someone who kills physically is a murderer, and is also a *muloi* [witch]. The fetish [secret power/knowledge] of a *muloi* shows the "courage" [force][280] of this person."
>
> *Question*: "Do they 'really' eat meat in the night?"
>
> *Mr. Mutata:* "Yes, they really eat meat and cook it at a crossroads."[281]

An urbanized healer in Central Mozambique, Mr. Mutata differentiates witchcraft from physical murder. 'Killing' vital forces in the night through dreams, characterized as *uloi*, is not the same as the tangible murder of the physical body. This example illustrates different notions of reality: the reality 'of the night' in which witchcraft occurs, and reality of the day in which murder occurs. Compare Mutata's insistence on the reality of eating meat and cooking it at the crossroads with Horácio's description of his initiation as a healer, which involved remaining under water for a week. I suggest that Horácio experienced the event as a dream. Like many healers and diviners, Horácio often makes diagnoses through dreams, where he receives information about appropriate healing plants. Like many healers and diviners, Horácio does not differentiate between daytime and dreamtime as source of his knowledge. However, healers know that wellbeing implies clear respect for the borders between living and living-dead or other spirits (in case of disorders rituals treatments reestablished the needed separation), just as healers see also difference between behavior as a "witch" ("in the night") and murdering ("in the day").

Mr. Mutata's description also demonstrates how healing efficacy is strongly tied to metaphors. Bond and Ciekawy (2001:6) note, "whether witches do or do not exist is unimportant; the relevant issue is that people believe they do." However, witchcraft is for my informants not an issue of belief but of

experience. Stroeken (2012:195) argues: “witchcraft is real because it is real in its consequences.” However, Stroeken regards this as a pragmatic claim. He further insists (in a persona comm.) on the variety of possibly involved experiences, which are either therapeutical, channeling violence away, or actually lead to violent actions when it is, e.g., involved in a legal context.

For me, *okhwiri, kindoki* and similar notions of ‘witchcraft’ are neither limited to metaphors nor issues of ‘African identity’ or ‘ontology’ (see Chapter Seven). I regard such notions as one of the several ‘operative modes’ (Lévi-Strauss 1963; Nathan 1994; Sanders 2003, 2008) through which people deal with certain experiences (e.g. of emotions, conflicts, relations with others, increasing inequalities, poverty, uncertainty, diseases, misfortune, danger, the ineffable and death, which are all very real).[282]

Morality, ethics and the imaginary

Mutata’s reference above to crossroads points to the strongly transgressive nature of witchcraft. Crossroads are the places where transgressions are cleansed. Devereux ([1961] 1974), analyzing the dreams of Mohave people of North America, insists on the need to respect local frames when analyzing dreams. As Taussig (1987) found, it is only possible to understand the images invoked by informants if one accepts their interpretations. Narratives and witchcraft accusations in several African countries employ the frame of cannibalism (Behrend, 2011), not necessarily physical cannibalism, but rather one “of the night” (occurring in dreams). Some of these practices and accusations put the observer in a difficult position; but ‘going along’ with our informants does not necessarily mean giving “credit to any monstrous accusations against old women or against ‘child-witches’” (Geschiere 2006:62). Geschiere approaches this ‘thorny question’ by quoting Favret-Saada (1980), for whom witchcraft has a reality of its own; hence, anthropologists should concentrate on how words and images acquire their power. For me, as for Geschiere (2006:63), the limit is the lynching of presumed ‘witches’, or their legal condemnation. Both contradict ancestral Bantu ‘traditions’ [*ntumbuluku*[283]], which according to several African authors, remain alive as on-going debates illustrate (e.g. Mbiti 1969; Odora Hoppers 2002; Eze 1998; P’Bitek 1998; Gbadegesin 1998; Gyekye 1987; Matangila 2000; Honwanda 2002; Himua 2003; Igreja 2003; Mosolo 1994; Mosley 1995; Mutimbe 1988; Obenga 1989; Samb 2010; Wiredu 1995). Deviations in colonial, Christian, administrative or legal terms emphasize the identification and persecution of ‘witches’; they contributed to the invention of African ‘traditions’ as wild, violent and primitive (Behrend 2011; Meyer 1999). Mutimbe (1988) argues that such inventions occur in order to frame local practices as uncivilized and dangerous.

I do not mean that *nokwhiri, ndoki* [“witches”] were never killed prior to colonial influence. I mean (like Stroeken, who verified the issue for the regions in which he make his study in Tanzania) that the killing of “witches” is not the main framing in ‘ancestral ways’, which emphasizes the neutralization of harmfulness in ways that Devisch (1993a) calls “homeopathic”. Such kind of ancestral ways which can currently be observed follow the “like-attracts-like” logic (Sanders 2008) “sending back” or untying) the harmfulness on the same way as it is assumed to have been attacked. As discussed above, the witchcraft paradigm does not necessarily require either the identification or persecution of

‘witches’ (i.e. witch hunting). Those frames are associated with Christian approaches. Endogenous non-dualist notions of witchcraft, when involving means like ritually ‘sending back’ (or untying) witchcraft, neutralize harmfulness with automatic ‘sanctioning’ the ‘witches’ through the law of retaliation which affects those presumed to have sent witchcraft in the first place (discussed below).[284] Religious, legal, and political institutions exercise the “power to define” witchcraft (van Rinsum 2001; Devisch 2005:372). As discussed above, Christian religion defines witchcraft as evil. Legally, witchcraft is defined as superstition. Politicians, medical personnel and educators may (and have) defined it as backward. Such approaches hinder understanding informants’ views of witchcraft as expressions of the emotional, economic, social or political tensions in the kin group and social world. There are economic and political conditions that underpin this paradigm. Devisch (2001, 2002, 2003b, 2005b), van Binsbergen (2001),[285] and others[286] discuss the notion of the “reality“ of witchcraft in Africa, asking what factors contribute to the resilience of this paradigm.

A central question is how the witchcraft paradigm functions in various contexts: what social tensions does it express and/or what needs does it fulfill? The authors of *Witchcraft Dialogues* (Bond and Ciekawy et al. 2001) also deal with the limitations of Western intellectual traditions and avoid taking narrow moral views of witchcraft. Devisch (2002[287]) notes that witchcraft as sorcery allows exploration of the boundaries between *societas* and anti-*societas*: it is a paradigm framing prohibitions by defining behavioral rules. Witchcraft may also be used ‘constructively’ (West 2005) to achieve certain goals (power, wealth, love, protection). In contrast to dualist Christian understandings of witchcraft, Van Binsbergen (2001: 236-238) argues that ‘moral ambiguity does not imply amorality but is its very opposite.” Witchcraft is an articulation of social obligations defined by reciprocity; Van Binsbergen (2001:238) sees “witchcraft as celebration of individual desires and powers at the expense of one’s kin”. That witchcraft contradicts the value of reciprocity is at the center of the studied “native” African approaches. In the Sukuma context, Stroeken (2012:126) argues: “The bewitched perverts the dynamic social order and equates it with something as static as law. The norm of solidarity and the gift becomes an obligation which it is impossible to conform to.” The morality imposed through social pressure leads to the difficulty of requiring acceptation of the group but longing for self-assertion.

The floating field of forces and energies

Devisch’s (2003, 2005b) phenomenological descriptions of sorcery help to understand this paradigm for DR Congo; it corresponds to what Mozambicans refer to as ‘done’ witchcraft induced through ‘drugs’ or objects such as fetishes; it involves the loss of vital forces. Sorcery is for Devisch based on procedures activating the relevant ‘floating signifiers’ (Gill 1985:24) through ambivalent signs “…feeding itself on impulses and psychic forces generated by the collective imaginary” (Devisch 2005b:382). ‘Floating signifiers’ are charged by the imaginary with impulses and psychic forces that “incessantly traverse the boundaries between the determinate and indeterminate, the Self and the Other” (2003:186). Devisch adds that the notion of ‘floating signifiers’ erodes conventional categories. The idea of the shade, which involves bodily secretions (saliva, sweat, nails, hair, urine, excrement,

menstrual blood), is a floating signifier implying liminality and ambivalence, according the descriptions of my informants (see Devisch 1999, 2003:186).

The floating characteristics of the witchcraft paradigm become most apparent in the manner that witchcraft is supposed to be identifiable: through divination. Diviners, in accord to ancestral frames, give 'nebulous' statements that must be 'decoded' by the client. Divination can function as a warning or as advice to seek further help. Diviners make sense of the social tensions and emotions experienced by their clients. The diviner 'catches' the 'reality' of the client's physical, psychic and spiritual situation. Werbner (2001:208) describes the logic of divination by witchcraft, in which the truth is negotiated as "truth-on-balance." This implies a search for social and economic leveling and emotional mediation, which is the ethical foundation of the moral power of witchcraft (chiefs and notables mediate conflicts in palavers also by seeking balance – see Chapter Six). The nebulous field of witchcraft requires means of diagnostic able to deal with these basic characteristic; it is the floating approaches which prevent stigma through the avoidance of naming any 'witch', but rather sending back or untying, and expressing the issues in metaphors that have transformative potential (Fernandez 1972, 1974, 1982; Sanders 2008).

Weakening the shade through sorcery

Devisch argues that, like taboos, divinatory oracles that identify witchcraft are drawn from a common cosmology and produce embodied experiences. Divination may become intensely emotional because it entails forces, which "cohere and influence the client's bodies…through sensuous channels" (1993:191). In Chapter Three I introduced the concepts of *sensorial codes* (Stroeken 2008), which includes the sensory code of intrusion. This implies that the unknown becomes *ndoki* [witch in Kindoki] and can thus be designated and neutralized. The latter often occurs without "identification", just through rituals involving "sending back" (or untying), cleansing and protections that as described above; it allows to restore the balance, and "to break out of the cycle" (Stroeken 2008:480).

These are the same forces involved in dreams of being 'eaten' or 'killed' in the night. Devisch (2003:192) argues that "the ensorcelled persons kills him- or herself, as it were, by embodying the mortal desires of intimidating others, or by introjecting the delirious references to destruction and death-giving." In Bas-Congo, chiefs argue (in 2011) that *kindoki* [witchcraft] of 'eating' and 'killing' in the night can be transmitted by 'jumping' from one person to another (without the consciousness of either the victim or the perpetrator) just as stated by Makhuwa/Lomwe healers and chiefs; in such cases, efficacy is achieved without material agency. In the studied cultures, there are many versions of this frame. Such frames are produced by the collective imagination and arise through inter-corporeality and inter-subjectivity (Devisch 2005a: 385; Bongmba 2001; Stroeken 2012).The victim embodies the dislike, hatred or aggression of others, which weaken his or her own defenses. Devisch's statement that there is no bewitchment without a victim feeling bewitched corresponds to the report of Cishona-speaking healer/diviner Ropia in Central Mozambique that "we have no problem with the witch; we just want to take care of the ill person" (Bagnol 2007:38). The victim—not the witch—is at

the centre of approaches based in *ntumbuluku* [Bantu tradition in Xirhonga] as currently practiced. ‘Ancestral’ traditions are products of transformation through both internal and external influences; many healers know perfectly well, how to differentiate between Christian/Islamic religious or legal views and those associated with ancestral Bantu tradition.

Different consequences of witchcraft or sorcery

The auto-destructive process of witchcraft or sorcery

All informants in Mozambique and DR Congo insist that witchcraft can kill, usually by weakening the shadow or shade, vital force, or the double of the *mutu* [person in Kikongo]. During a palaver concerning a child who accused adults of *kindoki* [witchcraft], chief Mbambi, in Bas-Congo in 2011, insisted that *kindoki* belongs to the realm of the dreams and to “things of the night” (Kotanyi 2012). Geschiere (1996, 2006) insists that witchcraft is a ‘discourse’ ‘constructed’ through rumor. This is often the case, however, not only discourse is at stake. Often objects are involved in the bewitchment/sorcery which is “done, bought or provoked willingly” as healers argue, such as *n-kisi* [‘fetishes’ in Kikongo]. Actions using these specially manipulated objects, loaded with strong power, are often framed as ‘drugs’(medicine), without implying direct physical poisoning, which also exists. Devisch (2002) discusses this kind of bewitchment as “experienced through the sensual, symbolic, emotional, and socio-culturally framed imaginary means, which anticipate and foresee the destructive results.” The ‘killing’ (of the vital force) is a weakening and ‘disfiguring of the transpersonal body image and inter-corporeality’ (Weiss 1999). I agree with the authors that the imagination of the bewitched person is grounded in the social and cultural imaginary; the victim’s body and emotions become identified with the bewitchment or with the effects of the malefic fetish. Among the Yaka, this leads, according to Devisch (2002:90), to a situation in which the weakened person exposes himself to an auto-destructive process: “The aggressor penetrates the victim’s thoughts, heart, motives, and dreams” (Devisch 2005a: 383). The bewitchment appropriates the vital force of the victim and reaching also his physical body. The life force or breath of life (*m-mooyi*) in the shade of the victim is connected to his or her embodied thoughts and emotions (Devisch 1990:117), which is influenced by the surrounding social and cultural body that shapes affects (1990:131).

As Geschiere (1995, 1997) notes, relatives, neighbors and colleagues, motivated by personal or political interests, are part of the discursive process. The divination confirms the victim’s own perceptions. Devisch argues that the person “kills himself, by choking and emptying the proper forces of the ego-body”, which “leads to weaken[ing] the auto-defenses through auto-suggestion and suggestions of the surrounding social-world members” (Devisch 2002). Many people living with HIV/AIDS find through this frame meaning for the symptoms of HIV/AIDS, such as physical weakness, weight loss, chronic suffering and death (see Chapter Six).

‘Witchcraft’ gives meaning to death and misfortune

Cindau-speaking healers in South and Central Mozambique understand *uloi* [witchcraft] as an important cause of illness and misfortune, a belief common in all Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-

speaking cultures. Chronic diseases are especially likely to be framed as witchcraft, which makes sense of the unexplainable[288]. Diseases such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis or leprosy are all associated with witchcraft, especially when they lead to premature death. In both Mozambique and Congo DR, patients living with HIV attribute their illness to bewitchment, an explanation that helps them deal with the misfortune of their condition.

In general, the deaths of several people in a family occurring in a short time lead to questions of whether witchcraft was involved; these situations facilitate treatment of conflicts and reweaving of the kinship bonds[289]. For many Bantu speakers in Mozambique and Congo DR, as in several cultures in sub-Saharan Africa, misfortune and death rarely occur without "cause". Identifying such 'causes' helps make sense of the misfortune (Augé and Herzlich 1994). Witchcraft accusations following a death in rural areas, such as Kwango or parts of Bas-Congo, involve highly ritualized processes of rebalancing reciprocal relationships and reweaving social and emotional bonds among the living as well as between the living and the dead. Divination is used in such situations to help people adapt to a new situation in the clan (Devisch 1981, 1997). Among Kiyaka speakers, Devisch (1981) explains that compensation for a death through a *buloki* [witchcraft] 'accusation' is often related to the former "paid" bride price. Among Kiyaka and Kikongo speakers, a "bride price", being a mean of reciprocity, must be returned following death of the wife.[290] Usually the maternal uncle will be accused of witchcraft, since he is responsible for protecting the family. When someone becomes ill or dies, it implies that the maternal uncle failed in his duties; however, resolution of the situation does not involve persecution. Deaths attributed to witchcraft rarely involve accusations of criminal killing (even though people may speak about 'killing'). Rather, witchcraft represents (a ritually framed) opportunity to confirm (through complex palavers) relations among clan members, reweaving social and emotional bonds disrupted by death.

In Mozambique, the state tries to control these issues by allowing divination only by healers or diviners registered with AMETRAMO, the national healers' association founded by the Frelimo party. According to the Shona informants,[291] there are two ways of discovering whether an *wuloyi* ['witch'] is involved in the death; the first is to ask questions using 'drugs' at the grave. The *wuloyi* will then become ill and confess. The second way is trial by ordeal through handling a hot hoe,[292] organized by AMETRAMO healers. The identified *wuloyi* has to symbolically compensate the family of the victim. In brief, 'witchcraft' accusations after death are ritualized processes, which re-establish reciprocal relations, reweaving the social and emotional bonds among the living and between the living and the dead (Devisch 1981, 1993a). I observed such rituals conducted by AMETRAMO healers in a town hall in a suburb of Maputo. This approach to death is widespread in Africa, as in Tonda's (2009) description of the complex political discussions involving witchcraft surrounding the death of president Omar Bongo Ondimba of Gabon; Tonda reports the metaphorical debates framed through 'witchcraft' without ever using the term, best applying the rhetoric necessary in such a context.

The inherent ambivalent logic of *kindoki/buloki* involving the law of retaliation

Findings in Bas-Congo, Kwango and Kinshasa show that, beyond linguistic differences, the notion of *kindoki* or *buloki* shared by the Kikongo, Kiyaka, Kisuku or Kipendele Bantu speakers is very similar to that in Mozambique. The following findings in DRC therefore appear to be valid for both countries.

'Witchcraft' or sorcery and ambivalence

Devisch (2001, 2002a) notes that fetishes can be used for bad or good luck,[293] for protection or assault, and for revenge as a form of retaliation. This is also the case in Mozambique. Fetishes, like witchcraft itself, are ambivalent means of either giving life or destroying it.[294] This bivalence constitutes the core of its ambiguity through the capacity to "co-exist simultaneously and in a same time and space an object and its contrary" (Devisch 2002a:86). Stroeken (2012) notes that fetishes and witchcraft are parts of a moral and religious economy, which they simultaneously pervert and order to establish social control.[295] Social control is exerted to hinder individual excess (e.g., wealth, success) and can be activated by all members of society, rich or poor. However, the 'moral power of witchcraft' as described by Stroeken has only limited impact on those with the greatest power, who remain there due to their ability to practice witchcraft as described by Bayart (1989) and Geschiere (1995, 2005, 2007). But such power is of another order and rank than authority and than its opposite: moral power which is over individuals based on a rigid interpretation of the law of solidarity, as Stroeken argues[296].

Under the usual ('ancestral' and current) circumstances, in Kwango or Bas-Congo, the maternal uncle is implicated in witchcraft. However, when kinship relations are undermined (through extreme poverty, or deaths due to warfare or disease, as in epidemics like AIDS), it becomes unclear who takes responsibility. This leads to a perversion of the paradigm, for example in the targeting of the so-called *ndoki*-children. As the weakest members of society, children are accused, and the traditional frames do not provide them with the means to defend themselves. Such perversions extend beyond the usual ambiguities of witchcraft; the destructive tendencies inherent in the witchcraft paradigm gain the upper hand in such a context. Devisch (1986) argues that in the traditional Yaka view there is no good luck without misfortune, no health without illness, no abundance without hunger, and so on. According to Devisch[297], the Yaka culture is framed in consonances (of the living and the living-dead) or in dissonances (witchcraft) that frame both the destructive and the creative. In my view, witchcraft involves attempts to deal with the insoluble paradoxes of life and death.[298]

The law of retaliation

One of the most difficult aspects of *kindoki* or similar notions of witchcraft/sorcery is that the destructive effects of witchcraft can turn against the user; this can happen 'automatically' or through the intervention of healers or chiefs using rituals, prepared objects or potions. Devisch describes the phenomenon as *lex talionis* (law of retaliation). Ritually 'sending back' the curse doesn't require either the identification or persecution of the 'witch', however, any bewitched person can be seen as victim of his or her own witchcraft (through retaliation). This idea of retaliation and 'sending back' distinguishes Bantu approaches to witchcraft from Christian ones. Hence, in the ancestral way, a

bewitched person will be suspected of receiving retaliation for his own actions, which makes it difficult to differentiate victims from perpetrators.[299] The notion of retaliation generates uncertainty; both victims and perpetrators are therefore sources of fear concerning witchcraft/sorcery in the family and community.[300] The law of retaliation corresponds to what Makonde speakers in North Mozambique call *kupilikula* (West 2005:7-8). Retaliation may be regarded as the cause of serious loss of vitality of victims (comparable to a state of 'death'); retaliation motivates people living with HIV/AIDS to insist that they are victims of witchcraft in order to avoid being considered witches.

The everyday aspects of witchcraft and secrecy

Cindau-speaking healers in Central Mozambique frame many life situations in terms of witchcraft: "*Ufite* [witchcraft in Cindau] is having a sexual relationship outside the regular relationship, or when lying a lot without knowing, or a failure to bathe the children or go to the field at the morning. *Ufite* is to steal the secrets of a woman or a man, bringing them out of their home or to bring bad things into the home from outside. All these are *ufite*." [301] 'Secrets' are a central concern in witchcraft, which requires secrecy to be effective. Geschiere (2006:60) shows that witchcraft in Cameroon reverses (and perverts) kinship rules: he describes kinship as having "a tendency towards a closure of the local community" while "witchcraft, in contrast, opens up breaches that are much more radical, because they are secret and therefore impossible to ascertain, let alone control." Witchcraft creates dangerous openings, yet must also protect the family, in a kind of dialectical compensation (idem 2006:61). The secrecy around the manipulated objects or the mixed potions can mobilize among the Yaka in DR Congo "at the same time hope and the illusion of controlling fate" (Devisch 2002a:89).[302]

Witchcraft seen as "killing" the vital force (in the ancestral frame) is, in a current Christian context, seen as evil, and the work of Satan. References to Satan and evil are reinforced by Pentecostal, Independent religious movements, or by Islam. Within these frames, morality is reduced to a simple dichotomy of good and bad (Meyer 1999:105) that Devisch (2000) sees (in what my and his informants regard as an 'ancestral' framework) as two sides of the same coin. A Cindau healer sums it up: "We say that *ufiti* is malefic; stealing, prostitution, or when someone always lies."[303] However, when they describe only the destructive sides of *ufiti*, healers in Central Mozambique may not share with a researcher their secret knowledge of so-called 'constructive' witchcraft (West 2005:77-79, Geschiere 1997:13). Witchcraft involves more than simple dichotomies; speaking badly of someone is witchcraft,[304] as are bad thoughts. Refusal to reduce morality to a simple good or evil dichotomy is found not only among current Mozambican and Congolese Bantu speakers, but was also prevalent among pre-colonial Bantu speakers.[305] Many Christian and Islamic Bantu speakers are therefore caught between divergent moral systems[306]: the endogenous ambivalent witchcraft paradigm oriented on 'ancestral' ways and the reductionist dualist views imposed by religions of the book or through official legal approaches, versus contrasting "ancestral" frames.

Devisch (2005a: 374) describes 'witchcraft/sorcery' as an "amazingly fertile immersion in the imaginary." Stroeken (2012:147) characterizes the sorcerer and the witch as "two products of cultural

creativity." He locates the issues at play in experiences of the world, in conflicts between power and powerlessness (2012:147). Meneses (2008:288) also notes the extraordinarily imaginative aspects of witchcraft in the Makhuwa society in North Mozambique in its use in defence of economic survival. Through creative application of the 'Grammar of witchcraft' (idem 2008:188), those suffering structural violence frame witchcraft within modernity, not as expressions of tradition, but as a means of mobilization and resistance. Witchcraft within a modern frame facilitates the defence of human dignity as well as material interests (idem 2008:186-189).

III. Reflections on normativity framed through 'witchcraft'

Notions of witchcraft (such as *wuloyi,*[307] *okwhiri,*[308] and *nipako*[309] in Mozambique and *buloi*[310] and *kindoki,*[311] in Congo DR) correspond to what Bond and Ciekawy (2001:124-126) describe as: "a social mechanism that attempts to renew social relationships and restore a condition of well-being." Stroeken (2012:119) shows that witchcraft deals with perversion of the social order and with excessive interference among the living (people in Bas-Congo speaking of *kindoki* [witchcraft in Kikongo] say that someone 'entered' them, see Kotanyi, 2012b). As Behrend (2011:9) argues, witchcraft "can be used for social integration as well as for exclusion and for destruction." Beidelman (1993) and Stroeken (2012) note, like Geschiere (1998), the inherent ambivalence of witchcraft is characterized by its flexibility and circularity. It expresses emotions such as anger, distrust, fear, hatred, hostility, distress, depression, despair, debilitating loss of power, moral panic,[312] and deals with social stigma by creating 'intermediate spaces' (1998:831). According to Devisch (2011), it also frames lust, confusion, compulsion, frenzy, aggression, revenge, and lewdness.[313]

Flexibility, ambivalence and the management of uncertainty

Findings in Mozambique and Congo DR show that 'witchcraft' is *experienced* and cannot be reduced to 'discourses' as Geschiere (1995) often tends to do[314]. 'Witchcraft' requires understanding and an appreciation that, and as Eze (2001:280) argues, "Witchcraft or sorcery (...) constantly changes forms and instruments, but the content remains." These notions of witchcraft convey its macro-scale role: framed through people's relationships, it sanctions and explains excess and can be activated by the poor or by the wealthy and powerful.[315] Fisiy and Geschiere (2006:196) emphasize for Cameroon:

> " [T]he leveling side of witchcraft: the spectrum of poorer people, notably kin, who use occult forms of aggression, or threaten to do so, in order to force their richer fellow men to share their wealth. The same occult forces, however, are supposed to be used by the rich and the powerful themselves in order to further their ambitions and to enhance their accumulation of wealth and power; in our terms, the accumulative side of these beliefs."

Stroeken (2012:149) argues that the 'moral power" of witchcraft lies in addressing social and economic inequalities; nevertheless, witchcraft gives only minimal power to the weakest people, who may only use witchcraft to a limited extent against those in power who wield stronger "witchcraft". The moral power of witchcraft defines the social order in many parts of the African continent (Van

Binsbergen 2001:254). For Stroeken, in the context of divination, witchcraft is about "mitigating the responsibility of the individual, whereas modernity is precisely about not mitigating, (….) hence about individualizing responsibility." (2012:101) In such a context modernity is regarded as bewitchment.

In their many uses, witchcraft paradigms produce meaning through their explanatory and interpretive power[316]. Paradoxically, witchcraft deals with uncertainty, yet, at the same time generates uncertainty and ambiguity. Behrend (1997:205) says that discourses rich in images, enigmas and surprises allow for necessary ambiguities. Such ambiguities allow witchcraft to "be used constructively" (Bongmba 2001: 44). This versatility of witchcraft is the most difficult to deal with. The negation of versatility and the necessity to abolish ambiguity are crucial to modern transformations of this discourse, while from an endogenous point of view, the pluralism inherent in witchcraft overcomes "the *moralism* of dichotomous assessment" (Stroeken 2012:36) that threatens to limit the discourse to "an unequivocal opposition between good and evil" (Geschiere 1997:12). At the same time, dealing with uncertainty, witchcraft provides explanatory models that reduce anxieties (Stroeken 2012:175).

'Constructive' and 'destructive' witchcraft

Witchcraft has been constructed and reinterpreted through the centuries, undergoing several transformations (Behrend 1997; Meyer 1999; Langwick 2011); there is simultaneously great resilience in basic frames. Each transformation is built upon earlier frames, adapting some frames to new requirements.

In addition to what the people associate with 'ancestral' approaches to witchcraft in the study area, this paradigm interferes with the values of Christianity and Islam and with legal issues. Several hybrid values and notions appear in the following dialogue with the Xitshwa-speaking Chief Maluvane in South Mozambique, who combines 'ancestral' witchcraft (*wuloyi*) frames with Christian dualism in his explanations of what West (2005a) calls constructive witchcraft.

SK: *Does witchcraft kill when it is used for a good harvest, or for success?*
M: *Wuloyi* [witchcraft] in the field requires cleverness.
SK: *But is this good witchcraft?*
M: It is good, yes, but if somebody does this witchcraft in your field, and in the field of Mr. Mazingue next to yours, you will have a good harvest, but Mr. Mazingue will not!
SK: *But is this bad or good?*
M: This is good.
SK: *This good witchcraft, what do you call it?*
M: Well, all kinds of witchcraft are bad.
SK: *What do you call asking a healer to do a treatment to give me success at work?*
M: This is not *wuloyi* witchcraft; this is personal protection.
SK: *It is personal protection. But if I want more success, what is that?*
M: That is not witchcraft, because it does not kill anybody. The healer gives [you] drugs for luck, to become, for instance, an [district] administrator. The healer gives you luck for your promotion, not for killing.
SK: *What is this called in Xitshwa, this way of increasing luck?*
M: In Xitshwa it is *ku tinhika surte*, for instance, when you are an administrator and you want more luck in your work." (Nova Mambone District, 2008).

Obtaining a better harvest, considered *wuloyi* by Chief Maluvane, is commonly framed traditionally in Mozambique and Congo as 'constructive' or 'good' witchcraft. However, simultaneously from the dual antagonist Christian perspective, Chief Maluvane argues that "all witchcraft are bad" and the resulting effect is 'bad', because obtaining a better harvest through *wuloyi* involves taking some of a neighbor's harvest. This example does not only show a combination in a syncretic way endogenous Bantu frames with the Christian principle of "loving one's neighbor", but also a maneuvering between both. Chief Maluvane, like many Mozambican and Congolese people today, mixes the two paradigms.

This example illustrates that it is not about hybridism (Bhabha 1994): It is possible to identify the diverging mixed paradigms involved, which is not the case with hybridism. As an old Xitshwa Bantu-speaking chief, Maluvane knows about the constructive, so-called 'good' *wuloyi* of his ancestral culture. Indeed, he must be able to use it as a chief in order to protect his community. At the same time, as an active Christian speaking with a European researcher, the chief insists on the 'badness' of achieving a good harvest at the expense of the neighbors, as implied by the endogenous logic of constructive witchcraft. A chief like Maluvane cannot afford to ignore constructive, protective *wuloyi*. Bantu-speaking chiefs in Nampula and Bas-Congo explained me in detail that a chief must employ witchcraft to protect the land and its inhabitants (and to sustain his chieftaincy, MacGaffey 2000). This corresponds to the 'sorcery of construction'[317] described by Makonde chiefs in North Mozambique (West 2005:74), or by Makhuwa chiefs[318]. Compared to Chief Maluvane, Makhuwa chiefs, notables and healers/diviners are less reticent in speaking about constructive *okhwiri* [witchcraft], even differentiating 'benign witchcraft' (*okhwiri waphaama*) from 'protective witchcraft' (*olipelela*).
As a solution for his dilemma, instead of speaking of 'witchcraft', Chief Maluvane calls it 'protection' and 'luck' what is framed as benign in Bantu-speaking societies (Devisch 2001). Witchcraft may bring success, luck, well-being, and healthy children, although—and unavoidably—at the cost of others (Ciekawy 2001). These ideas are grounded in the principles of 'moral economy' found among subsistence farmers: nobody should have more, except the chief, who alone should have a surplus in order to redistribute food in times of need (Sahlins 1972). Others who have more may only have it at the cost of others. This leveling aspect of witchcraft, has been discussed by Comaroff and Comaroff (1993, 1999), and Moore and Sanders et al. (2001) who show that increasing inequalities lead to more accusations of witchcraft.[319] 'Modernity', in contrast to leveling mechanisms, is associated with accumulation of wealth. Positively valued in 'modernity', wealth accumulation is promoted in Africa by Protestant religions and is an important Protestant framing (Max Weber 1934); it creates massive inequalities, which are often framed as witchcraft in sub-Saharan African. In the ancestral moral system, failing to share wealth with relatives is seen as denying reciprocity, and may lead to accusations of witchcraft, as selfish people may be framed as witches.[320]

The different ideological views on witchcraft show how values diverge; many people (especially in urban areas) are caught between different worlds. The Christian dualist principle of not taking

personal advantage at the cost of others can be combined with witchcraft, (e.g. when the poorest criticize elites who accumulate wealth and power without sharing with the majority of the people[321]). Simultaneously, politicians use notions of 'witchcraft' in sub-Saharan African in order to augment or to secure (through fear) their political power.[322]

Critiques of 'witchcraft' frames in Africa

African intellectuals who maintain social and emotional bonds with their home communities encounter conflicts in their participation in a globalized world. Individual achievement may be valued (a diploma, for example) in a "modern" Westernized context, while at the same time, "ancestral" moral frames associate achievement with witchcraft. Envy is at the centre of such conflicts.[323] We have seen that Bantu-speaking traditions connote witchcraft with 'knowledge' and 'special intelligence' (Buakasa 1980:142), which Christian views of witchcraft often neglect. The paradoxical character of a position between different worlds and moral systems appears Ciekawy's study of *utsai* [witchcraft] among the Mijikenda in coastal Kenya. Ciekawy (2001:161) formulates an ethical dilemma: *utsai* frames any kind of excess, presuming that 'some goals can only be achieved at another's expense" (idem 2001:173). Ciekawy questions how personal achievement (wealth, diplomas[324]) can be socially accepted. According to the inherent logic of *utsai*, any excessively good harvest, wealth or power can only be achieved when something is taken from others. I found a similar logic in Mozambique and Congo DR; members of Bantu-speaking societies condemn almost any kind of excess[325]. "Mijikenda people assume that 'immense power, and wealth cannot be achieved through normal human efforts" (Ciekawy 2001:171). Many African Christians face the problem of missing local recognition for individual achievement.

I subscribe Devisch (2005a) that witchcraft pertains primarily to the imaginary and comprises practices, their modes and concrete effects that are to be contextually understood in culture-appropriate ways. As he suggests, "Benign or life-seeking witchcraft entails an innocent exploration of extraterritoriality" (2005a:378). The association of diplomas with *utsai* [witchcraft] conflates the imaginary—belonging to the floating sphere of the "nighttime" —with emotions (envy) related to daytime actions, though they belong to divergent spheres[326]. Many African informants do not appear to differentiate the two. Indeed, as I argued above, desires and emotions such as envy are realities, which mobilize the imaginary and activate witchcraft suspicions (mixing day with nighttime "realities"). However, healers and diviners are cognizant that their role is to separate these different worlds.[327]

Witchcraft reaching beyond conscience

According to Devisch (2005a:385) "The trope of the maleficent witch allows the collective imagination to affirm some basic rules for inter-corporality and inter-subjectivity in the family group." Such inter-corporality involves bodily affects and emotions that "include desire, seduction, passion, chance, aspiration, hunger, curiosity, avidity, and ardor. This is a level of existence beyond conscience, beyond the usual cognitive maps of space-time limits, resemblance, contiguity 'and causality'" (2005a:379). The described complexity of the paradigms involved shows the limitations of

a simple Christian dichotomy of good/bad which reduces 'witchcraft' to evil (Csordas 2013) and negates a third position provided by the potential inherent in the ambiguity of this paradigm as framed in 'ancestral ways' in the studied context. To appropriately understand 'ancestral' ways as currently applied, Devereux's approach (1972), which advocates parallel analyses (in this case of both 'ancestral' and Christian frames) by respecting the inherent logic of each paradigm, is useful.

Controversial ethical debates

Another criticism based on Christian approaches concerns the totalitarian character of witchcraft. I will discuss Bongmba's critique as an example illustrating the problematic of mixing diverging paradigms and thoughts. The moral power of witchcraft rumors involves reciprocity, which for the Christian theologian Bongmba (2001, 1995) has totalizing tendencies. Bongmba analyses *tfu* [witchcraft] in the Wimbum context in Northwest Cameroon. *Tfu* is used as a leveling mechanism (Bongmba 2001, 1995) and to redistribute wealth; elites experience witchcraft as requiring endless redistribution of wealth without reciprocity (Geschiere 1997, 2006b). Bongmba defends the necessity of respecting the inviolability of the individual as defined by Lévinas (1995, 1969). Lévinas (1995:64) argues that failure to respect individual difference is totalitarian and that the function of totalitarian thinking is "to determine being, to organize it."[328] Witchcraft is used in the African context to 'organize', limiting all kinds of extreme behaviors. However, Lévinas' thought is based on Jewish and Christian religious traditions, and makes a specific claim of an asymmetric and non-reciprocal responsibility (Lévinas 1969), which does not apply in the African framework in which reciprocity is fundamental. Lévinas (1995) defines infinity as the anti-pole of totality; infinity is for him absolute otherness that should be respected. Lévinas connotes with totality the pressure to transform the Other into the Same. In contrast, witchcraft (in the African context) involves social leveling and pressure to achieve sameness. However, Lévinas' emphasis on inter-subjectivity recalls the notion of the interdependent person in Bantu-speaking cultures, for which relations to others predominate. In contrast to Lévinas' thought, in the Bantu context, individualism and asymmetric relations are associated with witchcraft.[329] Bongmba (1995:755-77) criticizes the inherent logic of *tfu* [witchcraft] using Lévinas's thought¸ founded upon the respect for individuals; Bongmba argues that respect for the individual does exist in the Wimbum context, but he provides little evidences for his assertion. Bongmba cites Jacobson-Widding's (1990) argument that the shade implies individuality, but fails to mention that the shade is the level at which witchcraft attacks are supposed to occur. In general, individuality is allowed in Bantu contexts as long as it reinforces social bonds and involves only certain (feared or admired) persons (such as chiefs, politicians, healers, diviners), artists or athletes).

Bongmba (1995:84) criticizes the 'negative use' of *tfu* as tyranny, acknowledging however that the Wimbum approach also 'positively' values witchcraft; Bongmba recognizes that 'constructive' or benign frames of witchcraft exist among the Wimbum, contrary to the widespread Christian perspectives of witchcraft. Yet, Bongmba's ethical and theological approach (2001:55) still understands *tfu* in Christian dualist terms, without accepting the ambiguities inherent in the "ancestral"

frames of this paradigm. Similar to findings among the Yaka in Congo[330], in Bas-Congo[331] and in Mozambique[332], Cameroon,[333] Tanzania (Sanders 2001, 2003; Stroeken 2010), South Africa,[334] Uganda (Behrend 1997, 2011) and Zimbabwe (Rödlach 2006), witchcraft addresses desires, as well as inequalities and power conflicts, which are similar to Wimbum's frames related to *tfu*.[335] Although Bongmba (2001: 60) states that he accepts the ambiguity of witchcraft, he also observes that "the negative use of *tfu* is wrong because it violates another person" (2001:58). This observation suggests that Bongmba fails to accept the ambiguity of witchcraft. In my view, Bongmba's critique of what he categorizes as 'negative' witchcraft corresponds to the wish to avoid negativity in human beings.

Mozambican, Congolese and Wimbum ancestral notions of witchcraft, as in the Sukuma culture, conceive the "social exchange dynamically enough to accept transgressions as part of life" (Stroeken 2012:147). Dualist frames cast in 'modern' political, scientific or in dualist religious terms miss the logic of witchcraft and fail to acknowledge the complexity of emotions, fears, and desires that express positive, negative and in-between 'realities' of life. Emotions express the ambiguous, liminal sphere of the human condition, which exists beyond simple dualist categorizations.

Many African professionals and those personally committed either to Christianity or Islam, or to Western science and rationality, are troubled by—and often condemn—the ambiguities inherent in witchcraft (see Mudimbe 1982: 154-55)[336]. These attitudes have a long history: Geschiere (1997:12) and Devisch (2005a:372) observe that anthropological studies[337] from the 1950s tended to reduce African notions of witchcraft to dichotomies, despite local notions. The former colonial administration, socialist ideologies dominant in Mozambique between 1988 and 1992, and current economic liberalism all tend to characterize witchcraft (in strangely parallel ways) as backwards and "non-modern". Yet Latour (1991) has highlighted the "non-objective" and "enchanted" elements of modernity. As Latour (1991)[338] and Sörensen (2006) argue, modern institutions produce all kinds of enchantments.[339] Despite its superficial rationalism, the 'modern' world is full of emotion, uncertainty and contradictions; witchcraft deals with human rationality and irrationality, with emotions and fears, but also with power, competition, economics, and inequalities products of liberal capitalism and globalization (Comaroff et al.1993; Comaroff 1999). In his experiential approach, Stroeken (2012:38) states that the witch is constructed from pure reason: "Contrary to the typical picture of an outcast at the periphery of society, the witch should be located at the heart of society in its invisible core. The witch has moral power." (2012:133).[340] Rather than to associate witchcraft with irrationality, Stroeken suggests that witchcraft and sorcery have an inherent moralizing and levelling logic that nevertheless differs from that of Western individualistic materialistic rationalism.[341]

Dangers of cultural projections of specific ethics and morals

My descriptions demonstrate that different kinds of morals and ethics coexist in the multiplicity of the involved worlds. We saw that ancestors are an ambivalent but nonetheless ethical and moral instance, and are relevant in various ways in life and beyond. Their prohibitions are regarded as moral rules, the transgression of which may bring about disease. Also, the activation of paradigms like *kindoki,*

okhwiri and similar notions of "witchcraft" is used to deal with non-respected reciprocity, or any kind of excess. However, in the current discussions of ethics in anthropology (e.g., Csordas 2013, Laidlaw 2014) there are tendencies to project inappropriate concepts onto paradigms like *kindoki, okwhiri* or similar notions of 'witchcraft' that are usual in sub-Saharan African countries and have been analyzed by Evans-Pritchard and many other anthropologists.

An example of the questionable projection of concepts of morality is the attempt by Csordas (2013) to instate "evil" as a universal concept that is valid for the general theoretical study of moralities[342]. Csordas recognizes that evil "is a 'Christian concept' and therefore necessarily ethnocentric." But he argues that evil is broadly recognized across cultures and insists on the necessity that "critical reflection be applied in deploying the concept of evil in a way that is not beholden to Christian presuppositions" (2013: 526). Unfortunately, this critical reflection is missing in his analysis, which remains steeped in Christian presuppositions. This can be seen in his discussion of 'witchcraft,' which he takes as an example of the universality of evil. His brilliant scholarly rhetoric (as Basu 2013:536 notes) cannot cover up his evasion of the most central connotation of 'witchcraft' in, e.g., the African context that I discussed. He reduces 'witchcraft' to 'evil' and all moralities worldwide to dual notions of bad/good, good/evil, right/wrong, etc. (see 2013:535). He avoids deeper consideration of the central ambiguous and ambivalent characteristic of the connotations of so-called witchcraft, which is essential, e.g., among the Zande (Evans-Pritchard) and in the Bantu contexts that I discussed (see the same critique of Van der Veer 2013:540). The ambivalence implied in *kindoki* or similar notions of "witchcraft/sorcery" is not a secondary, but rather a fundamental characteristic permitting the neutralization of any harmfulness involved in *kindoki*. The ambivalence involved is a necessary aspect of the ritual procedures, in which only a *ndoki* ['witch' in Kikongo] is assumed to be able to identify and efficiently neutralize another *ndoki* by establishing an in-between space in which the neutralization of harmfulness may occur. Such approaches are far removed from Csordas' argument that "evil is simply evil when power is used for evil ends by a witch with evil motives. Evil is neither a category imposed as a condition of colonization by Christian civilization nor a Christian category distorting anthropological interpretation, but one of the conditions of possibility for the discourse of witchcraft to count as moral discourse." (2013:533). The problem in Africa does not lie in an imposition of evil by colonization and Christianity. Rather, the latter demonized practices and spiritual entities which in many, if not most, sub-Saharan pre-colonial contexts were not seen as purely evil, but which very often implied bivalent characteristics (of the potentiality to heal as well as to harm).[343] In this way, Christianity reduced *kindoki* to pure evil, which right up to today produces serious abuse of *kindoki* or similar paradigms, leading to children being ascribed individual "responsibility" in terms of *ndoki* ['witches'] for the death or disease of relatives (see Chapter Five). Such approaches misinterpret and pervert a paradigm that does not concern individual responsibility. As I recalled above, the maternal uncle who is designated as the *ndoki* in cases of *kindoki* ['witchcraft'] accusations holds, in a matrilineal context, a powerful position as one of the elders, and the one assumed to protect all kinship

members. Accusing him of *kindoki* ['witchcraft'] implies accusing him of not having adequately protected (in cases of disease or death) his kin; this is not an issue of individual responsibility, but much more a ritualized establishment of the source of the disorder outside of the suffering persons. The maternal uncle is not prosecuted when he is assumed to behave as a *ndoki*; on the contrary, such behavior is expected from him (Buakasa 1980). This example shows the traps of "newly" interpreting so-called witchcraft in order to develop general theories on moralities and ethics.

In short, the reduction to specific values and morals of regionally broadly shared values (like those I described in this study for certain Bantu-speaking contexts) often occurs against the background of a claimed universalism of certain (e.g., individualizing) norms. Universalism involving the projection and imposition of Western values and norms on the whole world, and specifically on Africa, leads to the neglect of other values (e.g., group rights) in the name of a pretended ditto "sacredness" of dualist reductions to evil/good, and to individuality and property rights. The latter may lead to a favouring of the freedom of the individual over the specific rights of groups, e.g., concerning land ownership.

The necessary carefulness towards the discussed paradigm implies not reducing it to ontological characteristics, fixing in terms of being and identity, as Tempels (1959) and his followers did in their construction of a "Bantu ontology" (Chapter Two and Seven). Healers' insistence that they are interested only in the bewitched person, not in 'witches,' shows that *vuloyi, wuloyi, okhiri, kindoki* or similar notions centrally address the relations between the living persons[344]; they do not define ontological fixed states of being. If the latter occurs, according to many healers in the studied context, it implies misunderstanding or misuse. A person designated as behaving as a harmful *nokwiri* or *ndoki* ['witch'] can escape this (even when inherited) by undergoing treatments neutralizing the harmfulness involved. The 'ancestral' approach of this paradigm implies—according to many healers and chiefs—that a person initiated into the power of *wuloyi, okhiri, kindoki* (like the eldest uncle of a clan, healers or chiefs) have the obligation to use it to the benefit of the people (to protect or to heal) and not against them. This paradigm is about knowledge and power, not about fixed and unchangeable ontological states of being to which any approach hunting 'witches' tends to reduce it to.

Some conclusions

Above, I described witchcraft as a paradigm 'of the night' that can be used for either benign or harmful goals. Describing the metaphorical characteristics of the paradigm, I showed how *kindoki* and similar notions are associated with being 'eaten'; this 'eating', or weakening of the vital forces, does not refer to physical flesh, but is no less real. Witchcraft in Bantu contexts involves a law of retaliation, meaning that the apparent victim may actually be suffering due to his own harmful acts. I have demonstrated that there are often divergent frames at play, evidence of the versatility of the paradigm. Witchcraft is used by the weakest and the most powerful of society: an unsuccessful person may be seen as an *ndoki* suffering retaliation. On other hand, a rich and successful person may be suspected of 'eating' others during the night. I discussed how this paradigm frames excess and argued

that it is inherently ambivalent, a feature that corresponds to Beidelman's (1993) observation on the ambivalence characteristic of ancestral Bantu modes of thought.[345] Finally, I highlighted the fact that this paradigm concerns many of the basic aspects of life, involving dreams, emotions and desires. *Kindoki*, *okhwiri*, *wuloyi* and similar notions are related to envy, jealousy, fear of death, or to social, political, familial and economic inequalities, tensions and conflicts. The paradigm of 'witchcraft' makes sense of misfortune[346]; it appears at all levels of society in Mozambique and DR Congo; it is a concern of both urban and rural people, elites and common people. Like other authors,[347] I suggest that witchcraft is part of a socially defined moral economy[348] dealing with fertility, production, luck, and misfortune. Witchcraft is implicated in the uncertainties associated with death, epidemic disease, and misfortunes of otherwise inexplicable origin. *Kindoki*, *okhwiri*, and *wuloyi* are explanatory models that make sense of the incomprehensible and give meaning to loss and social disorder due to death[349] or misfortune by locating their 'topographic origins'. The 'ancestral' frames described by my informants in Mozambique and DR Congo thus 'domesticate' uncertainty (Ganjo 2007, 2011; Stroeken 2012).
Description and analysis of two treatments of 'being dying and being reborn' show how 'ancestral' frames neutralize emotions, conflicts and social tensions all kinds through embodied metaphors or analogies. Such treatments require neither identification, naming, nor persecution of the presumed witch. Treatments focus on the bewitched person, rather than the witch.
In contrast, Christian frames are used (first) against the persecuting frames of 'ancestral ways' and (second) especially in situations of "deterriorization"[350] without the support of the lineage, and (third) imply individualizing semi-public confessions of 'sin' and 'evil.' The latter imprison the person in a "diabolic responsibility" and disregard the possible central role of social mitigation; we saw that Stroeken (2012:101) shows, in the context of divination, that 'witchcraft' (in actualized 'ancestral' ways in Bantu contexts) is about mitigating the responsibility of the individual. When the involved community member does not participate in the 'speaking out' treatment process and fails to express their own 'bad' thoughts and intentions toward the 'bewitched' person (like I discussed with the third case study in part I above), individual stigma through vilification increases social isolation, and suffering continues.[351] Instead of extracting, cleansing, protecting and neutralizing the bewitchment, individualizing public confessions keep the violent phantasms alive and fix them, producing realities. Some authors argue that religious communities may provide support[352]; however, I suggest that individualizing and demonizing approaches to witchcraft fail to neutralize the harmfulness of witchcraft accusations effectively. Ritual and metaphorical 'techniques' such as 'sending back' or embodied rituals that separate two *ndoki* [witches in Kikongo] (Chapter Six) have some effective potential to avoid stigma.

Analysis of hybrid applications shows that combined use of endogenous and emerging frames of this paradigm may serve individual, political, economic or social interests at the expense of the victim. Careful observation and analysis facilitates distinctions between Bantu *ntumbuluku* [ancestral tradition in Xichangana], Christian, and legal frames. Distinction is necessary to understand the impetus behind

this paradigm. The critical point is to determine whether a particular approach neutralizes, maintains, or reinforces the social and emotional tensions expressed through witchcraft. According to Moore & Sanders (2001), 'witchcraft' is one element in multiple versions of modernity. According to my observations, it is continuously re-framed and very resilient in Mozambique and DR Congo.[353] 'Witchcraft' may be an expression of protest and resistance (Comaroff 1999), or reflect colonial and/or Christian demonizing (Behrend 2011; Langwick 2011). It currently often functions as a response to poverty and increasing inequalities in the liberal market economy through the lens of local moral economies. [354] It is used in order to augment power (Bayart 1989; Geschiere 1995). This was the case in the colonial past,[355] as it was in the pre-colonial period and still is at present.[356] As a means of dealing with the human condition, this paradigm maintains continuity although it undergoes change through time.[357] In order to achieve effectiveness in health, education and law, it is useful to know the internal logics of this paradigm, and to address them more appropriately.[358]

The moral and ethical power of witchcraft (Stroeken 2010) may explain its resilience.[359] The moral and ethics involved are very often "ordinary" kind in dealing with the relations of the persons; they do not necessarily concern the realm of the occult, even if the framings used (e.g., "eating organs," "killing," fetishes, etc. – see the third case study in part I and Devisch, 2001) seem violent. These framings are often products of the imaginary, or phantasms. They may occur in dreams and deal with strong emotions[360] (which does not neglect that violent and occult use of 'sorcery' do not also occur). It looks as if *kindoki, okhwiri, wuloyi* (or similar paradigms) would constantly re-frames itself in the light of current needs amidst increasing inequalities and a plethora of unattainable commodities. The case study above, with the children treated by Mother Elalie, illustrates this observation. 'Witchcraft' accusations tend to increase in times of warfare or epidemic disease (e.g. AIDS), which should not blind one to the fact that many, if not most, accusations framed through the paradigm of 'witchcraft' in the studied context deal with what Lambeck (2010) calls the *ordinary*, involving in these cases envy, jealousy, fear, uncertainty (of death or chronic diseases) and inequality of all kinds. The growing impoverishment leads to emergent frames like the *kindoki*-children's 'new' tendency in DR Congo to retaliate by accusing unrelated adults of *kindoki*, when formerly, among the Kikongo-speakers, *kindoki* only involved the extended family and did also not apply to children. These both apparently 'new' frames arose in tandem with economic crises in DRC. In Mozambique, due to the economic pressure and rising poverty, children surviving HIV who receive material support are easy targets of 'witchcraft' accusations by the envious who surround them, while in DRC the extension of *kindoki* accusation to neighbors or work colleagues expresses the changes in which "narrowness" is no longer defined alone through kinship belonging.

Last but not least, *kindoki* (or similar paradigms) is not an ontological state of being, but deals with fundamental human relations. Effective approaches, when they mitigate individual responsibility and allow mediation of the conflicts, may alleviate the tensions involved, and may neutralize harmfulness when this is required, by treating the relations of the people involved – which is what is expected.

Figure 19: **The Emakhuwa-speaking *mukhulukana* (healer) H. treats a woman against *okhwíri* (bewitchment)** in a ritual using embodied metaphors that extract, send back and take the person out of the state of "death" in which the person is. Finally he cleanses and protects the person. – North Mozambique –

– Central Mozambique – Figure 20: **The Cishona-speaking healer Rupia** argues that healing provides relief to bewitched persons and is not at all concerned with the "witch'.

Treatment like "sending back" requires neither the identification of a 'witch' nor any persecution; it is all about the bewitched person.

Figure 21: **The Emakhuwa-speaking healer H. (North Mozambique)** regularly invokes his ancestors (in his matrilineal world, more his maternal ones), who help him to divine and heal. Like many other healers, he argues that a healer, when *okwhiri* (unwilling ‘witchcraft’) or *nipako* (willing sorcery) is involved, needs very strong protection to be able to neutralize harmfulness without being harmed. Also, ‘constructive’ or protective witchcraft-power (*olipelela*) requires being well protected.

Treatment of „dying and becoming reborn“ (DRC)

Figure Nr.22/23: Rolled in a mat above a hole (like a grave) with medicinal plants burning that “takes out of the state of ‘death’” through fire/smoke. Cleansing with fire, smoke and water combined with medicinal plants. **Treating changes occur in a ritual of passage from the state of “death” (bewitchment) to life**.

Figures Nr. 22/23

Figure 25: Cleansing with water and medical plants. The space of treatment is delimitated, which prevents bewitchment jumping onto others.

And remaining harm is finally **extracted** with a chicken.

Figure Nr.24: Nails and hairs of each treated person are cut, treated with medical plants and keep for each in a box **as means of protection.**

Treatment of „dying and becoming reborn“ (DRC)

Figure Nr.26: The *ngaanga ngoombu* (mediumistic healer) Pointe Noire uses ‘ancestral ways’ (Kiyaka-speakers, DRC, 2010)

Healing Basket

Figure Nr.27: The Gordian knot forming the basket of the healer Pointe Noire shows the interweaving of links of infinite strength, restoring life, which traditional medicine reinforces.

***Nkisi* (ancestral spirit in wood sculpture)** loaded with ancestral power and presence.

The *n-kisi* fetish that accompanies the work of the traditional healer serves as protection, bringing together the protective ancestors he learned with and who constitute his source of knowledge by giving him the legitimacy of his activities. Fear of evil fetishes should not lead to prohibition of the fetish, which can be beneficial to those who feel the need for it.

Figure Nr.28/29:
The shrine and tree of this chief in Kwango (RDC),
where he regularly invokes his ancestors.

This chief is also a healer. He lived 20 years in Kinshasa. He explains the ambivalent characteristics of *buloki* (‘witchcraft’ in Kikongo); a chief needs this power and knowledge in order to be able to protect the persons living on his territory.

PART
II

Applications
In

Health
Education

And Law pluralism

Chapter Five

HEALTH WELLBEING & HIV and AIDS

Figure 30: DIALOGUE
A chief who is also a healer and a nurse

– In Kwango, South-West DR Congo (2010) –

Outline of Chapter Five

In part one I, section A, I describe the dominant understanding of health framed as "wellbeing", which implies more than the lack of disease. **In section B,** I apply the inter-relation of interdependent persons and of the prevailing *multiple bodies* (physical, vital, social, political) discussed in Chapter Three with the "morals" related to ancestral taboos, which appear in the context of HIV/AIDS. I look at the consequences of these inter-relations for behavior, emotions, cognition and motivation – all of which are central health-education issues in motivating HIV prevention.

In part two, I critically discuss the current biomedical approach to HIV/AIDS prevention and health education, identifying adjustments necessary to improve the efficiency of biomedical approaches in that specific field. I show the deep misunderstandings and lack of real communication that limit efficiency in the biomedical approaches to HIV/AIDS prevention, and, on the basis of experience, I discuss ways of improving these approaches.

In part three, I describe the communication issues that are relevant in applying an inclusive approach to HIV/AIDS that adequately takes into account the discussed paradigms and frames in the studied Bantu-speaking context.

In part four, I show the application of inclusive education in HIV/AIDS-prevention in the framework of youth initiation. I analyze the effectiveness of this emotionally, socially, morally and ethically grounded education in health. I also question the promotion of merely 'technical' circumcision without inclusive (HIV) counseling in the framework of male initiation. I look at the adjustments in approaches that are useful in improving HIV-prevention education and the more effective use of biomedical diagnostics, complementary treatments and care in the studied cultures, in accordance with the observed cultural practices and
emotional and social requirements.

Appendixes of Chapter five

5.1. –Appendix	Communication bridging transgressed taboos and HIV-infection	2 p.
5.2. –Appendix	Inclusive dialogue on witchcraft and HIV/AIDS	2 p.
5.3. –Appendix	Steps for inclusion of HIV-prevention in maturity rites in Mozambique	3 p.
5.4. –Appendix	Impact of inclusion of HIV-prevention in maturity rites in Mozambique	2 p.
5.5. –Appendix	Cross-generational female initiation rites in Central and Southern Africa	1,5p.

PART II -

Chapter 5 – Wellbeing, Health and HIV/AIDS

Introduction

In this chapter, I look at the cultural and social understandings of health in general in the studied Bantu-speaking cultures and especially how endogenous practices and values interfere in the context of HIV and AIDS in the countries that I studied. The 'cultural' paradigms discussed in the first part of this study apply in mental health (Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003a; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008a; Mahumana 2014b) and in many other sectors of health. Because the negation of the relevance of the dominating cultural paradigms increases suffering in the hyper-epidemic of AIDS in Mozambique and DR Congo, I discuss in this chapter the social and cultural approach to HIV/AIDS. The context of HIV/AIDS shows clearly the extreme discrepancy between local approaches and those promoted officially by all biomedical services, or by numerous NGOs and faith-based organizations (FBOs) which all tend to disregard local thoughts and practices in health in general, and specifically in the context of AIDS. Many international financial funds and human resources have invested in HIV testing, ARV treatments, but, in recent years, less in the promotion of prevention in Africa in general and specifically in Mozambique (Nakabonge 2013). The statistics and most observers agree that positive results are lacking in HIV prevention. The results of the extensively applied "DIALOGO" research (in 2006-2007) -- which I conducted with several teams involving not only agencies like healers, chiefs and initiation rites counselors of both genders, but also persons responsible for HIV/AIDS in several ministries and in NGOs combating the epidemic as well as counselors of people living with HIV – demonstrated a lack of inclusion and dialogue with the social and cultural aspects that are relevant for a large part of the Bantu-speakers of Mozambique. Right up to the present (in 2015), this exclusion influences the high prevalence of HIV in Mozambique (Green 1999a/b; Kotanyi 2005; Matsinhe 2006; Bukali de Graca 2002; Mahumana 2007; Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007; Kotanyi & Macaringe et al. 2008, Kotanyi & Krings-Ney 2009, CNCS, 2014).

Besides the humanitarian aspects, the HIV epidemic challenges the official health system and forces the instatement of more efficient biomedical services; the 'advantage' of this process is that it improves national biomedical services. However, critics show that high international support in the sector of Health leads national governments to invest less in health, and impedes development of a sustainable national health system, given the extreme dependency on external aid, as is the case in Mozambique (Nakabonge 2013; Moyo 2009, Hanlon 2004, Moss 2006).[1] My discussion of health will concentrate on Mozambique, but my research (2010-2011) in Kwango and Kinshasa[2] demonstrated that the findings in the field of HIV/AIDS in Mozambique correspond to a large extent with those in DR Congo (Lapika 1996; Kotanyi and Lapika, 2010; Kotanyi 2011).[3] In Kinshasa and in Kwango (South-West DRC), Lapika (1996) for DR Congo and I (2005) for Mozambique had similar observations of the missing of cultural inclusive approaches of HIV/AIDS; we deepened the

development of the "culturally inclusive communication strategy of a dialogical approach to HIV/AIDS" in a Bantu-speaking cultural context, which, after local adjustments, works just as well in DR Congo as in Mozambique (Kotanyi and Lapika 2010).[4]

My discussion of communication in the context of HIV/AIDS in this chapter may seem relevant 'just' to prevention and health education concerning sexually transmitted diseases (STD) and HIV; but applications show that it is equally relevant to the efficient use of STD, HIV/AIDS-counseling, testing and treatments. Many nurses in biomedicine in Mozambique and DR Congo see, and some understand very well, the interfering social and cultural issues that I describe and analyze; but the policies of the Health Ministry do not allow them to cooperate with healers, preventing them also from developing dialogical practices with healers. In Mozambique, nurses who cooperate with healers may be subject to disciplinary procedures, an inheritance from the former socialist post-colonial regime that prohibited the practice of traditional medicine from 1975 to 1992. Honwana (2002) described the ideological "war" that the socialist state conducted in the area of health in Mozambique. This ideological "war" corresponds to the "war of spirits" described by Behrend (1993) for Uganda, and it also recalls the "war in law" that Akele Adau (2007) questions. Although health and law are different areas, both have to deal with the same kind of devaluation by official health in Mozambique and DR Congo, as well as international organizations or legal institutions (in DR Congo), of "ancestral" and spiritual paradigms that are officially often regarded as 'non-modern', backward and superstitious. I will highlight the social and cultural issues involved in this kind of "war" in medicine, which is grounded in diverging definitions of "wellbeing" versus "health." These ideological and epistemological "wars" concerning medicine (or law – discussed in Chapter Six) are rooted in the "power of definition" (v. Rinsum 2001) of what is knowledge and science, and what is not. The latter has repercussions in how an epidemic like HIV/AIDS is approached.

Let me clarify also that when I criticize biomedical approaches, I do not mean biomedicine in general, but rather the policies, programs and practices, which exclude the locally appreciated social, cultural, spiritual, psychological and holistic approaches in both countries I studied. I am concerned with discussing the issues that are important to most Mozambicans for wellbeing, as I defined in my introduction (Matsinhe 2005). My interest is to motivate adjustments to the biomedical approaches so as to facilitate achieving the intended goals through dialogue and inclusive or complementary approaches, and thus to provide and improve the health conditions of the majority of the people. I appreciate and use biomedicine, as do my informants to a large extent when it is available. In the context of the high HIV prevalence in Mozambique, however, a great deal of money and human resources are spent without achieving enough HIV prevention.

The general context of HIV and AIDS in Mozambique

With a GDP of only USD 340 per capita (2005), Mozambique is one of the poorest countries in the world, with an average age of 17.7 years and 44.2% of the population under fourteen (2005). The life expectancy in Mozambique is 41.2 years, which is among the lowest in the world, while the death rate

is one of the highest worldwide (19.8 per 1,000 in 2005). In Mozambique, HIV/AIDS prevalence and related deaths are among the highest in the world. In 2011 there was a 16.1% and in 2014 a 15.8% prevalence among the population aged 15–49, and there were 729 deaths in 100,000 in 2005. There are strong regional differences: the prevalence among pregnant women is much higher in regions where male circumcision is not done systematically as part of male initiation (in 2011 HIV prevalence in the South reached 29.7%, in the central provinces 21.1%) while in the North, where male and female initiation is practiced, HIV prevalence reached 13.6% in 2011 (UNAIDS report Moz. 2014[5]). I advocate the educational framework of male and female youth initiation given that they provide a useful education in "respect," which has strong relevance for HIV prevention, as I demonstrate in this chapter. In fact, HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns seem to be quite ineffective in Mozambique (PEN 2009) and in most sub-Saharan African countries, with certain exceptions such as Uganda (Green, 2003) or Senegal. Despite many years of well-financed prevention programs (expenditures of $260,000 million for HIV/AIDS in 2011, UNAIDS 2014:23), the number of newly infected people is not diminishing in a significant way in Mozambique; it continued to rise between 2007 and 2011 (UNAIDS 2014:19). HIV prevalence is higher in the urban context at 19.9%, but also very high in rural areas at 12.2% (UNAIDS 2014:21). The highest prevalence can be found in the economically active part of the population, between the ages of 15 and 40. Women are affected the most.[6]

I. Wellbeing in the context of AIDS by interrelated persons

A. Wellbeing as 'life' – beyond health

In Mozambique and DR Congo, people have a broad understanding of health, which they refer to as "life." There is a difference between the biomedical health institutions' definition of health and what people refer to as 'life' and "wellbeing". These two different sets of values have significant implications for the efficacy of the use of biomedical health services. They help explain why so many people continue to use the so-called traditional health services even when they have access to biomedical health services. Nurses and biomedical doctors claim that people "wait too long" to turn to the biomedical health services, and that healers transfer their patients too late to biomedical services. However, it is most often the patients' accompanying 'therapy management group' (Janzen 1978, 1997)[7] of family members who insist on first consulting diviners and healers before going to the 'hospital', due in part to the fear of 'social contamination' because of transgressed taboos (framed as thermal – see Chapter Three), or to spiritual "claiming" or 'witchcraft.' Why does this happen, often making it impossible for biomedical treatment to achieve results in time? The reasons must be examined in greater depth.

Statistics show that the population has limited access to health services, with only 0.05 medical doctors and 0.24 nurses per 1,000 inhabitants.[8] In urban or semi-urban geographical locations, biomedical services are available, while in rural areas, the nearest health center or hospital might be far away, with little availability of transportation. But it is not the availability of biomedical services alone that limits their use. On the one hand, the different bodies at play influence a hierarchy of

decisions (called by Mol, 2002, the 'pyramid' of decisions). On the other, Mozambicans, with their interdependent form of personhood, emphasize social priorities along with the treatment of the physical body, as I show in Part One of this study.

Wellbeing and health in the Mozambican Bantu context

I will analyze the endogenous approach to health versus wellbeing as described by informants from speakers of five Bantu languages in Mozambique,[9] in which only one of nine statements refers first to health as not having illness, which in the biomedicine practiced in Mozambique is the main objective of medical services. Statements[10] suggest, instead of just health, a broader notion of "wellbeing", which is shared by the informants in all the studied linguistic contexts: the people seek "life" [*ekumi*][11],[*ugumi*][12], [*uthongo*][13] as wellbeing [*murecele* in Emakhuwa/Elomwe], which is defined as a state of the whole body-self including spiritual and emotional balance with the social, economic and 'natural' environment. A concern in wellbeing is not to be a victim of envy, anger, or revenge (all of which are closely related to 'witchcraft'). At the same time, economic issues like having abundant food and harvests are also referred to as 'life' [health, wellbeing] by six out of nine statements defining health.[14] This came out in 2006 in the "DIALOGO" study with well-recognized healers, chiefs and initiation rites counselors of three provinces of Central/North Mozambique. They are seen in their communities as highly qualified to explain the local values and practices.

The values implied by health as 'life' and wellbeing in sub-Saharan Africa

These popular Mozambican conceptions of seeking "life" beyond health seem similar to the conception in other sub-Saharan African countries; comparing the findings in Mozambique with the findings of Obrist (2006), the differences between rural and urban populations seem less strong than one might expect. The findings described above from the rural, semi-urban and urban frameworks in Mozambique correspond to the everyday understanding of health of Dar es Salaam suburbanites analyzed by Obrist (2006) in a study carried out in the capital of Tanzania. Obrist argues, like Douglas (1994, 2006), that the notions and practices relating to "health" and "risk" are produced in social interaction (Obrist 2006:29). Douglas argues, along with Beck (1989) that "risk" is socially and politically determined. The priority placed on giving sense to misfortune, dealing with uncertainty (Stroeken 2010) is common to my and Obrist's informants. This is confirmed and reinforced in Langwick's (2011:11) notion of "maladies" as a social expression of illness.

In Mozambique and DR Congo, health and wellbeing (e.g. fertility) are approached by healers through thermal and humoral categories; see in Chapter Two the notion of "blood" that is usual for several bodily fluids, and in Chapter Three the relevance of hot and cold, dry and wet frames relevant in the cultural framings related to HIV and AIDS.[15] Janzen (1989) shows with his studies in Bas-Congo that, similarly to a lot of Bantu-speaking cultures, three basic frames are expressed in dichotomies: purity/pollution, balance/imbalance, and cool/hot. In the Bantu-speaking contexts that I studied, "coolness" is a quintessential quality of the ancestors, perceived as able to help end the 'hotness' of strained relationships, witchcraft and pollution (see Janzen 1989: 234). A similar health approach,

understanding bodily wellbeing as only one aspect of good fortune, appears in a Zulu-speaking context. In accordance with Ngubane, health balance in the Zulu conception is understood as the need to secure the "moral order" between people "… in the context of their environment, the ancestors and other mystical forces [that] produce pollution" (1977:27). Obrist (2006:33) concludes that, rather than referring primarily to the health of the physical body, all of these views associate health with the pursuit of a good "life," which corresponds to the descriptions of my Mozambican informants. Hahn, Kleinmann (1983) have pointed out that the focus of biomedicine on human biology and physiology reduces health suffering to the disturbance of organs of the body (Mol 2002). In such a biomedical conception of medicine, the body is reduced to a car that has to be fixed in the sense that "this container body has machine-like properties, displaying the mechanical qualities of a system of plumbing" (James & Hockey 2007:41).[16] In sub-Saharan Africa, when biomedicine is practiced as the management of diseases and illness with regard just to the physical body, it treats only a part of what people require for wellbeing. The local complex understanding of the multiple bodies is much broader.

B. Interdependent persons and multiple 'bodies' in the context of HIV and AIDS

I discussed in Chapter Two the plural composition of the *munthu* [person] in Cindau or *mutu* in Kikongo, (the 'spirit', the vital force and the physical body) forming a whole, which is strongly related to and determined by the social and the political '*bodies*'. The latter define the official *body politic,* which is mainly informed by and oriented to biomedicine. The epistemology of biomedicine determines, to a large extent, the *biopower* exercised by the Ministry of Health, hospitals and medical centers, and also the HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns and health education provided in the official and civil society in Mozambique and DR Congo, in ways corresponding to international norms of the WHO and defined in terms of biomedicine. The latter stands in contrast to the currently widespread perspective and practices of the majority of the people in the discussed Bantu-speakers' context. Many people use different medical systems, consult all kinds of healers and seek, in parallel to biomedical diagnostics (when these are accessible), other kinds of diagnosis through 'divination' (or revelation performed by religious practitioners). The people are concerned with identifying and treating either transgressed taboos, or claims of spirits seeking revenge among the living, or disorders originating from *wuloyi, okhwhiri, kindoki* or similar notions of either 'witchcraft' or sorcery related to illnesses defined through endogenous (actualized 'ancestral') epistemology. The latter does not imply that the people reject biomedical services; as far as they have access to them, they seek the support of such services, although not in an exclusive way. They seek medical support in the coexisting plural 'medical landscape' (Mahumana 2013), requiring not only health but also wellbeing. Medical doctors and many nurses claim that the patients consult the biomedical health centers too late, impeding the effectiveness of their treatments. The latter occurs not because the people don't take the requirements of the physical body seriously, but because they consider it essential that the interfering 'social' issues

(encompassing everything I have just described and analyzed in Part I of this study) first be treated in order to allow effective treatment of the physical body. In short, the interdependent person stands in strong relationship to its social and ecological environment. The social world, composed of the living and their ancestors (living-dead) and other spirits (in strong relationship to each other), is related to the ecological environment, including the spirits that originated from mountains, sea, rivers, trees, forests, etc. The several influences in play are mediated (by emotions, dreams, possession, diagnosis through 'divination' and other ritual practices) through 'spirits' of all kinds, and through their agents (healers, diviners, community 'chiefs'). We saw that in the context of strongly relational persons, any regulation of behavior implicates significant others.[17] Behavior regulation is what HIV prevention campaigns tend to influence. Therefore, in order to motivate behavior changes in HIV/AIDS issues in both studied countries, it is necessary to adequately take into account the interdependently functioning structure of the persons, with all the interferences and interdependency just summarized.[18]

In Mozambique, HIV/AIDS-prevention campaigns tend to address persons as if they were individual *independent selves*, instead of activating the people's interrelationships. Prevention campaigns taking into account relational structures of *interdependent* persons would emphasize the relationship between people by formulating messages addressed to all family or community members. Such an approach could effect greater behavior change and respond best to the requirements of a strong communitarian framework, which most of all allows the efficacy of ARV treatments to be ensured through regular and consistent use that could lead to the eradication of the epidemic[19]. Addressing the interrelationship in prevention campaigns or in HIV and AIDS counseling implies taking into account the complexity of strongly relational and *interdependent* persons-structures.[20] One characteristic of interdependence with others is the necessity of being in concordance with the others. This implies differences between public and private behaviors (Chapter Two).[21]

I showed in Chapter Two that people in Mozambique who are influenced by a westernized education normally retain an *interdependent-self* construct, and do not necessarily come to think of themselves as *independent* persons. It is possible but difficult in an *interdependently* structured society to have individual and independent behavior. That is not at all to say that decisions are always collective, but the social pressure to adjust one's own behavior in relation to others is intense. In an African social context where the 'witchcraft'[22] paradigms are widely shared, an individual or isolated person is easily associated with 'witches.'[23] Social pressure is a powerful way to achieve behavior change through the 'weight' of the relationships in several in-groups.[24] Another example of *interdependent* understanding of *person* in the South is the explanation of a Xichangana-speaking healer:

> "When you have problems, you should see a healer; he might identify that it must be a *xikwembu xa la kaya* [home spirit/ancestor], which considers that it is not being sufficiently respected. In this case, the spirit must be called[25], so that this *xikwembu xa la kaya* can join the others [ancestors][26], not disturbing the living any more, but protecting them. If one *xikwembu* [spirit][27] remains discontented, it may happen that the others do not like it, meaning that the

> problems cannot be solved. It can happen that this one *xikwembu*, which is angry, is perhaps the most important one in your life. If that one gets angry, all [spirits] will become angry – because we are all together."[28]

Interdependence of living includes interdependence with spiritual beings, especially the ancestors. The spirit-behavior is understood in correspondence with human behavior. The healer above shows that the behavior of living persons necessarily copies the behavior of the other living persons, as well as that of the living-dead [ancestors], "since we are all together".[29] In a strongly inter-relational society, there is little space for purely individualistic behavior, which means that a primarily individualistic biomedical approach to health and prevention will show limited success, as far as it does not at least respect the people's broader needs.

Looking at the consequences to the approach to HIV/AIDS, the question arises as to what extent a notion of individual and social responsibility[30] exists in a framework of inter-related selves. A sense of responsibility is central to practices of HIV prevention. As I show in Chapter Two, a wide range of informants in patrilineal South/Central Mozambique said that, first of all, the chief of the community has to have social responsibility, while matrilineal Makhuwa healers and chiefs argued that *wisuwekeke* [responsibility] is expected to appear after youth initiation, while traditional education (until marriage and the birth of the first child) insists on the necessity of assuming responsibilities for the wellbeing of the children, of the partner, and of the family.[31] Some speak more of the 'weight' (honor) of a person and of the required "respect".[32] I will show that efficient HIV-prevention education implies reinforcing such endogenous morals and ethics.

Consequences of *interdependence* for behavior concerning HIV/AIDS

All the organizations promoting HIV prevention in Mozambique and DR Congo try to promote individual behavior change in sexuality (promoting contraceptive use), in order to limit biological contamination through infected sexual fluids or blood. However, evaluations of years of mobilization for HIV prevention do not show success in either of the countries evaluated. Markus and Kitayama (1991) argue that *independent self* emphasizes the inner side of the person in individual behavior. The question arises as to whether education for HIV prevention focusing on individual behavior is appropriate in Mozambique or DR Congo. Due to the prevalence of interdependent-selves structures, education for prevention should focus on external, public features of belonging or fitting in (of *bamunthu* [persons] that tend to stay in relation to others). People living with HIV are very concerned about how they are judged or accepted by others[33]. People living with HIV are subject to extreme stigma, discrimination and social isolation and especially in the countries studied, social isolation. In both countries, as in neighboring Zimbabwe (Rödlach 2006), in South Africa (Asforth 2005; Niehaus 2007; Wreford 2008, 2009) and in many sub-Saharan African cultures (for Cameroun, see Quantara 2010) people living with HIV or full-blown AIDS in Mozambique are frequently affected by witchcraft as a cultural etiology (West 2006; Kotanyi, 2005; Mahumana et al. 2007; Bagnol 2007). The fear of accusation of 'witchcraft' increases the fear of social isolation (Lewertowsky & Nathan

1998); the designation of a person living with HIV as 'witch' may hinder family members or neighbors in providing the care that a person living with full-blown AIDS needs (see part III, C).

Further evidence of the influence of the interrelated-person definition are ideas and practices related to taboo transgression in Mozambique. As described (in Chapter Three), several taboo rules define right or wrong sexual behavior in the cultural context.[34] The moral frame of the transgression of taboos (Wolf 2001) is increased through the connotation of HIV infection with promiscuity or prostitution[35]. In interdependent, inter-relational self-structures, the focus on external, public features of belonging or fitting in is influential in both types of morality, whether a person is judged or accepted by others. Due to strong interdependence and social control, especially people living with HIV prefer to live in urbanized contexts, allowing them to go to a hospital far away from their own community. This facilitates hiding one's HIV-positive state from neighbors, so as to avoid discrimination and stigma.[36]

Consequences of interdependent-structured persons for emotions

When discussing their sexuality, Cisena-speaking women in central Mozambique, explain that they become unhappy if they do not feel pain during sexual intercourse with a man, as for a man the vagina must be narrow and dry, in order to achieve more masculine sexual pleasure.[37] A psychotherapeutic westernized approach valuating individuality might hypothesize female masochism, and a gender-oriented approach emphasizes the female submission to patriarchal authority given masculine oppression imposing male pleasure at the cost of women. Cultures of interdependent persons, according to Markus and Kitayama (1991:235), do not experience as many emotions such as anger, frustration, or pride as do ego-focused, self-constructed persons who are more concerned with maintaining their autonomous entities by emphasizing internal attributes of the "ego". Interdependent persons experience more other-focused emotions.[38] From a feminist point of view, accepting pain to ensure male pleasure is perceived as a demonstration of an oppressed state of being self-sacrificing. Independent self considers dependence as negative, while in the cultural and structural framework of interdependent self, interdependence is rooted in reciprocity of dependency, which corresponds to the perspective of the described Cisena-speaking women.

Due to the influence of the witchcraft paradigm, the importance of taking care of others, considering others, and being gentle in all situations is a central necessity[39]. Anger may provoke revenge desires, which are dangerous in a frame where thoughts have effects similar to actions.[40] The findings show that interdependent-persons structure influences how emotions might activate the change of behavior related to sex, blood, and death – all relevant for HIV prevention.

Consequences for motivation in the approach to HIV and AIDS

In Mozambique there is limited HIV prevention and very little motivation to know one's own state of infection with HIV, as demonstrated by statistics presented by a UNAIDS (2008[41]) representative during the first conference on HIV and AIDS in Maputo. Besides the justified fear of stigma, chronic

disease that may lead to early death (like cancer or AIDS) limits a person's motivation (anywhere in the world) to know about a state that implies reduced prospects for life (Sonntag 1978, 2001).[42]

Fear of isolation and stigma limits motivation

A person living with HIV and AIDS is in danger of being isolated: often being hindered in fulfilling the necessary reciprocity of relationships, a physically very weak person living with AIDS can be regarded as a person who 'sucks' or 'eats' the vital force of the others. In social terms, HIV infection and AIDS bring people into a vicious circle: the need for reciprocity is a structural part of interdependent self, as anthropological studies about gift exchange describe[43]. But, to become totally dependent on the care of others, without being able to ensure reciprocity, increases the danger of social isolation of a person with full-blown AIDS. This explains why persons with HIV and AIDS (including AIDS orphans), who receive food or other help, have no other chance of survival than to share the received aid even with neighbors not taking care of them, just to avoid eventual envious aggressions framed as witchcraft. Studying what makes interdependent selves feel good, Markus & Kitayama argue that "…positive feelings about the self should derive from fulfilling the tasks associated with being interdependent with relevant others: belonging, fitting in, occupying one's proper place, …promoting others' goals, and maintaining harmony." (1991:242)

Thus Mozambicans and Congolese generally do not to want to know if they are infected with HIV (which seems more the case among men than women, as the latter – according to medical doctors' observations – want to bear healthy children), and may systematically hide their state of infection. An identification of HIV infection carries a high risk of the concerned person being rapidly excluded from the solidarity of their community; a person who eats better than others, and goes to the hospital every month, taking medication daily for the rest of his life, differs so much from the others that he/she can be easily suspected of witchcraft. This person appears to be 'sucking' the vital forces of the other, healthy, family members. With regard to HIV/AIDS in South Africa, Niehaus (2008, 2005) describes people's references to "zombies" who suck the blood of others. It fits the narratives and the widespread rhetoric about witchcraft, which uses 'eating' as a main metaphor: I described in Chapter Four similar notion in Mozambique and DR Congo, which assumes that a 'witch' acquires power and wealth by "eating in the night" (the vital force of others). Thus, it is no surprise that people living with HIV insist that healers treat them for the effects of witchcraft (cleansing, protecting), allowing them to be recognized as victims, so as not to be seen as witches, as Lewertowsky & Nathan (1998) show to be a basic necessity in an African framework which activates this etiology (explained below in Part III).[44]

Wreford (2008a/b, 2009) shows the difficulties of practicing an inclusive approach to HIV/AIDS with healers and nurses in a South African hospital. In the workshops that I conducted in Mozambique together with Dr. Parada Marques on a "Culturally Inclusive Approach to HIV and AIDS," we introduced in a cultural approach HIV/AIDS counselors (working in hospitals or with NGOs), who were thankful for suggestions as to how to deal inclusively with this etiology. In their counseling, they usually denied the relevance of "witchcraft" to AIDS, overlooking the interdependence of persons and

the potential inclusive function of this etiology. See details in Part III, section C of this chapter. These counselors explained in follow-ups that their own acceptance of the socio-psychosocial "functions" of the cultural 'witchcraft' etiology (which gave sense to misfortune), as well as their own new, inclusive way of dealing with this etiology, allowed them to develop dialogues with their patients. The counselors reported that their patients wanted to be advised only by them, as it was with them that they felt best understood.[45]

A person belongs to new "in-groups" in the context of HIV/AIDS

A person living with HIV and AIDS will not necessarily tell the hospital that provides his ARV-therapy medication that he also takes traditional medicine. He may, however, tell it to his fellows in a support group. But even there, he will not tell what he receives from the healer, as this is considered a more "private" subject, illustrating the strong tendency of interdependent-self structured persons to behave differently in a private or public context. This frame is reinforced by their belonging to several "in-groups", which implies the tendency of a single person who respects the norms of each in-group of which he is a member to behave differently and defend different positions depending on the respective in-group with which he is interacting (Markus & Wulf 1987; Triandis 1989). Since an urban AIDS sufferer has the option to be a member of several different "in-groups", s/he can experience more independence than would be possible in the rural context, where there is greater social control. Although more individualistic self-behavior is possible in the urban areas where there is less social control, witchcraft suspicion is just as strong as in rural areas[46].

To what extent is individualism possible in "in-groups"?

The question remains whether and to what extent individualistic tendencies are possible in the studied societies, which tend to be built on interdependence. It is relevant for evaluating the efficacy of biomedical approaches that address, first and foremost, the individual physical body (body shell[47]). It should be noted that people in the African cities studied tend to live in reconstituted "in-groups". People coming from a certain part of the country, sharing the same language and the same cultural practices, will try to live in the same part of the city, thus rebuilding a community with their "own" people. Membership in an "in-group", in the framework of strong interdependency, demands that individuals conform to "in-group" norms, role definitions and values. Therefore, even in an urban space, interdependent people become the object of social control; Triandis calls these "tight cultures" (bounded, Taylor C. 2007), while more "loose cultures" (unbounded) imply less social control to limit the practice of rapidly changing sexual partnerships.[48]

Increase in religious in-groups without an increase in preventive behavior

Religious groups and organizations play a significant and positive role in health in African countries, providing between 30% and 70% of the health infrastructure in Africa (Green 2011:118). Green argues that the advantage of faith-based organizations (FBOs) would be that they promote fidelity and abstinence. I still question to what degree they effectively influence HIV prevention. The environment in many African cities or urbanized areas with a high level of mixing of people coming from different

cultural backgrounds, leads to indeterminate constellations where "the imposition of tight norms is difficult because it is unclear whose norms are to be used." (Triandis 1989: 512). Triandis remarks that the less people sample the "collective self", the more confusing should be their social identity. This happens in the cities included in the study where HIV prevalence is highest. At the same time, in both countries, the growing religious groups[49] multiply the "collective self", without necessarily leading to increased HIV-preventive behavior.[50] HIV prevalence is higher in urban areas (UNAIDS 2014:21). The constitution of groups of pastors or religious leaders living with HIV (in Maputo) additionally shows churches' limited influence on sexual behavior. Authors like Becker & Geissler et al. (2009), Pfeiffer (2004), Dilgen (2005, 2010) argue that the new religious groups have taken on a certain role in people's lives. I suggest that they influence behavior (at least sexual behavior) less deeply than it may seem on the surface. Young health activist women in Maputo (members of a Pentecostal church) explained to me that they cannot stop making invocations of ancestors to ensure their health, regardless of what the pastor might claim. In such a context, I ask which moral rules are really applied in this variety of Christian "in-groups" in Mozambique or DR Congo. In both countries the first Christian religion introduced was Catholicism.[51] Catholic culture is known for its double standard with regard to moral practices; the Catholic Italian and French cultures, which officially imposed monogamy, generated a widespread informal culture of married husbands with lovers. The extended existence of multiple sexual partners through lover-practice in Mozambique[52] is also well known in Congolese cities. The question arises as to how strong the discrepancy is between the moral behavior codex and moral behavior in practice? In other words: how strong is the discrepancy between public and private selves?

Consequences of 'in-groups' for dealing with HIV and AIDS

The illness narratives of people living with HIV in South Mozambique demonstrate a tendency to first consult a healer. In rural areas this occurs because of limited access to health centers, but many narratives of urban people living with HIV show that their path to diagnosis and treatment did not necessarily first pass through biomedical services. There is a combination of several factors influencing this observed tendency; the cost factor (especially transport costs), which social networks influence the patient, what is recommended by friends, which language the health providers speak, etc. Another interpretation could be that people tend to avoid confronting the eventuality of knowing that they are HIV-positive.[53] Another interpretation is that people first want to clarify the social and cultural issues before consulting biomedical services. In both cases, the tendency is to try to escape confrontation with deeply feared perspectives by first visiting healers, in the hope that the disorder may "only" have (culturally) well-known causes. When healers do not advise going to the hospital, but pretend to be able to treat illness showing AIDS-similar symptoms; the chosen treatment will, generally first be a "cleansing" treatment related to some presumed violation of taboos. HIV infection may also be confused with a spiritual disorder, calling for its own specific treatments, since some early symptoms of HIV infection (such as slimming) may be similar to spirit-possession symptoms. If the

traditional treatment does not succeed, or if a patient does not want to undertake the "cleansing rituals" (sexual intercourse is often seen as the most efficient way of cleansing in South/Central Mozambique), the patient might visit a Zion-Church healer or Pentecostal Churches. The interviews of people living with HIV in Maputo and its surroundings show that it is only after the failure of these approaches that many patients with the main symptoms of AIDS start to think about testing for HIV and reluctantly realize that they might be HIV-infected. Later, if the adjustment to ARV therapy incurs difficulties (which is often the case, especially for the poor, due to the lack of regular nutrition), or when people who have undergone ARV therapy for years become HIV negative, they come to a point of doubt as to whether they were really HIV-infected and if finally the healers had had reason that the problem was a transgression of taboos.[54] Given the psychosocial pressure of the "in-group" (in the family or community), it is essential to make sense of diseases and misfortune (Augé & Herzlich 1994); it is a psychosocial and emotional requirement to which the "traditional" approach to health seems to respond better than does a biomedical 'technical' explanation of viruses and CD4 level in the blood, which cannot make sense of misfortune for this infected person.

A plural medical and complementary approach to health is widespread in Mozambique, in urban as well as rural areas. It is, according to the Mozambican author Matsinhe (2006) and a hospital director in Nampula (Kotanyi, 2003a), the predominant way that the majority of the population approaches health.[55] Medical pluralism is widespread all over the world, but in Mozambique and DR Congo it is only a smaller part of the population that first seeks treatment exclusively through the biomedical allopathic health system, which is seen by many people and to a large extent as an alternative to the first-used "traditional" medicine.

II. Critical elements of communication about HIV and AIDS

I will discuss some critical issues concerning the manner of communication for HIV/AIDS education. The question is how people can be motivated to participate in diagnostics, how biomedical treatment can be more efficiently applied, and, most of all, to what extent education could achieve more HIV prevention. This section is based on the critique of the currently predominant (biomedical) approach to HIV/AIDS in Mozambique, as analyzed by Green (1999b); Bukali (2002); Kotanyi (2005); Matsinhe (2006)[56]; Medico Mundi Catalunya (2006); Mahumana et al. (2007); Mariano (2007); Bagnol (2007). All analyses complain of the lack of social and cultural inclusion in the approach to HIV and AIDS in Mozambique. In the following part II, I discuss ways and places in which communication takes place and then part III analyzes the content of the communication that is useful to apply with regard to the relevant social and cultural paradigms.

A. Background of the critique of current approaches to HIV/AIDS in Mozambique

The states and NGOs that are active in the fight against HIV/AIDS follow mainly biomedical orientations, which often apply culturally inappropriate communication. In 2002, the Ministry of

Health reached only 40% of the population through the national health system, while nearly 100% of the population turns to the cosmological traditional system that determines social relationships (of living with ancestors or other spiritual beings) in a search for wellbeing (Matsinhe 2006:135).[57] There is a need to better understand the existing values of sexuality[58]: Matsinhe and Mariano (2014) show that a woman as an adult is defined by her ability to have many children (at least five). On the basis of a critical analysis of the stigmatizing AIDS campaigns in the 1980s and early 1990s, Matsinhe argues that HIV prevention continues to be addressed to so-called "vulnerable" groups (truck drivers, sex workers, etc.). This has had the effect of increasing the stigmatization of people living with HIV. A great amount of work has been carried out in Mozambique to stop HIV/AIDS epidemic; however, statistics below demonstrate limited behavior change through divulgation of cognitive information intended to achieve HIV prevention.[59] Condoms are little-used, whereas HIV-prevention campaigns concentrate on promoting condom use, which – apart from churches' preaching of abstinence, supported for years by the American USAID – remains the main issue in HIV campaigns.

Contextualization of education in HIV prevention in Mozambique

In Mozambique, at least 65% of the population lives in rural areas. While 98% of the population speaks Bantu-languages, the literacy rate was 64.2 % among men and 34.6% among women in 2012.[60] Rural areas have 65.5% illiteracy, urban areas 26.3%. However, there is 81.2% illiteracy among women in rural areas, where men show 46.1% illiteracy.[61] This basic data demonstrates that an efficient education in HIV prevention must be carried out orally and in Bantu language.

HIV prevalence was 11.3% in 2005, with the characteristic that of twelve sub-Saharan African countries, Mozambique is the only one in which the prevalence did not change[62]. Mozambique is among the world's top five countries in absolute numbers, with 1.6 million people living with HIV[63] (making up 15% of the population, and 55% of those infected are women)[64]. Significantly, Mozambique's AIDS fight is based on 98% external aid[65] (Nakabonge 2013:2, 16). It shows little sustainability, lacking ownership in HIV/AIDS policies; the officially promoted strategies follow the 'mainstream' advice of international donors, based on western values and approaches to health, education, care, and prevention. Mozambique's current HIV/AIDS realities seem to illustrate the "aid institution paradox" described by Moss (2006:04), with the disincentive effect of excess of aid on development, which promotes systematic 'clientelism', private or political appropriation of state resources, with associated dependency and corruption (Moyo 2009; Hanlon 2004).

It is evident that health education requires addressing HIV prevention messages in Bantu languages, addressing local notions, values, and practices, and doing so in an oral way, given the high level of illiteracy. Some authors (Nakabonge 2013:21; CIA World fact book 2013) questioned the exaggerated emphasis on printed prevention promotion in such a context. Linguists like Assunção Xavier, 2005, or Sete Maposse, 2005, both show the inappropriate languages used in prevention messages, not only failing to use the local languages, but also to connect the messages with local knowledge. António and Tamele (2004) show that in radio, most messages about HIV prevention are transmitted in Portuguese,

and thus are not understood by the majority. The authors argue that rural areas are not well reached by the preventive messages; the posters and handbills that are typically used do not address the illiterate majority. Pictures are inefficient, confusing, and inadequate to this cultural context. In health education there is a widespread misconception (coming from westernized advertising) that images can transmit information and educate illiterate persons especially well; on the contrary, images are often misinterpreted. In this context, the interventions of Communitarian Theater are often seen as disrespecting morals and ethics. In similar critiques, Mahumana (2007) and Matsinhe (2006) draw attention to the inadequacy of messages and prevention education, which concentrate too much on condoms and fail to address behavior changes (safe sex, fidelity, reduction of multiple partnerships)[66] Although the PEN III last AIDS national strategy claimed the Mozambicanization of the messages, currently promoted communication mostly addresses the urban population, often in Portuguese, and even when it is conducted in local Bantu languages, it makes little reference to central issues discussed below in Part III.

It is significant that HIV prevalence is highest in South Mozambique, where neither circumcision nor youth initiation is practiced. Central Mozambique has 21% prevalence in regions also lacking male initiation. On the contrary, in northern regions where female and male initiation are practiced, there was a growing but still 50% lower HIV prevalence of 6-9% in 2004, rising to 7-11% in 2009. This data confirms the demonstration by WHO and UNAIDS of the impact of circumcision on HIV prevalence – up to 65% fewer HIV infections in Africa (Weiss and Halpering at al. 2008) – while I suggest, along with Dauphin-Tinturier (2001); Bukali de Graca (2002); Dieckmann 2007; Maluleke (2003); Krings Ney (2007, 2009b); Kotanyi & Krings-Ney, 2009a); Salomonsen (2008), that inclusion of HIV prevention in counseling during youth initiation is the most efficient educational path to achieving greater HIV prevention.[67]

Relevant agencies for education in HIV prevention and activating social control

There are three categories of agencies that are central for more efficiently combating the HIV epidemic, and which are the least mobilized in the studied countries; these are (first) chiefs and traditional authorities, (second) diviners, healers, and local midwives, and (third) youth initiation counselors of both genders.

Chiefs and traditional authorities

As I described in the previous chapter, chiefs presently have a central local role in Law; accordingly, they significantly influence people's behavior. Traditionally, chiefs were the responsible authorities in epidemics; they were supposed to take the measures to secure the wellbeing of the people living in their territory (mediating with the first settled ancestors). By this logic, the current so-called 'landlords' (descendants of the first settled clans) also play a central role. Currently in main cities, such 'traditional' leaders generally do not have much weight; but in rural and semi-rural areas, people tend to listen to their advice. They should first be mobilized, as also proposed by Green & Ruark (2011); Green, Dlamini & Duby et al. (2009). My research and applied approaches systematically

involved chiefs as main agencies, which can mobilize the other central agencies discussed below in reaching and influencing the behavior of the people. They are key authorities for the local negotiations with community members in order to adjust at-risk practices (cleansing of widow/widower; levirate marriages; or initiation rites practiced too early, limiting the effect of counseling; etc.). To take one example: chiefs can propose that traditional leaders suggest a lower "bride-price" [*lovolo*], encouraging marriage at a younger age; this could shorten the delay of their sexual debut and might limit multiple partnerships before marriage (Green & Ruark 2011:238).

Diviners and healers of all kinds

Diviners are often the first to be consulted by people beset with health disorders and misfortune. Healers of all kinds (working with spirits and/or medicinal plants) are consulted not only by the more than 60% of the rural population without easy access to biomedical health centers, but also by urban people of all social classes, who use their services often in parallel to the biomedical providers. However, the institutions (governmental or non-governmental) involved in the "fight" against HIV/AIDS rarely seek dialogue, and even less, cooperation with such agencies, who remain marginalized from the so-called mainstream (actually, the more powerful though not mainstream) authorities. Even if healers are included as volunteers in care or HIV prevention, their qualifications as healers are not used.[68] Recently, healers in Mozambique have been trained to promote the consistent use of condoms.[69] A first program conducted by two main NGOs, seeking to promote AIDS-related dialogue and cooperation with healers on a large scale was realized for just one and a half years before being discontinued.[70] Among a number of causes, the Health Ministry constituted a major hindrance, pretending to control all activities concerning traditional medicine (and blocking several non-governmental initiatives). Although the government developed a strategy paper about its relation to traditional healing, the latter remains little applied. The government finds itself unable to cooperate with ritual healing in any way, for fear of encouraging it (see Sax 2004, 2006, 2014; Sax, Weinhold 2010; Last & Chavunduka 1986; Honwana 2002; Igreja 2015).

Many authors draw attention to the necessity of mobilizing healers in sub-Saharan Africa for health education and, specifically, HIV/AIDS approaches. I give a limited view of the broad literature on traditional Healing in Africa[71], its agencies in Africa and those specifically related to AIDS.[72] UNAIDS (2000, 2002) best-practices reports show that healers are the best agents for promoting HIV prevention. Observations in Mozambique (and in neighboring countries, Wreford 2008; Taylor T. 2005, 2008, 2009; Schuessler 2001) show that healers can motivate persons to take HIV tests. Healers have a number of plants that help remedy secondary diseases as well as providing anti-viral effects and reinforcing vital forces (see THETA: Homsy at al. 2004). Wreford (2008) and Schuessler (2001) show the psychosocial effect of traditional healing; cleansing and so-called traditional treatments have a stabilizing effect on health, providing meanings for misfortune and ways to cope with adversity, comprehensively and by combining traditional "ancestral" approaches with biomedical or faith healing.

Initiation rites counsellors

I describe in part IV, below, how counseling during the initiation process of girls into adulthood can be involved in education on HIV prevention. This is a sustainable and low-cost approach, which reaches women of several generations on a large scale. The same is valid for boys' initiation into and education on HIV prevention (Green & Ruark 2011). While the Mozambican national HIV/AIDS strategy plan of 2005-2009 (PEN II)[73] recognized the relevance of HIV education in the initiation of youth of both genders, the national strategy PEN III of 2010-2014 reduced this recommendation to address only male circumcision, and no longer female initiation as a relevant framework for HIV-prevention education. Official strategy also does not recommend systematically involving healers, diviners, or traditional leaders as agents of sensitization; they are ignored by the Mozambique's national AIDS strategy, which is more concerned with Portuguese-speaking, literate, and urbanized Mozambicans.

Several authors, Green (2000, 2004a, 2004b); Bukali de Graca (2002); Dauphin-Tinturier (2003, 2008); Maluleke (2003); Dieckmann 2007; Kotanyi & Krings-Ney 2009; Krings Ney (2007, 2009); Salomonsen 2008; Green & Dlamani & Duby (2009), Green & Ruark (2011) recommend initiation rites counselors as fundamental agents for HIV prevention education; like midwives, healers, diviners, chiefs, and other traditional leaders, they are a most influential part of the community and share the same local language, culture, and way of life.[74] The usual work with local volunteers in Mozambique benefits from these local potentials, but programs fail to mobilize the above-mentioned local agencies. This lack of mobilization of the most influential local agents is related to the fact that transmission of cognitive information about biological HIV prevention can only be effective if it addresses emotional cognition, through the usual ways of the local culture. This involves issues discussed in the "communication strategy" toward the people (part III below), including connecting the new information (biological transmission, ways of prevention) with, e.g., the prevailing cultural connotation of AIDS-similar symptoms with transgression of taboos or with witchcraft. It addresses persons in their interrelation with others, which allows that the messages are better heard and social control is activated (Green & Ruark 2011). Education for HIV prevention happens more effectively when cultural paradigms are recognized as values in an inclusive approach that accepts plurality.[75]

Mainstreaming approaches to HIV-AIDS and the AIDS 'business'

In Mozambique, the national health policy is oriented to the biomedical understanding of health, with the support of international organizations; Mozambican, international and national non-governmental and Christian organizations claim to follow an approach to health that is universally valid.[76] Anthropologists generally question such unilateral universalistic pretension most specifically in relation to mental health (Good 1994; Igreja 2006; Steinfurth 2009; Sax, 2014a) and AIDS prevention.

The current situation (Nakabonge 2013) confirms Matsinhe's (2006) argument that, in Mozambique, official institutions invest most of their energy into the development of plans and strategies instead of their application. A national committee controls the messages promoting HIV prevention and pretends

to ensure their Mozambicanization; but the messages addresses minorities (literate, urbanized, and mainly Portuguese speakers), not the Bantu-speaking and rural majority. Shivji (2006:13) argues that grassroots NGOs emphasize commitment and sustainability, and are known for more cost-effective strategies (see Moyo 2009). However, at times competing for donor money, NGOs often compete against one another instead of instating the cooperation.[77] Very few NGOs in Mozambique apply a socio-culturally sensitive approach to HIV/AIDS.[78] Some work with traditional chiefs, fewer with diviners, healers, and initiation rites counselors, and none does so systematically. When, in rare cases, they approach relevant local agents, the organizations are generally more concerned with teaching members of the "traditional" sector just to use condoms.[79] The teaching is biomedical, and does not imply reciprocal learning, which would be an inclusive approach; it is unilateral, one-way, and fails to valuate local knowledge, which weakens the educational potentials of adults, who are not like empty bottles, but full of knowledge and experience (Freire 1972).[80]

Condoms as "Social Marketing" and the value of life transmission

As in most countries receiving international support to reduce the HIV epidemic, condom promotion is promoted in Mozambique as the main means of prevention (Matsinhe 2006; Green & Ruark 2011).[81] Condom use seems very strange in Mozambique (first) in cultures in which good sexuality is defined as "dry sex" without vaginal moisture[82], conditions under which condoms tear easily, (second) in a world in which life transmission has a central value[83], and (third) in a context in which it is assumed that human beings deal in sorcery by manipulating objects to achieve malicious effects on other people. It is not surprising that condoms are perceived in such a context as a westernized means of intentionally transmitting HIV to kill Africans – a belief which exists in Mozambique, as in a number of other sub-Saharan African countries (Matsinhe 2006, Rödlach 2006, Niehaus 2008, Bagnol 2007).[84] In addition, even in countries that are not necessarily overpopulated (like Mozambique), the several family planning programs supported by foreign donors reinforce the impression of the intent to limit African fertility. Poverty justifies family planning, which should however address, in the same way as HIV-prevention campaigns, the high value of fertility with the sense-giving role of reproduction, which is deeply grounded in the culturally framed perception of sexuality (Mariano 2014).

Despite the rejection of condoms, their promotion remains at the center of HIV-prevention campaigns. Green and Ruark (2011) report problems in publishing findings about the limited results of condom use for HIV prevention; industrial and international pressure to promote condoms is huge. For years, a number of authors have criticized international "mainstream" promotion of, most of all, condom use, while many studies show little evidence that condoms would significantly limit a generalized AIDS epidemic (Richens et al. 2000:401; Onjoro 2003; Heast and Chen 2004; Potts et al. 2008:749; Green 2011; Green and Ruark 2011). Condom use is (according the latter authors) helpful when HIV transmission occurs mostly through risk groups (sex workers, homosexuals, etc); it has little preventive impact when most infection occurs outside of high-risk groups and within the wide population (as is partially the case in Mozambique), which refuse condoms for several reasons (Green

& Ruark 2011:142-146). Studies show that when condoms are used consistently (which occurs more in the case of married couples) they may reduce HIV infection, but studies also show that in Africa condoms are often used inconsistently[85], increasing HIV infection (Ahmed et al. 2001; Katz and Low-Beer 2008:840). In addition, there are serious problems in Africa concerning the quality and reliability of condoms (breaking, poor conservation, and wrong size), and the serious difficulties for women in negotiating condom use. The latter results first from the power relationship between woman and man and, among other things, beliefs that semen benefits the woman's health and makes babies grow in mothers' bellies (Mariano 2014). Fertility remains at the center of sexuality in the context studied, in which men also very often suspect their wife (or lovers) of infidelity when they insist on using condoms.

Structural violence and social, cultural and emotional needs

Several authors argue that successes in AIDS prevention are related to reductions in the number of partners, whereby condoms played a minor role (Kajubi et al. 2005:82; Green 2003; Green & Ruark 2011). Others argue that the main causes of a high rate of HIV infection in poor African countries are mainly structural violence (Farmer 2001), capitalist global exploitation, and social inequalities and unequal provision of and access to good biomedical health services (Farmer 2005; Fassin 2006). I fully subscribe that economic and political issues fundamentally determine the spread and sustained intensity of the HIV epidemic, nevertheless these arguments cannot brush aside the arguments of i.a. Green (1999a/b, 2003); Bukali de Graca (2002); Ashforth 2005; Kotanyi (2005); Matsinhe (2006); Rödlach (2006); Mariano (2007, 2014); Bagnol (2007, 2010); Mahumana et al. (2007); Bagnol & Mariano (2008); Wreford (2008), Kotanyi and Krings-Ney (2009); Green & Ruark (2011) described in this chapter, which show in short the reduction of HIV prevention to "technical" issues (condom use or circumcision in hospitals without counseling), the lack of a socio-culturally sensitive approach to HIV/AIDS at all levels of intervention, the problematic emphasis on condoms without taking into account the widespread practices of drying the vagina, and not addressing the positive value of life transmission, not mobilizing the most useful agents accepted in the communities, as well as several issues discussed in Section B, C and parts III and IV below. Among other things, I will discuss investing too much in written HIV-prevention promotion formulated in languages that most people don't know, relying too heavily on cognitive means instead of activating people's emotions to augment motivation and cognition, not connecting prevention messages' contents to the cultural etiologies active around HIV/AIDS, neglecting to activate the reciprocal social control usual among strongly interdependent persons in order to promote more efficient HIV prevention, and not promoting inclusive health education in the most efficient and sustainable contexts (in youth initiation of both genders as discussed below). The general counter-argument of the mainstreaming (of decision makers in Mozambique and at the international level), is that these are in part relevant issues but that priority must be given to family planning, to condom use, to HIV diagnostic and to ARV treatments – and, if some funding is invested in prevention, then in cognitive health education.[86] On other hand, there is

often an underestimation of the dimension of sexuality in the context studied; not only that the supply of condoms is inadequate to meet demand (Green & Ruark 2011), but also the complex role of sexuality in framing life transmission, especially given the prevailing gender power relationships. In addition, the use of coitus in some ritual "cleansing" is not addressed in all its complex social and cultural dimensions (i.a. Devisch 1993; Mariano 2014, and Chapter Three).[87]

The "technical" interventions in prevention, HIV testing and ARV treatments

Green and Ruark (2011), Green (2003, 2006) show that international support related to AIDS privileges technical interventions like condoms and, later, "test and treat" with antiretroviral therapy (ART) which are controversial: (1st) the funds required for the millions of new infected persons needing ART annually are not granted (Green and Ruark 2011:245) and (2nd) the increased viral resistance created by having people on treatment longer can lead to an increased number of new infections (see Wagner et al. 2010).[88] Currently, Mozambican NGOs claim that funding for HIV prevention is too limited because of the priority given to ensuring the expensive lifelong ARV treatments (Nakabonge 2013:38).[89] Indeed, since the worldwide economic and financial crisis of 2008, foreign support has diminished drastically. Although there are also voices in UNAIDS emphasizing the need to give highest priority to reducing multiple current partnerships through social and behavioral change (UNAIDS 2009b), these suggestions are not put into practice. National and international HIV/AIDS strategies and policies concerning behavior change remain theories, with little factual implementation, given the lacking mobilization of the most relevant agencies.

Some sides of the AIDS Business in Mozambique

In Mozambique, as elsewhere, HIV/AIDS prevention has become a source of income that is monopolized by certain organizations with proximity to the government; they are visible in a big market for the distribution of T-shirts, women's loincloths, and hats, as symbols of "modernity". A huge "business" (Pisani 2008) has emerged around AIDS, providing jobs and survival opportunities to people from different (but mostly upper) levels of society – leaders of organizations, program planners, implementation managers, trainers, counselors – while volunteers and activists "on the ground" profit little or not at all. Many people survive on or profit from this business, which is not interested in cheap, sustainable endogenous approaches.[90] The extended "DIALOGO" applied research project (in 7 provinces) that I conceived, scientifically coordinating several teams, was partially financed through this "business". We worked in an alternative way to the mainstream by including the most relevant local agents, who are often underestimated. Such inclusive approaches are currently not supported by western donors, since they contradict the promoted "mainstreaming," which is based on an emphasis on prevention education that focuses on condom use while neglecting the regional emphasis on fertility, devaluating local knowledge and ethics, and valuating unilaterally individualistic norms. Inclusive approaches in Mozambique also found little support from the Ministry of Health; fearing loss of control of what is promoted concerning traditional medicine, those responsible for AIDS and traditional medicine in the Health Ministry did not support our research, but

instead contributed to its interruption. The latter depended also on other factors more related to competition and jealousies on several involved persons and entities (but not the grassroots) levels, which I will not elaborate on, but which is part of the "business of AIDS." Given their short-term financial support, the involved national NGOs (which were not small ones) were able to continue to support the developed approach only for a short time. Projects start and end quickly, which is part of the "development business," in which sustainable practices are not necessarily promoted, especially not when they involve "traditional" agencies; this does not allow the continued "feeding" of the several levels of involved persons "earning" a living from the AIDS business. Healers' comments as to why there is nationally so little interest in cooperating with them in Mozambique suggest that those who have income sources through AIDS cannot be interested in ending AIDS.[91] In short, the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS implies policies strongly influenced, if not defined, by international donor organizations, which finance "technical" support like condoms, HIV testing, ARV treatments and, now, circumcision (in hospital – see Part IV). This implies the undervaluation of the relevant social, emotional, ethical and cultural issues that I discuss in depth in this chapter.

B. Communication about HIV and AIDS

In the following, I analyze the limits of communication as practiced by HIV-prevention promotion or biomedical services. Generally, when the biomedical staff thinks that a patient has consulted a healer before going to the hospital (for example, because of scarifications on the physical body made by the healers with a razor blade), doctors and sometimes also nurses easily show anger or disgust. In such cases, the biomedical treatment might be limited to the minimum necessary, without applying all the available biomedical possibilities (as I observed in the central hospital in Maputo). When a patient comes late to the consultation with advanced HIV symptoms, the biomedical staff, angered about the delay, might blame the patient and the healers who advised their patients too late. Such an exclusionary attitude on the part of the biomedical staff appears at all levels of encounter between patients and biomedical services. I understand the despair of the medical staff when patients come too late, impeding the success of treatment. But I do not understand why medical doctors and nurses do not learn in their training to approach, respect, and understand the relationship of local values/practices to biomedical approaches to health. Disqualifying the background of cultural etiologies explaining the diverging priorities with regard to contamination and prevention, and the implications of the widespread notions of wellbeing in the context of the life-world of their patients, they neglect their relevance for their patients. I also wonder why medical centers and hospitals do not identify and communicate with healers and diviners consulted by their patients in the surrounding area of the hospitals or health centers; failing to invite them for exchanges and dialogues, which might help to prevent delays in HIV identification (testing), treatments, and prevention. Medical Centers also fail to cooperate with agencies able to motivate people to get tested and avoid interruption of ARV. They also fail to increase prevention by activating (1) local notions of ethics and morals, and (2) means of social control, as show experiences of THETA in Uganda, Schuessler (2001) in Zimbabwe, Wreford

(2008) in South Africa .[92] The war in health, especially around HIV/AIDS, depends on the exclusivity applied by biomedical authorities (like Mozambique), which has its origin not only in diverging ideologies and knowledge, but also in competing financial interests (Pisani 2003; Green, Ruark 2011:117).

A general anthropological critique of the allopathically oriented HIV-prevention campaigns is that when they mention local culture and practices, they generally do so negatively, since the local culture is assumed to encourage (biologically) risky behavior (Green 1999; Airhihenbuwa & De Witt 2004; Kotanyi 2005; Green & Ruark 2011; Wreford 2008, 2009). The national strategic plan to control HIV/AIDS in Mozambique (PEN III 2010-2014) criticized the HIV/AIDS-related messages as not being culturally adequate (CNCS 2004)[93]. Consensual ethical and moral values shared within the communities (Paley 2002:474) should be activated for more efficient HIV prevention.

In short, the communication gap around HIVAIDS is deep; in order to reduce it, cultural practices and the useful traditional values (like respect for oneself and others), taught in communitarian education and in initiation rites, should be involved in the fight against HIV/AIDS[94]/[95]. There are many potentialities in the endogenous culture allowing sustainable health education, but few efforts to use them.[96] The alienation induced since colonial times through the devaluation of endogenous cultural, ethical, and moral potentials (Fanon 1952; Eboussi Boulaga 2011) is perpetuated, although the described paradigms remain locally very active. The local concepts and practices in pursuing wellbeing are devaluated, being seen as backward-oriented given their "traditional" ways. There is little communication and no recognition of the positive elements in the social culture that might be dynamically used for a more efficient approach to HIV/AIDS.

Talking past each other: the lack of effective communication

Deepening the analyses of communication on prevention, there are two categories of problems: inappropriate ways of, and settings for, promoting HIV prevention, in which 'hot' terms are used excessively in prevention discourses; and inappropriateness of contents. The first point is the underestimated divergence between biological and social notions of contamination (pollution), which imply different priorities concerning health (privileging the treatment of the physical versus the spiritual and social bodies). The second is the lack of dialogical communication concerning the cultural etiologies with regard to the most frequent symptoms of AIDS, resulting in delayed HIV testing,[97] treatment and prevention.

Concerning the first point – the excessive and repeated use in prevention discourses of 'hot' terms overtly referring to 'hot' issues like "sex", "blood" or "death", which are perceived as dangerous in the traditional perspective of Bantu-speaking cultures in which words activate the 'hotness' (Chapter Three) – informants argue that speaking on the radio in the morning or at dinner time to educate about such issues is profoundly disgusting. What is missing is the systematic use of appropriate metaphors that allow these 'hot' issues to be addressed in the right context.

The second basic question relates to divergent understandings of what the most dangerous transmission type is. Biomedical services are sometimes annoyed by the fact that endogenous notions interfere with HIV, and instead prioritize issues related to the transmission of, and contamination by, 'dirt' – social pollution[98]. Educational discourses emphasize of biological prevention as an imperative that people should follow. As Paulo Freire said, adult people are not empty, but like full bottles: educators must first empty the bottle (practicing dialogue and exchange of knowledge) before confronting people with new knowledge.

The third main problem is the misunderstandings between the local etiologies with regard to the most frequent symptoms of AIDS. The connotation of the symptoms of HIV infection, either with transgressions of taboos or with witchcraft, might lead one to think that they represent concurring notions of "causation" of the infection, but they do not. Both are social etiologies and are related to what healers call the "origin" of misfortune or diseases; these notions of the localization of the "origins" of diseases are often seen as complementary to the biomedical diagnostics and respond to different questioning. Taboo transgressions are seen as "provoked" by the living and as transgressions of behavior rules defined by ancestors. Witchcraft is also assumed to have its "origin" among the living; Cishona-speaking healers, like those in the other studied groups, connote it as "afflictions of *munhu* [person]" provoked (willingly or unwillingly) by humans (Schuessler 2001:105).

Besides these main local etiologies interfering with the HIV etiology, there are also many locally treated diseases that have one of the four main symptoms of AIDS: weight loss, chronic cough, skin rash, and diarrhea. I established in five health centers in the district of Kwango (DRC) a list of the numerous diseases which correspond to one of the four main symptoms of HIV/AIDS. Compiling such a list among healers in Mozambique would provide very similar results. There are numerous diseases that are treated by healers in Kwango. The findings show that the diseases appearing in the physical body are in large measure attributed to social or spiritual causation. For instance, more than a third of the 52 listed diseases involving **weight loss** are attributed to social issues (14 are attributed to ancestors, 11 to witchcraft or sorcery, and 2 to spirits), while half of the 53 differently named diseases involving **skin rash** are attributed to ancestors' transgression of taboos/prohibitions, to sorcery, or to witchcraft using fetishes. The social and spiritual interpretations give meaning to many diseases that biomedicine categorizes differently (Kotanyi, 2010).

I suggest that neglecting such local approaches does not motivate people to hear biomedical diagnoses. Incorporating local categories would lead to a more efficient use of the biomedical potentialities of diagnostics, treatment and care. In the following, I examine what can be learned from the social and cultural potentials, which elements to apply and how, in communicating about HIV/AIDS. Before deepening the implications of the diverging contents (etiologies, etc.), the manner of communication must be discussed.

C. Manner and places of communication about HIV and AIDS

Socio-linguistic studies (Drescher and Klaeger 2006; Chia, et al. 2006; Mutaka and Ade 2006; Tourneux 2008) came to the conclusion that in several African countries the issues related education in HIV/AIDS prevention should not only be done in local languages, but also connected with local concepts of health, contamination, and disease, and should be transmitted in ways that correspond to people's cultures. That is, the transmission of cognitive information about biological HIV prevention can best be received if it is transmitted in a way appropriate to the local cultural context. This means, for example, connecting the new information (biological transmission, the notion of the HIV virus, of the weakened immune system) with the prevailing cultural connotation of AIDS-similar symptoms as related to the transgression of taboos, or addressing the possible connotation with witchcraft in the most appropriate manner. In this way, the biological information can be provided such that the recipients really listen to the message, which becomes integrated in the networks of reciprocal social control. Interconnection can happen efficiently when these social and cultural understandings are respected, opening space for integrating both the cultural, locally rooted approach and the (supposedly universal) biological approach.

Many factors influence the efficacy of health education: the language used, the mobilization of emotions, the framework in which health education is given, and the way in which prevention messages are provided. The idea of organizations diffusing HIV-prevention messages in short formats like product advertisements might possibly be useful in the literate and urban context, but is not for the majority of illiterate people. Healers suggest that stories, anecdotes, metaphors[99], and fables are powerful means of motivating behavior change. African cultures are narrative and oral cultures[100]; narrations address people's "heart-reason" together with their ethics, morals, and concern for survival. Reuster-Jahn (2005:161-182) shows that African narrations are interactive (as I illustrated in Law with the palavers in Chapter Five); narrative HIV-prevention messages can best happen in stories and dialogues calling for the active participation of those listening.

The language used in prevention education

As observed above, a main critical issue in prevention campaigns is the language used: conveying HIV/AIDS prevention in Portuguese, when most people speak local Bantu languages, makes the prevention information difficult or impossible to understand. About 70% of Mozambicans live in rural areas without mastery of Portuguese and also the urbanized population must be challenged by issues related to sexual behavior through the use of their own (Bantu) mother language, which is the best language through which to secure a connection with emotions (Freire 1978). With exceptions, most printed HIV/AIDS educational material is only available in Portuguese[101]. The trainings of the trainers are conducted in Portuguese, so that many of the trainers and activists find it difficult to translate the new (biomedical) terminology into local languages. The prevention campaigns use "non-understandable" foreign vocabulary with words like *virus, immunization system, sero-positive/negative, HIV/AIDS test, CD 4 level, virus load, retroviral treatments, etc*. Many prevention

messages are rendered useless; lacking a connection with locally well-known notions and values, the people can often neither emotionally nor cognitively understand the central content.

Does cognition alone promote the prevention of HIV transmission?

According to the usual mainstream approaches, the inefficiency of HIV and AIDS prevention campaigns is, in both countries, attributed primarily to the presumed limitation of knowledge about HIV and AIDS transmission and prevention. This issue concerns educational campaigns of all kinds. The campaigns concentrate their activities on condom distribution, on short slogans as are common in western advertising and information about the ways in which the HI virus may be biologically transmitted and prevented. According Pisani (2008), it is doubtful whether a lack of information about HIV and AIDS is a main cause of lack of prevention. A study in KwaZulu-Natal (near Mozambique) shows that 90% of respondents knew about condoms but only 14% of men and 17% of women reported any condom use at all in marital and cohabiting partnerships (Maharaj and Cleland 2004). Studies in Tanzania show that the spread of cognitive information has a limited effect on sexual behavior change; the study by Mema kwa Vijana (2008)[102] with school girls, realized on a period of ten years, demonstrated that the propagation of cognitive information intended to promote the prevention of HIV did not significantly change youth sexual behavior.

The usual content and ways of biomedically oriented HIV-prevention education provide information about the biological transmission of HIV and are generally poorly or not at all connected with local cultural understandings.[103] Examining the consequences of the interdependent-self structure on cognition, Markus and Kitayama (1991:231) observe that interdependent selves result in a relatively greater cognitive elaboration of the other or of the self-in-relation-to-other. But usual mainstream HIV-prevention approaches address people as individuals or couples, without addressing the influence of the rest of the society, failing to activate useful local values and social control which are prevalent in the strong interdependence.

The inadequate framework and manner of education for HIV prevention

The usual manner of HIV prevention (through posters, flyers, radio, television, and at markets) is often not the most appropriate framework[104] There are specific frameworks which are culturally recognized as most appropriate, such as the female and male rites of passage. Where youth initiation is not performed (in South Mozambique), the communities have elder counselors who educate the youth in specific situations in life, such as providing counsel at marriage (at the *lovolo* [ceremony of kinship alliance through marriage]). But development and public health programs in general, and HIV/AIDS prevention programs in particular, fail to actively mobilize such resources; nor are healers or midwives, rites counselors of either gender, or chiefs – all of whom are among the most relevant agencies able to motivate some behavior change concerning sexuality and contact with blood – significantly involved with HIV/AIDS prevention.

Finally, the arts, especially theater, are mobilized in promoting HIV/AIDS prevention; community theater groups of youth have been created with the support of GTO[105] in nearly all provinces of

Mozambique. Community theaters of this kind does important sensitization work, which indeed may combine cognition with emotions, but many community theater groups (promoted by urbanized and, in part, Christian trainers) often present local cultural practices and healers in a caricatured way.[106] Lacking respect for local practices, they unilaterally valorize the biomedical approach to HIV/AIDS, and ignored the local culture and values seriously, ridiculing it often in caricatures, although many elements of local culture and values can be used to further the aim of HIV/AIDS prevention.

The use of "interdependency of persons" for more efficient HIV education

In summary, motivating people for more efficient prevention of HIV and earlier testing implies seeking ways of communication that are centered on the relationships between people. For this purpose, we need to apply the endogenous values related to the notion of the person concerning honor, respect and responsibility.

First, about '**respect'**: We have seen that the Bantu cosmology implies that the rebirth of an ancestor in a person embodies in him/her the inter-relational character of the person. It implies the obligation to achieve *xihlonipho* [respect in Zulu] towards the embodied ancestor, who in turn protects the person. The basic need to respect ancestors leads to the need to respect older living people, the others and to respect oneself.[107] A healer explains: "To recognize yourself as a person, you need to live well with the other persons." At the same time, to be a *munhu* [person in Xichangana], *mutthu* in Emakhuwa, muutu in Kiyaka (or not) is related in Mozambique and DR Congo to one's growing (or lost) honor, which determines the social and moral 'weight' of the person.

Secondly, about **honor**: Honor is connected with social status, which is described, e.g., by the Zulus in terms of dignity[108] and prestige. Describing the Zulu understanding of that which implies *isthunzi* [air/shade] – the "hottest," most important element of the person – Berglund[109] argues that *isithunzi* is the shade/shadow and the social influence or status of a dead person; it is related to the "living principle in man" (Berglund 1976:85) Berglund's informants associate *isithunzi* with the dignity of a clan. Honor is related to witchcraft.[110] Persons accused of behaving as witches lose their honor; I showed in Chapter Two that honor determines the recognition of a person in their community, which the people describe as absolutely necessary for survival.

Third, about **responsibility**: I explained that several informants in South/Central Mozambique argued that Community chiefs in Bantu-speaking cultures are seen as responsible for the prevention of epidemics. However, all informants recognize that parents also have responsibility[111] like the Cindau-speaking diviner woman Hakwa, who argues that a lack of responsibility hinders having children; *kuchidjikira* [responsibility in Cindau] is required for all concerning a proper home[112]. Societies practicing youth initiation construe responsibility as decisive; however, it is mostly addressed through the notion of "respect." In all areas studied, a person becomes a full adult only when taking care of others (having and educating children).

All these elements lead to the question of whether addressing HIV-prevention messages by using the notion of interdependent persons could lead to greater efficiency; e.g., as healers, diviners, and chiefs

propose, with slogans conveying that a necessary "respect" [*xihlonipho* in Zulu] influences a person's "honor". Messages using such deeply rooted endogenous values might motivate people to earlier HIV testing and prevention by appealing to emotionally grounded notions. In the Bantu conception, which locates thought in the heart (Devisch 1993a, 1996a, 1998:155), prevention messages should activate the heart, combining reason with emotions. This could include, for instance promoting the delay of the start of sexual relations[113]; or the idea that HIV testing implies "wanting to know" about one's own infection status and wanting to prevent others from being infected; or using condoms consistently, practicing respect for oneself and others. Translated into culturally rooted frames in the studied context, this means activating the notions of honor and respect of the person, in order to motivate people to increase behavior of responsibility by better taking into account the danger of the disease *mukondombera* [endless disease in Shona] by consistently practicing prevention.

Such preventive messages would not put the transmission of cognitive information (of biological transmission and prevention of HIV) at the center; instead they would activate simultaneously existing positive values in order to motivate people to ensure the necessary protection of themselves and others against (biological) risks, suggesting the necessity of avoiding behaving as a "witch" (see part III section C). It corresponds to the early messages of the president of Uganda in the late 1980s and the 1990s, which achieved success by insisting, with regard to promiscuity: "It must stop!" Green (2003, 2011) shows that such approaches arguing for the reduction of quickly changing multiple sexual partnerships (see Thornton, 2008) might induce behavior change more efficiently in Africa than the promotion of condoms. Although such an approach may seem to correspond with the agenda of faith organizations, it just seeks – in the given African context – the most efficient ways of motivating people to practice prevention.

A relevant way to use the frame of "interrelation between persons" is to activate social control for respecting what should be respected. Each in-group has its own means of social control. Bingenheimer (2010:3) insists on the useful role of Christian (Pentecostal and charismatic) churches in Africa (Meyer 2004). I subscribe to Green and Ruark (2011:236) that "traditional social control mechanisms that prohibit sex before marriage and extramarital sex, control mechanisms which come from being member of a family, lineage, and ethno-linguistic group," can and should be activated especially in order to influence men's likelihood of having multiple sexual partners. Social control can motivate prevention and HIV testing by cautiously questioning in indirect ways (using appropriate metaphors) the danger of behaving *like* a "*ndoki, nokhwiri, wuloyi*" or similar notions of 'witch' (Appendix 5.2.). I describe below how the careful use of this social etiology (in indirect discourses) might be an emotionally efficient moral means allowing education for HIV prevention (see Cross 2003; Stroeken 2010 and Geschiere in personal verbal communication). Such approaches sound problematic to western or westernized readers, but applied to the studied field, they are the ones that best address emotions and the locally grounded sense of ethics. In correspondence with my findings, Knox (2008) argues that "(t)hese social controls are also sustained by indigenous beliefs about appeasing the wishes

of ancestral spirits and not offending them" (2011:236; cf. Schuessler 2001). The potential of social control through ancestral paradigms is easily misunderstood and underestimated in the promotion of HIV prevention.

HIV-prevention campaigns addressing urbanized men neglect rural men with a more traditional lifestyle who are involved in 'traditional' kinds of social control that might be activated through chiefs, diviners, healers, and initiation rites counselors. Green and Ruark (2011:237) observe that "the individual-centered approach to human rights and sexual freedom, which is predominant in HIV prevention" is an obstacle to an inclusive approach to HIV prevention. Human rights are means of helping women and children to recognize their rights. However, freedom is easily misunderstood as the right to do anything (e.g., having sex with anybody without any respect); it is misleading when individual rights are promoted at the cost of others in the name of Universal Rights.[114] At the same time, the promotion of social control should not mean unilateral control of women or youth (which Bantu traditions in a patrilineal context can easily imply and which feminists question). Social control, which Green and Ruark suggest activating in HIV-prevention education, might have the greatest efficiency when it involves all members of the society in reciprocal respect; this requires negotiations (in families, clans, communities) with the mediation of all local agencies.

An indirect approach to the most important and sensitive issues

There are ethical, moral, culturally defined social norms which are emotionally deeply grounded, determine human behavior, and which the locally influential agencies are best placed to remember. In this sense, beyond avoiding the production of 'hotness', in the Bantu-speaking cultures, an adult person is expected to respect the need to avoid a number of things, like, e.g., speaking out the name of their spouse. Very important issues are addressed cautiously and indirectly, never directly. Thus, HIV-prevention campaigns or promotions directly addressing HIV, AIDS, sexual organs, intercourse, etc. convey the idea that these issues are not so important, while issues/persons with weight should be addressed indirectly (e.g., through metaphors). Traditionally, it is only in ritual situations (like initiations), in which inversions are activated, that women and men (in separated rites) loudly and coarsely speak the name of the sexual organs, etc. In all the studied societies, using metaphors is fundamental in order to address emotional cognition (Kövecses 2007; Lakoff and Johnson 2003). There is, as stated above, the common failing to address emotions in many HIV-prevention campaigns and educational promotions. Practicing prevention (delaying the beginning of sexual activity, avoiding multiple concurring partnerships, using condoms) implies a range of issues that depend on emotions. It is, however, also about power.[115]

III. Bridging divergent content by communicating inclusively on HIV/AIDS

The following section analyzes the inclusive adjustment of the content of communication, which is necessary with regard to relevant issues arising in relation to HIV and AIDS in the studied cultural and social field.

A. Bridging biological notions concerning HIV/AIDS with endogenous knowledge

1. '*Nyoka*'- the weakened shade and the 'immune system'

Biomedicine explains the reason for AIDS as the weakening and destruction of the 'immune system'. Beyond the search for a locally understandable terminology for 'virus' (which is most often referred to in local languages as a 'vermin' or small animal, Green 1999, 1999b), addressing the notion of 'immune system' is yet more complicated. Emakhuwa- and Elomwe-speaking healers in North Mozambique argue that there is nothing in the physical body that would protect it, while healers in South Mozambique have endogenous notions allowing them to address such a dimension, as I will describe below.

The research shows that the notion of a weakening of what biomedicine calls the 'immune system' is, in the studied cultural context, most of all to be related to the 'vital force'. This concerns what I call the *vital body*, especially in a context where witchcraft is perceived as causing misfortune, death, or chronic diseases involving any weakening of the living 'vital force'. In order to understand the implications of the 'vital force', let us remember the notion of the person[116] as a plural and united whole[117] involving the element *muhia*[118] or *xiviri*[119] [air/breath/spirit in Xichangane/Xirhonga] as the spiritual body and the *muzimbha*[120] [flesh] as the physical body, and the *ndzhuti*[121] [shade] in the mediating position of the vital body.[122] The shade, including the vital force, has a high relevance for the *munhu* [person in Xichangana]. The shade is closely connected to the physical body and disappears together with it after death, while the spiritual body continues to exist. According to my research subjects, in this case mainly healers, there is a close relationship between the person's 'spirit', with its *ndzhuti* [shade in Xichangana] including its *ngati* [blood/vital force], as the interface with its physical body, its social world (including all 'spirits' as living-dead) and the ecological environment.

The weakening of the *ngati* as the vital force – part of the shade – allows intrusions, interferences of all kinds from the social 'body' (through spirits, taboo transgressions or 'witchcraft'), once it has access to *ngati* as the interface between the 'inside' (the physical/spiritual body) of a person and the 'outside' world (either the social context of living and living-dead, or the ecological environment). The vital force *ngati* ['blood'] can be weakened (by disease, taboo transgression or bewitchment) via the shade, and is described as the most vulnerable element of the person (see Chapter Two & Four).

I suggest that the notion of the weakening of the vital forces, the notion of shade in terms of *ngati* (blood[s]), might be used to address the concepts in biomedicine of the weakening of the 'immune system,' to which the term '*ngati/*bloods/vital force' could be applied, given the ways in which it

accompanies and strongly affects the living physical body. Even if it does not address exactly the same ideas, it helps as a conceptual bridge, and this applies in all the studied Bantu contexts. The notion of a purely physical defense system, as implied by the biomedical concept of the 'immune system', is difficult to conceptualize in the Bantu-speaking cultures, as this contradicts the basic idea that it is solely the ancestors who 'defend' (or protect[123]) the person's wellbeing (which is a strongly prevalent concept in the Emakhuwa/Elomwe context[124]). The search for local notions serving as a bridge to the biomedical notion showed the difficulties of using the notion of *nyoka* [snake, small vermin] proposed by Green (1999a/b). He argues that in South/Central Mozambique and among Emakhuwa-speakers, he identified the endogenous notion of "*nyoka,*" with which "the person is born and dies," which can be used to address a physical defense in the physical body. This concept can be used with healers who know such a *nyoka* in Central and South Mozambique, but not in the North Makhuwa/Lomwe contexts. Mariano's (2007:19-20) Xitshwa and Xirhonga-speaking informants in South Mozambique further state that the female *nyakhwari* can prevent illness, while the male produces illness.[125] Mariano's informants agree with Green's informants that each person has, from birth, a *nyoka* needed for life, with which the person is born and dies, and that these become noisy in cases of health disturbances. But the same healer woman[126] adds that the person is also protected by the *moya*[127] [breath/spirit] and by the ancestors[128]. Healers in South/Central Mozambique also speak of *nyoka* or *xiungwane, xivungwani,* or *xipungwane* or *xitsongwatsongwana* [vermin, small snake, microorganism] when speaking about microbes or viruses in the sense of biomedicine. However, only healers, diviners, and midwives in southern and central Mozambique know that *nyoka* or *nyakwari* (Xichangana, Xitshwa), *nyakhwadi* (in Cindau) is something in the physical body which 'defends' it by giving signs; seen as a "secret" knowledge of specialists, the term cannot be used broadly in prevention campaigns in order to explain the biomedical notion of the immune system.

Among Elomwe-speakers in North Mozambique, Bagnol (2007) found no traces of the notion of an internal physical agent defending the physical body, nor did I (in 2007 together with the linguist Carlos Mucamisa) find it among Emakhuwa-speakers in Ribaue district (inner regions) or in Nacala (coastal) healers. All of the interviewed Makhuwa/Lomwe healers, chiefs, and initiation rites counselors – over 350 – said that only the ancestors [*minepa*] protect the living and his physical body. Digging deeper, however, I identified (in 2007), with a well-known healer from the city of Nacala Porto whom I had known since 1999, that there exists in the Makhuwa tradition a certain notion of protection within the physical body. There is a (more secret) notion among the healers, *erooho*[129], which protects *erutthu* [the physical body]. As it is a 'secret' notion, it also cannot be used to communicate publicly about the effects of HIV leading to AIDS. This shows the difficulty in bridging the notion of the "immune system" as conceptualized in biomedicine.

The complexity of notions of the plural person, including ideas of the weakening of the shade, may have no biomedical equivalents, yet this is how the people understand chronic diseases which are thought to weaken the physical body (*body-shell*) and lead to a premature death. The weakening of the

shade can be related to any kind of compromising 'hot' source, such as transgressed taboos, illness or witchcraft and sorcery attacking the vital force and the breath/spirit via *ngati* [blood(s) in Xirhonga], which is the most vulnerable element of the person. The latter includes the several elements of the physical body, which are seen as double and conceptualized as 'shade' (body shadow, nails, hair, prints of body or footsteps); these are all levels of interface through which the *vital force* may be reached and weakened.[130] The weakening of the shade through 'witchcraft' may be achieved by the manipulation of bodily secretions, or through notions of "external" germs used to address HIV in South/Central Mozambique, such as the HIV-*nyoka*[131] (or HIV-*nyakwari*[132], HIV-*xipungwane*[133], HIV-*xitsongwatsongwana*[134], HIV-*funhe*[135], HIV-*honhe*[136] or other specific terms corresponding to micro-organisms that can be found in all Bantu languages). Such combinations of local terms with the HI virus (seen as a "small animal"), can facilitate the bridging of the biomedical notion of 'virus', allowing biological transmission through contact with HIV-infected blood and sexual fluids to be made understandable. For many informants, in the Makhuwa/Lomwe context, biological transmission is often perceived as "only happening as a consequence of bewitchment". To this extent, the easiest way to bridge the notion of an 'immune system' within, and protecting, the physical body is to speak about the weakened shade.

I recall that, according to the endogenous understanding, the weakening of the shade happens only when the ancestors have stopped protecting the living (e.g., when the living have transgressed or forgotten ancestral rules). This shows the combination of the several paradigms in the circular thought, and how ancestors are also assumed to play an indirect yet relevant role in HIV infection. Schuessler (2001), Knox (2008), Wreford (2008b) describe that healers and many patients assume that the restoration of ancestral protection lets people living with HIV feel able to achieve a successful neutralization of the bewitchment that they feel they are victims of (given their misfortune), thus restoring some sense of wellbeing.

2. HIV as '*ndhinga*'-snake with two heads, termites, and AIDS the chameleon disease

Xitshwa- and Cindau-speaking healers in Inhambane province (Nova Mambone), compare AIDS with *ndhinga* [snake with two heads]. António J., healer, suggests: "AIDS is a *ndhinga* [snake with two heads] because it does not kill only one person but a lot (biting with two heads on both sides)"–in Mariano (2007:22). Other healers from the same region explained me that 'when you cut one head, the snake continues to live with the other; you can't ever exterminate it."[137] The *ndhinga* snake metaphor is associated with witchcraft, implying that "the disease was caught by two persons" as says the healer woman Dona Rosa, meaning transmission by sexual intercourse. Here, two local etiologies are combined: 'pollution' due to the transgression of ancestral prohibitions (taboos – see Chapter Three) is combined with witchcraft. The healers' treatments in both cases require, among others, 'cleansing'. The often stated notions of 'provoked' or 'caught' diseases is similar to Quaranta's explanations that North Cameroonians tend to see HIV-positive people not as victims, but as

"responsible for their own and their kin-group's misfortune" (2010:182). This leads people to keep silent out of fear of losing their support and care (see also Quantara 2006).

Discussing the metaphorical field around AIDS, Ashforth (2010:46-47) questions the communication of biomedical prevention messages in South Africa that use of metaphors of snake-soldiers to explain the replication of the HIV virus, arguing that the snake has several meanings. Among the Zulu, the python is a symbol of togetherness, of an undivided unity (Berglund 1976:61). Bryant (1960) claims that a wide variety of snakes can be considered among the Zulu-speakers as manifestations of ancestral spirits protecting their descendants. Ashforth reminds us that the ancestors transmit their *moya* [spirit] in the form of 'shade snakes,' when the child comes out of the womb (Berglund, 1976:96), and that Green described (1996) snakes as the symbols of the source of bodily power and purity (Ashforth 2010:47). But, Ashforth recognizes that the strongest association with snakes in southern Africa is with witchcraft (2010:48). Indeed, the metaphor of the snake is widespread among Bantu-speakers; it is used in the most diverging ways. My discussions with healers, chiefs, and rites counselors in Mozambique and DRC show that people do indeed differentiate between the several kinds of *nyoka* [snakes]. In South Mozambique, in prevention messages, healers invent new metaphors useful in addressing the danger of HIV, e.g. as *ndhinga* [a snake with two heads] that "you cannot kill because when one head is cut off, the snake will survive with the other" as healers suggest, and to say in prevention messages that HIV works out of sight, like termites; "you don't see their work until the tree falls." Other healers suggest *ngati lompfanyi* [chameleon blood] addressing the changing manifestations of AIDS through the metaphor of a chameleon constantly changing its color (Mahumana 2013: 164). Appendices 5.1. & 5.2 are examples of inclusive communication on HIV & taboos, or AIDS & 'witchcraft'.

3. The difficulty of accepting the consequences of the latency of the HI virus

Another critical issue is the conceptualization of a disease like AIDS that can be treated but not cured, which is absent (as a notion) from the endogenous traditional perception of health. The idea to take care, without being able to make the causes of the disease disappear, is an approach to health that is foreign to healers for diseases, which are not related to any spirits. However, healers know latency of 'bad' spirits, which might take revenge even 100 years after their 'bad' death (Honwana 2002); in spiritual issues, healers have notions of latency. As reported, healers in Mozambique or DR Congo do not approach a health disorder through physical symptoms, but through the localization of the topographical[138] 'origin' of the disorder. In this context, the latent character of the transmission of HI virus (long delay between the infection and its visibility) can hardly be conceived in all its consequences. People have difficulties accepting that HIV infection, as a physical disease, can take up to 10 to 20 years to show symptoms.

B. Bridging content related to transgressed taboos in the case of AIDS symptoms

In Mozambique and DR Congo, there are two main cultural etiologies determining the social connotations of HIV/AIDS, which is easily confused with either the transgression of taboos or witchcraft. Two different groups of people use these etiologies. Healers in South/Central Mozambique consider generally that the symptoms related to AIDS are due to the transgression of taboos, whereas people living with HIV insist that they must have been bewitched, even though they may admit having the HI virus, and they often also seek some cleansing. Both endogenous etiologies offer a way of making sense of the misfortune of being affected by this specific disease. The application of these cultural etiologies influences whether, and when, biomedical HIV testing happens, and whether or not biomedical treatments are used, ARV treatment is successful (continued without interruption), and prevention is respected. I will first look at ways of bridging the gap between the transgressions of taboos and communicating about the concept of biological viruses.

Looking at the symptoms related to the transgression of taboos connected to sex, death, and blood allows an understanding of why, in South/Central Mozambique, AIDS-like symptoms are associated first of all with a transgression of taboos[139], not with AIDS. The only difference in the symptoms between both etiologies (HI viruses or taboos) is that the taboo specifications do not list diarrhea as a symptom in this region. According to Bagnol (2007), the association with the transgression of taboos seems, on first viewing, to be less strong among the Emakhuwa- and Elomwe-speakers, which however all report the importance of any kind of *mwiikho* [taboo], and speak especially of those related to sex, blood, and death in very similar way as that which is usual in South/Central Mozambique. But, in this sociolinguistic context the physical 'signs' (as healers describe symptoms) of the transgression are framed as swollen feet, legs, belly, or body, which are not seen as AIDS symptoms in biomedicine. Nevertheless, Emakhuwa-speaking healers in Nampula do often consider a swollen body as a physical 'sign' of AIDS, hence they too associate AIDS with the transgression of taboos. Simultaneously, in the Makhuwa and Lomwe context, the association of AIDS with witchcraft is strong among healers (which is not the case for healers in South/Central Mozambique, where however, people living with HIV generally feel that they have been bewitched).

Biological contamination versus "social" contamination

Biomedical services and agencies promoting HIV prevention often see the local etiologies as an obstacle to an efficient approach to HIV and AIDS. I suggest, together with Gausset and Morgensen (1996), and Green (1999a, 1999b), that this wrong view is one of the several factors responsible for the persistence of the HIV epidemic in South/Central Mozambique. The experience of the dialogue on HIV prevention in the South/Central provinces (in 2003, 2005, 2006-2007) shows how useless it is to insist, against the healers and the people involved, that symptoms such as coughing, skin problems, lack of appetite, or weight loss have nothing to do with the transgression of taboos. People taking an HIV test, and when starting an ARV treatment, may accept that the transgression of taboos is not the

only cause of their disease. But experience in Mozambique shows that the healers rarely accept a total dissociation of the etiology of taboo transgressions. Healers may accept that there is a "small animal" (*Xipungwane* in Xichangana*, funhe* in Cisena*, honhe* in Cisona*, muachicho* in Emakhuwa) involved called "HIV-*funhe*" by biomedicine, but since this notion of a germ (Green 1999a/b) has no direct relationship with the transgression of taboos, divination generally identifies the latter as the "real cause" of the AIDS-like symptoms (the cultural etiologies are, however, complementary to the biomedical diagnostics, as Schuessler, 2001, demonstrated). As discussed in chapter three, the un-physical 'dirt' (heat) of taboo transgression calls for adequate means for its removal, for the appropriate 'cleansing' rituals, and this tends to delay HIV testing and the eventual start of ARV treatment,. This explains why people often wait too long before accepting HIV testing.[140]

Pointing out the differences between taboo transgression and AIDS symptoms alone will not convince healers to abandon their views. The issue, like wellbeing in general, involves much more than "just" the physical body. Taboo-transgression has social and moral dimensions (Wolf 2001); it is framed as a lack of "respect" toward the ancestors, which does not conflict with the notion of a biological virus, (Janzen 1978; Ingstad 1989; Schuessler 2001). As I demonstrated in Chapter Three, the paradigm of taboo transgression gives meaning to the misfortune, and shows how people must take into account their own actions as its origin in the framework of their own life-world. The respect of taboos, an issue of respecting (ancestral) behavior rules, is a kind of responsibility which is not framed fully individualistically, as it always concerns social relationships, but there are common points with the biomedical approach. HIV infection is the result of physical contact of the living person with "infected" blood or sexual fluids, while transgression of taboos implies a social transmission of harmful excess of 'heat' also transmitted through the exchange of sexual fluids in intercourse or blood (or death). One common point is the human involvement. In the case of taboo transgression, the transgressor has "provoked" the disease. In the case of HIV transmission, biomedical education insists that behavior change helps people avoid infections. A second common point is that both approaches link the disease to sex, blood, and death. What is different are the paths of transmission and the evaluation as to which one is the most dangerous, and which one should be treated with priority.

The studied traditional medicine locates the 'origin' of health problems first outside the ill person's physical body (Nathan 1999), in a strongly relational context (Devisch 1993a) in the *social body*. The ancestors are assumed to protect the living as long as the living respect them. If they withdraw their protection, it may be that the living have "provoked" them to do so. Green (1999a/b) categorizes the etiology related to taboos as diseases coming 'just like that' or 'from God' and argues that they correspond to the category of the etiology of 'natural' disease as framed in biomedicine. Healers in Mozambique and DR Congo do not speak of any 'natural' causation, but of an etiology of illness coming "just like that", or from "God". The term "natural" that does not exist in the Bantu languages; for the environment, these languages use the term '*ntumbuluku*' [meaning "tradition" in Xirhonga], which does not correspond with the idea of 'nature' as separate from 'culture' (Descola 2010).

Finally, in Bantu thought, the ancestors (who "left for living" the taboos) belong to the social world of the living; they are not (as Green 1999 or Fortes 1987:258, argue) supernatural but are *living-dead* (Mbiti 1969) staying to living in a reciprocal interdependent relationship. There is no implication of the natural versus supernatural. In the studied context, contrary to Green's idea, the category of diseases "coming just like that" cannot be categorized as "natural" causation.[141] Nevertheless, I subscribe to Green's view that there are common points between the etiologies of taboo transgression and HIV infection through the virus, and hence no need to reduce local thought in the biomedical sense (of natural diseases), as Green (1999a/b) tends to do.

Local thought has its own coherent logic. Without entering into this inherent coherence, there can be no efficient dialogue that might lead to an inclusive, complementary approach to HIV. Attempts by HIV counselors in Mozambique and DR Congo have already confirmed this, just like in South Africa (Wreford 2008), Zimbabwe (Taylor T. 2005, 2008; Schuessler 2001), and Uganda (Homsy et al. 2004). The crucial disagreement between biomedical practitioners and traditional healers is on the question of what is more harmful, taboo transgression or biological contamination. Ignoring this conflict greatly delays the people's readiness to undergo HIV testing, or may lead to an interruption in ARV therapy (easily causing transmission of viruses that are resistant to any antiretroviral treatment). When biological treatment (like ARV) has little success, the healers remind us that the "real" causes have not been treated and call for traditional treatments (cleansing, possibly invocation of ancestors or verifying if 'bad' spirits or witchcraft is at play). For the healers, on the other hand, there is not necessarily any competition between the two approaches, as nurses who stay in a dialogue with the healers confirm. Accelerating HIV identification and prevention will therefore require the development of a dialogical, complementary approach, an "*as well*" rather than an "*either-or*" strategy. This pragmatic strategy will involve the respect of otherness, and plurality. See the 'dialogical strategy of communication in Bantu-speaker context'[142] developed with several organizations active in the field of HIV/AIDS in Mozambique (or DR Congo[143]). Beyond the taboos, the other main sociocultural etiology interfering with HIV or AIDS in Mozambique and DR Congo is witchcraft.

C. Bridging the aetiology of feeling bewitched when living with HIV and AIDS

In this section, I will analyze the second endogenous etiology inferring the understanding that AIDS is provoked through witchcraft.[144] Beyond the use of witchcraft in Africa in social, political, or economic contexts[145], this paradigm helps most of all in dealing with death, misfortune, chronic diseases, and epidemics People living with HIV argue in Mozambique and in DR Congo that they have been bewitched. Behrend (2009)[146] applies Turner (1967:113) and suggests that the rise of beliefs and accusations of witchcraft are associated with high rates of morbidity and mortality due to the HIV/AIDS epidemic: "When death through an epidemic becomes omnipresent, witchcraft accusations rise." (2009:33). Farmer 1992 (Haiti); Reynolds Whyte 1997 (Uganda); Ashforth 2005; Niehaus 2007,

Wreford, 2008a/b (South Africa); Rödlach 2006 (Zimbabwe); Quantara 2010 (Cameroon) describe AIDS as connoted with witchcraft, especially from the point of view of those living with HIV (and of their surroundings).

Narratives of people living with HIV/AIDS in South Mozambique and Kinshasa

The narrative of a woman belonging to a group of people living with HIV in a small city of South Mozambique explains in an exemplary manner how people living with HIV make sense of their misfortune:

"As persons living with HIV, we feel bewitched; I always feel pains, which never end. I go to the hospital and I consult healers. When I have pain in my feet, healers say that I was *mugajo* [bewitched] through *xifula* [stepping-on]. When my legs are swollen, they say that it is because of *xifula*. This means that I stepped on something in the sand in which 'drugs' were put to bewitch the person stepping on it. *Xifula* may also happen through your marks in the sand that someone 'drugged' to have the person stepping on them become ill. There are people who consult a healer to do such evil to someone that they don't like."[147]

In the city and province of Maputo, as in the provinces of Sofala, Manica, and Nampula, HIV-AIDS counselors (in 2003, 2006, 2007) and people living with HIV, and HIV counselors and healers all report (in 2003, 2005, 2006-2007, 2008) that people living with HIV feel bewitched. Similarly, in Kinshasa (in 2010), people living with HIV mostly feel bewitched, including students at the university, even when they also accept the biomedical diagnosis of a viral contamination. The reason is that AIDS is the chronic disease that even the 'hospital' cannot cure, and which leads easily to premature death. In South Mozambique, women associate their symptoms with *wuloyi* [witchcraft in Xichangane/Xirhonga]. A young woman in Kinshasa says that neither of her parents had HIV, nor had she herself ever had sexual intercourse[148]. She concludes that her being HIV-positive is thus incomprehensible, and can only be explained by bewitchment. Another woman in Kinshasa explains: "I am a married woman. I never had a lover, but I have the virus (*HIV*), while my husband died without having any illness. This makes me think that I was bewitched, because I did not 'go with others' [*meaning coitus*]; it is clear that it must be due to *kindoki* [witchcraft in Kikongo]. It is like this story of AIDS, for which there is no remedy to get rid of it; doctors are still seeking it."[149]

Several authors[150] describe the sociocultural framework of HIV and AIDS, which associates this epidemic with the etiology of witchcraft as the presumed (social) 'origin' of the misfortune of being infected by HIV. This etiology gives meaning to the misfortune (Augé & Herzlich 1984). Witchcraft as an explanatory model appears in relation to AIDS most often in the narrative of people living with HIV, while healers, chiefs, and traditional midwives in South/Central Mozambique[151] do not associate AIDS with witchcraft but attribute the AIDS symptoms to several possible transgressions of taboos [*svayila* in Xichangana/Xirhonga]. The reference to bewitchment as the 'origin' of the misfortune of

their HIV-positive state does not hinder people living with HIV from 'also' performing cleansing rituals to neutralize possible transgressions of taboos.

The narratives of persons living with HIV in South Mozambique show that, most of them only accepted undergoing biomedical HIV testing after a long process of consulting various medical services (diviners, healers, and religious healers), passing through consecutive sequences of several therapeutic services (Janzen 1978; Squire 2007:87-90). My informants living with HIV have taken tests and accept the diagnosis of an infection with HIV. Most often, this does not stop them from going through cleansing rituals for transgressing taboos (calming their surroundings) "as well", and maintaining at the same time that the misfortune of an HIV infection must be due to a bewitching. And as Quack and Sax (2010) note, medical pluralism is the standard human condition. Why should anything else be expected?

Bewitchment as mask and hope

In the discussed sociocultural framework, there is hardly any escape from the etiology of bewitchment in the case of a disease like AIDS. Even in Paris, Frankfurt am Main, Cologne, or Berlin, sub-Saharan Africans living with AIDS feel themselves bewitched, as discussed by Lewertowsky[152] and Nathan (1998). People argue that it locates the 'real' origin of misfortune. Witchcraft, as explanatory model, allows those living with HIV to deal with the insecurity caused by the disease and, as Wreford argues, also to "…mask or shield against the greater shame of admitting to a diagnostic of highly stigmatized diseases" (2009:13). In accordance with my own observations in Mozambique and DR Congo, the idea of being bewitched contradicts neither the notion of transgressed taboo prohibitions, nor the biomedical explanations related to viruses and HIV; it is perfectly complementary. These findings show the necessity of practicing inclusive communication by respecting the psychosocial requirements (Nathan & Lewertowski 1998; Asforth 2005; Rödlach 2006; Wreford 2008). There are specific ways to communicate in this context which allow one to address the central implications for an inclusive approach to AIDS in the perspective of the frames inherent to notions like *kindoki* [witchcraft in Kikongo]; this paradigm frames an emotionally highly loaded understanding of morality that allows the activation of people's motivation to undergo HIV testing and practice prevention.

The relation to AIDS of retaliation by 'witchcraft'

In order to avoid oversimplifying a paradigm full of ambivalences, we must explore the intricate law of retaliation of witchcraft from the point of view of a person living with HIV. People living with HIV, according to notions like *okhwiri* or *kindoki*, claim to be victims of witchcraft, but, according to its inherent law of retaliation (Chapter Four), could be suspected of being merely their own victims*,* receiving in return the spell they cast on others. This shows the extreme situation of a person living with HIV: infected people not practicing prevention would correspond to such logic (Cross 2005), but certainly not all the infected people who take preventive measures.

Healers in South Mozambique claim to not 'see' HIV or 'witchcraft' in divination; when they do, they often speak of an uncleanness of transgressions of taboos. But they also avoid contradicting the

patient, so as not to jeopardize the patient's required social support, which the recognition of their state as victim implies.[153] To be recognized as victim of witchcraft prevents one from being seen as a witch in case of a chronic disease leading to premature death. Healers are aware that in order to avoid isolation, people living with HIV insist on their bewitchment, corresponding to Wreford's (2009) argument that this etiology serves as a protective 'mask' responding to the question confronting infected people: if AIDS is due to a virus, why am I infected and not others? Geschiere, like many other authors, explains the resilience of witchcraft: "Witchcraft is, thus, supported to drain the life forces of the community towards a hostile outside" (2006:60). The Mozambican psychotherapist Isabel Parada Marques argues that locating the origin of the misfortune in a (presumed hostile) world external to the patient makes it easier to bear invocation of ancestors (in Kotanyi 2003b).

Summarizing 'witchcraft' in relation to AIDS

Summarizing the several cultural and social aspects of the interferences of witchcraft with AIDS, four aspects must be clear. **First:** There are fundamental differences between witchcraft and AIDS, but also some similarities. *Kindoki, okhwiri,* and other similar notions of witchcraft mobilize the imaginary, the emotions, and the social support network in order to hinder stigma and isolation in case of HIV infection. This psychosocial framing of the social bodies often has effects in the physical body and on the vital force (the "shade," including all bodily fluids, which are framed as "bloods"); "witchcraft/sorcery attacks" are connoted by the people with misfortune, danger of death and the weakening of the physical body.[154] AIDS caused by physical factors implies great misfortune, danger of death and that the virus weakens the blood and the physical body; witchcraft that empties the person of its vital forces (in a psychosocial process) also weakens and influences the physical body (Wreford 2008a/b, 2009; Devisch 2003a, 2003b). The people seek an explanation for their misfortune of becoming infected −explanations reaching beyond the issue of biological transmission−; the similarities just named explain the connotations with "witchcraft" of people living with HIV and AIDS.

Second: Witchcraft as an explanatory model of victimization might be a result of autosuggestion, or be suggested by the surrounding world (Geschiere 1995, 1997, 2013; Devisch 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003c, 2005b). The bewitched person has the greatest difficulties extracting himself from the process of auto-destructive imagination (Devisch 2002), which corresponds for the people with the destructive physical process resulting from an HIV infection.

Third: Devisch (2002) suggests that the auto-suggestive process of the witchcraft paradigm may influence the vital forces of the person and his physical, spiritual, and emotional body. In such a context, as Wreford (2008b) argues, the ritual means of extracting, cleansing, and protecting are fundamental: they may positively influence the spiritual and emotional body, as well as, indirectly, the conditions of the physical body and of the *vital body* ("the shade"), including the vital force of the patient. The cleansing treatments support the wellbeing of the patient. However, plants used by healers for cleansing often induce vomiting and diarrhea. Both dehydrate an HIV patient, weakening him even

more and, in the case of ARV, hindering the efficiency of the biomedical treatment[155]. Biomedical services can and need to dialogue with the healers, requesting that they use means of cleansing which do not have any negative biological effect on the ongoing biomedical treatments.

Fourth: Cleansing, extracting, and protecting (from '*witchcraft*') do not solve the biomedical issue; ARV treatments may help patients. Nevertheless, traditional treatments provide the patients with an emotional, psychological, and spiritual strength, which helps them to face the chronic disease, the painful treatments, and the prospect of an eventual premature death. These advantages are especially relevant when the patient has no access to ARV treatments or to the necessary nutrition allowing him to bear the heavy medication of ARV. This leads a large number of AIDS patients in Mozambique, to complementarily seek traditional treatments, which imply plants of all kinds.[156] In Mozambique, patients taking ARV reported appreciating (as a complement to biomedicine) not only traditional cleansing, which reinforces wellbeing and limits social stigma by reassuring the surrounding social world of the control of the social 'contamination' danger posed by the patient, but also the plants and roots, which reinforce the strength and health of the patient.

A zombie-like liminal state and the ambivalences of secrecy

In order to better understand all the involved dimensions in the communication scheme using the etiology of witchcraft to motivate people to access HIV testing and prevention, as described in Appendix 5.2, I will summarize the analyses of the relationship between witchcraft and AIDS with regard to premature death. Niehaus (2007), along with Ashforth (2002:116) and Vijloen (2004:70), shows how urban residents in South Africa describe AIDS as a "waiting room for death" and HIV-positive persons as 'dead before dying'. Niehaus recalls Turner (1967) and Douglas (1970) in indicating that the liminal state between 'life' and 'death' contradicts the 'normal schemes of classification'. In Chapter Three I described, in relation to taboos, some basic framings of the liminal states (birth, menstruation, abortion, death, circumcision) as loaded with an excess of 'heat' and, as such, 'polluting'. Niehaus explains that in South Africa people living with HIV and AIDS are perceived as zombies – socially dead but physically alive, forever stuck in a hidden parallel world, 'dead before real death' (2007:10). In the plural understanding of the person, the physical body ('flesh', [*mnele* in Tsonga]) may be alive while the shadow, which Niehaus calls the 'aura' [*seriti* in Tsonga], is dead. As 'living corpses', zombies are more polluting than corpses themselves.

Such connotations explain, additionally to the other arguments, why people living with HIV also insist on being recognized as victims of, and treated against witchcraft, even when undergoing biomedical treatment. However, in South/Central Mozambique, the diagnostics of diviners and healers for chronic coughing or/and skin rash, loss of weight or hair, or swollen body or legs are seen as related to a transgression of taboos concerning "wrong" behavior on the part of the patient. Yet people living with HIV insist on their bewitchment, in addition to the other etiology related to transgressions, which they are socially obliged to accept. Such socially framed "wrong" behavior of taboo transgression is not unlike the biomedical diagnosis of an infection often presumed to be caused by wrong behavior of the

patient (biological risk), both being related to sexual intercourse. Yet the biomedical diagnosis easily produces the stigma of prostitution in Mozambique (as in Kinshasa), multiple sexual partners, or adultery, whereas the 'advantage' of the etiology of transgressed taboos is that transgression can be cleansed[157]. It is also relevant to note that in the studied patrilineal context, adultery or prostitution is treated as if only concerning 'bad' behavior of women, while a man's multiple sexual partners are taken as proof of his virility, which indicates the inequity between genders. In the case of the connotation with prostitution, the Christian churches will add the notions of guilt and sin.[158] It is hardly surprising, then, that people living with HIV seek alleviation in the etiology of witchcraft, which locates the problem outside of the patient without blaming him/her.

Last but not least, the association of AIDS with witchcraft rests on the chronic and deadly nature of the disease, on its leading to an early or unclear death, typically pointing to witchcraft as an explanation. The result is secrecy[159], again typical for witchcraft, which only confirms this association. At the same time, people living with HIV/AIDS and taking ARV tend to claim secrecy (the right to privacy) in the logic of independent individuals as framed in the biomedical approach; however, for people living with AIDS, secrecy (privacy) reinforces the connotation with witchcraft.

The retaliation law described in Chapter Four implies the idea that sending the 'witchcraft'[160] back to the witch will make him ill or die, which means that a person living with HIV can be interpreted as a witch suffering from his own witchcraft. Healers may prepare objects soaked with "drugs" or footprints, which, when touched by the witch (i.e., 'stepping on'), will return the witchcraft to him. The law of retaliation inherent in witchcraft is also evoked for other chronic and deadly diseases like TB or leprosy; 'guilt' here takes on a sense different from that of Christian 'sin'. This demonstrates the strong psychosocial pressures that people living with HIV feel; they must be recognized as victims of witchcraft in order to not be seen as perpetrators. People living with HIV fear that they will lose their job and their income, or that their neighbors will mistreat their children. In addition, the ARV allopathic remedies that were available in Mozambique up to 2008 required taking the heavy medication three times a day, i.e., at three meals. The patient therefore ate more and worked less than the rest of the family, again typical for a witch living at the cost of others.

In summary, persons living with HIV are inevitably caught in the etiology of witchcraft, which, however, offers (relative) protection against stigma and allows somewhat more social integration in order to secure the required support when the patient is recognized as the innocent victim rather than the evil perpetrator.

The ethical and moral value of the 'witchcraft' paradigm for prevention

The etiology of witchcraft offers a good means for articulating the urgency of prevention by confronting patients with their responsibility towards others. Some healers in Mozambique say that HIV-positive people neglecting prevention in sexual intercourse behave intentionally as 'witches'. Quantara (2010:181) reports that North Cameroonians call this "witchcraft in daylight," the actors having full awareness of the consequences. Such designations correspond to what Mozambican call

‘done’ witchcraft. However, those who are infected and practice prevention are definitely recognized as not behaving as ‘witches’; although AIDS infection is often associated with immoral behavior,[161] the adequate and careful use of the etiology of ‘witchcraft’ in a cautious way as presented in Appendix 6.2 provides means of reinforcing self-control in sexual behavior. Experience has shown the utility of such an approach in Mozambique and DR Congo.

Nurses and HIV counselors in Kwango (West Congo RD) and in Mozambique note that women are more open to HIV testing, as they wish to bear healthy children who will survive. Men’s reactions are often more negative in relation to HIV testing, ranging as far as the urge to take revenge for the infection by spreading the virus on purpose. It appears, however, that men refusing to respect biological prevention also do not like the idea of dying as a witch. Reminding them that ‘bad’ spirits may take revenge on their descendants for several generations, may motivate men to engage more actively with preventive measures. Peer educators, (e.g. workers in breweries in Kinshasa), argue that such an approach helps motivate people to participate in testing and prevention: “Men who often refuse to know if they are infected may perhaps listen more if we show the danger of behaving like a witch” (a peer educator). See the dialogue on witchcraft in Appendix 5.2.

Mozambique is referred to by UNAIDS (2008[162]) as the land with the lowest HIV-testing rate in southern Africa. ‘Not wanting to know’ is a reality explained by the biomedical services with the situation of HIV-positive people facing the unavailability of treatment, so desperate that they may contemplate suicide. In this situation, not knowing (one’s state of HIV infection) might appear to be preferable. Still, in view of the spread of the epidemic, the question is whether prevention should not have priority by activating people’s sense of responsibility and motivating people at risk to verify their state of infection. The use of the ethic implied in the etiology of ‘witchcraft’, where those infected may be said to be behaving like witches if they do not act responsibly, may prove useful to counselors/educators. As Devisch (2002a: 87) notes, witchcraft is a means of social control apt to mobilize social responsibility and has a moral power (Stroeken 2010). Similarly, I suggest that it has important potentials for education relating to HIV prevention, especially among men. However, it is of fundamental importance to be aware that this should only be used indirectly, avoiding a frontal approach[163]. To speak too directly of *wuloyi, okhwiri, kindoki* [witchcraft] can be seen as activating it. Metaphors and indirect discourse are therefore indispensable. In summary, the one-sided promotion of an exclusively biomedical approach to HIV prevention[164], and promoting condom use (when disconnected from the cultural understanding of ethics) may ultimately have little effect (Green & Ruark 2011), whereas the dynamic activation of local values might augment the efficiency of prevention and education effects promoting behavior adjustment.

D. Exclusivity versus inclusivity

Besides the issues related to communication, education, HIV diagnostics (testing)[165] and prevention, the tendency of exclusive approaches of the officially practiced and validated biomedicine has problematic effects on the efficiency of the provided treatments. Exclusive approaches imply policies, programs and practices which regard biomedicine as the sole acceptable and useful way to approach HIV and AIDS, refuting other approaches (e.g. of traditional medicine). The following section discusses the consequences of exclusivity in the context of HIV and AIDS, and looks at the lack of dialogue, communication, and cooperation of biomedical health workers with diviners, healers, and chiefs.

We have seen that a very critical issue is the fact that the traditional health providers sometimes explain AIDS-similar symptoms in terms of causal logics other than those used by biomedical HIV/AIDS counselors, activists, and medical staff. Biomedical staff is advised by their superiors not to cooperate with diviners or healers, and they also rarely communicate with them. Nurses and doctors claim that too many patients follow the advice of healers instead of accepting biomedicine as the uniquely correct approach to health in general, and to HIV/AIDS in particular. However, at the same time, the biomedical services concentrating on the reestablishment of the functions of the biological body, has in the studied countries no time to approach and treat people's social and spiritual requirements. The strong tendency of biomedical staff to apply exclusive approaches may hinder the discovery of useful means of achieving broader acceptance of HIV testing, uninterrupted participation in ARV treatment and the consistent practice of HIV prevention. Workers in hospitals and health centers argue that they have no time to meet and discuss with healers, diviners, chiefs, or initiation rites counselors (or are not paid to do so). Most of all, their training does not provide them with the ability to engage in this kind of communication, nor do their administrators envisage this necessity in their working plan. Despite some nurses having a great capacity to secure a dialogical communication (being in such cases the best teachers of inclusive approaches), they remain the exceptions that confirm the rule.[166]

The factual denial of the medical pluralism of the patients

The reduced use of HIV testing has several reasons, as stated above. One of them is the lack of recognition of the reality of medical pluralism and lack of cooperation between practitioners of the diverse simultaneously used medical systems. The regular work of THETA in Uganda, or of PROMETRA in several countries in Africa, as well as some isolated different positive experiences in Mozambique, show that when healers are well informed about HIV transmission and prevention, they are able to send patients to testing, and to provide good support to the efficiency of biomedical services[167]. Once healers are well informed about which of their treatments might disturb the efficacy of the biomedical treatments (e.g., induction of diarrhea through cleansing), the support given by healers is experienced by patients as positive for their wellbeing, for the treatment of secondary diseases, as well as for support of the efficacy of biomedical treatment (avoiding ARV interruptions)

and prevention[168]. Wreford (2008a/b) describes cleansing as being locally perceived as fundamental, once it is ensured that the method of cleansing does not disturb the biomedical treatment.

Some nurses in South Mozambique relate that their AIDS patients receiving medicinal plants from healers parallel to ARV treatments have a better state of health than those not using medicinal plants from healers (in the case of a CD4 rate in the blood that is not too low). But a number of nurses and officials from the Mozambican Health Ministry insisted during workshops in 2003, 2006 and 2007 in several provinces of Mozambique that the patients' parallel use of traditional and allopathic remedies was dangerous due to the loss of control by biomedical personnel (especially in South Mozambique). They argued that the traditional remedies may interfere with the ARV treatment, hindering the efficacy of the latter, and that given that the doses of traditional plants are unpredictable, it was difficult to maintain an overview of the effects of the remedies given to a patient. At the same time, I met several nurses and some medical doctors who argued that traditional medicine can indeed help the patients, and can be taken parallel to ARV treatments when it is not taken at the same hours and when the patient undergoes regular biomedical controls. But cooperation between the practitioners of the two health systems is officially forbidden, especially in the context of HIV and AIDS. Nevertheless, the findings in South Mozambique show that dialogues with healers allow reciprocal regulation in the interest of the patients; when the sociocultural requirements are taken into account, cooperation is possible and useful, as THETA[169]; Schuessler (2001); Taylor T. (2005, 2007, 2008, 2009) and Wreford (2008, 2009) also demonstrate in the context of HIV infection.
The Ministry of Health in Mozambique has a leadership that considers psychosocial and cultural issues as secondary in health in relation to the "important" issues of "saving" lives with biomedical activities. There is no doubt that ensuring and organizing biomedical care is fundamental, and it is very difficult in this poor country, with its short history of scientific and medical training and its extremely limited number of trained medical personnel. Today university medical training is being shortened, in order to quickly get more doctors into the field. The young doctors are trained without any methodological instruments that would allow them to understand local practices and thinking, and enable them to communicate with the patients they will have to treat. The misunderstandings are deep in all levels of intervention: in diagnostics, treatment, care, and the socio-cultural prevention needs of the people. Despite the fact that nurses often come from the same culture as the patients and are generally much better than most medical doctors at communicating with the patients, they have not learned to debate such issues with the medical doctors. Nurses also have not been given the skills to theoretically justify the broadly shared need of the connection between the biomedical approaches and the local social/cultural way of understanding. Yet these underestimated practices have huge influences on the health behavior of their clients.
The Mozambican Ministry of Health has a department of traditional medicine with so little funding that its activities are extremely reduced[170], which is also the case for the Institute of Traditional Healing in the Ministry of Sciences and Technology. As is often the case in sub-Saharan Africa, the

Ministries of Health and of Sciences are both more concerned with appropriating the healers their knowledge of medical plants than involving them in a national health policy, or even in a national HIV-prevention policy. Together with five sensitization teams from the Red Cross of Mozambique and three research teams from MONASO, the network of all NGOs struggling against AIDS, we developed and implemented (in 2006-2007) a "DIALOGUE" program as a contribution in order to involve diviners, healers, and chiefs in HIV prevention, just as E.C. Green (1999a/b) between 1992 and 1995 and Mahumana (Prometra 2007, Mozambique) tried, and we all have observed in the field up to now the utility of a complementary and dialogical approach to health in general and to HIV/AIDS in particular. But we could not achieve continuity in the implementation of a stable dialogue and cooperation. Funding was interrupted after a short time, not because of any lack of will and interest on the part of the healers, and not because of lacking efficiency. For instance, the "DIALOGUE" program involved a large number (more than 1,000 in 8 provinces between 2003 and 2007) of very motivated and open healers of all kinds, diviners, midwives, initiation rites counselors of both genders, chiefs and their notables, who were all willing to learn and cooperate, as their extended support of this study testifies (Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009). But the political conditions necessary for success through any official program involving healers, chiefs, and initiation rites counselors in Mozambique do not exist. Neither PEN II nor the new PEN III, defining the national strategy with regard to HIV/AIDS, define any substantial cooperation with healers or chiefs, who are more or less absent from this main national document on the strategy for fighting HIV/AIDS.

Deeper analyses of this complex issue exceed the framework of this study; Last and Chavunduka (1986) analyzed the difficulties and requirements of the professionalization of African medicine. The authors argue that an integration of healers in a biomedical system leads to the destruction of the positive sides of traditional medical approaches. I perfectly agree with the authors (see also the similar arguments of Sax (2014) concerning the relationship between traditional and biomedical medicine in India). In short, the problem seems to be that modern biomedicine is based on a mechanical model: the body is a machine that is to be fixed. Biomedicine therefore pays no attention to what is most distinctively human about us. Sax (2014) describes for India similar difficulties of too narrowly incorporating traditional healers in the biomedical health system, like those I observed in Mozambique and DR Congo. The different health systems in play are not incompatible and might be combined (as Zimbabwe demonstrated). However, instead of seeking an integration of healers in biomedical systems, I give priority to a complementary approach that allows the use of different medical approaches, each of which follows its own requirements and aims to secure the coherence of its respective approach (see Last and Chavunduka at al. 1986). The complementary results permit the patient to find wellbeing. This is demonstrated by the practice of several nurses who speak without stigmatization with their patients about their use of traditional medicine. Although nurses in Mozambique are obliged to do so under cover, their experiences nevertheless provide evidence that

dialogue and partial cooperation helps to avoid harmful disturbances through inadequate treatments and approaches[171]. Whether it is officially accepted or not, people use different health services in Africa.

In many African countries, laws regulating traditional medicine are being drafted, but have not been approved officially. South Africa seems to be the first country where insurance companies have agreed to pay for the consultation of traditional healers. Questions are, e.g., how to recognize a 'real' healer, diviner, etc. from a 'charlatan'. Health Ministries question how the transmission of knowledge of generally illiterate specialists can be controlled whose knowledge is transmitted through ancestors, spiritual possession, dreams, experiences, and divination. When training of diviners and healers takes place, as in South Mozambique, provided by enormous 'clans' [*b'andla*][172] of healers involving several generations of teachers/pupils, the teaching is oral, experiential[173], and shaped in a way that the national Ministries oriented to Western norms are unable to control. As a consequence, so-called traditional healing remains a parallel world.

Last, but not least, funding has been reduced in the health sector and is never enough to cover the national necessities in biomedicine, which still does not reach the whole population. Access to biomedical services has improved considerably since independence, but the tasks seem endless. The Ministry of Health has not instated a substantial cooperation with the organizations related to healers in Mozambique. On the level of non-governmental organizations, the problem is not very different. Even if a large part of the NGOs (together with the National Council against HIV/AIDS in Mozambique) may recognize, the necessity of reinforcing a sociocultural approach towards HIV/AIDS, they rarely provide funding and implement it in their programs. When they do, it is only for a short time. These limits are due to other priorities and to the short time-frame of their programs, which are financed mostly by international donors, dominated by the biomedical approach, and defended as an ideological (and economic) issue. There is generally very little continuity in the activities and programs of NGOs, which can only be compensated for by the high commitment of the people involved on the ground (nurses, volunteers). Very often, good programs are forced to stop after a year or two, without having had time to achieve their goals.
However, in everyday life, especially diviners, revealers, and healers treating with or without spirits are the most-sought psychologists, counselors, and health educators in an African country like Mozambique, as argue UNAIDS (2000, 2002); Green (1994, 1999); Green & Ruark (2011), among others. However, they are not systematically mobilized for HIV prevention. A small number in Mozambique have received a short course introducing the biological transmission of HIV and its prevention, but without such a systematic following as THETA (Uganda), which provides in a one-year program monthly education on HIV prevention, treatment, and care, including follow-ups ensuring that the information is integrated in the healer's knowledge in the best possible manner. In Mozambique, the medical services of healers are used by people living with HIV, who have taken HIV tests and receive ARV treatments from a biomedical service. Such patients are very afraid to

disclose how they combine both medical approaches, because they do not want to lose the regular testing of the hospital. Beyond the 'spiritual war' (Honwana 2002; Behrend 1997; Tonda 2002) and epistemological war that are in progress (see Chapter Seven), HIV/AIDS is a business involving a great deal of money. Pisani (2008), Green[174] (2011) and Green & Ruark (2011) have analyzed extensively "how the AIDS establishment has betrayed the developing world" (Green 2011), and Matsinhe (2006) shows the limits of the HIV/AIDS interventions in Mozambique, drawing a picture which has not changed significantly, even though ARV treatment has become available to many (but not all) patients.[175] I do not seek to reproduce their analyses, which perfectly apply to the current situation in Mozambique, although fewer international funds have been invested in this sector since the financial crises. Indeed, many people live from this business; there remains little space to take into account social, psychological, emotional, or cultural needs; the money calls the tune.

HIV, AIDS, traditional treatments, and ARV treatments

The issues related to the treatments are sensitive, especially when people living with AIDS want to follow a complementary approach. During the first AIDS conference of the civil society in Maputo (2008), people living with HIV related to me that they belonged to a group of people who prefer taking traditional medicine, but rely on the regular testing in the hospital in order to know their more exact stage of infection.[176] The availability of ARV treatment has significantly blocked the former tendencies to positively value traditional treatments for AIDS[177]. While Alcorn (1994) edited a directory of complementary and alternative therapies in HIV/AIDS, biomedical services in Mozambique distrust traditional treatments. However, Taylor T. (2005, 2008), for Zimbabwe, and Wreford (2008b) claim that people living with HIV in Cape Town feel better after ritual treatment in complement to ARV treatment. Whyte claimed that, in times when ARV treatment was not yet accessible (for Uganda), "carrying out rituals for spirits, or counteracting sorcery medicine, has consequences at least for relationships, if not for the course of the bodily sickness. It allows people to remain in the subjunctive mode of possibility and hope." (1997:216). I suggest that antagonistic views between biomedicine and traditional medicine overemphasize contradictions, which are not helpful for people suffering from AIDS, as, for people in Mozambique or DR Congo, wellbeing goes further than the lack of physical disease.[178] Jo Wreford (2009, 2008a, 2008b), an anthropologist initiated as a *sangoma* [healer], worked for many years with a hospital in Cape Town specifically in the field of HIV/AIDS; she argues that the cleansing against taboo transgressions or witchcraft provided by healers helps the stabilization of people living with HIV, or simply to preserve the dignity of the patient endangered by the exposure that AIDS might produce. In Mozambique, healers have specific categories of diseases which allow them to address issues related to HIV/AIDS, and which respond to anxieties of the patients and address the general social concerns in the cultures discussed. E.g., in Xichangana/Xirhonga, the category of *ntima*[179] diseases address impurity related to death and to the context of how death occurs; or *xisila,* which is related to certain places (like coitus practiced in the wrong places); or *ngati,* addressing transgressions of taboos related to blood; their treatment through

cleansing helps the social reintegration of the patient (in their family and community) and reinforces the patient's self-esteem (Mahumana 2013:159, Wreford 2008). Additionally, given that people living with HIV to a large extent feel "bewitched" (explaining their misfortune), some "traditional" treatments may help to achieve their social reintegration, which is necessary due to the heavy stigma of HIV and AIDS, and to the fact that *wuloyi, okhwiri* or similar social etiologies of 'witchcraft' address chronic disease, death, uncertainty and antisocial behavior. Wreford shows that the etiology of witchcraft allows the patient to hope that the disease can be neutralized, while an HIV-positive or AIDS diagnosis just offers some delay of premature death. Niehaus (2007:14) compares HIV with the former treatment of leprosy in South Africa, where the reduction of the stigmata proved to be an essential strategy for the healing of the disease, and thus should be taken as a priority also for HIV/AIDS. This also applies to the ambivalent attitude of the Christian churches, even if they often provide useful care, especially to women in the urban context (Pfeiffer 2002). However, the connotation of AIDS with sin due to presumed wrong sexual behavior might reinforce the social isolation of people living with HIV or AIDS (Behrend 2009).[180]

Some conclusions concerning communication

The critical review of current HIV/AIDS approaches in Mozambique leads to the question of how far the Western values of individualization are shared by the majority of the Mozambicans. A look at social realities and practices allows us to verify the extent of the depreciation (through biomedical services) of the culture, which is relevant for and followed by the majority of the people. Diverging rhetoric and messages concerning HIV and AIDS are used by the same persons in diverse contexts, which implies diverging necessities (at the individual, social, political, and economic levels). A question is to what extent do diverse discourses imply diverse parallel or simultaneously lived practices? Evaluating the relationship to the diverse paradigms at play, the question is also how far globalization transforms realities in the context of social boundaries, psycho-cultural, and emotional needs, and to what degree it does not eliminate deeply grounded requirements. Culture has ethical, moral, behavioral, and emotional weight for the majority of the people in countries like Mozambique or DR Congo – in rural and in urban space – that can be activated for more-efficient HIV/AIDS prevention and for wellbeing when using the adequate ways of communication.

IV. Health education through HIV-prevention counselling in initiation rites

This section shows that in sub-Saharan Africa youth coming-of-age rituals belong to one of the most appropriate cultural contexts to promote HIV-prevention education. Youth initiation is locally recognized as a framework to address issues related to sexuality. These initiations introduce young people to the ethical values that should be respected by any adult, and that concern the right behavior related to sex, blood, and death. The "coming-of-age rituals are often approached with strong preconceptions by people trained in western, Christian, scientific, and biomedical principles. Since colonial times in these countries, campaigns questioned youth initiations for very different reasons: the female rites are seen negatively, often being confused with rites including genital cutting, which, however, does not happen in Mozambique. The teaching given in the rites is often not valued because it does not correspond to the promotion of the individual found in school teaching and, partially, in churches, but teaches the interdependence of persons, who must respect each other. The locally framed notions of respect imply values and gender relationships that are on the one hand questioned (especially by feminists), but on the other hand valued by other (many) women. In Mozambique, later, after independence, the socialist regime prohibited all types of 'traditional' and 'religious' ceremonies, especially youth initiation. In the case of male circumcision, it did so because of inadequate hygienic conditions and the long seclusion time in the bush, which removed boys (and girls) from school for too long. Between 1978 and 1992, female initiation was also prohibited in the name of 'progress'. After 14 years of civil war, this prohibition could not be maintained. Today initiations are allowed and female initiation practiced in all seven provinces of central and North Mozambique, while male initiation, which disappeared in Sofala and Manica, is still practiced in five provinces of the North. In DR Congo, male circumcision is practiced, while female rites are practiced in the East but are in decline in West-Congo. Female initiation is generally regarded very critically, especially due to sexual mutilation practices which take place in 27 to 30 countries mostly in West and North-East Africa[181]; they are fought by international and NG organizations, by feminists and movements defending children rights. However, female initiation in Mozambique, as far as I could observe in the provinces of Nampula and Sofala, does not entail genital mutilation. WHO classifies labia prolongation as mutilation, while African women involved in these practices do not agree at all with the stigmatization of practices which they see not as destroying the female body or limiting female pleasure, but as constructing female identity by but significantly marking their sexuality (Bagnol & Mariano 2009a). Mariano states that small incisions are made in some parts of North Mozambique in the case of certain diseases, however, I did not encounter this practice in the studied parts of the Nampula province where I conducted research.

This section discusses the application of an inclusive approach to HIV prevention in the framework of female initiation. I neither describe the female rites in detail[182] nor deeply analyze the metaphorical aspect of these rites[183], which is the grounding of their emotional efficiency. Rather, I want to show the potentialities and the concrete contextualization of HIV-health education in such a communitarian

frame. The power of the coming-of-age rituals is rooted in the (relative) secrecy that is insisted on by participants and which researchers should therefore respect, not necessarily describing all the "secret" details that the initiated share. I intend to show that, and how, female (like male) initiation is the most appropriate way to implement education promoting behavior-change concerning sexuality, as well as ethical behavior in health security.[184] Economic inequalities are rising and may increase women's vulnerability to HIV infection (Bagnol & Chamo 2003), both touching stronger Mozambican women. I will show that in times of globalization, the continuity (or the revival[185]) of youth initiation (for both genders), combining HIV-prevention education with the 'traditional' paradigms taught in these initiations, may have a positive effect as a powerful, emotionally laden, and socially deeply grounded means of education for HIV prevention, leading to the efficacy of such health education. Introducing the youth to the ethical values for the behavior of any adult in relation to sex, blood, and death, these rites (among females or males) allow a useful connection with HIV-prevention education in a context valuating life transmission, which often motivates women to protect themselves and their future children from any dangerous biological contamination.

Historical and geographical framework

In Mozambique, after the prohibition of initiation rites by the socialist political regime that followed independence, female rites continued to be practiced in secrecy, in the framework of the family, meaning that between 1978 and 1992 the communitarian parts of the rites were mostly missing. In the provinces of Sofala and Manica, male initiation stopped in the early 1970s. In the northern region, both the family- and community-based parts of the rites are performed for both genders. In the South, initiation rites have not been practiced since the 19th century.[186] Today instruction about sexual behavior is given in the South to boys during the rites of *lovolo* [the institution an goods offered regulating a marriage], while girls receive also instruction over the years within the family, but without learning to elongate the *labia minora* [inner lips in Latin] as practiced in Central and North Mozambique. Studying female rites in the provinces Sofala and Nampula, I participated in the rites in the district Muecate, Nampula (1999) and in three districts of Sofala (2005). I l conducted interviews with several female ritual instructors in the districts of Muecate, Nacala Porto and Ribaue for Nampula (2007, 2014) and, with male initiated in Sofala and several male instructors in Nampula (2008[187], 2014). All described the high valuation of female initiation in rural and in urban areas, which I also observed. Female instructors' *npungu* [godmothers in Cisena] in Sofala were happy in 2005 to see that they were newly allowed to practice the communitarian part of the rites, which had not been clear to them although the prohibition had ended in 1992. Young and elder women's descriptions of female rites in Nacala Porto show that the combination with Islam does not hinder but confirms the centrality of these rites for womanhood. The initiation rites are practiced by the majority of Mozambicans; more than 76% of the population of Mozambique lives in 60% of the territory in the seven concerned provinces[188], where the majority of the women approve this practice (see descriptions in Arnfred 2011; Bagnol 2011).

A. Introduction to female maturity rites in Mozambique

In Mozambique, boys and girls are instructed separately in sexuality and ethical adult behavior[189]. Mozambican coming-of-age initiation correspond to Van Gennep's ([1909]1981) notion of 'rite de passage'; they follow the structure of the rite of passage transforming the child into an adult in three phases (separation, transition, reintegration), similarly to the several youth initiations in several Southeastern and Central African cultures[190]: e.g., among the Bemba in Northeast Zimbabwe (Richards 1956; Dauphin-Tinturier 2003, 2008), in South Africa (Gluckman 1962), among the Ndembu in Northwest Zambia (Turner 1968, 1962), in the lake countries of central Africa (Kashamura 1973), among the Komo in Congo (de Mathieu 1985), the Zigua and Ngulu in East Tansania (Goths 1980) and the Kaguru in Tanzania (Beidelman, 1997), the Handa in South Angola (Melo 2005), in Mozambique, in the Makhuwa context of Niassa (Martinez 1989), among the Makonde of Cabo Delgado (Dias 1970, Bagnol 2011), among the Makhuwa/Lomue (Himua A. 2003, Medeiros 2007 and Arnfred 2011). Female initiation in Mozambique, as in other Southern, Eastern and Central African cultures, follows similar aims and is carried out according to similar principles applied in partially diverging or even similar ways.

Female rites in Sofala and Nampula use verbal and embodied metaphors, songs, dances, counsels and ritual actions expressing the central issues involved in achieving the transformation of youth, combining physical gendering with a sexual, moral, and social education. In complex analyses of the internal logics of coming-of-age rituals, Turner (1968:200) describes the Ndembu[191] female rites as a 'white' ritual, a ritual of 'milk' (happening after marriage, when the breast is growing). Female maturity rites in Mozambique, according to Turner's categorization, are in general 'red' rituals of 'blood', as they are performed before marriage, just after the first menstruation. For Turner, the categories are visualized in terms of the trees that are involved along the ritual stages. White sap of *mudji* trees plays a central role in Nbemba rites. Among the Emakhuwas, during a ritual stage in the bush hidden from men, a powder of red earth [*ekama*] or the red sap of a *npila* tree (in the sequence of *onyipi)* is painted by initiated women around a phallic piece of wood rolled up in branches and sheets, called the 'elephant'.[192] Similarly, Yaka women in DR Congo showed me (in 2010) dried red fruits and a piece of the white tree with red sap, which are used in female initiation rites. Both examples document the 'blood' character of the female initiation rites in Mozambique and in DR Congo. In Chapter Three, in my discussion of the internal logics applied in rituals in the Bantu context studied, I showed that, e.g., the rituals strengthen core values of the society – which in the case of the Ndembu described by Turner means matriliny. This applies to the matrilineal Kikongo-speaking context in South-west DR Congo, and to the matrilineal Emakhwua/Emlowe-speaking cultures in North Mozambique.

Beyond categories of 'white' or 'red' rites which point out when these rites are performed in the life of the girls, the several chromatic, thermo-sexual, and fertility frames[193] applied in the female rites follow similar basic logics in several cultures in Central and East Africa (see Chapter Three). Through three

main stages, the *social death* of the child is ritually embodied, passing through a *seclusion time* of the neophyte as a transition into the new status of being *reborn* as an adult. Female maturity rites are reduced neither to the main ritual performance after the first menstruation nor to sexual education, but are extended for years in several periods of life[194], building the woman's identity as an adult and a person. The educative aspect of youth initiation and the ritual preparation for fertility is central in youth initiation (male and female); e.g. both often use an egg as a ritual element of initiation (of men of the Yaka in South-West Kongo and Makhuwa women in North Mozambique or in women's counseling in South Mozambique, see Fialho Feliciano 1998).

It is fundamental that, unlike the initiation rites of North and West Africa (Aubel, Touré & Diagne 2004), in Central Mozambique, as in Nampula, female initiation rites do not involve genital mutilation[195]. The approach demonstrated in the practices and the interviews is one of sexuality bringing pleasure to both sexes. However, the convention among women in the female rites is to argue that all is done for the pleasure of the man. Female instructors insist on this point in the Nampula provinces, not accepting discussion about the pleasure of woman, and putting the man's pleasure in the foreground: speaking aloud about the woman's pleasure is taboo.[196] I see this taboo as the cunning of the women; women's pleasure is never put first, yet exists and is respected, as demonstrated by, e.g., the instruction given to Makhuwa men and women.

B. Female rites in the provinces of Sofala and Nampula

The stages of female rites

Female education in initiation rites happens in a process leading to adulthood that takes place in the Sofala and Nampula provinces in four periods at different ages, with diverse kinds of instructions depending on the age of the novice girls. The first stage of the rites (*nsi kana* in Cisena) starts between the ages of 8 and 10, when girls are instructed in a group on the procedure of stretching [*ithuna* in Emakhuwa/Elomwe*, matingi* in Cisena and in Emakhuwa/Elomwe][197]. Veronica S. Antonio, a healer explains about the elongation of the *labia minora* [inner lips of the vulva]: "To have an orgasm in front of the other girls is shameful [by elongating the labia]; it means that the clitoris is still at its full dimension; it becomes good, when the clitoris disappears, remaining small."

Besides first counseling, the rites counselor [*npungu*] in Cisena in patrliny in Sofala also has the task of checking the virginity of the girl each month. In the matrilineal Makhuwa context, virginity is not expected (Arnfred 2011:180). However, in the Muecate district, I observed the ceremony of *nshileyamwali,* which is also described by Arnfred (2011:147) and which involves searching for a particular plant which has several roots; it is the counselor women who dig. Finding a plant with a single root shows that this neophyte is virgin, while two roots show that she has a lover.[198]

The main *ikano* (in Emakhuwa) stage (the 2nd initiation stage) involves several clearly specified steps of verbal and embodied counseling and ritually framed situations based on secrets that I am not authorized to describe in detail. My research in Nampula City (2014), Nacala Porto (2007), Muecate

(1999) and Ribaue (2014) showed that although each region has its own ways of applying the rites, the main ritual stages are very similar, regardless of whether they are performed in a Christianized context (e.g., Catholic Church), in a traditional Makhuwa, or in an Islamized context (at the coast)[199].

During the 'hot' transitory stage of initiation, the girls remain separated in the bush or in a special hut or room, until their initiation is finished; in their medial state, the initiated are in a "disorder" and have to remain separated. This second stage of *mwali* (in Cisena) [woman initiation/neophyte girl] after the first menstruation involves receiving the main instructions and counseling during a time of seclusion – instruction in which the communitarian master instructor[200] and the individual counselor[201], who is chosen by each involved family, continues to counsel the *mwali* [neophyte girl] over a longer period of time until her marriage (the third stage[202]). The initiation process ends after the birth of the first child (the fourth stage[203]). Among the Makhuwa, the high point of the initiation at the second stage, the '*mwali* stage', involves all the women of the community in a night ritual in the bush. The initiation stages are similar in Sofala Province, where however, after its prohibition (between 1975 and 1992), the *mwali* second stage of initiation was only performed within the family[204]. After the first workshops introducing HIV prevention in 2005, the initiated women of 22 communities from three districts once again began the communitarian parts of this second ritual stage *mwali* with great joy and satisfaction[205], having nothing more to fear from the political regime.

The transformation through initiation involving inversions and chaos

In the Makhuwa context, the second stage of female initiation includes several days of ritual performances in the bush and around the house of the community chief, who is the only man who may participate in some semi-public parts of these female rites. In this ritual time, numerous inversions are performed in words and embodied actions, using metaphors full of analogies. In 'hot' performances during the central phase of the female rites, women (who should normally never speak the name of the sexual organs aloud and should behave with restraint) perform inversions. They demonstratively behave like men, being rude and calling male sexual organs by name. Only during initiation are the anatomical terms used, (Maluleke 2003). For instance, adult initiated women,, accompanying the novice during these semi-public stages of the rites may dress in trousers and represent male organs with an ear of corn bound to their hips (see Kotanyi 2003b). Initiation rituals (of both genders) often include performances in which usual behavior or connotations are inverted,[206] e.g., during male rituals in which the male appropriates the female power of procreation, such as with the big wooden masks with female pregnant bellies that men use (in Makonde male initiation in North Mozambique), or with the small egg used in the Yaka (DR Congo) male initiation.[207]

During the central ceremony of the days celebrating the first menstruation of the girls, I observed (in 1999) several embodiment inversions in the Muecate district (Nampula). In the publicly performed situations, a large group of initiated women accompany the smaller group of neophyte girls with naked torsos who keep their eyes down to demonstrate respect, while the previously initiated women act in obvious contradiction to the 'normally' restrained female behavior required in public. The adult

women shouted loud, crude sexual expressions and songs with strong insults (like men may do) towards others and especially towards men, Turner, interpreting such inversions, says '…representation characterizes the peculiar unity of the liminal: that which is neither this nor that, and yet is both" (1967:99).[208] In chaotic upside-down situations (producing an excess of hotness) the ritually performed inversions reshape the disturbed situation (disturbance happening through the liminal situation). The relevance of liminal stages appears in all rites of passage; e.g., in the burial of a dead person, who is still too 'hot' and has not yet become an ancestor spirit, or in the case of a 'hot' ill person that is not yet healthy, or any kind of neophyte who has not yet completed initiation (in youth initiation, at the enthronization of a chief, or the initiation of a healer). The performed inversions support confirming the social interrelationships.[209]

During the transitional time of the rites of passage, the usual behavioral norms are suspended in an intermediary chaotic time, before newly reestablishing the respect of the norms; chaotic situations, through catharsis, allow a transformation restoring a renewed order (Devisch 1981, 1995, 1998a). An instructive song in female Makhuwa initiation states: "What is the work of the world?; [*chorus*:] - To transform!"[210]

The rites instructors and the *ikano* instructions

Initiation to adulthood is an education through embodied experience, which implies several stages of counseling provided by different agencies (main initiation counselors, healers, the godmother/-father, the grandmother or aunts/uncles, but rarely the parents directly). In the framework of the Sena or Makhuwa/Lomwe culture, parents are not allowed to talk with their children about sex or sexuality. Therefore, an experienced woman [*npungu* in Cisena and *namuku* in Emakhuwa/Elomwe], meaning individual instructor 'godmother', normally a person from the parents' or grandparents' generation, is selected before the girl's first menstruation (menarche) to tutor the girl in a wide range of sexual matters, including pre-menarche practices, pre-marriage preparation, erotic instruction, and reproduction[211]. In the Makhuwa context, besides the individual godmother, there is a main common instructor called *mulipa olaka ikano*, who is a central person providing counsel for all the girls of the community, together with several secondary instructors active for all girls or boys of the same community and several instructors' assistants who counsel all girls or boys in the same community. The responsibility of the individual godmother *npungu* in the Cisena context is to ensure that the girl (a) does well extend her external *labia minora* and (b) becomes well-versed in appropriate feminine behavior and roles, including the proper way a girl should sit, walk, conduct herself, respect elders, prepare food, and so on (see also Tamale 2005).

The character and prescribed age for the given instruction differ in Central and North Mozambique. While initiation instructors in Alto Molocwe (Lomwe) and in Nampula (Makhuwa) showed me a wooden penis used to teach the girls how to take care of the man's sexual organ before and after sexual intercourse (washing it), *npungu* in Sofala do not use such explicit instruments for sexual education, which in Central Mozambique remains more imprecise than among women in the North.

The *npungu* [individual female instructor] of Sofala (often involved in Christian churches) fear encouraging sexuality too early; but the mimetic teaching of sexuality by the Sofala eldest women, even if implicit, is no less sensual and strong than in the North. In contrast to the patrilineal Sena context, in the matrilineal Makhuwa context there is very little education provided at the first stage of initiation, in which the *mwali* [neophyte] girls just start to pull the *labia minora* with a special plant oil/cream [*onyipi*] in order to elongate them, as practiced in all seven Mozambican provinces where women are initiated). In the matrilineal context, the child is not educated before the main stage of the *ikano* initiation; education is given abruptly at the *ikano,* in which the youth passes from the child to adult state. In the Nampula province, currently, this 2nd and main stage takes three to five days, including the main communitarian ritual stage after menstruation, which involves powerful dances and songs performed by elder women who have passed menopause and who are supposed to be sexually inactive. They demonstrate sexuality as their sexual knowledge and power to the neophyte ritually and through dances, which are opportunities to experience and express their own sexuality (see also Arnfred 2011).

As a rite of passage, initiation serves as a school for what constitutes proper adult behavior. These rites inscribe in the physical body and in the whole person their belonging as an adult and responsible member of a specific clan; in an Makhuwa/Lmowe matriliny, the initiated learns its secret *nihimo* [secrete mother's clan name]. The rites teach the expected specific behavior for each gender that is perceived as fundamental to the life of a person in society[212]. Youth initiation celebrates and induces the interdependence of the persons. Mozambican female initiation rites combine the teaching of general behavior rules, with specific counseling given in each stage. Common *ikano* [instructions in Emakhuwa/Elomwe] in all studied cultures are: the respect for elder generations, for others, (and, for the future husband) and for oneself; the preparation of the body for sex with the elongation of the *labia minora* (in the first stage); feminine hygiene and restrained behavior of the woman (in the second stage). The counsel that the girls should wait until six years after the firs menstruation to have children was formerly given in Sofala but not in the Makhuwa/Lomwe context. However, the adult women in Sofala claim that it is often not respected. In Nampula, the *ikano* call for learning proper behavior in sexual intercourse and how to deal with the man's penis, and how to behave before and after sexual intercourse. Some critical Christian voices towards women's initiation rites argue that this kind of education promotes early sexual experience and leads to premature marriage and pregnancy.

While the counsel often remains less specific in Sofala until marriage, the teaching at that third stage before her marriage implies explaining to the *mwali* [neophyte] how to help the man achieve orgasm, in the same way as the *padrinho* [godfather], counseling the boys before marriage, also teaches them to satisfy the woman.[213] In both regions, the woman should never refuse sexual intercourse except if she is menstruating and during a period after giving birth. At marriage (and before), the woman learns about her duties toward the husband, like the latter learns at initiation about his duties toward his spouse. The duties seem to be more reciprocal in the matrilineal context of the Makhuwa/Lomwe

culture than in the patrilienal Sena, Ndau, or Shona-cultural frameworks of central Mozambique, where they appear more gender-specifically defined. However, the gender-specific task division is equally strong in all the studied regions: the wife is supposed to produce children, to tend to the household, prepare food, clean, and work in the fields, while the men must be able to buy clothes, soap, salt, and the most necessary of what is not self-produced.[214]
Central counseling during youth initiation (of girls and boys) implies learning the ethic of respectful adult behavior, including respect for the taboos preventing 'pollution' in a number of life situations. In all studied contexts, taboos are the contact with sex, blood, and death, and how to deal with the dead so as to allow their transformation to protective ancestors, preventing them from becoming haunting, wandering 'bad' 'spirits'. Also, the avoidance of 'witchcraft' is taught during initiation through metaphorical songs. How to be a good wife is taught before marriage; all required counsel concerning pregnancy, birth, and the care of a newborn child are given in the fourth and last stage. It is during the seclusion time, along with the *ikano* [counseling] given after the first menstruation, that the Makhuwa/Lomwe neophyte learns more about her (secret) own *nihimo* [maternal clan], with all the responsibilities and prohibitions implied for any adult being (Geffray 1990a).

Some Makhuwa healers and chiefs argue that *mwiikho* [taboos] are rules left by ancestors, while others say that they came from the *maleika* [intermediary beings between God and the living]. Islamized people may argue that the *mwiikho* came from *Muluku* [God] or Allah; all agree that they correspond to the basic ethics and morals of human behavior. Over the years, I have observed the deep grounding of the ethical and moral value of the taboos learned along initiation.[215] Among the Makhuwa, girls (and boys) learn in initiation how to deal with death. A child (any non-initiated person is seen as such) seeing a dead person is considered a transgression of a main taboo leading to a high risk of social 'contamination', which may put all the members of the family and the community where the child lives in danger (Kotanyi 2003a). The emphasis on respecting taboos does not hinder women or men from committing transgressions against these prohibitions, the violation of which can be usually be cleansed (except for incest). According to the local etiological rules, the violation of taboos often results in certain diseases. These are internalized frames taught through education, the results of which appear automatically as somatic reactions[216] through internalized (and locally defined) framings in cases of the transgression of taboos (Kubick 2007; Gausset and Mogensen 1996; Ingstad 1997; Green 1999a/b; Kotanyi 2005; Bagnol 2007; Mariano 2007; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009). It is at the same time an education, which is grounded in "thinking with the heart".[217]

Values, morality and the sense of respect

The local definition of what constitutes an interdependent person includes respectful behavior between men and women, between youths and their parents or in-laws, and between generations. Moreover, in Sofala, respect for oneself is emphasized (Dieckmann 2007); also, women in Nampula (in 2014) argue that respect for oneself is part of their counseling. Learning respect involves respecting the ancestors, the eldest, one's mother, parents, husband, others, one's teachers, oneself, and, most of all, the dead.

Teaching such values is crucial for HIV prevention because those who respect themselves and others are best prepared to care not to become infected and not to transmit viruses to others. Currently, the need for morals/ethics in sexual behavior is more strongly expressed in rural areas, while urbanity facilitates disrespect in the name of individual freedom, and through less social control. In urbanized areas, the moral gap is apparently bridged by the morality framed in the religious (Christian or Islamic) context as the avoidance of sin. However, the current practice of addressing individual guilt in HIV-prevention campaigns just as in the context of churches has limited preventive effects (see the non-diminishing HIV prevalence rate in spite of many years of strong input through "abstinence & fidelity" campaigns supported by the American Bush administration). A less individually but more socially framed notion of moral behavior seems more appropriate to promote prevention, especially in connection with the emotionally loaded teaching during youth initiation, through which the morality required for HIV prevention can more deeply influence people's ethical behavior. In Beira city, where the level of HIV prevalence is one of the highest in the country, people question the so-called modern values: 'modernity' is misunderstood as the freedom to ignore both the rules of behavior of the so-called 'traditional' (interrelated persons) and the 'modern' (individual person). This leads to an ethical gap, and lacking any moral behavior, increasing vulnerability to HIV (Wolf 2001; Zigon 2008; Magaia 2008).

Feminist critics claim that the woman's obligation of availability for sexual intercourse with her husband implies a notion of respect serving only male interests; the women in Sofala explained that it is guided by the desire of women to adjust their own sexual behavior in order to secure their relationships with men (a common tendency of many women all over the world, including those who are not initiated). Most women that I met in Sofala and Nampula do not see this issue as diminishing their empowerment, and consider their sexuality as their power (Arnfred 2011). However, the respect taught in female initiation includes the nevertheless questionable obligation of women to never refuse sexual intercourse with their husband. Instead of arguing, as feminists do, that initiation should be abolished, I suggest that negotiation is necessary in order to reinforce gender equity and more complete women's empowerment. The teaching of respect for others and oneself during initiation to adulthood furthers useful values for promoting HIV prevention. As culture dynamically adapts to current realities, the challenge in increasing the effectiveness of HIV prevention is to combine the 'modern' teaching of biological transmission (and women's empowerment) with the 'traditional' teaching of taboos, as underscored in initiation rites (adjusted to the need to avoid biological risks of HIV or STD transmission), and with moral and ethical behavior based on respect in general. (Richards 1956; Grohs 1980; Beidelman 1997; Himua 2003; Dauphin-Tinturier 2003:203; Melo 2005; Dieckman 2007; Salmonsen 2008; Kotanyi and Krigns-Ney 2009; Arnfred 2011; Bagnol 2011).

A 'complete' woman

In rural areas of the province of Nampula the central part of the second stage of *mwali* culminates, as I observed in the Muecate district, in a long night of education given through frenetic performances in

the bush of common dances and songs. The next morning, a communitarian performance with the families of all the involved community members, including the future husbands of the initiated girls, marks the starting point of the third stage of their future marriage. This last ceremony marks the inclusion of the neophytes in the community, with the rebirth of the young woman as an initiated adult who has also learned how to deal with death.[218] She has received the most diverse instructions, learning the (secret) name of her own *nihimo* [maternal clan] and receiving her adult name, making her able to procreate and assume responsibilities.[219] However, the initiation ends only after the last two stages: extending from the counseling before marriage until after the birth of her first child. A woman is socially recognized as a full person only after motherhood. Without children, a woman is perceived as poor and incomplete; there is considerable social and self-imposed pressure to procreate, which is equally strong in Bantu societies, which do not have women's initiation.

C. The application of inclusive HIV-prevention education in initiation rites

The contradictory balancing act of an applied researcher

The objective of a culturally sensitive approach to youth initiation rites is to increase the efficiency of HIV prevention without negatively affecting the culture in the name of modernity or so-called progress. This means that local ritual aspects that might not align with the trainers' beliefs should be respected, with no attempt to change them as long as they do not jeopardize HIV-prevention promotion. This can bring some trainers into conflict; connecting cultural practices with biomedical ones is a challenge to tolerance. In the same way, certain opinions about sexuality or education presented by initiation counselors or godmothers brought me, as a woman educated as person valuating independent being, to the limits of my understanding. When a woman argues that she becomes suspicious if she does not have pain during sexual intercourse, I question the price that women are prepared to accept in order to keep a man. The ritual education given by godmothers, especially in a patrilineal context like in Sofala, where women have considerably fewer rights than in the matrilineal framework seems to be a teaching of a one-way obedience of the woman toward her husband. However, I agree with Green & Ruark (2011) that these women do not appear weak and powerless, although the education given by the women to the girls may appear to lack reciprocity between the genders.

The arguments of African feminists questioning some views of western feminist critics make me feel not able to evaluate the compromises which women decide to assume for their own life in their own relations with men. There is a complex ramification between issues related to identity and some particular strategies that do not necessarily have to be solved in the same way for all women all over the world. Some feminists might project their own strategies (from a middle-class, urbanized, and mostly Western-oriented position) on other women, overlooking the complex economic, social, and emotional balancing act in which gender relationships are constructed in precarious life conditions.

This does not neglect the fact that adjustments are required; but it is the women themselves who must negotiate these for their own life. However, it is the same feminist women whose struggle allowed significant progress in the family laws in Mozambique and who play a significant role in the fight against domestic violence. Nevertheless, their arguments (Osorio 2008) against women's initiation do valorize the empowerment that women achieve through their initiation.

As a researcher, I take the local understanding seriously, and try to understand the local logic. I may enter into debate when I do not agree, but I have to show restraint, especially as a Western researcher acting against the background of centuries of Western colonization. This role requires a constant balancing act. On the one hand, I must remain open for research purposes, while on the other, when working in an applied field in support of the introduction and bridging of new concepts (like the understanding of biological transmission of viruses, HIV, AIDS, etc.). I encounter women's genuine interest in knowledge from outside of their own world, as well as a simultaneous strong will to be respected in their own "culture" and to adopt changes in a rhythm acceptable to them. But the colonial and postcolonial times are marked by the arrogance of 'Western knowledge' pretending to know nearly everything better; this leads me to practice restraint.

Inclusion of HIV-prevention in female initiation rites education

An experience of the inclusion of HIV education in the context of female initiation rites[220] took place with Cisena- and Cindau-speakers in Sofala Province involving an applied study of those rites (from 2005 to 2007)[221]. HIV-prevention counseling in female initiation rites was introduced with 53 trained *npungu* [counselors], women healers, and wives of chiefs, who together trained other counselors from 22 communities,[222] following UNESCO recommendations (Bukali 2002). As an introduction, Sena and Ndau women were shown my filmed records of Makhuwa initiation rites from Muecate, and confirmed that their female initiation rites were similar in central teaching and frames. Thus, showing my audiovisual documentation[223] of initiation rites performed in Nampula Province enabled me to gain the confidence of the Sena and Ndau women, who approached me as an elder and (nearly) initiated woman, especially because of my strong dancing. During the workshops and several visits, in an exchange, the participating women gave demonstrations of their way of performing initiation rites. I based the applied research on a principle of exchange of knowledge, alternating between the local cultural realities demonstrated by the women and the application of an education for HIV prevention that combines the local knowledge with biomedical knowledge, allowing the facilitation of the initiation counseling in order to include HIV-prevention education in youth initiation.[224] By learning first from the participants' local knowledge before introducing new knowledge, following Freire's (1971) dialogical principles, we were able to connect the two.[225] Using a community-centered approach, three counselors[226] in each of the 22 involved communities were chosen by a large group of women from their respective community as future teachers of all the women who participated in our training; they later taught the other women in their communities.[227]

Addressing the diverging notions of biological versus 'social' contamination

The analysis of the successful introduction of new knowledge shows that any new knowledge must be connected with existing local knowledge. Efficacy of teaching can only be achieved when the biomedical nurse conducting the workshop uses only terminologies in the mother tongue of the participating women and does not speak the official national language, which very few women living in the rural context speak. However, for a number of biomedical terminologies and concepts, there are no translations; it is necessary to search for adequate local terms in order to find Cisena/Cindau terms that might convey the concepts underlying the biomedical notions. The nurses often use Portuguese biomedical terms, with the result that the most important terms involved remain foreign, preventing the teaching from really being understood by the participants, whose emotional capacity for understanding is not activated. (See in section III about local terms able to bridge the notion of an immune system or for virus, e.g., HIV-*funhe*[228] [HIV vermin].)

The starting point in an inclusive teaching of HIV prevention for healers is an exchange of knowledge through the identification of the locally known STIs, using the terminology known in the local languages. In Sofala, these are *chimanga* [syphilis], *chicazamentu* [gonorrhea], and *mula* [chlamydia] in Cisena. Perceived as diseases 'just coming like that,' these STIs may be treated either by herbalists or by the hospital with allopathic medicine. It is useful as a communication strategy to first discuss which STIs the women or healers know, which allows an introduction to the similarities and differences between HIV infection and the transgression of taboos that often interfere with HIV in a sub-Saharan African context.

Listing the locally known STIs, the women in Sofala did not differentiate the diseases due to the transgression of culturally framed taboos (related to sex, blood, and death) from diseases based on notions of social contamination (pollution) that are not treated in hospitals (which treat only biologically transmitted STIs). It is necessary to work with the counselors to differentiate between the STIs not treated by the hospital and those which are culturally attributed to the transgression of taboos involving sexual intercourse (see Table 3.2.), which are often assumed to provoke 'social' contamination and are treated through specific cleansing. It implies showing clearly the differences of both kinds of contamination (social or biological), which is an issue rarely discussed in mainstream HIV education based on biomedical knowledge. It is only after having first mobilized the local knowledge that the teaching nurse may introduce knew knowledge (Freire 1970a, 1975, 1978), explaining that the symptoms of what is believed to be the transgression of taboos are similar to AIDS symptoms, and demonstrating the biomedical understanding of viruses, their paths of transmission, and how they 'destroy' the blood, leading in certain cases to AIDS. Healers and initiation counselors, even when accepting the existence of viruses, will in general still insist on connecting AIDS-similar symptoms with transgressions of taboos. In order to bridge this gap, an '*as-well-as*' strategy might eventually motivate them to accept the necessity of HIV testing, allowing treatment and prevention. In

cases where the cleansing of taboo transgressions is practiced by using ritual coitus[229], the counselors are advised to negotiate alternative means of applying cleansing in their community. People are open to adjustments of ritual practices when danger to health and life are involved and to the extent that the adjustment follows the inherent logic of the cleansing requirements. The cleansing should avoid any biological transmission (of HIV-*funhe*) that, through teaching, the nurse might relate to *ndinga* [two-headed snakes] leading to the *nhakatendewa* [chameleon disease][230], weakening the "blood" (meaning also the vital force) in a hidden way. Such weakening occurs just like the termites, whose "work" only appears when the trees fall down.[231]/[232] This approach illustrates how an inclusive strategy allows the introduction of HIV-prevention education in female initiation rites in a sensitive way (Kotanyi & Krings-Ney 2009)[233].

Emotional efficacy of HIV-prevention education in initiation rites

Multiple significations of the metaphors in female initiation

The emotional efficacy of initiation rites is achieved through metaphors and analogies, which are embodied through dances, ritual actions and in the counseling given in songs. Several anthropologists interpret it as a symbolic way (Tuner 1965, 1967; Richards 1956; Grohs 1980; Beidelman 1997; Fialho-Feliciano 1998; Melo 2005). Referring to the analyses of the efficacy through embodiment in ritual healing by Csordas (1990, 1994, 2002); Sax (2002, 2004, 2009); Sanders (2001, 2003), and the analyses of experiences by Devisch (1996b, 1990, 1993, 2005, 2012) and Jacobson-Widding 2000, combined with the sensory codes discussed by Stroeken (2008) and in Chapter Three, I suggest that the efficacy of the teaching during youth initiation is due to the embodied and emotional ritual means that activate all the bodily senses of the neophytes in a complex way, grounding the education deeply in the wholeness of the person and in their inter-relationships with others (rites counselors and neophytes).

The analysis of the complexity of the numerous activated fields exceeds the framework of this study. The following example illustrates how Cisena-speaking women teach about 'witchcraft', explaining negative human behavior. During the initiation, girls are taught through metaphorical songs such as *Katikiti Katikiti*. A *katikiti* is an animal that does not exist; it is a metaphor for a dying person. The healer Veronica Antonio S. explains the meaning of the song: "*Katikiti Katikiti is eating all the nhemba beans in the field of Niassa de Kandela*." This song repeats this line relating to the bewitching (eating) of another animal (*niassa candela*) that is dying. The *nhemba* beans are a metaphor for children; and 'eating' implies 'dying' as a result of witchcraft (Wolf 2003). The song underscores the need to identify whether or not death was caused by witchcraft. *Nhemba* beans are also used for inducing abortion and against tuberculosis (both connected with the transgression of taboos, with AIDS-similar symptoms), as well as for cleansing treatments after the transgression of a taboo.

However, the relating of *nhemba* beans to the transgression of taboos does not mean that taboo transgression is similar to witchcraft; the song refers to the 'killing of children' (abortion) or others through witchcraft (abortion being referred to witchcraft as any kind of killing is). Both etiologies are

evoked in this song; transgression of taboos and witchcraft, which are two diverging paradigms. This example illustrates the multiple uses of the same metaphors (V.Turner 1967). What these diverging etiologies have in common is just that both, the transgression of taboos and witchcraft, address what the correct behavior of an adult is; both paradigms are 'hot' issues.[234] This example shows the complexity of the metaphorical and analogical teaching contained in initiation songs that deal with 'hot' issues framed as 'secrets' that each initiated girl must keep (Melo 2005); the secrets at play are relative (all adults share them), but giving them this status gives importance to the issue and lends power to the teaching. Teaching happens, as in Sofala or Nampula, very much through embodied language and songs; adulthood is taught as a sense of respect, which in turn is seen (just as currently) as being related to honorability (Richards 1982:128) or to dignity (Jacobson-Widding 2000:385-87 – in a Cishona-speaking context like in Central Mozambique).

From a biomedical point of view, it may be difficult to recognize the importance of embedding information about the danger of an HIV infection in these kinds of cultural metaphors and ritual practices, activating representations which seem too far from the biological facts at hand. The most current type of HIV education is based on the wrong supposition that people do not practice HIV prevention because they are not well informed, but I discussed both wrong assumptions above (Pisani 2008). Indeed, efficacy is achieved in other ways, being induced unconsciously and in an embodied way. In addition to the immediate emotional impact achieved by metaphorical and analogical counseling and rituals, HIV prevention is promoted through the continuing influence such rites have emotionally on the behavior of the neophyte girls. How does this work? The girls, who recognize that these elder women have valuable knowledge to pass on, respect initiation counselors and godmothers. Respect comes also because elder women demonstrate their sexual power during the initiation rites. During the central common initiation night in a community in the district of Muecate[235], as during both applied research workshops in Sofala (2005) and in the district of Ribaue in Nampula (2014), I observed the highly emotionally loaded dramatization of sexual intercourse in dances performed by the eldest initiation masters. Such powerfully embodied demonstration of the sensuality of the initiation counselors instates their authority among the sexually inexperienced girls.

Fear as an educative means

During initiation, youth receive training to learn to control their emotions. In the second ritual stage, the already-initiated women provoke the novice girls with rude expressions, loud singing, drum–beating, and sexually explicit dances, producing catharsis and strong emotions. As described above, the novices must learn restraint, demonstrate their ability to control their emotions and to withstand provocations and humiliations without reacting, keeping their eyes on the ground at all times. Such education is part of a social process of gender construction (see Butler 1999). Controlling the emotions can be considered as training of the women to submit to a husband, but the capacity to control emotions might also help to delay the start of sexual relationships, which is a priority for HIV prevention. This is the case in a context of a high rate of premature pregnancy, with a too-early start of

sexual intercourse between young girls and older men, and the high vulnerability to HIV infection of young girls (see Green 2003; Green and Ruark 2011). Each year of delay of the start of sexual intercourse helps to diminish significantly the high rate of HIV infection of young girls (in the Mozambican city of Beira, HIV infection of 15.6% of girls between 15 and 19 and 11.7% in Nampula City, INS et al, 2013:52). Controlling the emotions might also empower young women to resist pressure (internal or external, short of violence) to enter into multiple partnerships.

Differently to women, education in boys' initiation often teaches them to overcome fear and to confront violence and physical dangers with courage, including the experience of physical pain that boys have at circumcision. Pain might teach boys and men the value of human life (which a woman feels each month with menstruation pains and during childbirth).[236]

The reports of male initiation in Mozambique just like in Malawi (Beidelman 1997; Probst 1999), and as also demonstrated by an initiation master in Kwango in DRC, show that during initiation in the bush, the boys are systematically confronted with frightening situations. The dances performed with or without masks by the *nkanda* [male initiation] master in Kwango show that at initiation, fear is used as a means of education, as also by the *npungu* [counseling women in Cisena] in Sofala or the *mulipa olaka ikano* [female initiation counselor in Emakhuwa] in Nampula, who both sing "SIDA kills". Green (2003); Green & Ruark (2011) argue against westernized psychological approaches pretending that fear would not educate; they argue that fear clearly led to a strong reduction in HIV prevalence in early Ugandan campaigns. Beyond the controversial question as to whether fear helps in education, it seems fundamental in the context of educating for HIV prevention to assure an emotionally loaded education, and an embodied education. Sexuality is embodied and emotional; the practice of delaying a young person's sexual debut or the avoidance of multiple partners requires deeply grounded internalized defenses, which should work like internalized taboo prohibitions (Kubik 2007). With Dauphin-Tinturier (2003); Dieckmann (2007), and Salomonsen (2008), I suggest that training intending to achieve emotional self-control in girls is an advantage for the promotion of HIV prevention; effective practice of prevention (whether through sexual delay, fidelity, abstinence, or in other ways, e.g. including condom use) implies, on the one hand, being able to control one's own emotions as far as is required to reduce (biological) risks and, on the other, that the woman has the internal power to oblige her sexual partner to respect the requirements for prevention. Mozambican feminist critics argue that women's initiation hinders their empowerment. My own and Krings-Ney's observations, as well as those of Arnfred (2011), do not necessarily confirm this. In my view, among the Sofala and the Makhuwa/Lomwe, women's rites are the 'room for oneself' that Virginia Woolf (1929) claims for women, which is however not individually framed, but is nevertheless experienced as a personal, interrelated space not only of learning, but also of play, joy and the affirmation of power, providing empowerment with a sense of belonging.

Nevertheless, it is difficult for individual women to implement HIV-preventive measures in sexuality within the context of relationships that are characterized by the currently unequal political, economic,

and social power (especially in a patrilineal context). The difficulties are also internal to women themselves, who have internalized the usual behaviors. The women need social support and commitment (in the form of mutual social control and pressure), recognizing the necessity of limiting (biological) risky behavior. But in a sexually loaded situation, a woman with emotionally strong, internalized, well-established behavioral models can influence behavior. This strength is conveyed in the initiation rites.[237] However, greater participation of women in school education is necessary; in Nampula it is extremely low (77% of women don't finish any school cycle[238]). The empowerment in women's initiation cannot compensate for their limited economic or political power; the combination of the different sources of power is necessary in order to achieve more equity. The challenge is to find a balance in which HIV-prevention education for both men and women can respect the value and priority that is placed on conceiving children; negotiations are necessary with initiation counselors of both genders, chiefs and local community decision-makers like the *pwiamwene* [most respected woman] and the spouse of the chief about the limitation of their number to that which parents are able to support.[239]

Simultaneously, HIV transmission cannot be reduced sufficiently by women's education alone; men require education equally. In men's initiation, the metaphorical education that teaches boys and adult men the dangers of behaving as witches may also help teach them to practice 'safe sex' not taking the risk of behaving like a witch (without knowing it). Fundamental to boys' initiation is teaching them to respect the delay of the start of sexual intercourse for young girls, and to avoid unprotected multiple partnerships.

Summarizing the concerns of emotional education in female rites, HIV prevention can be efficacious both socially and emotionally, based on the acknowledged authority of initiation counselors. Although older women are illiterate, girls respect their skills and their knowledge in sexuality; respect for the authority of older people is inherent in the coming-of-age initiation rites. The authority here is not so much individual as social: respect is mostly transmitted in groups, even if individual counseling also occurs. The value of "respect" is significant given that girls also experience a respectful attitude from the initiation counselors and godmothers during the years of initiation, which they do not always experience as children in everyday life.

D. Initiation rites, HIV-prevention counselling, and 'modernity'

In spite of the breakdown of authority between generations, the cultural authority of initiation counselors has not been destroyed. For example, medical students and young women living in the second main city of Mozambique, Beira, considered their participation in such rites as fundamental for becoming a woman. Beira is a place well known for the complexity of the social reality that suffered a lot under the civil war, and in which currently several kinds of Christian churches have a strong influence and where people also desire "modernity". Thus, counseling godmothers can still play an essential role in developing in the initiates an emotionally internalized code of behavior, which is

often less respected but which is still valuated as marking gender identity. Bagnol notes about youth initiation in Niassa and Cabo Delgado that it reinforces the honor of the woman and also of the members of her family: "It is a social event indispensable for social integration. A girl that has not passed through initiation cannot participate in social events" (2011:112). When youth initiation is lacking in North Mozambique, it leads to social isolation. Non-initiated women or men remain in the category of children (see also Himua 2003).

The extreme resilience of the education given through youth initiation rites is significant. The description of female *Chisungu* initiation that Richards observed in 1933 among the Bemba (current Zambia) (Richards, [1956] 1982) corresponds to a large extent with the observations in 1989 of Dauphin-Tinturier (2003:189), which she made 55 years later in the same region. Although Richards thought that the rites would soon disappear, they survived, adjusting to the current needs given the HIV epidemic; such resilience illustrates the power of these rites. Compared with the female maturation rites in North Mozambique, there are differences.[240] However, the basic paradigms and frames transporting central values, like the required ancestors' blessing for fertility, the necessity respect taboos, and to learn to deal with death (Dauphin-Tinturier 2003:189), or to avoid witchcraft, and the value of the social interrelationship of persons appear in Richards writing just as they appear in all studied frameworks in Mozambique and DR Congo (see Arnfred 2011; Bagnol 2011). Also, similar metaphors are used like, e.g., the elephant, which in Zambia, in stories, is associated with strong male sexual potency (Dauphin-Tinturier 2001: 229-234).

This is true also of the subjacent principles and finalities: e.g. the central values of fertility. Beyond materialist views transported by biomedical agencies, the reference to the necessary blessing of ancestors who determine fertility remains relevant today in Mozambique[241] and DR Congo.[242] The main values, which continue to be transmitted, are the required respect for the eldest; observance of reciprocal social obligations of husband and wife, according to which, however, the woman should always be available sexually to fulfill the expectations of the man; a strong emphasis on fertility and human reproduction; and respect for moral and ethical rules based on the observance of certain taboos (like those related to sex, blood, and death) and advices to avoid conduct as a "witch" as rules regulating the adult's behavior. Richards (1982:140) and Dauphin-Tinturier (2003: 194) argue that the ritual teaches the girls to become responsible. While currently the weight of uncles, aunts, parents, and elders is weakened in cities in both studied countries, the 'ultimate values', as Richards notes, remain appreciated. Currently, values of "respect" of elders are often devaluated or seen with ambivalence in the urban areas. But they can be activated. Melo 2005, Himua 2003, and Salomonsen 2008 discuss the reactivation of initiation rites after temporary interruptions. Dauphin-Tinturier (2008) shows the transformation of the frames and notes the high potential of HIV-prevention education in women's initiation; she analyzes (2003) its embodied teaching through dances and metaphorical songs in which HIV-prevention education was included. The notion of 'respect' (Richards 1982:131) is central among the Bamba, just as in Mozambique.[243]

Girls and boys initiation “represent the attainment of sexual and social maturity alike” (Richards 1982:152). As such, there is competition in influencing such education; while the socialist regime tried to eliminate youth initiation in post-colonial Mozambique, similar tensions between Christian religions and ancestral approaches appear in Richards’s earlier reports, just as I observed them recently in central Mozambique. The Catholic Church organizes meanwhile its own “initiations” to compete with the ancestral one. Christian ‘purification’ procedures (Latour 1997) tend to eliminate some useful counsel related to sexuality, while ethical counsel might be reinforced (Green and Ruark 2011).

It has become obvious that the content of the instructions given during the “traditional” initiation does not currently necessarily correspond to the conscience and current wishes of the involved women and girls. Bagnol reports for North Mozambique that the young girls often do not accept the content of the teaching, which are distant from current realities (see 2011:94-95). The ambivalences implied in the tension between tradition and modernity mark the youth, who, however, feel emptiness when lacking initiation (as young women and men told me in 2005 in Beira city). The descriptions of Arnfred (2011) also show that adult women in the province of Nampula see the differences between their own views, the official political, and the so-called ‘modern’ positions concerning the relationship between genders, and the way it is taught at initiation. To teach “as it was always done” that there is no equality between genders contradicts not only what official education might defend at school, but also the wish of many girls and women. These contradictions lead girls and women to differentiate; they practice ‘splitting’, separating in themselves what ‘traditional’, framed as ‘cultural’, education defends as the life-way, and make compromises in relation to their own desires and their wish to be able to participate in these rites, which reinforce women’s notability and status not only with their husbands and families, but in the community as a “whole complete being”. The result is an ambivalent mix that Arnfred (2011) decodes, showing that women’s ‘own’ space in initiation is still highly valued, not least as one’s own social, emotional, playful, and sexual sphere. It is a very concrete reality in the ritual space that I, along with Krings-Ney (2007, 2009), see as a means of women’s empowerment. When such ‘splitting’ is practiced, the question arises as to how far the positive values of ‘respect’ transmitted through the rites will retain validity for the girls.

There occur adjustments of initiations or other rituals; Salomonsen (2008) demonstrates that, at present, Christian mothers adapt the women’s rites in urban areas in South Africa, finding in the maturation rites useful values that they reactivate, especially because of the risks and the high rates of HIV infection. Ashforth (2005) shows that in Soweto, women carry out ancestral rituals that they formerly did not (these were the duty of men), evoking the protection of ancestors for the benefit of their health, because of the risks of HIV infection. Many women in south and central Mozambique seek support also in new Pentecostal churches (Pfeiffer 2002). However, adjustments do not mean that the initiations or rituals became irrelevant; I observed that ancestors are still seen as relevant (by many Christian people) in order to support wellbeing. In Mozambique and DR Congo, the psychosocial

benefits of ancestral rituals (Wreford 2008; Knox 2008) are often officially just as undervalued as their educational potential.

Transformation to adulthood through rites of passage

The notion of education in youth initiation implies that the physical transformation from girlhood to the ability to give birth as a woman, or from boyhood to being able to conceive children, leads to adulthood only. Education through initiation involves many generations of the same gender; it allows the reinforcement of social cohesion between the generations as well as of the ethical and moral values grounding the society. Both genders learn to control themselves, learning at the same time to respect the elders, others, and oneself in interdependency with others. Modeling gender (Butler 1990), these rites transmit the values of the society (values partially criticized from several sides[244]), binding the multiple involved generations in an emotionally shared framework, not through rational cognition, but rather mostly through an emotional and embodied learning based on experiences and on mimetic and metaphorical teaching.

Osório et al. (2008b), who underestimate the empowerment given in female rites, put emphasis on the fact that women are taught most of all to show obedience to men and note that the impact of what Osório calls 'modernity' does not lead to changes in the "permanent re-appropriation of diverse cultural dispositions" like, e.g., in maturation rites, complaining that "the progress achieved in order to implement the norm of equality between men and women does not find 'translation' in the practices" (168:2008b). Valuating women's liberty and gender equality just as much as do Osório, her colleagues, and many women and girls in Mozambique, I nevertheless question why the participants in these rites, of all ages, continue to valuate youth initiation as central in the construction of one's own belonging and gender definition, which at each initiation is restored, confirmed, and remodeled in the dynamic of the culture, reflected in the dynamic adjustments of the rites, which are both not static, but subject to changes over time[245], although also marked by certain continuity. Any external support for adjusting ritual teaching, including counseling for HIV prevention, requires respecting the scale of values of the involved women, in which fertility has absolute priority.[246] Simultaneously, the social pressure for women's fertility may lead to radical measures (like a man having children with the sister of his wife if she does not bear children).

The education given in initiation rites might achieve a deep impact, because the transformation into adulthood happens in the several stages of maturation rites through a longer process, reaching several generations from year to year. The girl who did not understand much cognitively during her own initiation will learn as a grown woman through several repetitions. She herself becomes a teacher of the youngest, repeating and reinventing during her life, with the regularity of each year's ceremonies, her own identity as a woman related to the others through her own sensual power, respect, and recognition. This means that education to adulthood does not happen for a woman only at the time of her own initiation ceremonies after her first menstruation. The process starts with elongation of the outer labia, with the first counseling received being deepened later by the *ikano* [initiation in

Emakhuwa] counselors until the birth of the woman's first child. Later a woman herself becomes a teacher for other younger women. Participating in this cycle gives women a power as woman that cannot be replaced by the rational cognitive literacy, which cannot substitute for the embodied social and emotional experience of initiation to adulthood.

Critiques on the limits of maturity rites

In Mozambique, critiques of youth initiation rites often come from people who do not practice them. They partially recall critiques of the colonial or the socialist regime; although each took a different position, both argued in the name of progress and hygiene. Critiques by feminists can hardly overcome such painful historical memories. Bagnol (2011) argues appropriately about the critique of Mozambican education representatives showing some current official (and feminist) arguments: "To identify the female rites of initiation as instruments of the main promotion of the inferiority of the woman, which causes the weakness of her participation and her distancing from schooling, is to ignore the structurally complex inequality that organizes the relationship between the genders, beyond the rites. […] It is necessary to take into account the set of the cultural, social, and legal mechanisms, which subordinate the women. […] It also ignores that inequality exists between the genders in access to primary school even where there are no initiation rites." (2011:123). Mozambican official education statistics show that girls' low rate of participation in school education has no significant connection with whether they participate in initiation rites.[247]

There are also juridical critiques of youth initiation. Some argue from the point of view of human rights that the circumcision of boys, even with the will of the parents for religious or cultural motivation, is a violation of the rights of the children to their physical integrity (Bagnol 2011: 124). Such a legalistic critique is in my view absurd[248]; it stands in flagrant contradiction to the recognition by international organizations like WHO and UNAIDS of the usefulness of male circumcision for health, leading to a significant reduction in HIV infection (Halpering and Bailey 1999; Halpering et al. 2007, 2008). Such critiques illustrate the ideological character of critiques invoking Universal Human Rights, which reflect only Western values, without taking into account their necessary localization (Merry 2003, 2006; An-na'im et al. 1992)[249]/[250].

In summary, since colonial times, youth initiation has been subject to criticism; the repeated struggle around coming-of-age rites testifies to their very strong social and individual impact on modeling a person's sense of belonging in the clan and the community, and on modeling gender differences, morality, ethics, and adult behavior, which political regimes and movements, as well as religious institutions, try to limit the influence of. However, in Mozambique, these rites show resilience and also capacity for adjustments.

Which kind of female empowerment?

The empowerment that women receive through the maturity rites is complex. A superficial look may give the impression that the young girls are educated in a violent way, having to bear humiliation, mocking, and rude admonitions from the older women (Osório 2008b). I described that those rites are

full of inversions. The education given in the rites, making the youth feel (in clearly ritually framed situations) the lack of respect, induces learning through one's own emotional experience of the value of respecting; immediately after their initiation, the girls are highly valuated as adults, demonstrating that they have become a member of society (Krings-Ney 2007).

The weight of eldest counseling women in Bantu-speaking societies is grounded partially in their 'moral' position, which is defined by their 'coolness' given through the menopause; not menstruating any more, elder women are cool like men; they are as "cool" and as powerful as the eldest man, being assumed to have no sexual intercourse any more. But the power of the older women is grounded just as much in their sexual knowledge and capacities that they demonstrate to the girls in strong performances. However, Emakhuwa- and Cisena-speaking women that I saw during the initiation sessions only show their sexual and embodied power in the night, acting as men in a ritually reverse way (see also Arnfred 2011; Berglund 1989, 380-381). This 'secret' side is not supposed to come out in daytime, remaining partially secret from the men.

Makhuwa, Lmomwe, Sena, and Ndau women demonstrated a self-confidence during women's initiation which does not fit the picture of oppressed and dependent beings, as described in classical and Mozambican feminist writings. For the eldest and main *ikano* [initiation counselor in Emakhuwa] that I met, it is seen as a sign of immaturity to think that showing female power publicly would be appropriate. I question if the image of women subordination to man may fall within the "official" views given by initiated women just for the public, in order to protect their own sphere. This decisive strategic positioning of the women towards men is not necessarily the product of their oppression by men. However, female initiation counselors in Nampula and Sofala let me feel and understand that it shows a lack of wisdom to expose oneself openly (publicly) as a strong woman, which one should show only in the night, in times of inversions. Simultaneously, the deeply grounded value of the complementarity of both genders is the background of female and male initiation, just as in other rites (e.g. rainmaking) that ensure fertility (Moor & Sanders 1999; Sanders 2008). Lecture of women's initiation as a means of oppression (by men) of women seems not to reflect the realities at play.

In her comparative appendix, Richards (1956) reports the same reason as Bagnol (2011)[251] for the advance of the age of initiation before puberty: the fear of premature pregnancies of girls who have not yet received the protection given through the female rites (Richards [(1956) 1982: 184]). Bagnol (2011) observes the same in North Mozambique fifty years later, explaining with similar arguments practices among the Makonde and Yao people. While Bagnol argues that nonparticipation is an issue of the loss of honor, presenting this argument as a tendency of modern times, the comparison with Richards's observations (in 1933, published in 1956) shows that the arguments are the same 80 years later! In the field of sexuality and puberty rites, the changes over time are smaller than may appear to be the case; there is continuity beyond the changes. Shifting to support local strategies of empowerment allows for more social involvement and commitment in HIV-prevention education; the efficiency of negotiating with influential local mediators the required adjustments of cultural practices

which pose (biological) risk, by taking advantage of the mobilization of the powerful social agencies, may be as yet insufficiently explored (Matsinhe 2006; Nakabonge (2013). Being practiced every year, women's initiation can be implemented at limited cost and is most sustainable.[252]

E. *Male circumcision as HIV prevention and education on HIV prevention*

A coherent approach to education for HIV prevention in frameworks in which transmission occurs mostly through heterosexual intercourse implies looking as much at men's health education as at women's. I discuss in this section that HIV prevention does not require only circumcision, as suggested by international organizations (WHO, UNAIDS), but also education like that given in male initiation. The promoted approaches in Maputo (Macia 2011) seem to be oriented more to urbanized men, and fail to reflect the complexity of the issue in the view of the majority of the population.

Male initiation in Mozambique and Southern, East, and Central Africa

In Mozambique, male initiation generally involves fewer phases than female initiation: instruction and counseling is given in the reclusion time during the circumcision (Medeiro 2007; Himua 2003; Dias 1970; Bagnol 2011). Like female initiation, male initiation is a rite of passage (Gennep 1981) involving three stages: the first of social death (as a child), the second of reclusion with transformation (circumcision, counseling), and the third of rebirth in a new stage of being. Chiefs, healers, and initiation counselors in Kwango in South-West Congo (in 2010) argue that if the circumcision is performed when a boy is very young, the subjects of counseling are much more limited that when it is done around age 15 or older. Some argue that the counseling is provided to men at marriage (although many men do not marry), e.g. in South and Central Mozambique, where male initiation does not take place anymore. Nevertheless, young men between the ages of 20 and 30 in the city of Beira reported to me that they might have made fewer mistakes in their lives if they had received education through initiation. In the neighboring province, in Alto Molocwe, non-initiated men (given its prohibition after independence) were put under such strong social pressure after the civil war (1992) that they took part in the rites retroactively (Himua 2003). Currently, in five Mozambican provinces, male initiation is practiced regularly, including circumcisions and counseling.[253]

The educational, embodied, experiential means of male initiation

In Mozambique, male Makhuwa/Lomwe healers and chiefs insist on the importance of learning at male initiation all the *mwiikho* [taboos] that men should respect, especially those connected with sex, blood, and death (see also Himua 2003). It is exactly this teaching that can be used for health education, as I demonstrated above for women (and in 5.2. Appendix). It allows connecting HIV prevention with the locally provided education, which is sustainable, passed on from generation to generation, grounding the education for HIV prevention in an emotionally, socially, and culturally highly valued context. Male initiation is centered on virility, experiencing physical courage, and overcoming fear; the catharsis produced during initiation, combined with dances, drumming, songs,

masks, and facial expressions reinforces the weight of the counseling (of respecting prohibitions). Turner analyzed the *mukanda* [male circumcision rites] in terms of the system of meaning of the ethical and jural norms of society, which are brought into close contact with strong emotional stimuli; "Norms and values […] become saturated with emotion, while the gross and basic emotions become ennobled through contact with social values" (1967:30). It is about "bringing the boys to life as men" (1976:276). In contrast to Nampula in Mozambique, where counseling is still provided to a large extent in these rites, male initiation in Kwango (DR Congo) lost the stages of counseling; formerly, they were practiced together with circumcision when a boy was seven years old, and involved a stage of confirmation of the initiation with a reclusion time in the bush at around age fifteen. Circumcision is currently performed on boys between zero and two years[254] of age in Kwango; circumcisers argue that the stage of confirmation of the male initiation (which is not practiced anymore), could perfectly be reactivated involving education for HIV prevention. Youth initiation might be taken advantage of in order to induce respect in gender relations, criticizing violence against women, embedding HIV-prevention counseling in an education of balanced gender relationships.[255] Currently (in 2014), on the coast of Nampula (North Mozambique), new fundamentalist Islamic influences seem to be leading to an advance of the time of circumcision to the age of two, leading to the elimination of male counseling as normally practiced in Makhuwa/Lomwe male initiation.

I will recall some prominent theories regarding the efficacy of ritual (see Chapter Three). In his studies of *mukanda* ['to cut' – male initiation], V. Turner (1967) analyzes the ritual of initiation, showing 'symbolic meanings' of the several ritual actions in which inherent structures (particular and dominant) interrelate between psychological and ideological polarities (1967:28-30)[256]. Turner (1967, 1988) explains the efficacy of rituals through 'symbolic' neuro-physiological procedures activated in inter-relation with the members of the social unit. Devisch shares with Turner the valuation of the social grounding and efficacy of healing rituals in general and youth initiation in particular, with the subjacent core of moral values expressed in the ritual acting. However, I subscribe to Devisch's (1993a:145-154) questioning of Turner's symbolic interpretations, reducing rituals mainly to theatrical 'representations'. Devisch locates the ritual efficacy in the embodied perceptions passing through all the senses, arguing that the ritual reaches beyond "the cognitive mode […] arising from the potentialities in the body, senses, and life-word, as means of disclosing or producing realities" (1993a:253). He argues that rituals offer a space for constituting and transforming the cognitive structures (1993a: 254). The transformative character of such rituals is central also for Sanders (2008), Stroeken (2010) and in my view; Makhuwa/Lomwe men argue that initiation rites provide strong means of sense of belonging (see Himua 2003).[257] It frames the masculine identity as well as the social and cultural belonging. A non-initiated man is seen as incomplete, like a non-initiated woman. On Devisch's and Beidelman's line[258], following the analyses of Kövecses (2003), Fernandez (1972) showing the forces of emotion and metaphors of emotions, and how metaphors structure experiences and coherence (Jacobson-Widding 2000; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Fernandez 1972; Stroeken 2008), I

suggest that health education achieves efficacy most when it reaches beyond cognitive education. It is the mobilization of the multiple bodily perceptions activated by analogies, metaphors, proverbs, stories, songs, and the catharses produced by dances, songs, rhythms (drums and other instruments), and the several ritual actions characterizing the teaching given in men's initiation which gives strength to health education concerning behavior related to sex, blood, and emotions. An Emakhuwa-speaking healer (in Ribaue in 2014) argues that it reinforces men's virility and sexual potency given the administration of specific plants at the age of starting sexuality. Valuing the communitarian framework of education in male initiation also allows the use of the advantages of the emotional efficiency of counseling that are possible to achieve through counseling rooted in metaphorical (ritual) teaching, in and with the bodies, in a fusion of individual, social, spiritual, and bodily experiences. It can be combined with circumcision as performed in hospitals or by male nurses in the bush.[259]

The HIV-preventive potentials of circumcision

Studies in Uganda and Kenya (Weiss et al. 2008) show that circumcision can lead to a 65% decrease in new HIV infections; WHO recommends male circumcision as a means of supporting HIV prevention. The history of the recognition by international organizations (WHO, UNAIDS) of the utility of male circumcision for HIV prevention shows the absurd sides of biomedical health politics in Africa through history, which has been influenced by ideology more than by evidence. Since colonial times, circumcision and youth initiation were marginalized as unhygienic and 'backward oriented dangerous' practices.[260] With rising HIV prevalence, after a wealth of scientific publications between 1999 and 2007[261] that documented the biological advantages of circumcision, including a reduction in HIV transmission of up to at least 65%, the main international organizations finally adjusted their recommendations. In 2007, WHO and UNAIDS recommended male circumcision, recognizing its relevance for reducing HIV transmission[262]. However, Álvarez Degregori (2006) warned that these recommendations might be misconstrued as implying that circumcision could replace HIV prevention among circumcised men. The positive education provided through counseling during men's initiation is neglected in such 'technical' recommendations for HIV prevention, despite the possible influence on men's behavior of counseling in initiation, eventually leading to more responsible sexual practices. WHO and UNAIDS recommend male circumcision since 2007, yet fail to recognize the relevance of male education that teaches young men the taboos to be respected and the value of human life through an embodied physical experience as provided in male initiation.

Bailey et al. (2007); Green and Ruark (2011) all show that behavior change is the most important way of slowing the growth of the HIV epidemic. However, it is also notorious in public health circles that behavioral change is the most difficult thing of all to accomplish. WHO and UNAIDS recommend circumcision at a low age and only in a hospital setting (*securing the best hygienic conditions*), without valuating the education and counseling given in the rites performed in communities that simultaneously activate, through common education, significant means of social control. With such recommendations, WHO and UNAIDS confirm their denial of the potential of educational efficiency

of youth initiation (neglecting not only the importance of promoting behavior change, but also confirming their ongoing tendency to deny local agencies' role in the most sustainable health prevention education). Along the same lines, PEN III (2010-2014), Mozambique's national strategy concerning AIDS, only suggests promoting male circumcision (mostly in hospitals) and does not counsel to promote the inclusion of education for HIV prevention in the female and male youth initiation rites. The strategy of the national policy concerning HIV and AIDS follows the international tendency to assume the ability to counter the epidemic with mostly technical measures like circumcision and condoms, which is, however, not efficient.[263]

Circumcision, when reduced to a technical procedure addressed to individuals (in the hospital under hygienic conditions) misses the strong potential in education for adulthood (in the youth initiation), inducing and activating in one's own family and community the social inter-relationship and sense of responsibility necessary for any adult being. Circumcision, as a 'technical' intervention for prevention, may reduce the danger of infection by up to 65%, but not by 100%. The warning of Álvarez Degregori (2006) is justified; in the AIDS policies in Mozambique, the value of circumcision in male initiation including verbal counseling is not recognized with its potentiality of educational power. In the name of hygiene, circumcision is reduced to an individualistic intervention, isolated from the rich social and educational framework. The reduction of circumcision to a technical intervention implies the loss of the transmission of positive ethical and moral values as to what qualifies a man, with the attendant social, relational and communitarian implications. It is also a lost opportunity with regard to the negotiation of adjustments for more gender equity combined with the abolishment of gender violence and sexual abuse at all age and especially at an early age.[264]

Finally, current programs tend to overlook the fact that widespread male circumcision alone cannot prevent HIV infection; it can only reduce the spread of HIV. Álvarez Degregori (2006) argues that promoting male circumcision without (initiation) counseling about responsible adult behavior may actually lead to encouraging unsafe sexual behavior, which corresponds to the statistical observation that inconsistent condom use significantly increases the risk of HIV transmission (Katz & Low-Beer, 2008:840). Green & Ruark (2011:146-54) argue that any 'technical' prevention has this weakness, as in the case of condoms, which in Africa are too often used inconsistently. I suggest that a more efficient HIV-prevention education, e.g., through counseling in male initiation rites, allows counselors to remind people, for example, that circumcision is not a "vaccination" against HIV and to induce the required sense of responsibility (for oneself and others, as youth initiation rites used to transmit).[265] The teaching of *respect* in the initiation rites (of both genders) may help to increase ethical human behavior around sexuality, which is required for HIV prevention. Values of securing life transmission, as taught in youth initiation, could be used to motivate people to practice more HIV-prevention, ensuring healthy life transmission. The recommendation by UNAIDS and by the national strategy for fighting AIDS in Mozambique to practice male circumcision is positive, but by reducing it to an individual and technical intervention, the recommendation loses its potential for behavioral changes

that youth initiation can encourage through communitarian education involving counseling, reinforcing the power of reciprocal social control. These rites involve several generations in the counseling, allowing the actualization of the preventive advice, not only for the novices but for all the participating "teachers" (counselors, uncles, healers, chief, etc.). This leads to the activation of the reciprocal social control[266] of relational people in their strong interdependence, as youth initiation teaches novices "to respect" (across the wide range of what and whom is to be respected). Healers suggested using, in short, the slogan **"Respect!"** as central HIV-prevention advice (Dialogo, 2006).[267]

F. Some conclusions on education for HIV prevention

We saw that ancestors may withdraw their protection and allow diseases to affect the person, especially in case of the transgression of taboos. I described how Mozambicans and Congolese people frame health disorders in general in terms of a broad search for wellbeing, with priority given to the disorders affecting "breath/spirit" and the vital force in the "shade," which both affect wellbeing and the health of the physical body. When a person has AIDS, the vital force is extremely weakened, which leads to very different etiological explanations for the same symptoms – explanations that are relevant for many people and that diverge from the biomedical concepts. Those "signs" in the physical body that people relate to the transgression of taboos interfere with, and are often confused with, the main symptoms of HIV-infection (weakening of the vital force, slimming, cough and skin rash). Many people first consult healers and diviners and willingly undergo cleansing rituals (under social pressure from their surroundings). Only later do they consult biomedical services, with reluctance to undergo HIV testing (fearing a stigmatizing diagnosis of a disease implying a high risk of premature death). Infected people may interrupt ARV treatment for several reasons (e.g., lacking money for transport to the hospital, or not having enough food to bear the heavy prescribed remedies) and do not consistently practice HIV prevention. I discussed how the locally grounded notions that interfere with HIV and AIDS (transgressions of taboos related to sex, blood and death, and the widespread connotation of AIDS with 'witchcraft') might be bridged, in order to achieve real communication and more effectiveness in following the biomedical advice given in HIV-prevention education and in the care of people with AIDS.

We saw that people living with HIV and AIDS usually feel bewitched, thus applying a social etiology which gives sense to their misfortune. Our findings show that when counselors avoid contradicting the patient and employ specific complementary and indirect ways of communicating, taking an inclusive social approach, it helps prevent isolation and stigmatization of the patient. It is important that a patient who is associated with 'witchcraft', as is common among people living with AIDS, be recognized (by HIV/AIDS counselors, family and community members) as a victim, so as not to be regarded as a 'witch'. However, health institutions (Ministry) and medical centers and hospitals in Mozambique and DR Congo often treat patients as backward, given the involved social and cultural connotations. Many people argue that officials and biomedical practitioners do not understand what is most relevant for them as *munthu* [person in Cindau]. Fixing human body-shells as if they were cars

needing repairs is not perceived as enough. Nevertheless, experiences of the application of inclusive and/or complementary approaches in health education, HIV/AIDS counseling in Mozambique and DR Congo show that health education might achieve some efficiency when applied in combination with so-called the local 'traditional' communitarian education that teaches a sense of responsibility based on respect of oneself and others. Currently, the diverging worlds in which many people participate seem to be falling apart, at least in the context of health, health education, and in regard to the understanding of what is required for wellbeing.

We saw that the national policies to battle the HIV epidemic depend in large part on international donors' support, which tends to impose "mainstreaming policies" that are applied uniformly all over the world and fails to correspond to the specific social, emotional and spiritual requirements that I described for the local seeking of wellbeing. Many of my informants argued that respect for "ancestors, others and oneself" are constructive values which provide meaning. The latter helps in dealing with life's uncertainties. I showed that the potential of the involved values for education for socially careful behavior implies promoting respect between men and women, especially in the way sex, blood, death, and "life" (wellbeing) are dealt with. While this might sound moralistic, the practice of HIV prevention, or lack thereof, in fact has much to do with ethics and morals. Efficacy in HIV-prevention education implies finding out what arguments and what kind of morals lead people to practice HIV prevention. I showed that the recognition of the positive value of life transmission might be a basic precondition for more-effective promotion of HIV prevention (and might also be useful for more-efficient promotion of family planning, which is seldom applied). The dominating value of life transmission seems to contradict the usual strong promotion of condoms. In a similar logic, prohibiting cleansing rituals in general (like *kucinga* or *pita kufa* [cleansing ritual after death], in South/Central Mozambique, involving coitus) seems less likely to motivate HIV prevention than does suggesting that the people negotiate, in their clan and communities, appropriate ways to adjust cleansing after death so as to avoid risks (e.g., of HIV transmission), which experiences in South and Central Mozambique show is perfectly possible. People might then more readily follow the counsel of their most recognized local agencies (healers, chiefs, initiation rites or other local counselors of both genders, etc.), thus promoting alternative manners of cleansing that respect endogenous framings without producing any biological contamination risks. Such inclusive and dialogical counsel is more widely heeded and more broadly applied.

Finally, I discussed experiences of the youth initiation rites to adulthood; according to many informants, in the regions where these rites are practiced, this is the most appropriate setting in which to teach behavior related to sexuality. The rites allow an efficient connection with HIV-prevention education in a context valuing life transmission, showing people how to have a good "life." Instead of devaluing this kind of education through rites in the name of progress, it is more useful to recognize that it is in fact a cross-generational and sustainable form of health education which reaches most members of the group. Although certain aspects of this education contradict principles of women's

liberation, observations show that most women practicing them appreciate these rites as a protected sphere for women, with strongly embodied and emotionally loaded practices that women experience as a means of empowerment. Observations also show that these rites have relevant educational potentials (see Richards 1956; Turner 1967; Grohs 1980; Himua 2003; Salomonsen 2008; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009; Arnfred 2011, Bagnol 2011). Those involved in endogenous educational practices in the communities are open to learning and teaching new requirements (e.g., HIV prevention) and to combining them in complementary ways.

The endogenous approaches show that health issues cannot be reduced to the individual; 'life' (wellbeing) is a social matter, and involves more than the absence of disease in the body-shell. The emotional, spiritual, and social needs are all constitutive for the Mozambican or DR Congo Bantu-speaking interrelated person. The multiplicity of the involved levels of interference (social, spiritual, vital, physical and political) must be activated by education through the use of the mother language, activating emotionally deeply grounded values, in order that the given counsel on HIV prevention may resonate in the persons and be applied in behavior. This implies taking seriously the multiple composition of the person in its plurality, as well as in its strong interdependent and relational characteristics. The latter includes its relations to its social world, involving other living persons and all kinds of living-dead ('spirits'), as well as its relations to its ecological environment. This calls for entering into a dialogue with the therapeutic agents active in the plural therapeutic landscape, recognizing the relevance of the people's requirements of achieving "wellbeing" ("life"), and of the multiple strategies employed by the therapeutic agents and their users (Mahuamana 2013).

Analyzing the misunderstandings in communication in health education, I demonstrated that more effectiveness is to be achieved by health education when the values implied in endogenous paradigms and frames are mobilized through a dialogue, joining them with the biomedical preventive concerns by taking the people's culture, values – including their particular morals and ethics – knowledge and practices seriously.

Figure 31: Two healers and a chief in Kwango (DRC). They explain the several uses of the metaphor of the snake (*nyoka*), suggesting that it is useful to call HIV a *nyoka kábu* (angry snake), as the *nyka nkau* (another non-existing snake), which is commonly considered to hinder fertility.

Figure 32/33: Cindau-speaking *nyamosoro* (healer) Mazingue. He works with his own tractor, as a 'modern' person; he regards the transgression of taboos related to sex, blood and death as the "real" source of health disorders related to symptoms similar to those of AIDS. He and his colleagues suggest addressing HIV/AIDS in education as a *ndhinga* (snake with two heads, which does not exist – a metaphor); when you cut one head, the other one allows the snake to continue to live. — South Mozambique, Dialogo research 2006 and in 2008 —

The healers involved in the cultural research on HIV/AIDS included healers treating sexually transmitted diseases, diarrhoea, skin rash, chronic cough and thinning (all main symptoms of AIDS). It involved healers making diagnoses by divination and treating persons who feel bewitched through misfortune, disease, chronic diseases or cumulative death around them.

Figure 34: Healer with plants, roots in Alto Molocwe, Central/North Mozambique

Figure 35: **Big Luunda Chief Inana - and some sub-chiefs – ruling upon the Yaka, Suku and Pendele people in Kwango - South West DRC – 2010. The father of Chief Inana took part to the discussions of independence with the Belgium power.**

In the neighbouring Bas-Kongo (matrilineal Kikongo speakers) there were no such paramount chief in pre-colonial times. The Luunda who occupied Kwango in the 19th Century had a paramount chieftaincy. His support and those of all the chiefs of his territory is a pre-condition in order to mobilize the people for a more efficient prevention of HIV.

Figure 36: **The „chief of the land“ and his spouse are in Kwango Yaka speakers.** They represent the first Bantu-speakers occupiers on that land. Their blessing and healing skills are required concerning the territory and the people living on it, especially for fertility. Addressing the will of all people to secure life transmission is a “gold way” of HIV prevention, however it has been explored little up to now.

Figure 37: **Chiefs in Kwango – South West DR Congo – 2010**
Some of these Suku and Yaka chiefs and healers lived years in Kinshasa.

This chief works in a Hospital in Kwango

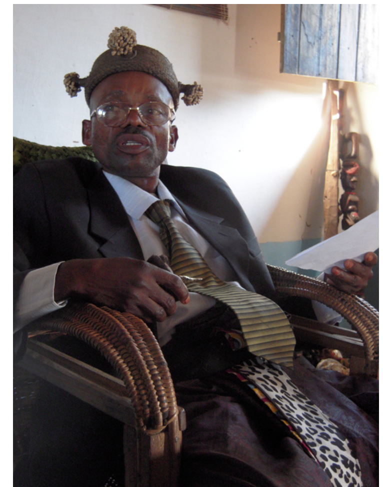

Figure 38: **Chiefs in Kwango – South West DR Congo – 2010**
Not all chiefs were cooperative in the searched dialogue for HIV prevention

Figure 39: **In Kwango (RDC) some chiefs are not so old** (2010)

Figure 40: Chiefs of Kenge in Kwango – South West DR Congo – 2010. The chief mobilizes the healers and other community chiefs, and the nurses and the medical doctor to cooperate on HIV/AIDS prevention. **Figure 40b: Healer in Kenge** are mostly open for a dialogue or cooperation; the workers in the hospital have little availability.

Figure 41: In female initiation in Central and South Mozambique, the neophyte receives several counsels during her initiation in four stages (without any genital mutilation). **Counsels how to prevent HIV infections are added to the usual teaching of sexuality, taboos and of what is a respected *muthu* (person).**

Figure 42: Counselors and grandmothers in female initiation are highly respected; urbanized girls also appreciate initiation that includes education in sexuality and the human behavior of a *muthu* (person in Cisena). The counselors learned by heard the 18 new counsels concerning biological safety in SEX, BLOOD and MOTHER/CHILD relation,- and also taught them to other counselors, grandmothers and to the girls.

Figure 43: Education in youth initiation is strongly embodied, involving emotions and metaphorical counsels. Members of all generations participate – and this every year.
– In Sofala province- Mozambique (2005-2007) –

Figure 44: Educators of male/female initiation; healers, counsellors and godmother/godfather of the participants of both genders learned 18 new counsels related to sex, blood and the mother/child save relationship, in order to improve HIV prevention. Non-literate persons memorized the new counsels using three colours for the three subjects, along with marks in sand that they traced with their finger while reciting all the new counsels, until they knew them all by heart. This pedagogical approach combines the dialogical ways suggested by Paulo Freire (Brasil) and traditional ways.
– In Nampula province, 2014 –

Chapter Six

NEO-TRADITIONAL LIVED-LAW and LEGAL PLURALISM

Figure 45:
The place where the land chief and his wife – a *ngaanga khita* (mediumistic healer treating fertility) – receive visitors.

– South-West DR Congo, in Kwango district in Bandundu –

Outline of Chapter Six

Part I, section A introduces the basic frames of the palaver in West DR Congo. **Section B** describes a first palaver involving so-called *ndoki*-children**. In section C,** I discuss the ambivalence of the legal framework in Bas-Congo. I analyze the complexity of the legitimacy of chiefs mediating conflicts, by taking into account the historical background. This central issue determines the neo-traditional framework of local Law as practiced in the shadow of the 'customary justice', which was created by the colonial administration and reframed by the postcolonial state to secure its respective dominance**.**
In sections D and E I describe and analyze the second and third palavers involving children designated as *ndoki* [witch]. I demonstrate how chiefs and notables neutralize maleficent forms of *kindoki* [witchcraft], showing that both kinds of agencies (diviners/revealers or chiefs/notables) can achieve similar results, albeit by different means. In two palavers (the first and third), the malefic witchcraft is neutralized using ancestral frames, without producing stigma and discrimination, and the chiefs and notables involved end the conflicts without creating a sense of guilt in the involved persons. **Section E** shows, with the second palaver, how and why strong hybrid approaches mixing mutually inconsistent administrative, police, and written law frames in palavers hinder mediation.
In section F I analyze the means that allow chiefs/notables to neutralize harmful *kindoki* [witchcraft] through the separation of two witch-children in a ritual that involves their families and provides protection against future attacks. **In section G,** I discuss the several stages of the palaver, including the basic means that are used to achieve certain results. I show some effects of hybrid use of diverging paradigms (ancestral frames combined with Christian or administrative frames).
In part II, section A I look at the written law from the viewpoints of chiefs, notables, and assessor judges, reporting their debates comparing the practices of making judgments in written law as differing to mediation in oral law. I compare these with my field observations of the Law practices of persons using the official legal means and simultaneously use local mediations as well.
In section B I analyze the "war of Law" in DR Congo. My comparative analyses based on emic perspectives treat the deep contradictions between formal and non-formal law. In doing so, they focus on two areas: (1) conflicts involving accusations of witchcraft and (2) issues related to the application of the oral versus the written law. Finally, I discuss the challenges posed by legal pluralism with regard to the need to localize universal human rights by taking into account the locally predominating normative orders. I conclude with the complementarities of the two approaches to law and discuss the need for official recognition of the practiced 'lived law' and of the factually existing legal pluralism in DR Congo.

Appendixes of Chapter Six

Appendix 6.1.	The historical background of official law in DR Congo	4 p.
Appendix 6.2.	The stages and means used in the palaver in Bas-Congo (DR Congo)	2 p.
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"Le safoutier est à planter dans le village de ta mère, pas dans le village de ton père"[1]
The 'safoutier' tree is planted in the village of your mother, not in the village of your father
Matrilineal Kikongo juridical proverb of Bas-Congo

Chapter 6: Neo-traditional lived-law in legal pluralism

Introduction in mediations through palavers and rituals

In this chapter, I show how some "ancestral paradigms" analyzed in part one of this study are applied in local lawmaking through mediation in palavers and rituals. Endogenous notions of what is required for social peace in the studied Bantu-speaking cultures reflect the norms and values (Komto 1990) described in the course of this study, as is the case with health, wellbeing and education.

The study of local approaches to law in non-legal settings belongs to what Merry (1988) calls 'classic legal pluralism'. I describe and analyze how chiefs and notables lead in conflicts in North Mozambique and in Bas-Congo, illustrating this especially for conflicts framed as 'witchcraft', as a paradigm organizing "normative ordering" (Merry 1988:870).[2] Examining when and how local approaches succeed in mediating conflicts allows for an understanding of the social and cultural frames, which determines the normative ordering. Further, I look at contradictions between the hegemonic state and non-hegemonic local legal approaches to law (Sousa Santos 2002:467). From the perspective of chiefs and notables, I discuss the complexity of a field of normative pluralism of Law that implies tensions between official law, the norms of scriptural religions, and the 'lived-law' practiced in a "semiautonomous social field" (Merry 1988:878), which people relate to "ancestral" practices (Matangila 2000). The latter is characterized by a complex dialectic of continuity embedded in continuous changes.
I demonstrate that in areas of law and health, the same body of paradigms is part of common *everyday and "everynight" life*. Pragmatism, efficiency, and creativity are fundamental characteristics of the local approach to Law. In Mozambique and DR Congo, chiefs and notables resolve conflicts through palavers without intervention of state officials, by applying locally grounded ritual methods.[3]

Mauss (1967:177 and 190) insists aptly that an anthropological approach to endogenous rights should avoid European terminologies. Although Law is easily understood as a written body of institutionalized legal rules, a thirty-year-long debate (Griffith 2011)[4] led legal anthropologists to use a broad definition of the notion of 'Law' that extends beyond written law and encompasses mechanisms of social control in the widest sense (Malinowski 1926). It understands Law as a system of thought (Fuller 1994:11), a cultural system of meanings (Geertz 1983), and as "a system of thought by which certain forms of relations come to seem natural and taken for granted" (Merry 1988: 889). I use the definition of Benda-Beckmann, who defines 'Law' as "a generic term that comprises a variety of social phenomena (concepts, rules, principles, procedures, regulations of different sorts, relationships, decisions) at different levels of social organization." (2006:13). Law encompasses practices including evidence-finding, interrogation, court verdicts, hearings, oaths, oracles in ordeals, palavers, ritual

mediation in conflicts, etc. I subscribe to Ehrlich ([1913] 2013), defining *living-law* and to le Roy (2004), that beyond written law, the values transported in the lived law are reflected in practices as well as in thoughts and verbal expressions (proverbs, idioms, stories, mythologies, etc.). See also Sax (2009). However, official law and legal practitioners tend to theoretical (and practical) devaluation of lived-law practices. This has much to do with political and economic interests, which stood, and still stand, against a recognition of the value and knowledge involved and employed in lived-law. It led to an ongoing "war in law" as Akele Adau notes (2008a), and which is grounded in a "war in epistemology" since colonialism, ongoing through post-colonialism, up to the present. The local practices outlined in the following, described as 'concrete law' (Benda-Beckmann 2006:13) or *living-law* (Ehrlich 2013), constitute multiple normative ordering systems that I will subsume under the all-encompassing term "Law" as defined above, including not only the formal legal system but also ancestral, religious or other systems of normative ordering (Ehrlich 2013[5]). "Living-law" or lived-law might be seen in Mozambique and DR Congo as neo-traditional, similarly to Chanock's (1978, 1985) analysis for Malawi or Snyder's (1981) for matrilineal societies in Senegalese Casamance. I later come back to the importance of the postcolonial historical framework of local non-hegemonic practices in Law. The neo-traditional practices described in what follows are part of the multiple modernities that coexist in the studied countries. Analyses of how land conflicts or *kindoki* [witchcraft] accusations are dealt with reveal central controversies in legal pluralism as constituted by the state, the religious and the non-formal and non-institutionalized normative ordering in lived-law practices that I discuss in this chapter.

Le Roy (2004) reminds us that in a state under the rule of law, the Law should express the values which are effectively followed by the great majority of the population that it intends to regulate, corresponding to Habermas' (1997) argument that law should adjust to reality, not reality to law. This is not the case today in Mozambique and in DR Congo, where the official written law is neither understood (Nzundu 2012; Rubbers and Gallez 2012, 2015) nor practiced by the majority of the people, who seek other forms of settling conflicts such as mediations (Matangila 2000; Pohu 2009; Lapika & Kotanyi 2011; Kotanyi & Lapika 2012; Meneses 2006, 2012). Through a description and analysis of cases of conflict mediation in Mozambique and DR Congo, I show the flexibility inherent in local approaches. We are not in never-changing frameworks of static backward-oriented 'traditions', but in a vibrant and continually adapting field, which those involved refer to as *ntumbuluku* [ancestral tradition in Xichangana/Xirhonga, *kikhulu* in Kikongo]. The 'lived law' responds to people's requirements: attention is mainly drawn to a treatment of conflicts allowing the persons involved to continue to live together.[6] These realities address the necessity of recognizing local practices in Law as a matter of human rights (Merry 2003). My discussion of the Roman-German legal system in DR Congo draws on the perspective of my Congolese informants participating in lived-law practices in the specific framework of this country at the historical time of my research; my comments do not concern the Roman-Germanic legal system in general.

I – Law through palavers and rituals in Bas-Congo

Types of palavers and the current context of *kinzonzi* palavers

My following descriptions and analyses are based on my field observations (Lapika and Kotanyi 2011; Kotanyi and Lapika 2012; Kotanyi 2012) as well as studies pursued together with Congolese anthropologists and law scholars[7], coordinated by Bruno Lapika[8] and myself. After a pre-study in the field conducted by CERDAS[9], we jointly carried out a research workshop in 2011 with 20 chiefs, notables and 10 assessor judges selected from all of the districts of Bas-Congo and a second applied workshop, in 2012, with judges, assessor judges, chiefs, and legal scholars.

The palaver [*kinzonzi* in Kikongo] is practiced all over DR Congo; beyond certain regional and local differences, its practice in Bas-Congo offers a good example for other regions of the country.[10] The *kinzonzi*, which are restricted to the clan are practiced at any main stages of life: birth, marriage, and death. The large number of land conflicts also requires a palaver. The distribution of power in the clan, conflicts around the liberation from slavery[11], and all kinds of disputes in families and communities, such as adultery, divorces, or heredity, are dealt with in palavers. Palavers deal with business disagreements, fights, and robberies, along with issues involving inequalities, disease, hate, desires and jealousy that are usually framed as *kindoki* [witchcraft], as discussed in Chapter Four.[12] When the palaver in the clan could not resolve the conflicts, they are treated with the *mfumu* [head/chief] of community. All interviewed[13] chiefs (*Grouping Chiefs* ruling several villages) and notables argue that penal conflicts –subject to punishment under the official laws– should be handled by written law in the "Peace Tribunals" (the official regional courts). The latter limits the intervention of chiefs and notables.

The main characteristic of the palaver [*kinzonzi* in Kikongo] is that it is practiced in public, occurring in the community where the conflicts arose, and requiring the participation of all the involved persons (or, in the case of children, for example, their legitimate representatives). Practiced in the local language, the palaver allows all members of the community to participate.[14] Its main objective is to reinstate social peace: the palaver does not judge, but mediates by oral means.[15] Decisions are justified through proverbs, idioms, or metaphors that are common in the Kongo culture (framed in the constitution as "custom"). Songs, dances, shouts, and gestures are constitutive means of the mediating process, intended to help in achieving reconciliation, if possible. In general, testimonies are invited and listened to. The protection of ancestors is often evoked by the chief at the beginning of a palaver, or their agency is cited in references to dreams in which they have appeared. In cases involving witchcraft, chiefs often use the expertise of people recognized as diviners[16] or revealers[17]. They may be asked to produce their official identification documents stipulating their profession as validation of their official right to exercise these activities[18].

Currently, palavers are actively practiced in rural areas of Bas-Congo, while urban people also search for other forms of mediation, which are often provided by local authorities in urban quarters or by notables (respected persons). People also take advantage of mediation performed by the police or

military courts (Pohu 2009). The national constitution (2006) recognizes the respect of the "custom", which implies that the palavers should also be respected as an instrument of Law. The authority of chiefs is recognized by article 2007, and article 204 of the national constitution (with article 34) recognizes the customary way of managing access to land. The constitution defines land as property of the state.[19] However, since the instatement of eleven 'Peace Tribunals' in the province of Bas-Congo in 1978, the communitarian right of chiefs to perform *kinzonzi* [palaver] in Bas-Congo is no longer officially recognized, as the government pretended to 'replace' them with the official state courts. In DRC, Bas-Congo was the first province to get an extensive infrastructure of written law, under the pretense that this would later be expanded to cover all provinces. In the rural areas of DR Congo in general, chiefs and their notables broadly practice 'traditional' Law through palavers and rituals.[20] (cf. Matangila 2000; Pohu 2009[21]; Nzundu 2012). The lawyer Le Roy (in 2004) suggests that it is the people's current practices, which constitute Law, not the text of the law. I show that those involved in lived-law practices –instead of punishing– treat the conflicts in ways that allow continuing to live together. Using the pre-study conducted by Lapika, Mayengo and Wade (2011)[22], I analyze the findings of five palaver that I documented.[23] Three of these filmed cases involved so-called *ndoki*-children; they illustrate the ways of dealing with *kindoki* [witchcraft] in the 'lived-law'. In an analysis of so-called *customary law*, I show the differences between the *customary law* instated by the colonial power and the lived-law described below (Section B). In the first and third cases, the chiefs and notables dealing with *kindoki* succeed in mediating; in the second case, mediation is not achieved.[24]

A - First palaver involving 'ndoki-children'

Description of the case

The parents of two children (6 and 8 years old) complained to the chief that their children were victims of *kindoki* [bewitchment] by four adults living in their neighborhood. The *Chief of Grouping* –ruling over several villages is not a locally grounded position[25]– is an experienced woman, respected as chief for 20 years in the district of Bas-Fleuve. She invited the *mfumu* [head of community, 'chiefs'] of the eight villages of her territory to join her in treating this case in a palaver. Before she fixed the day of the palaver, she sent the children with their parents and the four "suspected" men to consult several diviners in order to determine whether the accused adults were *ndoki* ['witches'] or not. The parents and both children involved, together with the four accused adults, consulted two revealers of their common choice. *Mmikudi* [revealers] are Christian practitioners giving oracles by combining endogenous means of divination with Christian approaches (using prayer, addressing Christian divinities, mixing Christian frames like prayer, sin etc. with endogenous frames like divination, *kindoki,* etc.).[26] In the cases that I observed in Bas-Congo, I did not hear of people consulting *ngaanga ngoombu* [diviners using ancestral ways] like those active in the neighboring province Bandundu, where I interviewed in Kwango several quite young but famous *ngaanga ngombu*.

In this case, both consulted revealers independently declared that the four adults were not *ndoki*, and that the children "should be treated". Two revealers reached the same conclusion; the involved parties

did not consult a third one. The four accused men asked the chief to clarify in a palaver the issue of the false accusation. To be accused of acting as a maleficent *ndoki* is as a serious accusation, which compromises the honor of the accused persons, who are then isolated.

This palaver took place near the house of the Grouping Chief, with the participation of six notables, all chiefs of the villages belonging to the grouping of Chief Fatumata (a woman). She conducted the palaver wearing her chief's hat, with a sculpted wooden stick in her hand, demonstrating her power.

Before the palaver starts, while waiting, the chief sings and all participate in the singing:

Chief Fatumata (1st song): «Dance, dance! You will not die–
Be strong, don't fall down!»

Chief Fatumata presents the case to all participants, explaining exactly what happened during the six months from the time of the complaint until the beginning of this palaver. Starting to speak, she gets the attention of all participants through a special shout:

1st shouting of Chief F.: "The Chief wants to speak!"[27]
Participants' response: "*Biyoko!*" (Shout without specific signification)
2nd shouting of Chief F.: "Even when the conflicts are resolved, others appear!"[28]

During the palaver, the speaking persons verify regularly that the people are following it, activating through shouting the inter-relational nature of the palaver. They do not only seek interventions by the chief, his notables, and the involved parties, but regularly ask for the reactions and agreement of all participants who might influence the ongoing process. By approving or disapproving of the events, those participating are as important as the testimony.

During this palaver, which lasted for nearly an hour, seven songs were intoned by the chief and sung by the participants. The songs structured the palaver, each song being like a "hinge" opening a new stage and introducing all participants to what was to come next. Each song had its own specific function during the ongoing palaver. After the presentation of the case by the chief, she sang softly, with all participants repeating after her in chorus. The song introduced the case at the emotional level, reaching beyond the factual issues that she later presented verbally:

Chief Fatumata (2nd song): Literally: "The hat sits aslant, we will set it straight!"[29]
Meaning: "We will replace the hat firmly on the head!"
Meaning of the metaphor: "We will correct the bad deeds."

Chief F. (3rd song): "- The problem treated here is the one that they want to ignore today."[30]
Chief F. (4th song): "- I am worried, I am very worried.
I asked you to cook for tomorrow,
I asked you to cook food, but you didn't want to!"

Chief F. (5th song): "- They tell you to prepare the food for your lover,
But you, you only show your skeletal legs."[31]
The heart is shocked. Search for the child; the child is lost."[32]
Chief F. (speech): "- To be accused as *'ndoki',* when you are not, this heats your heart, doesn't it?
Chorus of participants: - Yes!
Chief F.(speech): "- This is the reason why I intoned this song."

The chief and the notables explain the case verbally by maintaining a dialogue with the listening participants and the population. The songs deal with fears, expectations, and emotions related to the case, mostly in a metaphorical or indirect way. Sometimes directly addressing the issues at play, the songs are short sentences, repeated many times.

A notable (3rd song): "My friends, hold well, do not fall!
We will be able to correct the wrong acts!"[33]

A palaver implies several internal consultations by the participants. The chief intones, with the chorus of all participants repeating:

Chief Fatumata (7th song): "Those who are there go without any goal…
We go always with a goal, with a goal!"[34]

The lightness of the songs gives a matter-of-fact appearance to the situation, but since it involves *kindoki* [witchcraft], it implies serious social tensions. It is neither usual that children pretend to be initiated into *kindoki*, nor that people who do not belong to one's own kinship group but are rather neighbors or acquaintances, are accused of practicing witchcraft; however, Chief Fatumata explained to us that in the 20 years of her rule, this was only the second time that children 'accused' adults of *kindoki*; The songs help significantly to move the palaver along, overcoming the heaviness of the situation; they are a constitutive element, as important as the verbal rhetoric or the ritual sequences, the shouting, the physical movements, the dialogical responses of the participants, and the idioms or proverbs through which the chief, the notables, or the involved persons justify their interventions during the palaver.

At the beginning, only the chief spoke (which happened in most of the palavers observed). After the presentation of the case, several notables actively led the palaver, the course of which was mainly determined by the chief. After establishing the complaint of the parents of the two accusing children, the chief asked one of the accused men to relate the results of both divinations in which the involved parties all consulted together. He described both consultations of the revealers in detail. The chief and her notables deliberated the case inside the house of the chief. Coming back outside, they first requested two measures of palm wine as the 'drink' of the chief and the notables that the wrongly accused four men (the claimants) gave to the chief. In what followed, a notable communicated the sentence, based on the recognition of the diagnostics of both revealers, and establishing that the four accused men could not be seen as *bandoki* [witches]. It was ruled that the parents of the children must pay compensation (much lower than the requested amount) for the wounded honor of the wrongly accused adults, as well as for the money they had spent to travel to the diviners. The compensation for each wrongly accused person was set at: one chicken, a local measure (*dame Jeanne*) of palm wine, and a bunch of bananas. The four men were satisfied. The family of the children accepted the sentence and paid the compensation a few days after the palaver; the wrongly accused men considered their honor to have been restored.

The interviews with the accused men showed that one of the four was well situated in an agricultural enterprise, which may have provoked envy in the family of the accusing children. It is unclear what instigating role the parents may have played in the children's accusation. The chief and notables explained later that twenty years previously, children would never have accused adults of bewitching them (just as it is unusual to accuse people outside of their own kin of *kindoki* [witchcraft]). When children argue that they have been bewitched, the children and their surrounding world employ the paradigm of "*ndoki* eating in the night,"[35] according to which both children have become *bandoki* against their will by eating apparently normal but in fact bewitched food[36]. This accusation activates the *sensory code of intrusion*, together with what Stroeken calls the "reciprocal-receptive code of social exchange (being-with)" (2008:479) that I relate to the prevailing "living with" (Chapters Two/Seven).

The chief argued that formerly it was older people "with white hair" who were accused of *kindoki*; children were not thought to have the power and knowledge of *bandoki* [witches]. Chief Fatumata insists that it is essential to clarify such cases, not just accusing those who made the complaint (as written laws tend to do).[37] Official law does not validate as expertise, and therefore does not recognize as evidence, any divination or revelations, whereas the mediation of chiefs and notables in palavers recognizes the validity of such means.[38] *Kinzonzi* palavers do not treat *kindoki* [witchcraft] as a criminal issue; the ancestral frames of *kindoki* deal with emotions and anxieties, based on the interrelationship of people. *Kindoki*, as a paradigm framing invisible forces, requires similar invisible means and forces for its neutralization; it is not seen as a criminal issue requiring material proof.

Diagnostics through revelation deals with floating signifiers (see Chapter Four) and allows intangible issues to be taken into account. There is generally no material proof of *kindoki*, which implies that the issue is not to be attributed to "daytime criminality". Dealing with (truly existing) emotions and social tensions, the process intends to "untie" the knots of the conflict, which is easier to achieve when chiefs and notables use intermediaries like diviners or revealers.[39] Consulting these 'experts' together gives the parties a common reference. This facilitates acceptance of the results by both parties, especially when the 'oracles' of various diviners or revelators lead to the same result.[40] During our research, most chiefs argued that they needed and used the findings of such consultations. Chiefs advise consulting at least three 'experts.' The lack of convergence between written and oral law in relation to the recognition of the expertise of diviners or revealers is a central discordance between the two legal approaches. While written law requires material proof, oral law, in contrast, implies that there is rarely material proof in cases involving *kindoki*. The results of diviners or revealers, that the involved persons accept, are respected by Chiefs, considering that they are able to "see" whether a person is *ndoki* or not, – just as written law recognizes psychologists or similar experts on emotional issues. The divergence results from the fact that diviners or revealers have no written certificate verifying their training and qualification. In local views, social control certifies the legitimacy of a diviner or revealer; it is assumed that few people will consult bad diviners or revealers.[41]

This case documents some basic conditions facilitating reconciliation: the notables and the chief take care to keep the compensations low and well balanced[42]; such basic 'ancestral' frames must be respected in order that the mediation may succeed. Chief Fatumata argues that not "identifying" and not sanctioning those who provoked the disorder would generally exacerbate the disorder, provoking more confusion. It is, according to the chiefs, essential to sanction false accusations and thus clearly demonstrate limits. However, the sanctions must be appropriate; this is why, in this case, the demand for high compensation was not accepted, but the involved family was obliged to pay "only" the costs of transportation of the wrongly accused men, by imposing compensation with payments in kind, which is easier to carry out.

Last song, Chief Fatumata:	"*Kinda wedi fua ko!*" Be firm, endure!
CHORUS response of the participants:	You will not die!

B. The neo-traditional framework of the palaver in Bas-Congo

Understanding the local approach to law in Bas-Congo requires a look at the historical framework of the practices described. The central role of chiefs in a palaver makes it necessary to examine the legitimacy of chiefs in making Law. This serves as the basis for the analysis of that which was and still is the framework of local practices that the people and lawyers in DR Congo refer to as "customary justice". What does the term "customary law" imply? From where did this category arise? To what extent do the local practices in Law described in this chapter belong in such a category? How did the historical background influence the current local practices in Law? What criteria allow the differentiation between 'ancestral' and other approaches to local Law making?

The historical background

Chieftaincies are grounded in a complex history. MacGaffey (2000) shows the difficulties in finding reliable historical sources; written testimonies have often cited oral reports of oral 'traditions', which are difficult to 'decode' because Kongo *kukhuulu* [traditions] expressed in genealogical and other stories often relate more mythical contents than historical facts, – which, however, even in written memories imply diverging versions and narratives. According to MacGaffey, Kongo chieftaincy has existed in Bas-Congo since the 15th cent., but developed in the 18th cent. and 19th cent. under the decisive influence of the Atlantic trade. Although Alfonso 1st Nzinga Mbemba (1456-1543) was the first baptized paramount Kongo chief in 1491, he returned to the religious traditions of Kongo, keeping alive what MacGaffey reports as "cosmological components common to the whole area inhabited by speakers of Western Bantu languages and date back thousands of years." (2000:16). According to historical descriptions (Laman 1953-1957; Vansina 1992; MacGaffey 2000), village chiefs existed in Bas-Congo in pre-colonial times, while 'paramount chiefs', who rule over large territories, have only existed in since colonial influence. The colonial power[43] introduced Grouping Chiefs ruling over several villages (required for administrative control of the population, mobilizing labour forces, and collecting taxes). In Bas-Congo, the segmented[44] matrilineal lineage system implies a horizontal, not vertical, way of decision-making in the community. A community *mfumu* ["head" not

‘chief’] is expected not to decide alone, but to follow the advice of the several clan heads in a “horizontal” form of decision-making.[45] Vertical forms of decision-making delegating to one person the responsibility for several communities did not exist in Bas-Congo in pre-colonial times; it was introduced in BaKongo by the colonial power with the Grouping Chieftaincies (MacGaffey 2000).

In his exemplary analysis of the matrilineal Banjal society in the Casamance (Senegal), Snyder (1981) shows how French colonial law transformed matrilineal, horizontal, concerted decision-making approaches (in which no one decided alone but decisions were discussed) into a deformed and hybrid law, framing them as *customary law* in a body of text which was based on the manipulation of intermediaries like translators, or of regional ‘chiefs’ instated by the colonial power. Horizontal concerted decision-making implies (as among the matrilineal North Mozambican Emakhuwa and Lomwe-speakers whom I studied) that the matrilineal Diola-speaking Banjal people had decision-making structures involving neither village chiefs nor regional ‘chiefs’. Among Diolas, the most prominent social position was that of the practitioners of rain rituals (‘rain-priests’ in Snyder’s terminology), which the colonial power transformed into ‘chiefs’ in order to support vertical rule.[46] These manipulations brought about changes by using the position of the ‘rain priests’ (supporting land and human fertility - see Fialho Feliciano 1989), who were pushed to supervise access to land, in time also controlling parts of adult manpower, neither of which formerly were part of their ritual power. Snyder shows that this process led to the creation of Benjal *customary law* (1981:63-70), which declared as ‘custom’ a new rule equating ‘rain-priests’ with ‘landowners’. Inventing the position of ‘master of the land’, it constituted new elites (of ‘chiefs’), through mediators speaking the colonial language (such as interpreters). Trade and later capitalist economic changes required workforces mobilized by these central authorities (chiefs) –who the colonial power called ‘traditional authorities’– they allowed land proprietorship in places where neither chiefs nor land lords had previously existed.

Snyder’s descriptions lead one to raise the question how ‘ancestral’ the ‘traditional’ chieftaincies in Bas-Congo are (– the same question applies to the several ‘land lords’ that I met in the neighboring Kwango district): Which descendants are currently framed as endogenous and ‘customary’ authorities in Bas-Congo? Along the same lines, Chanock (1985) describes the ‘traditional’ authorities in Malawi as neo-traditional, as does Moore (1986a) for the Chaggas in Tanzania, both being instated by colonial interests. Geschiere (1996b: 310) describes this for the forest regions of Cameroon, arguing that in that region the notion of ‘big men’ was stronger than that of ‘chiefs’. This corresponds to the matrilineal Emakhuwa and Elomwe-speaking societies in North Mozambique, where each clan has its *mwene* [head] and, by now, a main *mwene* of the community (indeed perceived locally more as ‘big man’, not chief) who is supposed to coordinate the several clans living in his territory. Since colonial times, this figure has been framed as ‘chief’, although these segmented matrilineal horizontal societies did not have such a hierarchical understanding of the delegation of rule (Ivala 1999, 2003; Kotanyi 2003b).[47] The colonial instatement of vertical hierarchies of chieftaincies disregarded the horizontal way of

ruling and dealing with conflicts that was usual in the Makhuwa society in Mozambique (see Appendix 5.3.), similarly to the matrilineal BaKongo[48] societies in Congo. The matrilineal Makhuwa *mweme/mpewe* like the BaKongo *mfumu,* 'big men', were horizontal and decentralized forms of rule in a society segmented into clans, in which decisions had and still have to be taken by a group of clan elders counseling the *mwene* or *mfumu* of the community (with a woman *piyamwene* at his side in her necessary ritual role).[49]

Independently of the question of which local social/ritual positions the respective colonial regime used in order to instate centralized ruling structures, the procedure was similar among the Portuguese, Belgium, French, and British colonial powers. Such centralizing necessities led the postcolonial states of DR Congo and Mozambique to use chiefs to secure control over the territory and its citizens.[50] My field observations, however, indicate that it is the cosmological frame that locally still gives chiefs their ruling power. It means their capacity to mediate between the living and the ancestors, as well as their ability to deal with and neutralize maleficent witchcraft in the ambivalent 'ancestral' way, gives chiefs the authority and power (Geschiere 1997, 1996b; Meier et al. 2013:20-31) necessary for efficient law making. Weber (1947) makes a distinction between *power* (a merely factual relation), and the socially recognized power as *authority* defined as a legitimate relation of domination and subjection, which is always tied to social positions or roles. For Weber (1947:28), authority is the "probability that a command with a given content will be obeyed by a given group of persons."[51] However, in the studied matrilineal Bantu context, the "traditional" authority[52] of the *mfumu* [head of community called 'chief'] should not "command" the people: Locally, he should follow the advice of the several heads of villages or clans living on his territory. In addition to these two notions of power and authority, Stroeken (2010) regards the moral power of "witches" as a third kind of power. He argues –like the chiefs in Bas-Congo do– that, as lawmakers, the chiefs have to surpass and control the *moral power* of the "witches"; this is the reason why they have to have stronger 'witchcraft' power than the 'witch' (being initiated as such – as my findings confirm). Thus chiefs master all three types: power, authority and moral power. In such a Bantu context, Stroeken defines Law (for the Sukuma in Tanzania) as "the experience of kin, ancestors and community as a *generalized Other–Law–* an impenetrable gaze opposing the self" (2004b:21). This definition applies straight to the point to the Bantu context that I describe. This moral power, which lawmakers control, is stronger than the administrative legitimacy of the State; beyond law and moral, it concerns basic ethics of life (Matangila 2000; Webb 2016) and "ordinary ethics," as Lambek (2010) argues.

In accordance with the described colonial manipulations, especially neo-traditional Grouping Chiefs (paid by the state) are less 'traditional' than village chieftaincies in Bas-Congo. 'Neo-traditional' is not necessarily an ironic term; Grouping Chiefs use ancestral traditions, by adapting them to the requirements of 'modernity' (involving most diverging implications), combining traditions with invented new traditions. Ranger shows that such invented and neo-traditional frames are very relevant and "exercise an influence on ruling class culture" (1983:261). Such adaptations of traditions may in

some cases respect the basic ancestral principles, while others contradict them. However, in DR Congo, chieftaincies existed all over the territory; they are as much the product of pre-colonial constitution (in the villages) or of colonial influence (as Grouping Chiefs) as of the interventions of the post-independence regimes, from Mobutu up to the current regime of the Third Republic (see de Boeck 1996). Indeed, in DRC and Mozambique, the various colonial and post-colonial systems of national powers tried to use and manipulate the chieftaincies for their own political interests.[53] Up to now, a state structure of 353 Chiefs of Grouping (formerly nonexistent) has been established, heading a total of 8,178 villages (each with an own *mfumu* [head])[54]. The 'ancestral traditional' characteristics of Grouping Chiefs are constructed in a hybrid way in Bas Congo, and illustrate what Mudimbe (1988, 1997) calls "invented traditions" and "*des espaces métissés*". Field observations, however, show that chiefs of villages tend to follow the endogenous "ancestral" frames and values with more coherence, while the chiefs who live in urban areas are easily subject to external manipulation or follow more their own interests. Nevertheless, there are mechanisms (like *kindoki)* used by the population to pressure chiefs to respect local values and interests. In Bas-Congo, this mostly implies that Christian values are combined with ancestral and other norms like written law and state administration.

The legitimacy of the leadership of chiefs currently

Writings on African chieftaincies diverge significantly depending on the perspective of the writer. All clearly state the dual identity of chiefs, but legal anthropologists tend to emphasize the administrative, political, or economic role of chiefs, merely noting their cosmological tasks. In contrast, anthropologists like Devisch (1981, 1996a) or MacGaffey (2000), insist on the predominance of the complex cosmological position of community chiefs.[55]

Looking at the legitimacy of chiefs allows an understanding of their importance concerning law making. In Bas Congo, I researched most among Chiefs of Grouping, and with some chiefs of villages forming the groups of 'notables' involved in the conflict transformation through *kinzonzi* [palavers]. I also worked in the area of health with several chiefs and 'landlord' chiefs in Kwango (a district neighboring Bas-Congo). My research in the fields of law and health confirms the current key position of chiefs. Like Ray and van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal et al show for 16 African countries[56], in DR Congo and Mozambique chiefs appear to be a "unique linkage between the contemporary state and civil society" (1996:1). The authors note that although chiefs are central actors for democratization, decentralization, development and human rights concerns, these linkages are often ignored, or misunderstood. The latter has much to do with the double source of chiefs' legitimacy.

In a short analysis of the current neo-traditional chieftaincy in Bas-Congo (DRC), I will identify criteria that show the degree to which the observed local approaches to law (either to living-law or official law) reflect 'traditional' frames or other values. Such criteria are not motivated by the seeking of any 'pure' ancestral frame, but may allow an understanding of the different approaches in law to conflicts framed through *kindoki*. Geschiere (1996b:308) suggests that the degree to which a chief maintains some control over the "occult forces" (witchcraft) indicates how the chief's authority is

rooted in local societies. I agree, adding that the way chiefs deal with access to land is also a clear indication of the degree to which they respect ancestral values. Given the limits of this study, I concentrate on witchcraft, with three case-studies that confirm the thesis of Geschiere for DR Congo.

The current framework of chieftaincies in Bas-Congo

In DR Congo (as in Mozambique), chiefs are currently recognized by the state as "traditional authorities."[57] In DRC, chieftaincies were never forbidden in post-independence times (as they were in socialist times in Mozambique); Mobutu's postcolonial government used chiefs to activate the traditional frames in order to reinforce his power. The province of Bas-Congo[58] has 366 Groupings of villages, all led by so-called 'Grouping Chiefs' installed by the state and responding to the state administration in a hierarchical yet decentralized structure.

Many descriptions from the beginning of the 20th century quoted by MacGaffey (2000:163) correspond with the current situation concerning Grouping Chiefs. His historical view describes chieftaincies in Bas-Congo of the 19th century, derived from the slavery trade, which required chieftaincies that facilitated commercial interests. Kongo chiefs were not like 'paramount' chiefs described as 'divine' chiefs by De Heusch (1982) for other regions of Congo. Chiefs were not rainmakers (MacGaffey 2000: 13), as most were in Mozambique. But, Bas-Congo chiefs approach village security in the same way as in Mozambique: "A village (…) is like a body; for all to be well, its entrances and exists should not be 'blocked' by noxious charms buried there." (MacGaffey 2000: 13). Beyond the differences of matriliny and patriliny, Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speakers' notions of traditional ruling are very similar. The conceptions, some ritual means and the internal logics applied to instate the power of chiefs (Devisch 1996a) are also similar, as well as in the ritual ways of ensuring the wellbeing of the inhabitants and the security of their territories (Kotanyi 2003b).

In Bas-Congo, Grouping Chiefs –heading between eight and 100 villages– are supported by the local village chiefs; together they constitute the respective grouping. In contrast to village chiefs, Grouping Chiefs receive a small amount of state financial support, which binds their loyalty to the state. The Grouping Chiefs are often former 'medaled chiefs' who were instated by the colonial power and later confirmed by the postcolonial and current state. Above, I described the historical implications of their classification as neo-traditional authorities (Snyder 1981; Chanock 1985; Moore 1986a; de Boeck 1996). Like the colonial power, the postcolonial governments have utilized chiefs as local authorities in the process of implementing state control of the population living in the territory under control of the respective chief. The administrative tasks of chiefs are locally accepted, but local requirements also imply that chiefs assume their cosmological position (as mediator between the visible and invisible worlds); it is the latter that locally determines their authority and their importance in regulating Law in an ethically and morally encompassing notion (Matangila 2000; Stroeken 2010). Since pre-colonial times, a village chief has been the guarantor of the social order in its widest sense, which implies his use of his *kindoki* ['witchcraft' power and knowledge] in relation to the living,

ancestors and the environment (Buakasa 1980; MacGaffey 2000:43). For Stroeken (2004b) *moral power* equals 'witchcraft' (including that its identification needs the support of ancestors), while for my informants it also involves the morality defined by ancestors through taboos (see also Matangila 2000 for the Mbala in Southwest DR Congo). In any case, the *moral power* related to 'witchcraft' always has an invisible side and is potentially lethal, but it means something different in societies depending on the kinship organization. In patrilineal societies *moral power* is evil if in the hands of women, and normal or useful in the hands of chiefs. In matrilineal societies *kindoki* or *okhwiri* [witchcraft] or similar notions including moral power is an ambiguous power in the hands of maternal uncles and chiefs, – rare among women, but also ambiguous[59].

According to current national rules, the Chiefs of Grouping (as chiefs of several villages), should be elected by the chiefs of the villages that they represent, although this is not always the case. They might be people who have bought this position, or they might have been instated out of political or administrative interests. In any case, they are accredited by the State, the interests of which they also have to respect and follow if not to serve. The chiefs of the villages should live with the people whose interests they are responsible for; this does not necessarily apply to Grouping Chiefs, given that the villages often extend over wide territories. In the second case study below, the Grouping Chief does not live on the territory that he rules; he knows and follows local approaches only partially.

The constitution (2006) of DR Congo takes up the obligation of the state to respect the custom, but this does not prevent some official laws or decrees from contradicting this required recognition. Most significant is the ordinance-law no.78-005 of 1978[60], which limits the right of chiefs in Bas-Congo to treat conflicts concerning access to land. The state instated a special regional commission controlled by it, which treats the conflicts concerning land use. This commission comes from far away, does not know the local conditions, have little funds to go to the fields, see the realities and they are easily corruptible; they do not necessarily defend local interests and rights. However, the supervision of the use of the land in their territory is a right of local chiefs, which is grounded in the constitution and in the customs of people living in DRC.[61] This means that ordinance-law no.78-005 contradicts the constitution. Given that Grouping Chiefs receive money from the State, they often fear to contradict. Hence, chiefs and notables mediate by local conflicts through palavers in an ambivalent coexistence of legality with officially tolerated non-legality. It leads the chiefs to fear acknowledging openly that they treat conflicts concerning the access to land. Finally, the observations show that chiefs in Bas-Congo combine administrative 'modern' frames with traditional ones; it is a difficult act of balancing between "ancestral" norms and other norms that people also want to respect.[62]

The source of chiefs' legitimacy and the investiture of chiefs

As in past centuries, the studied Bantu speakers currently believe that chieftaincy is legitimated through ancestors (normally from the first settled clan) and is a 'calling' (MacGaffey 2000), implying a high degree of social responsibility (Devisch 1996a; Matangila 2000). Even 'invented' Grouping Chiefs, who lack an extensive genealogy, might report their 'call' and their investiture ceremony, as a

Manianga Grouping Chief did to me.[63] I subscribe to MacGaffey's view that a Grouping Chieftaincy embodying 'invented traditions' does not preclude the practices and rituals investing them as chiefs to often involve elements of the *kikhuulu* ["oral recitation of the founding genealogy of clan/group"; also used for "Bantu tradition" in Kikongo]. For MacGaffey (2000), rituals of a chief's investiture incorporated the strongest of the ancient values (independently of whether the chieftaincy is 'invented' or not). He notes that *kikhuulu* (like other Bantu African traditions) is pervasive.

The call to chieftaincy resembles the framing of the call of a healer or diviner, who is also not able to resist it; when a person refuses the call, all involved report that it results in misfortune and endless health problems. Following the locally dominant kinship system[64], the designation of the legitimated chief happens through a consultation of the group of the eldest of the first settled clan in the territory. Among the matrilineal BaKongo people in Bas-Congo[65], the chief must come from the mother's line, in accordance with the idiom: "*The 'safoutier' tree is planted in the village of your mother, not in the village of your father*".[66] In the case of 'invented' chieftaincy this idiom tends to be applied – beginning with the generations that the chief might relate to. Many of the Grouping Chiefs in Bas-Congo interviewed could not report more than five generations back as "ancestral" legitimation of their chieftaincy. A chief's claim to be a 'medaled chief' confirms the origin of his investiture by the colonial regime, which in such a case implies legitimacy grounded in the (colonial) state administration. However, it seems that to what extent a chief respects ancestral values depends on the individual, independently of whether his origin is "medaled" (colonial) or not.

In his ritual investiture (MacGaffey 2000:136; de Heusch 1982), which is a rite of passage (Gennep ([1909] 1981), transforming the person into the reincarnation of the first settled chief[67], the chief passes through a social death, losing his former identity.[68] This is intended to lead chiefs to rigorously defend the interests of the members of their community rigorously. MacGaffey (2000: 136) reports that a chief had to demonstrate his capacity to assume responsibility for the whole community (instead of his personal interests) by killing the son of his own sister (his uterine nephew, who would normally become his personal heir). Laman (1953-67) reports that many chiefs at the beginning of the 20th century refused to commit the required murder, but submitted instead to other tests of extraordinary capacities (see MacGaffey 2000: 136). Currently, the killing of the uterine nephew is substituted in Kwango by a metaphorical ritual killing of a black goat (Devisch and Brodeur 1996a:192).[69] Chieftaincy, in its ancestral framing, appears as the most extreme expression of the required negation of the relevance of an individual personality in Bantu-speaking cultures.[70]

The source of the chief's power

As suggested above, and in contrast to approaches emphasizing administrative tasks, the source of power of BaKongo chiefs (like Mozambican chiefs) is locally determined by frames, which people relate to ancestors. Devisch (1996b:180, 1996a:130) argues that ancestral reincarnation through investiture makes chiefs mediators of reproductive and alimentary resources, supporting fertility in the cosmic and human order. MacGaffey explains: "The investiture of a chief was an example of the same kind of concatenation of persons, rules, and medicines. A great *nkisi* or *nkondi* type [powerful object]

is also a chief, mediating powers of life and death and having the capacity to judge disputes, wage war, and guarantee peace." (2000:135). This implied that "the Kongo chief's body, like a *nkisi,* was a container for power, thus placed under control and made useful." (MacGaffey 2000:13-14). Through the continuity ("reincarnation") of the first (Bantu) occupant of the territory[71], the chief is a direct mediator between the living and on that territory first settled ancestors[72], who are assumed to influence the well-being of the land[73] and the people living on it[74] (Devish 1996a, Matangila 2000; MacGaffey 2000). Moore (1986) shows for Tanzania that landownership was not a central issue in pre-colonial times –which was also the case for DRC and Mozambique–; it first became an issue in sub-Saharan Africa through the crash crop production and the exploration of natural resources. As Geissler & Prince show (2010:332) for Western Kenya, which also applies to DR Congo and Mozambique, selling land was formerly an offence against the ancestors. Meanwhile, the chiefs have become locally recognized instances in order to regulate conflicts on land. There are regions including two kinds of "chiefs", like e.g. in Kwango, where the Yaka people are regarded as the first (Bantu) occupiers, by now having the position of the *chef de la terre* [landlord], while the Luunda, who later occupied that territory, are recognized as political chiefs.[75] In both studied countries, the local chief should mediate between life and death through his direct connection to the ancestors of his territory that allows him to support fertility of all kinds (Devisch 1993a; Jacobson-Widding et al. 1990a; Fialho Feliciano 1998). In that context, chiefs are also recognized as appropriate mediators in conflicts concerning land use, which is –in the "ancestral" understanding– not a "thing" that can be owned or sold but a "person" (see Chapter Two). Land utilization is regulated in first instance –in accord to the right of the first occupier– as my informants in both countries argue.[76] However, the state declared that land is propriety of the state (see Menese 1993b:463 for Mozambique).[77] The pressures to allow private property and industrial use of land have led to continual changes since colonial times. This is reflected in the legislation, establishing land as property of the state. However, "customary rights" (in DRC or Mozambique), or "tribal land" (Griffiths 2011) or "indigenous rights" currently give some echo to "ancestral" rights in sub-Saharan Africa.[78]

The capacity for mediation implies that a chief must be initiated as a strong *ndoki* [witch] in order to be able to 'secure' peace and well-being for the living in their territory. MacGaffey (2000) argues that BaKongo chieftaincy is traditionally grounded in violence and killing, which formerly established the chief's authority by using ritual means of protection [*nkisi*], which are connoted with *kindoki* ["witchcraft"] as knowledge and power that the chief must possess.[79] Bayart (1989), Geschiere (1995, 1997) and Tonda (2009) show that the power of chiefs and politicians in Africa is still grounded in ritually 'secured' power. The BaKongo chief's legitimate power as *ndoki* [witch] allows him to control and neutralize the illegitimate malefic *bandoki* [plural of *ndoki* witches] acting in his territory. Beyond the 'moving continuity' of traditions, the "continuity concerns basic choices," as MacGaffey notes (2000:2004). I subscribe to the author that misfortune attributed to 'witches' belongs to such continuity. Like Barth (1987) and MacGaffey (2000:205) point out, traditions are ongoing social

practices, which rely on, produce, and modify the knowledge they need. The cultural innovations may often follow the internal logics (Bell 1992) of the cultural paradigms in what Pickering (1994) calls the dialectic between resistance and accommodations in the course of innovative research.

Competing legitimacies of chiefs in a hybrid world

In Bas-Congo, like other parts of DR Congo, chiefs show their 'traditional' grounding by their demonstrative use of the "hat of the chief", together with the sculpted wooden stick that also represents the chief's power[80]. I met very different chiefs in Bas-Congo and Kwango. Some did not often leave their region and seemed deeply grounded in local traditions. Others traveled, like the current paramount chief of the Lundas, the Inana Kwambu, who knows Kinshasa well but lives in a village in Kwango and respects ancestral frames. I met chiefs, who wear Western clothes, being former hospital laboratory technicians, or who had worked in Kinshasa for more than twenty years as nurses, teachers, or in the military; some of them showed a deep grounding in the local traditions while others did not. As stated above, the 'traditional' legitimacy of the chief depends on whether, in his practice, he respects the locally shared basic "ancestral" values and norms (partially borrowed from neighbors who had had 'paramount' chiefs since earlier times).

The process of the invention and reinvention of traditions has gone on in Bas-Congo for centuries, as MacGaffey (2000) describes. Such processes characterize the dynamic of any culture, and do not mean that no ancestral norms and values are at play. The question, rather, is which values dominate in each chief's actions. The mixing of new requirements with the social, spiritual, and cosmological approaches that are locally recognized as "ancestral" implies the local appropriation of external influences (e.g. of Christian or of the written law values), changing the economic, social, religious, and political contexts (see Meyer 1998; Behrend 1997, 2011; Langwick 2011). Following Comaroff (1999), e.g. the shift of *moral economy* (Sahlins 1972) to a liberal market economy that significantly augments the inequalities, led to an increase of 'witchcraft' accusation. Simultaneously, the state also appropriates the local traditions, creating new tradition. As shown above, e.g. by establishing new instances of "Big" chiefs like it is the case in Bas-Congo, or establishing "landlords" (Snyder 1981; Chanock 1985), which allows organizing and controlling the access to land. I suggest that from colonial times up to today the "cosmology" of the state includes the value and the legal framing that allows land selling and private propriety of land. In contrast this is not part of the "ancestral" cosmologies, which connote land (and water) with ancestors, regarding land as a person.

In both studied countries, it depends on the community whether the "ancestral" or non-ancestral ways predominates; this is even the case for the "invented" position of Grouping Chiefs in Bas-Congo. The question is how far the chief respects "ancestral" values, or whether he is more leaned over to follow the interests of the state or of private enterprises, willing to use or buy land, etc. Some chiefs may pretend to follow ancestral values, but still sell land or the right to use it. The use of the *moral power* of "witchcraft" (Stroeken 2010) may also allow the population to influence the way it is ruled –at least partially. The chiefs' fear of becoming socially isolated (or poisoned[81] in case of bad ruling) leads

them to use their power carefully, and to respect, as far as possible, the interests of the population. 'Witchcraft' determines the power of chiefs and also assures their control.[82]

The main legitimacy of a chief's moral authority and power comes from the ancestors.[83] When chiefs in Bas Congo do not refer to their ancestors (not evoking them at the beginning of a palaver), it may indicate that they were instated by external interests (administration, parties) or are strongly influenced by religions (e.g., Christian churches or Muslim Institutions). Since colonial times, the chiefs' legitimacy has been significantly determined by the state, whose administration recognizes them (paying Grouping Chiefs, not village chiefs)[84]. This leads to contradictory norms and interests that the chiefs have to respect. The question is how each chief balances the external interests, his own interests of power and the interests of the people he should represent, and which values he privileges.[85]

Neo-traditional law in the shadow of the former 'customary law'

In Belgian Congo, local practices in law were tolerated from colonial times until they came under the partial control of the state; the colonial power created a 'customary law', which served its interests of domination and exploitation (Akele Adau 2008a). The manipulation of local law by the colonial power still influences current local law practices, – at least indirectly.

Since its installation in Congo in 1886, the institution of written official law has been an instrument of subjugation of the African population and its domestication under colonial power (Le Roy 20004:IX). Without deepening this issue (see Appendix 6.1.), it is important to know that the 1889 legislation defined the relationship of official law to custom, recognizing "local repressive law" practiced by local chiefs in case of damages done by 'indigenes to indigenes' (Akele Adau 2008a:149). This was added in 1891 in article 5 with the restriction: "the indigenous chiefs exert their authority in accordance with the customs and habits, *provided that they are not contrary to the law or to the public order, and are in accordance with the laws of the state*…." (2008a: 149-150). The author notes that this policy implied a strategy of enslavement and the destruction of the customary juridical power for the benefit of the written criminal law, which was developed to benefit the interests of the colonial power. With the colonial administration's appropriation of power in Congo, this process transformed the endogenous ruling structures by creating regional Grouping Chieftaincies and reducing any existing local power to a so-called 'traditional authority'.

Through colonial regulation, the 'customary' juridical practices in the Belgian Congo underwent a process of transformation, reinforced by the decrees of May 12, 1910 and August 1913, which substantially limited the chiefs' rights to impose sanctions, confining them to the framework of the so-called 'customary justice' (Akele Adau 2008:150). This category implied the codification of the 'custom'[86] by the colonial state, officially instating a 'customary justice' based on a codification of some parts of the oral practices in writing (Sohier 1935). At the beginning of colonization, the Belgian colonial jurisdiction perceived the local culture (as 'custom') in Congo as contrary to law (meaning the colonial written law). The colonial power reduced the local practices in Law to certain practices and ethical/moral values which they accepted as 'custom', recognizing these in codified written form

as “Customary Law.” However, they limited the “living law” to only those local notions of law that could fit into the norms of the respective colonial power.[87] This process of transformation appeared to systematize the local practices, but in fact manipulated them by accepting only parts of them as ‘custom’. It implied a devaluation of the non-dualism (Evens 2008) implied in the “ancestral” practices in laws (see Chapter Four), which are still applied in palavers. These complex and embodied means of conflict treatment through mediation were reduced to a limited legal text aligned with official Roman-German law. However, Akele Adau (2008a) argues that this procedure also allowed a reduction in certain brutalities.

As mentioned above, Snyder (1981) demonstrated the difficulty of identifying how ancestral the current “traditional” entities are.[88] The manipulative use of so-called ‘customary justice’ to achieve political domination and economic exploitation has been analyzed by Snyder (1988) and others, (Le Roy 2004:115; Chanock 1985; Moore 1988:876[89]). In Congo, “customary law” became a ‘non-state law’ (like in Tanzania, Merry 1988:878), which was used in an apparently semiautonomous social field. Non-state law praxis in certain crucial issues concerning land or witchcraft tends to be dominated by the Western, colonial and Christian normative standards under the shape of ‘customary law’. While apparently respecting ancestral norms, the manipulated ‘customary law’ in certain cases in fact made possible the subversion of the most basic values of these (e.g., the prohibition of the selling of land[90]). Several authors noted that the transformation of local practices in the officially codified ‘customary law’ had certain advantages: Chanock (1978, 1985) argues that ‘traditional’ sanctions were extremely harsh in some respects, calling for the killing and burning of people who committed adultery or practiced witchcraft. Akele (2008) and MacGaffey (2000) report both the same and note cruel sanctioning in local law practices in the traditional context in Congo.

Colonial inheritances influencing the current local practices in law

From 1910, customary justice had only a very limited power to suppress crime; it was less repressive than police tribunals and was placed at the lowest level of the national judicial system. Akele Adau (2008a) argues that this process led to such deterioration of the endogenous jurisdiction that a reform became necessary. The reform, beginning in 1926, changed the relationship between the two types of law fundamentally. ‘Customary Law’ could only be carried out through written procedures[91]. A royal decree of May 13, 1938 merged written law and customary law in a common document. Akele Adau notes that in losing its oral mode, customary law became a modern criminal customary jurisdiction. This implied the loss of fundamental ancestral contents in the official written law: e.g., the establishment in national law of the right to own land undermined the ancestral prohibition against selling land that constituted local grounding of belonging often framed in terms of “identity” (see Snyder 1981; Le Roy 1975, 1993, 1995, 2003; Geissler and Prince 2013:332). Furthermore the criminalization of *kindoki* (or similar notions) reduced to harmful “witchcraft” undermined the non-dual notions and the complex “moral” power (see Stroeken 2010) involved in the “ancestral” framing of this paradigm (Chapter Four).

The written 'customary laws' turned sorcery/witchcraft as well as divination into infractions, whereas in the endogenous culture, the latter is perceived as a positive means of allowing the diagnostics of witchcraft (Akele Adau 2008a:151). Conflicts framed in terms of *kindoki* became criminalized through the application of a European and Christian understanding of witchcraft that is grounded in Christian inquisition[92]. This occurred by associating issues related to the realm "of the night" (dreams) and, to emotional and social issues or to 'magical manipulations' into "satanic" or "evil" practices, which could be proved to be malign "sorcery" through certain materialist "traces" of "malign manipulations" which were interpreted as facts" or "indices." It reduced this ambivalent paradigm to a disturbance of public order, whereas, as we saw, *kindoki* addresses emotions, rising material inequalities, or inequalities of knowledge and power in a multivalent paradigm. The reduction of notions like *kindoki* to harmfulness is an ideologically (and religiously) motivated distortion of local approaches. The local approaches identify the frames at play by divination and treat them with the aim of neutralizing harmfulness, and, even more than this, repairing the disturbed emotional and social body.

This historical background left deep marks in the Congolese memory and influences current practices (see Appendix 6.1). It has led to the current attempts (Akele 2008a) to include in new penal laws a prohibition and punishment of *kindoki* [witchcraft] and divination (the latter being already subject to sanctions under existing laws, which follow from former colonial laws).[93] The violence and problem of such attempts will become clearer by my descriptions of the locally used ways of living-law in order to neutralize conflicts framed through *kindoki* (sections C, D, E below). Such a development would have to neglect the dialectic and ambivalence of notions like *kindoki* –that can be 'constructive' or malign– implying knowledge and the capacity to protect, which all chiefs claim as absolutely necessary (esoteric) knowledge that secures their rule. Written law reduces the use of oracles in divination/revelation to charlatanry, while chiefs argue that these practices allow *kindoki* to be identified and allow them to deal with it (in palavers or rituals described below). When the parties involved in "witchcraft" accusations consult three various diviners/revealers of their commonly accepted choice, they tend to accept a common result reached by two different diviners/revealers (living far away). These are used as background for the community palaver conducted by chiefs and their counselors. Charlatans do exist, but oracles of many diviners or revealers continue to help reestablish the social and emotional order[94], and do so in ways that remind one of Western psychotherapeutic approaches (like family therapy in general, and family constellation in particular).

In summary, 'customary justice' as codified since its colonial creation, has involved strong distortions of local traditions. This historical process may, however, also explain the current emphasis on the limited and low-level sanctions in the mediating palavers as practiced currently in Bas-Congo. Akele Adau and Kasongo Muidinge (2008a) both argue that former Congolese endogenous practices implied brutal and arbitrary sanctions that appear to have been mostly driven out over time by colonial and postcolonial official lawmaking. This shows that the currently observed local forms of mediation,

framed as 'customary' or 'traditional justice', must be seen as the fruit of reinvented and reshaped practices. It confirms the well-known argument that culture is dynamic and is constantly being reshaped, including the "traditions" that are reshaped in their actualizations. At the same time, subscribing to authors such as Janzen (2001), Obenga (1985), MacGaffey (2000), and Devisch (1993, 1996a), I argue throughout this study that beyond dynamic transformations, there is a resilience of several paradigms in endogenous practices and values. This shows specific African approaches to deal with conflicts that differ from Western approaches dominant in the written law practices. In keeping with Barth (1987), I suggest that the identification of the values that apply in these practices becomes obvious in the frames used, which indicate which paradigm is at play – the ancestral, the Christian, the administrative, or that of official written law, applied either in parallel or in combined ways.

The current official framework of neo-traditional law in DR Congo

The local law formerly appeared in the backyard of the colonial state, and was accepted as coeval with state Law (Benda-Beckmann 2006:11; Fabian 1983). This is still the case in both studied countries, with a stronger official ambivalence in DRC. "Customary justice" was abolished in the province of Bas Congo upon the constitution of the 'Peace Tribunals' in 1978. But it is widely known that, to in a large extent, the population still uses local law, practicing mediation in palavers and rituals applied locally by chiefs and their notables. The official district courts of the Peace Tribunals are not implemented in all provinces, and when they exist, then only in urban areas. In most rural territories, the local and neo-traditional frame, under the supervision of chiefs, remains one of the main frameworks for dealing with local conflicts (Matangila 2000; Rubbers & Gallez 2012, 2015; Nzundu 2013). Even in urban areas, chiefs may be consulted (Nzundu 2013). In Bas-Congo, the province with the highest number of official "Peace Tribunals", the population makes limited use of the official law, showing little efficiency (see Pohu 2009).

'Ancestral ways' – mediating conflicts by involving *kindoki*

The observation of these practices –and their analysis with the chiefs involved and with other chiefs and notables– grounds the formulation of some basic rules and ethics, which characterize the approaches that the people relate to "ancestral ways" (see deeper analysis below in section E). In cases framed in terms of *kindoki,* one of these principles is that harmful *kindoki* can and must be fully neutralized. In the treatments of *kindoki*, the priority should be given to extractions (if harmfulness is involved), as well as to the cleansing and protection of 'bewitched' persons. Another form of neutralization is the separation of the involved *bandoki* ["witches"] as in the third case study below. In 'ancestral' approaches of *kindoki* as currently applied, a common frame holds that the persecution of *bandoki* ["witches"] does not necessarily belong to the 'ancestral' frames (Behrend 1997; Meyer 1998, 1999; Stroeken 2010). These authors have demonstrated that the persecutions of 'witches' is to a large extent a product of, or influenced by, colonial anti-witchcraft laws (Langwick 2011; Behrend 2011) as well as influenced by inquisitional approaches of Christian churches (Behrend 2009; Meyer 1998, 1999). These reduce this paradigm to evil and harmfulness, although in the understanding of chiefs,

notables and of many other kind of informants in a matrilineal context a *noki* ['witch'] is a person full of knowledge and power –like healers, the elder maternal uncle, as clan head, is the most experienced man in a Kikongo-speaking context. Instead of neutralizing harmfulness, when implied, vilifying Christian approaches construct an individualized "guilt," while *kindoki* frames uncertainty, or relations dealing with inequalities helping people to deal with envy and jealousy or it gives sense to misfortune/death.

Agencies, legitimacy and basic rules in *kinzonzi* palavers

A palaver is conducted by the clan's eldest 'uncle', when it is organized in and by the members of a clan.[95] In conflicts among the members of communities, the chief and the notables selected by the chief have the authority to conduct a palaver.[96] A basic rule is that the persons treating the cases should be impartial. The existence of conflicting normative orders and their hybrid use does not prevent basic 'ancestral' rules from being identified in the current local practices of law in Bas-Congo. For instance, all involved at the local level recognize: that, in a matrilineal society, a chief should not decide alone, but should consult his senior counselors; that access to land is in the first instance legitimized by the first clan to have settled on that land (following in Bas-Congo matrilineal rules of inheritance, and not by patrilineal rules or written documents of the state).

I agree with MacGaffey (2000) that 'invented traditions' (Mudimbe 1988), such as, for example, Grouping Chiefs in Bas-Congo, who apply hybrid methods, do not impede such chiefs to apply Bantu 'ancestral' practices (see also de Boek 1996; Devisch 1993a, 1996a). 'Invented traditions' combine elements of *kikhuulu* [Kongo traditions] with other non-ancestral frames. But as MacGaffey (2000) states, Bantu African traditions are pervasive. I subscribe to Geschiere (1996b), who asserts that the demarcation between 'traditional' and 'invented' chiefs does not automatically imply that the former is good (powerful) and the latter bad (weak). I show throughout this study that the weakening of the traditional practices by the colonial power could not destroy them all. Although Grouping Chiefs (but not village *mfumu*) were invented by the colonial power and are still used by the national power in Bas-Congo in order to control the land and its people better, the power of a chief (either of a village *mfumu* of a Grouping Chief) depends, even today, to a great extent on his moral and social authority and his *moral power*.[97] The latter is grounded (among other things) in his capacity to deal with the conflicts framed in terms of "witchcraft" while avoiding stigma, his respect for locally framed kinship rules and ritual practices, his ability to supervise access to land, and how far he consults and listens to the advice of his counselors. When a Chief acts in accordance with paradigms and values foreign to the majority of the people living on his territory, he is hardly accepted. He must perform a complex balancing act between the contradictory interests of the state and those of the people he is not "ruling" but is supposed to support. The way these interests are internalized depends basically on the positioning of the chief; when he tends to respect the "ancestral" rules as far as possible, he uses his diplomatic capacities to obtain the maximum for "his" people from the administration, simultaneously respecting 'ancestral' rules (which involve that he has to observe many "prohibitions" concerning e.g.

food and sexual intercourse that are required for the rituals that he has to perform). Chiefs, who rather seek to augment their own personal wealth or power, may often follow less ancestral requirements, listening to their notables less or not at all, acting more in accord with administrative or other external entities that allow him personally to advance, even if it is at the expense of "his" people. Notables, in the matrilineal context of Bas-Congo in DRC or of Emakhwua-, Elomwe- and Makonde-speakers (West 2005) in North Mozambique, insist that a *mfumu* or *mwene* [head] of a community must respect horizontal consultations of the *bamfumu* [heads] of the clans that live on his territory; the chief should not decide alone, but follow the advice of his counselors (Kotanyi 2003b).[98]

Ambivalences in the neo-traditional practices of law

In such a pluralist landscape of law, chiefs generally pretend to apply ancestral rules in the knowledge that, locally, their legitimacy should be based on ancestry. I have noted that even chiefs who do not respect basic ancestral values and norms can, however, describe what does or does not belong to ancestral frames. Chiefs are conscious that, locally, the ancestral frames provide the primary legitimacy of their acting in law, although they easily feel torn between this requirements and the expected loyalty to the state and/or their personal religious commitment (in DRC, mostly Christian). Chiefs must always link their practices – at least rhetorically – to ideas of descent, which they even do when their own ancestral line is not ideal: Not only that Grouping Chiefs were instated since colonial time and have only a short genealogy of chieftaincy, but in addition, some chiefs were instated recently by political or administrative interests. Additionally, a chief may easily lose the confidence of the people living on the territory he is in charge of. If he acts only in accordance with his own interests, or those of the people paying him most money or giving him advantages, or only supporting the political interests of the state; when he accepts the sale of land or supports persons to use the land even though they have little ancestral right to it. This is also the case when he follows the interests of his own Christian beliefs (using terms of "guilt" and "sin" to deal with conflicts framed in terms of *kindoki* ["witchcraft"]) more than appropriate.[99] In contrast to village chiefs, the state influences the actions of the Grouping Chiefs to a certain degree (by paying them a retainer), which implies the duty of Grouping Chiefs to respect national or administrative laws (explaining the ambivalence of their position)[100]. Besides those grouping and village chiefs who tend to respect local Bantu traditions, there are numerous grouping or village chiefs who are either former members of the state administration, members of a party or personally committed to a Christian church, and who are all influenced by different normative orders. This kind of chief differs from those trying to serve the interests of the people. I met both kinds; both positions may even appear in the same person, in alternating ways. In such a pluralistic patchwork of norms, the question is to what degree chiefs know and respect, not only in rhetoric, but also in practice, the locally grounded Bantu rules. This means, for instance, respecting the endogenous obligation of consultation between chiefs and the people (Ray at al. 1996) in the sense that "a chief should not decide alone." Although (neo-)traditional chiefs stand amidst the tensions between strong economic and political pressures, their own power interests and the interests of their

population, I nonetheless suggest that the power of the oral modes of transmission and the local capacities for adjusting frames of "ancestral" paradigms to new realities should not be underestimated.[101] Ambivalence is inherent in chieftaincies as 'guardians of tradition' mediating the past and present for the future (Trotha 1996), by simultaneously striving to serve as an agency for modernization (Geschiere 1993); their involvement in economic and political interests and simultaneously in cosmological (ritual) tasks differentiate chiefs from other groups within civil society (Rouveroy (1996:48). Rouveroy (1996:45) argues that chiefs possess a remarkable resilience in adapting to social and political changes, playing a crucial role in socioeconomic transformations. Although all these arguments apply for DR Congo, there are chiefs in Bas-Congo who use the social, political, and economic structures to become part of new entrepreneurial elite. When this occurs, it easily hinders such chiefs in defending the interests of the population. I subscribe to Rouveroy that chiefs' room to maneuver is created by the gap between the state administration and the social context of the majority of citizens embedded in different life-worlds. This gap gives chiefs ambivalent legitimacies, allowing them to play a significant role in decentralization and democratization processes.[102]

The diverse sources of legitimacy of chiefs challenge observers to verify in each case that interests their actions follow. I observed the intermediary role of chiefs in both Mozambique and Southwest DR Congo. Chiefs can follow personal political/economic interests by hiding behind a diffusely defined 'tradition' (Bayart 1989, 1991) and are not totally controlled by the political or economic elites (Ray and Rouveroy 1996:7). Chiefs are masters in developing strategies to subvert official Law, transforming it to benefit their own interests (Geschiere 1989; Rouveroy 1996:55, Devisch 1981, 1996a). The hybridism applied by many chiefs allows them to mobilize divergent means of power from different worlds (Rouveroy 1996; Vaughn 1988), making them leaders able to constantly switch between diverging worlds (Roy at al. 1996:24). In summary, syncretism and neo-traditionalism do not stop chiefs from basing their actions on 'tradition', although this might be in part reinvented.

C - Second palaver involving 'ndoki-children'

Description of an inefficient mix of diverging approaches

In the district of Bas-Fleuve, we were confronted with the case of an orphan girl, Muana, who was eight years old. She lived with three other orphan children in a rural community, where two women cared for them: Ms. Nkama, an educator, and her sister, Ms. Nkuekise, who cooked for them. It was the Grouping Chief Kiefu of this area, who asked the population to rent a house for the women and the orphan children; they were forced to move from their previous place of residence (having been involved in a *kindoki* ['witchcraft'] accusation).[103] The villagers, mistrusting them, did not want to rent them a house. However, under the pressure of Chief Kiefu, Ms. Sylvie, the main woman supporting the *mfumu* [head/chief of village][104] of her village, Kinkekisi, neighboring the main village, Mbata Bikueya, rented a house to the women and the children. The children lived in her village Kinkuekisi for more than a year. At some point, one of the orphans, Muana, accused seven young people living

around Ms. Sylvie of having done *kindoki* ['witchcraft'] together with her (in the night), making Ms. Nkuekise sick. Ms. Nkuekise had been sick for some time, and the hospital had been unable to identify the cause of her illness. In such cases, people tend to assume *kindoki* to be the only possible cause, an etiology applied to issues lacking explanations and for which the treatments at the hospital do not help.

I observed the first hearing that Chief Kiefu organized in the main village Mbata Bikueya. The meeting was intended to inform the Grouping Chief Kiefu, who did not live in this region. He had assumed the chieftaincy of this grouping one and a half years before as the first of his clan to occupy this function. He became the Grouping Chief on the basis of the pressure of the sector administration, which had evicted the former chief living in the village. Chief Kiefu lived in the city.

This first hearing was an explosive situation in which Chief Kiefu conducted a public cross-examination of each adult named by the child Muana as having acted with her in bewitching the sick Ms. Nkuekise. The accusing Muana claimed that she and the seven named adults "tied" [105] (bewitched) Ms. Nkuekise in the night, "imprisoning" her and making her sick. During this hearing, Ms. Sylvie was at the center of the debates as a witness defending the group of young adults living around her (including her son) whom the child Muana accused of being *bandoki* ["witches"]. Ms. Sylvie was not accused by the child, but several people in her surroundings were accused and she herself felt implicated by the accusations of this orphan child who was living in one of her houses. Ms. Sylvie was especially repelled that, as a result of her good will, she now was confronted with such an ugly complication! She was willing to clarify her situation: She said in the hearing with the chief that she wanted to know if she "entered" (unwillingly) in the child, even though she fiercely denied that she was involved in *kindoki*. The idea of "entering" into another person activates by *kindoki* or similar notions of "witchcraft" the "sensory intrusive code" discussed by Stroeken, which is framed as illicit and harmful, "with strong social, cultural, mental and physical relevance" (2008:479) in order to restore balance.

However, the procedure applied by Chief Kiefu did not seem to correspond to the usual approach. First, we observed that his questions and reactions to the responses were not impartial. With each of his interventions, commenting on the responses of the 'accused' or interrogating them, Chief Kiefu aggressively demonstrated his prejudiced view that the adults 'accused' by the child Muana must definitely be *bandoki* ["witches"]. He justified his persecutory behavior with the argument: "…we *bandoki*, we are able to muddle the people!" He was referring here to the 'constructive' (West 2005a) witchcraft that any chief must have in order to be able to protect the members of his community, and which all of the involved indeed assume to be necessary. *Kindoki* ['witchcraft'] is seen as, above all, knowledge that enables one to discover any *ndoki* [witch][106] using this ability to do harm. Chief Kiefu also argued that a small child like Muana was innocent and thus could not lie. This assumption is based on the idea that a virgin girl that is not yet menstruating must be 'cool'; both of these states are traditionally considered to be fundamentally 'clean', which Chief Kiefu interpreted (by jumping into another paradigm, that of written law) as 'innocent.'[107] In questioning each adult 'accused' by the

child Muana –four young women and three men–, the chief behaved as if he were pursuing necessarily lying 'witches' (the questioned adults). Instead, he could (as I saw an other chief do) have listened impartially to the persons implicated as a result of the child's accusations based on her dreams, phantasms and her fears for the life of Ms. Nkuekise. A Chief Kiefu would in such a case have to send those involved in such accusations to consult several diviners (following ancestral frames) or revealers (following Christian frames) of their choice to obtain independent, external expert opinions.

Some days later, Chief Kiefu sent his son as a witness to accompany Ms. Sylvie, the child Muana, and her educator, Ms. Nkama, in consulting Mother Elalie[108], who was chosen by Chief Kiefu, who supposed that she was a *mmbikudi* [revealer]. Mother Elalie, who lived an hour and a half by car from village Kinkuekisi, declared that she was not a revealer, but merely treated *ndoki* [witch] children. She also remarked that this child Muana urgently needed treatment. The delegation went back to the village without the expected oracle, annoyed by the time, energy, and money the journey had cost.

Instead of letting the involved persons choose their own diviners or revealers, Chief Kiefu came to the village two days later with a group of four so-called revealers, declaring that the palaver would take place after their revelation. The four young men presented themselves as experienced revealers; although the chief met them by chance, the villagers had previously had bad experiences with them. They organized the space for their revelation inside a house by putting small colored statues on the ground, one with a lit cigarette, and a few lit candles between them producing a great show with shouts and special light effects in order to impress. One of the practitioners was dressed in red, the other in white, the third in a long green dress; all basic colors of the Kimbanguist Christian religion, the founder of which, Simon Kimbangu, was born in the main village Mbata Bikueya.[109] The practitioner dressed in white conducted the revelation, while another hid behind a door speaking with a deep voice, making noise, and producing fire as if it were a thunderstorm. This artificial performance deeply disturbed the people, who are not used to revelation being performed in "secrete"[110] (inside of a house) with this kind of unaccustomed exhibition.[111] Ms. Sylvie categorically refused to enter the room. It was obvious that the four men were not acting in accordance with the locally recognized practices. The rejection of the people was so strong that the four men had to leave the village very quickly. Villagers explained to us that this group of revealers [*mmbikudi*] had come to their village a few months before, pretending to perform divination. They had taken a lot of money from them, and they had provoked the people by jumping around naked (a horrible lack of respect). Finally one of them had gone away with Ms. Sylvie's daughter, who remained with him as his lover for weeks. This explained the population's vehement rejection of these practitioners, whom they viewed as charlatans. Nevertheless, during their session of 'revelation', one of the four *mmbikudi* listened to the child Muana, who again named many adults whom she claimed to have been involved in her *kindoki* against Ms. Nkuekise. Although these *mmbikudi* did not proceed in accordance with local practices, one of them argued with Ms. Sylvie that he did not see in her any *ndoki*, but saw that Muana needed

treatment – a statement matching the observation made by Mother Elalie a few days earlier in a village far away.[112]

The case could not be solved: the palaver held after the four so-called revealers had left led to nothing. From the perspective of Ms. Sylvie and the people in her village, Chief Kiefu had demonstrated ignorance of the ways accepted by the villagers for dealing with such accusations. Ms. Sylvie argued that he followed only his own political and economic interests, misusing his power. The neighboring Grouping Chief, Ambroise, who was called by Chief Kiefu to help him, was in despair. Everything was going wrong from the perspective of his experience in handling such cases. According to Chief Ambroise, in case of a *kindoki* [witchcraft] accusation, the people involved should choose their own diviner or revealers; the chief should just send his witness, without deciding whom they should consult. Chief Ambroise noted that the discussion during the palaver had led nowhere. First, the required results of several independent oracles or revelations were missing before the palaver had started; in the absence of such useful means of achieving acceptable mediation between the involved persons, there was no basis on which to make any decision that could be accepted by the involved parties. Second, the form of the palaver was not respected; Chief Kiefu did not even listen when Chief Ambroise was speaking, and thereby failed to respect the most basic rule of a palaver: that the chief listens to his counselors. The whole situation was chaotic. The palaver ended with the upset Chief Kiefu finally sending the involved people to revealers of their own choice. The educator Ms. Nkama and her sister, the sick woman, left the village with the orphan children. Beyond this, there was no solution to the case. Finally, the provoked arrest of the chief of Ms. Sylvie's village on the basis of false arguments was perceived locally and by the central administration as an abuse of power by Chief Kiefu[113]; the next day, the arrested chief of Sylvie's village was freed by the administration and Chief Kiefu disappeared from both involved villages for more than a year, before he came back.[114]

Consequences of the partiality of the chief

There are many confusions in this case, the treatment of which disrespected several basic "ancestral" rules, insofar as the people connote them with "ancestral ways". I will only discuss two aspects: the behavior of Chief Kiefu, and the involvement of the four practitioners that Chief Kiefu presented as revealers but whom the people of the involved village regarded as charlatans.

The manner of Chief Kiefu in handling this case diverged significantly from the restrained way in which chiefs behaved in both of the other described cases above and below. It started with the way the Chief gained knowledge about the case, which was questionable. Instead of just listening together with a group of notables, the Chief had only one elder counselor at his side. Chief Kiefu conducted a cross-examination of each adult named by the child Muana as *ndoki* [witch], without showing any doubt that the persons named by the child were *bandoki* ["witches"]. While the interrogated persons rejected having an *ndoki* relationship with the child, Chief Kiefu interrogated them as if he was a hunter or a prejudiced police inspector in a criminal case. His acting neglected the basic fact that the imaginary in the framing of *kindoki* predominates, and also what it does to listeners; it is not involved in a search

for an "objective" truth. It deals much more with the relationships between people, allowing a reweaving on the personal and on the clan level, –which is not a criminal issue. In this case, the issue was the fear of uncertainty of the child Muana that the sick Ms. Nkuekise might die.
The night before the day marked for the palaver, Chief Kiefu declared to the state authorities of the district that the chief of village Kinkuekisi (who had formerly ruled both villages Mbata Bikueya and Kinkuekisi) had disrespected him as Grouping Chief, and therefore he had asked the district police headquarters to arrest him. The population of the village was shocked; Ms. Sylvie explained to us that Chief Kiefu wanted control of the profitable business in wood that she and the people in her village had developed. Beyond these economic and political interests of Chief Kiefu, several informants argued that the educator, Ms. Nkama, was his lover.
Beside such "insider" arguments of the members of village Kinkuekisi, however, the greatest cause of disturbance in handling this case was (according to Chief Ambroise) that Chief Kiefu did not let the "accused" persons seek out the expertise of the required revealer on their own. Normally, when the chief sends his own witness to accompany the conflicting parties, this person will later report during the palaver as a witness of the divinations/revelations[115]. By choosing his son to witness the visit to Mother Elalie, Chief Kiefu sent a person to Mother Elalie who was not there of her own free decision (Ms. Sylvie), meaning that a basic condition that would allow Ms. Sylvie to accept the results of the consulted 'experts' was missing. Further, the consulted healer (Mother Elalie) was not a revealer. It became worse when Chief Kiefu later selected practitioners without any local credibility – and brought them to the village. Chief Kiefu told us that he did not know anything about revelation, but he brought 'charlatans' to a village where these practitioners had been discredited.

Although Chief Kiefu asked the neighboring Chief Ambroise[116] to support him during the palaver, he did not listen to his advice; even when other counselors of the village gave their opinion, Chief Kiefu did little to take their arguments into account. Chief Kiefu excessively mixed several non-endogenous paradigms (of the administration, the police, and written law) in an "ancestral" context in a form of hybridism that impeded the efficacy of the palaver, which is intended to mediate, not to judge like in a tribunal. Treating a social and emotional conflict framed through *kindoki* ["witchcraft"] as a criminal issue, Chief Kiefu made mediation impossible. Although he declared adequately at the first hearing that *kindoki* is an issue of dreams and of the night, he treated it as if the issue was a material criminal case of the daytime, and as if he was a judge of an official tribunal of written law. Specifically this point make this case relevant, given that it is a tendency usual in official tribunals, when they treat conflicts framed in the paradigm of *kindoki* in mixing diverging paradigms inadequately.
An excess of hybridism appeared in the manner in which Chief Kiefu approached the issue of *kindoki* ["witchcraft"], in his pre-judging attitude during his questioning of the people accused by the child Muana as if they were "guilty," and as if *kindoki* were an issue of 'guilt'. The notion of guilt is a Christian and/or written law paradigm, although in the latter, the accused has to be treated as not guilty until any "guilt" is proved. In the "ancestral" notion of *kindoki*, it is not about "guilt" but it implies the

idea of unwillingly "entering" into another person, which is not an issue of "guilt." Neither the mere recognition of the problem nor a punishment will be able to resolve it. Not only *kindoki* is assumed to be unwilling, but, once identified (through divination/revelation), it can and needs to be cleansed, treated and the involved harmfulness can and must be neutralized. Stroeken (2004) analyses the "identification" at work showing the therapeutic effects of divination, which allows "imagining the affliction no longer as an execution in name of the world at large [*the kin, community members etc*.], (…) but as the making of a particular angry ancestor or a vicious neighbor" (2004:18). According to Stroeken, given that it is the social that the afflicted experiences as problematic, fearing isolation and exclusion, the switch from the "generalized Other" to the labeling of a particular figure by naming the "witch" is part of the solution to crisis. I suggest that such designation does most often not lead to the persecution in terms of killing the "witch"; often even the following rituals (of neutralization) are postponed or just partly performed (see Stroeken 2004:19, 2010). Alone the divination that designates the source of the disorder outside of the sufferer offers a release in itself, by "breaking the silence experienced by the victim" (Stroeken 2004:21). Stroeken means with "identification" (a term that I can hardly use in accord to my discussion in Chapter Seven) a temporary stage in a particular process of transformation of the suffering person during the divination; this designation liberates the sufferer and remains most often in the realm of virtuality of becoming without needing to have consequences for the "identified" person (as I observed in the Emakhuwa context discussed in Chapter Four).

When *kindoki* has malign effects (which is not always the case), it is presumed to be grounded in attitudes or "acts" in the "night" (in dreams, addressing emotions), which also in Western categories would be more closely related to psychology than to criminality. It is in this "ancestral" sense that the seven accused adults as well as Ms. Sylvie assumed that the discussed issue concerned unconscious and unwilling *kindoki*. Sylvie said that she wanted to know if she behaved like a *ndoki* [witch] – which implies that it occurred unwillingly. The accused also wanted to know if they themselves were (unwillingly) acting as *bandoki* [witches]. However, Chief Kiefu, instead of calling for a mediation, transformed the situation of a palaver to something resembling a criminal inquiry; in addition, he prejudged the "accused" and confused the presumed *kindoki* with factual "daytime" criminality, taking as "proof" the testimony of a frightened child. In this case of *kindoki* accusations, the chief and his notable acted in a neo-traditional setting as if they were conducting a trial (in written law) without respecting impartiality as required in written law and also necessary in lived-law. Chief Kiefu always had a table in front of him at each meeting with the population, frontally demonstrating his administrative and repressive power of the state. An "ancestral way" would involve a circle of counselors who, together with the chief, would seek the best way to deal with the conflict. In conclusion, this case shows the ineffectiveness when several basic frames required in order to achieve successful mediation in *kindoki* accusations are missing: first, the conflicting parties themselves must choose the (diviner/revealer) experts identifying if *kindoki* is at stake[117]; second, the chief and his notables should be impartial; and third, the applied means should seek a mediation, not prevent it.

D - Third palaver involving the separation of two 'ndoki-children'

In this third case of neutralizing harmful *kindoki*, the father of a child (a ten-year-old girl) accused a neighboring child (of similar age) of bewitching his daughter. The mediation was conducted by the old, very experienced and widely recognized big chief Bungalo in the area of Mbanza Ngungu in the district of Catarate, who supervised 47 villages. His family had provided the Grouping Chief for five generations (illustrating the colonial construction of the Grouping Chieftaincy in this province[118]). Apparently Chief Bungalo often conducted such palavers alone (as Richard Lumbika documented in a former video); nevertheless, he seemed to seek and listen to the advice of his counselor, Mr. Kalomba. In this case, Chief Bungalo invited several chiefs of surrounding villages to support him along with Mr. Kalomba. Before the palaver, Chief Bungalo sent a witness to accompany both involved families in consulting three revealers chosen by both involved families. These consultations took several months before the case could finally be treated in a palaver.

At the beginning of the palaver, Chief Bungalo sat down surrounded by a half-circle made up of the group of notables supporting him. Sitting on chairs in front of him were the fathers of both of the involved children. The palaver remained oral; nobody took minutes and there was no table. The accusing child was present. The 'accused' child was not; her father represented her. The participating population played an important role during this palaver, responding to the calls of the chief and showing through exclamations and by singing songs their agreement with the course of events. It became obvious that the chief and his notables were highly respected by the population, which in turn enjoyed the respect of the chief and his notables.
At the beginning of the palaver, Chief Bungalo asked a person to pray, instead of evoking his ancestors. A man addressed a prayer to the ancestor Kimbangu[119], the most recognized Congolese prophet since colonial times, who is seen as a Congolese 'Christ' in an endogenous version of Christianity combining Congolese frames with Baptist, Pentecostal, and Protestant or Evangelic Christianity. This prayer was the single direct reference to Christianity during this palaver, which thereafter followed the ancestral frames.

Chief Bungalo presented to the participants the reasons for the palaver, explaining that the parents of the accusing girl had come to him claiming that the neighboring girl had bewitched their daughter, and that he had sent them to consult three revealers of their choice. Chief Bungalo requested the witness to relate what had happened at the consultations with the revealer. The witness related details of how the first and then the second revealer treated the case, both concluding that the accused girl had bewitched the claiming girl. The second revealer explained that the bewitchment had happened through the use of bewitched green onions that the *ndoki* ['witch'] child had given the 'victim' girl. The referring witness exhibited green onions, declaring, "These onions bewitched the girl." One of the consulted revealers had also called the accused *'ndoki'* child by name, although direct naming of the presumed *ndoki* should be avoided. Usual approaches are through metaphors. Mother Elalie (in the second case-study)

did not say: “This child is *ndoki*” [‘witch’] but stated: “This child must be treated”[120]. The issue does not concern a penal tribunal or a fixing ‘guilt’ or even a transgression of the official law, but suspicions of *kindoki* [‘witchcraft’] belong to the world of suggestion and contingency.

After the account by the witness, Chief Bungalo asked the father representing the (absent) accused child if he accepted the diagnosis of both of the consulted revealers. The father declared that he accepted it. The notables retired with the chief for a consultation; after their return, a notable informed both parties about the decision: The family of the accused child who “*entered into the other family”* should give a pig and a measure of palm wine as compensation, in accordance with the tradition. Because of the shame inflicted by the accusation of being *ndoki* [‘witch’], a goat should be given as compensation. And the accusing family should “pay” compensation in the form of two measures of palm wine for the “tiredness” of the chief and notables, while the family of the accused child should give them the value of two cases of beer. Both fathers negotiated with the chief, seeking a reduction in the amount of the compensation for the chief and notables, until they agreed.[121] Once the level of all compensations had been accepted, both fathers handed over the compensation of the notables to the chief, who proposed to both fathers that they perform the separation of the involved two *bandoki*, their children. The fathers agreed. With his counselors, the chief prepared the ritual treatment, which I will describe below after discussing some observations of this palaver.

Analyses of the case

The Grouping Chief Bungalo conducted this palaver with comfortable authority. He says that he has had cases of *kindoki* [‘witchcraft’] every month since 1988, when he became chief. This supports the argument that *kindoki* is of relevance to very current social conflicts. Like Chief Fatuma of S. (above in the first case-study) and Chief Ambroise in the second case-study, Chief Bungalo let the involved families seek out the revealers of their choice on their own. During the entire palaver, he did not mix up either actions or paradigms, which would have followed other rules or logic than those of the Bantu local “ancestral” approach to neutralizing harmful *kindoki*. The only moment at which he used another paradigm was at the beginning of the palaver, when he proposed that a prayer be said. Kimbangu, as the Congolese Christ, stands in for the plurality of the local ancestors of the chief (whom a chief normally evokes at the beginning of a palaver) and of the participants. This Christian prayer did, however, not influence the rest of the procedure of this palaver.

This palaver was conducted according to the ‘traditional’ or ‘ancestral’ framing of *kindoki* [‘witchcraft’]: stigmatizing notions of personal ‘guilt’ were avoided. On the contrary, with the ritual separation of the involved *bandoki* [‘witches’], everything possible was done to achieve a definite neutralization of the involved harmful *kindoki*, treating the social and emotional disorder between the two families in an original and locally approved way. This example shows, that when hybridism is applied to a minor extent, it is possible to combine diverging paradigms without missing the necessary goals; it needs sensibility and respect to achieve the required aims. The analysis of this case shows that

one element of Christianity (the prayer requesting protection) was introduced, but still strictly in accordance with the 'ancestral' frames, respecting the most important endogenous logic and practices of mediation required to efficiently neutralize malefic *kindoki*. This shows how Kimbanguism, as Congolese version of Christianity, can be successfully combined with ancestral frames, supporting the mediation and avoiding producing stigmatization of the persons involved with *kindoki* accusation.[122]

Christianity is also at play in this case. The explanations of the mother of the involved 'victim' girl show that several 'revelations' made in churches were at the heart of their complaint: "We felt a call from the Holy Spirit telling us that the child was bewitched. In our neighbors, diseases like malaria, typhoid fever, blood perfusion and transfusions appeared. The bad spirits were disturbing us in the night. (…) Even before that, our church counseled us to leave this place, because our child was bewitched. (…) This revelation was confirmed by five different revealers." Despite the fact that the revelations happened in churches, the frames involved correspond to the ancestral Bantu ones. The mother of the 'victim' child interprets the misfortunes and health problems of neighboring families as provoking the 'bad spirits' and disturbing the wellbeing of her own child. She does not mean disturbance through 'bad' wandering spiritual beings, but the bad dreams provoked by *kindoki* ['witchcraft']. Importantly, the repeated bad dreams[123] of the daughter are not seen as her individual problem; they are interpreted as a sign of a lack of wellbeing in the whole family, whose disorders are expressed in the bad dreams of the daughter[124], signalizing malign intrusion. This is a typical characteristic of the 'ancestral' traditional approach to wellbeing (Chapter Five). The parents were relieved and satisfied after the palaver with the ritual of the separation of both *bandoki* children.

It is significant how matter-of-fact the approach of all the involved persons to *kindoki* was. It was obvious that both fathers, as well as the child present at the palaver as a 'victim' of *kindoki*, perceived the manner of approaching *kindoki* and treating the conflict as adequate. However, it was obvious that the father representing the 'accused' child had never before participated in such a ritual of separation of *bandoki* [witches]; he was not accustomed to rituals obliging one to eat a drop of the blood of a sacrificed chicken. But, accepting the results of the revelations of the consulted revealers, he assumed the necessity of doing all of the ritual steps to allow the neutralization of the harmful effects of the *kindoki* identified in his family. His hesitation made it clear that this was not easy for him, but he seemed relieved to be able to neutralize the social conflicts with his neighbors.

Most relevant for the efficiency of the procedure of mediation is that all of the involved persons shared a similar understanding of what *kindoki* might imply. The interviews after the palaver demonstrated that the ritual procedures used allow an approach to conflicts attributed to *kindoki* that does not stigmatize the involved persons. The father of the 'accused' child explained:

> "We are at least satisfied to have been to the revealer, who confirmed that there was *kindoki* at play in our family. The revealer told us that my daughter gave onions to the neighboring girl, and that it changed totally the things of the night." And the uncle of the 'accused' girl added: "The person that bewitched our child is still unknown, but I am satisfied about the treatment of

> the case. But, the problem is not yet resolved, because we still have to find out who bewitched our child. We are seeking peace in both families; it is the person we are searching for who will have to pay for the broken pots!"

This statement by the uncle affirms the song that the participating population sang at the end of the ritual separating the two *bandoki*: "*Kindoki* never ends; *kindoki* remains on earth!" The *kindoki* paradigm is a commonly shared piece of wisdom (Devisch 2002, 2003c, 2005a, 1996a, 2015). To demonize *bandoki* ['witches'] does not help, while a careful approach can neutralize the emotions and conflicts at play. The findings show that the described ritual approaches to separate two involved *ndoki* provide efficient means of transforming the conflicts. Neither judicial nor religious ways involving exclusion, sanctions or, even less, punishments would help in such cases; it is the social tensions and emotions at play that must be treated in an adequate way.

Both families involved explained to us that they prefer using the traditional way of treating such an issue. The father of the "bewitched" child explained: "We want the costume with the chief, in accord to our tradition. It is better, especially because of the too high expenses of the official justice courts." The participating notables argued afterward that the official law does not have adequate means to neutralize *kindoki*, and that the official judges neither know how to separate two *bandoki* [witches], nor how to protect the people against future attacks. This implies incapacity to neutralize the harmfulness at work, not treating the conflicts but perhaps even exacerbating them after official verdicts[125]. In my view, this is a relevant argument, showing that written law may perhaps best avoid treating issues involving *kindoki* (when to killing occurred), given that written law misses the necessary and adequate means to approach *kindoki*. Chief Bungalo observed that *kindoki* is even stronger in cities, but said that the state does not take enough restrictive measures. He claims that legislation should include the fight against (harmful) *kindoki* and argues: "…perhaps they use occult forces themselves, which would explain why they don't act against it." This observation confirms the descriptions of Bayart, 1991, and of Geschiere 1995.

The notable Mr. Kalomba argued that not only is *kindoki* not diminishing currently, it is, on the contrary, increasing, and has changed from an issue concerning only one's own kinship to one also involving people outside the family. This observation concurs with the arguments of Comaroff and Comaroff et al. (1999) and Geschiere (1997, 1998) of the increase in witchcraft accusations in modernity. Kalomba adds: "Currently, a person living in the city may contaminate another person in the village, and this goes from generation to generation. It is *kindoki* through 'contamination'. *Kindoki* increases in the cities, because there is nobody recognized to have the competence, like the chief, to treat it adequately, as we do it here." In cities, the inequalities are more visible and stronger than in rural areas. This increases envy and jealousy, which is framed as *kindoki* (see Chapter Four).

Christian commitments don't impede independent decision-making

To close the circle of my reflection on the relation of Christian religious approaches of *kindoki* [witchcraft] to the traditional approach that people use to relate to their ancestors, I will briefly analyze

the distance of Chief Bungalo and his main elder counselor from their Christian Kimbanguist involvement. Despite the invocation of Kimbangu at the beginning of the palaver by praying to him, Chief Bungalo and his notables maintain their own (ancestral) opinion and take their own decisions, which do not necessarily follow all the advice that Kimbanguist pastors may give them. Kalomba argued as follows in 2011:

> The pastors do not recognize the *kindoki* [‘witchcraft’] of protection, because they do not know the custom; they see a contradiction in the custom, which uses the protective *kindoki* as well as the harmful *kindoki*. They can’t differentiate the two. At the same time, they are not able to treat *kindoki* by separating the *bandoki* [witches] and they cannot protect all involved – which is the only way to neutralize its harmfulness. The pastors are afraid to lose their followers and tell them not to accept the custom! But we say that there are two sorts of *kindoki*: the first is the one in the family, which protects, and the second brings bad luck..

To this clear summary of the contradictions between Christian churches and traditional approaches to witchcraft, Chief Bungalo adds: “When I was in Nkamba, in the Kimbanguist school, in 1956, we saw that among the 200 pastors certain ones were *bandoki*, while they were teaching us religion. These pastors were sending bad luck to the children, who were dying”.

Both statements show what I also observed in Mozambique in the context of health: beyond participating in a Christian religion, many Bantu-speaking people differentiate between what they can share with their religion and what they cannot. My observation in DR Congo and Mozambique is that sub-Saharan African followers of the most divergent Christian churches (as well as those involved in Islamic religion, e.g. in North Mozambique) often decide themselves which Christian or Islamic religious teachings they are prepared to follow, and which ones they do not want to follow (without publicly acknowledging such limits). The pluralistic and interdependent notion of the person determines that people perfectly assume and combine quite divergent and even contradictory paradigms, not following only one unique ‘belief’, but appreciating the richness of a plural belonging by making their own choices. There is a dialectical way to deal with ancestors, just as with *kindoki* [‘witchcraft’]: both are most sensitive issues and are deeply grounded in one’s own social and cultural identity. People make their own decisions, evaluating what they require, and what they “must” keep alive as part of their own practices in order to secure their wellbeing. This flexibility of using several paradigms, knowing (and separating) which belong to which diverging context, documents the dynamic of culture and of the so-called tradition, showing that an adherence to a Christian or Islamic religion does not imply the abandonment of one’s deeply grounded ancestral convictions and practices, transmitted from generations to generations, and which people frame as their own culture.

Such syncretism does not necessarily mean the loss of one’s own traditions, which people may continue to apply with often quite superficial changes including (new) religious practices and beliefs. In such cases I speak of complementary uses (or of syncretism), not of hybridism, which appears more when fundamental inherent frames are disrespected, leading to the loss of the basic notions involved in

the main paradigms at play. For instance, the use of public confessions concerning *kindoki*, by repeating the confessions several times, does not lead to neutralization of harmful *kindoki*, which requires extractions, cleansing and protection. Together with Tobie Nathan (1994), and in the line of Sanders (2001, 2003) and Stroeken (2010), I argue that *kindoki* neutralization is not an issue concerning beliefs, but that it is, first and foremost, related to the requirement of the people to achieve efficacy (in the neutralization of *kindoki* when it is harmful, or to secure ancestors' protection for the well-being of the living). Such requirements are perceived almost as practical issues, not as beliefs.

Final neutralization through a ritual separating the '*bandoki*' – "witches"

When two *bandoki* [witches] are involved, people in Bas-Congo consider the best way to neutralize the harmfulness is to perform a ritual separating the two involved *bandoki*. The involvement of two persons as *bandoki* implies that both have come excessively near to each other; through their common *kindoki* seen as power of intrusion, they have lost a healthy distance to each other and become "too hot". This dangerous state will also affect the family members with whom they live. The ritual of separation has several consequences: besides separating the two *bandoki*, it provides prepared objects that allow both of the involved sides to secure protection against future *kindoki* attacks. This preoccupation with protection (as prevention) corresponds to Horacio's treatment of neutralization of *okwhiri* ['witchcraft' in Emakhuwa] in Mozambique (Chapter Four), where the extraction of the harmfulness and the ritual "sending back of the 'bewitchment'" is combined with protecting the person against future attacks.

There are many ways to achieve the aims of neutralization of harmfulness and of protection. In Bas-Congo, before starting the ritual of separation, the Chief Bungalo and his notable, Kalomba, prepared two protective objects with a very thorny plant that they rolled up with barbed wire. Starting the ritual, Chief Bungalo explained that this ritual comes from their ancestors. He made a cross in the earth, saying that the end of *kindoki* is always death. He let palm wine run onto the ground while saying: - "When somebody has died, before burying him, we hold a palaver, for which we use palm wine. Here is the palm wine for the ancestors; a death is accompanied with a cola nut and with wine, for…?" All participants responded: - "For respect!" The chief declared that all that was done in this ritual corresponded to the satisfaction of the ancestors, which the participants acclaimed with a shout. –

The ritual separation of two witches

The chief told the father of the accused (absent) child to stand on his right and the girl identified as 'bewitched' to stand on his left with her father. The chief placed a cock on the cross that he had just traced in the earth between them, and let both of the involved sides pull the cock. Together with the father of the absent accused child, the 'bewitched' girl (with her father behind her) then had to cut off the head of the cock. The chief and the assisting notables took the flowing blood of the cock and put it on both prepared objects of protection rolled up with barbed wire. A notable woman sitting to the side observed, satisfied: "This is the way that we separate two *bandoki*!" This ritual approach shows the central wisdom of breaking with the hierarchy of accuser and accused. And the chief presented some

blood of the cock to the father of the accused child, saying: “Lick just a little bit.” The father hesitated but finally took a drop of the blood of the sacrificed cock and put it on his tongue. The chief asked the ‘bewitched’ girl to do the same, and she took a drop of the blood without any hesitation and put it on her tongue. The assisting notable woman commented in the background: “You, who are eating people!” (Referring to *kindoki* all involved persons are in danger to become *bandoki* “witches” and does need the ritual separation, avoiding that this “excesses of narrowness” produces new harm).

The chiefs advised both involved parties to repeat after him the *n-siku* [prohibition] formulas that the father of the ‘accused’ child first proclaimed: “As of today, we are resolving the problem, which does not come from us; it is our ancestors who left it to us. As of today, you and I, we are separated. Each one will now remain at home. If one goes by the other, they will be surprised by…death!” The father of the ‘bewitched’ girl says: “This practice is our heritage from our ancestors. As of today we separate. Thus we separate for good!” And the woman notable commented in the background: “You, with your clan, and they stay with their family in their home.” Both fathers repeated this sentence, adding: “Nobody should enter into my home starting from today. As we have broken the plate, it is finished. The *bandoki* are separated.” The chief advised the father of the ‘accused’ child to repeat the same, which he did. The chief took the plate full of the blood of the cock, with all the rest of the blood, and put it all on the middle of the cross on the ground. He requested two sticks, which he gave to the father of each involved child. The ‘bewitched’ girl stood behind her father, holding him closely with her arms, while her father, on her side, and the father of the ‘accused’ child (absent) on the other side, each raised a large stick and together broke the plate at exactly the same time, in a clear gesture after which the chief counted to three. The participants acclaimed with loud shouts of joy, singing: “Ehe, ehe, *ndoki, ndoki! Kindoki* will remain! *Kindoki* will remain on earth! *Kindoki* remains on earth!”

The chief took the onions and gave them to the child, while the notable woman told her to give them back to the father of the ‘accused’ (absent) child by saying: “Take your onions that you gave me. Here, I give you back your onions.” The girl did that, and the father of the accused child took the onions. The chief wrap both of the prepared spiny twigs with barbed wire full of the blood of the sacrificed cock as protective object. He gave one to the child and the other to the father of the absent, accused child. (FOTOS: The object of protection, the chief and both involved parties). The chief advised: “Take that and put it in your house, upon the entrance. It is finished now.” The chief thanked all who were present, noting with satisfaction that everything had happened without complication, and advised the involved persons: “There, where you go, *kindoki* is…?” All of the participants shouted: “…finished!” The chief finally advised: “May everyone remain in their own home!” All applauded. At the end, the chief took white clay powder, used to evoke the (white) ancestors, and put some of it on the face of the ‘bewitched’ girl and some on the father of the absent accused child, saying: “It is for your protection” (giving a last ancestral blessing as protection).

Comments on the ritual of separation

Most chiefs told us that in Bas-Fleuve people used to perform this ritual of separation of *bandoki* using a pig: the involved parties killed it together and consumed its blood. The described ritual with a cock, follows the same logic as the usual ritual with a pig (a cock being less expensive than a pig). Without analyzing all steps and elements of the described ritual, which speaks largely for itself, let us observe, that according Bantu thermal frames, the excess 'heat' of a harmful (too close) bond between two families through *kindoki* is neutralized and cooled down. This occurs in the homeopathic logic of treatment, which implies that the small quantity of the 'same neutralizes the same' (Devisch 1993a, 1996a; Sanders 2008). In such an analogical logic, the heat of the sacrificed blood of the cock neutralizes the heat of the excessive bond between the families. The cock is killed by both involved parties, who, for one last time, are strongly connected to each other in a common act of making blood flow on the ancestral ground, and onto a cross, achieving the break of the harmful connections through the activation of several metaphorical frames. Road crossings are generally used as places for cleansing any kind of excessive hotness; the cross-drawn in the soil activates this frame. The ritual of the separation is reinforced by the performed metaphor of jointly breaking the plate containing the rest of the blood, and burying all the shards of the broken plate along with the head of the sacrificed cock, which ends the harmful bonds between the two families. In the end, the soil is totally flat, making it almost impossible to see that anything has been buried there, showing that the case is closed. The excessively close bonds between the involved parties are definitely separated with their last verbal affirmation of their will to separate and finalize the conflict, said aloud by both parties. It illustrates ritual means dealing with the *intrusive code of witchcraft*, showing how the balance of the people's relations is restored. The ritual ends with the chief giving both sides involved in the conflict an object prepared as a means of protection. The blood of the sacrificed cock dropped on both prepared objects testifies to the separation act, and the protective character materialized through the barbed wire, are reinforced by the suggestion of the chief that this object will definitely provide protection.[126] Finally, in addition, the involved parties are blessed with ancestral white protective clay.

The obvious satisfaction of the involved parties demonstrates that such a ritual has effectiveness for them, freeing the participants from their extreme feelings of persecution. It implies that those means must be applied in accordance with the frames acknowledged by the participants. The ritual means embody the problem and activate its solution in an embodied visible act, which is assumed to allow complete elimination of the problem by using strong elements[127]. The inherent logic in that context is the same in DR Congo as in Mozambique, although there are several possible ritual versions and frames by which to achieve the effectiveness of neutralization of harmful "witchcraft". It is not just the performative character of the ritual that achieves this effectiveness; it is rather the analogical power which is activated in the several ritual acts allowing *extraction* (of harmfulness), or *separation* of two involved *ndoki*, and the *protection* against future similar intrusions.

E - Analytical elements

The neutralization of harmful witchcraft through the palaver

The three palavers described from the rural area of Bas-Congo document cases of children involved in *kindoki* ['witchcraft'] who accused adults who were not kin, in a country where both (a) strong involvement of children in *kindoki* accusations, and (b) accusations against people not belonging to the same kinship (as outsiders) were formerly unusual. Despite being unusual in the local Kongo traditions, such cases have happened frequently over the past twenty years in the urban context influenced by growing poverty and the endless war in East and North Congo, where children have been forced to engage in armed conflicts. Accusations of *bandoki*-children have appeared frequently in the urban setting since the civil war of 1991 and are connoted in DRC with "modernity" (de Boeck 2000). Two of the described cases, the first and third case studies, show that use of the endogenous approaches allow even such new versions of *kindok*i to be dealt with by neutralizing harmful effects of *kindoki,* in a way that is satisfactory to all involved parties and does not produce stigma. The second case study, in contrast, shows that if the chief does not coherently follow the most basic endogenous rules allowing the neutralization of the social tensions at play, the conflicts cannot be mediated.

The findings show some basic rules inherent to an "ancestral' coherent approach to neutralization of harmful *kindoki*; beside the three basic rules stated above which concern the free choice of the experts, and the required impartiality of the chief and notable treating the case, the notables insist that basic requirements ought to be followed. Above all, the chief should follow the advice of his experienced and locally respected eldest counselors.[128] In addition, observations also show that in the case of conflicts framed as *kindoki*, the treatment of the conflicts must necessarily involve enough members of the community as witnesses; *kindoki* is basically a social construction which requires a social deconstruction in the context where it arises. This means that it is not productive to discuss conflicts framed in the *kindoki* paradigm in a tribunal in a city far away from the involved community. Last but not least, an overly authoritarian commanding chief, who uses the frame of a vertical state (like the police), or behaves as if he would "judge" alone as in tribunals instead of mediating has little efficiency and does not achieve mediation in these socially and emotionally grounded conflicts.
Following the experienced chiefs and notables, it seems that it is useful for their approach to *kindoki* that they limit the mix of paradigms and frames which are too contradictory, in order to successfully achieve mediation. In all the observed cases, the respect of the locally accepted approaches in the method of treatment, either in the palaver, or in treatments through traditional healing (divination/revelation) seem to make the success of the interventions possible, allowing especially non-stigmatizing approaches. Although some chiefs pretend to be able to single-handedly resolve conflicts framed as *kindoki*, the chiefs and notables in Bas-Congo insist that an efficient neutralization of issues framed as harmful *kindoki* ['witchcraft'] can be more easily achieved when the expertise of diviner/revealer is used. The chiefs and notables who were interviewed and observed argue that they require such expertise as background for their palaver; it divides the weight of the decision between

several agencies and facilitates the mediation. Fundamental is that neutralization of harmful *kindoki* accusations is possible through ritual separation of the involved *bandoki* [‘witches’], implying that the involved family members receive means of protection to secure social peace.

No material proof for intangible emotional realities like those in kindoki

I will briefly discuss the utility of the oral mode of treatment of conflicts in the case of *kindoki* [witchcraft] suggesting that a criminological approach to witchcraft is counter-productive in conflicts framed in this way. Seen as an issue of ‘the night’ (like dreams), *kindoki* does not involve material, physical evidence. A requirement to show material proof of bewitchment (as required by the written law in DR Congo) impedes the resolution of social and emotional conflicts. The emotional or social problems at play, like inequalities, envy and jealousy will not disappear through the designation of “culprits” and their punishment. Also the Christian approach, which assumes personal “guilt” in witchcraft, does not correspond to the complexity of a dialectical paradigm like *kindoki*, which escapes simplification into black and white views of the purely good and the purely bad. In most cases, malefic *kindoki* is considered to happen unconsciously, unwillingly. It is not an issue that can be treated like material crimes[129]. Material proof presented in case of *kindoki* is questionable, due to the bivalent use of *kindoki* (either for attacks or for protection) and the fact that *kindoki* is assumed to belong to invisible spheres.[130] Notables, chiefs, and diviners show in their approach that *kindoki* frames require fluid modes of communication, precisely because they accommodate the floating character of this paradigm.

One confusing aspect is that people in DR Congo (and in Mozambique) often behave as if the nighttime realities of ‘witchcraft’ corresponded to daytime tangible realities. Both are “realities,” but one is related to the ‘nighttime’ of the dreams, the other to tangible realities of the ‘daytime’. The people involved used to know that the intangible nighttime reality requires its own means and is not the same as the tangible reality of the daytime. As in colonial times, the ongoing massive interventions of several Christian churches bring confusion in this issue; ideological motivations provoke misunderstandings, which sometimes also appear in Peace Tribunals (applying official Law). Pretending to treat issues of the intangible night in official judicial courts as if they were the same as material issues of the day – which they are not – causes confusion, even when people take issues of the night as seriously as “reality” as issues of the daytime (see Chapter Four).

The role of metaphors and references to dreams

The use of metaphors, analogies, idioms, proverbs, and references to dreams is constitutive in the palaver; they are used by all the participants and follow locally founded frames. These means are at the heart of the Kikongo and other Bantu-speaking “traditions”, and are at the same time the means involving most creativity and permanent adjustments, which might –more or less – correspond to ‘ancestral’ ways. The ancestral proverbs can be idioms of everyday life, or proverbs used specifically in palavers to express the rules or describe the problems (See Nsumbu Kabu 2010; Ryckmans and Mewlanzambi Bakwa 1993; Matangila 2000). The mediating arguments of the chief and his notables

must be justified by proverbs.[131] The elder notables know most of the proverbs or the analogical idioms, using them in songs or speech, which are the basic instruments of the palaver and allow their users to overcome the cognitive level, addressing emotions. The interpretation of the proverbs is decisive. Proverbs may have diverging interpretations; dealing with them for mediation implies wisdom and capacity to approach the human complexity. Given the influences of Christianity, of written law or of state administration, falsifications of ancestral proverbs might happen and sometimes lead to contradictions of central basic "ancestral" principles. For instance, I heard an idiom used by a notable, which did not at all correspond to the custom, but contradicted it fundamentally. Using a non-ancestral expression formulated like a proverb, the notable justified the selling of land, which, according to the endogenous ancestral principles, is not allowed. This example shows that to use ancestral frames (proverbs) does not necessarily imply respecting ancestral principles or aims; ancestral frames in a newly invented proverb can be used to hide non-ancestral goals.
Proverbs can be interpreted as contradicting the custom, combining, through rhetorical arguments, in an extremely hybrid way, other paradigms (Christian religious morals, administrative rules of the state) with the endogenous ancestral paradigms. I heard notables using spontaneously invented idioms that contradict ancestral norms involving contradictory paradigms - such as administrative or Christian paradigms, or paradigms borrowed from the written official law. The results led to the obstruction of the desired mediation. For instance, written law seeks to separate the culprit from the victim, while mediation seeks the recognition of errors (assuming their direct reparation or compensation), which might lead to reconciliation. Chiefs and their counselors (notables) explain that the 'ancestral' paradigms they follow in conflict treatment involve the responsibility of the group (clan, village community) in which a person is embedded. Instead of individualizing, chiefs and counselors mediate by mobilizing the members of the clans of the conflicting parts to help resolve the conflicts (Le Roy 2004: 82-85). Several testimonies of each conflicting party are heard to treat the conflict.

Dreams are source of 'information' and play an important role, as discussed in Chapter Three. Following the Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) (Latour 1999), all kinds of entities (ancestors or other 'spirits') are relevant as actors in the social context; they appear in dreams that are also "actors" in a palaver; they form a network with all the other kinds of testimony and expertise presented during a palaver (oral presentation by witnesses, or the testimony of a person who assisted in the divinations/revelations relating to the case of *kindoki* in question). Dreamers are recognized as experts and may present their dreams in relation to the case. As Reynolds (1992:25) shows for the Cishona-speaking context, ancestors and other 'spirits' use dreams (by *nganga* healers) "to call, test, endow, inform, instruct, guide, warn, permit, reprimand, correct and shape healers". Dreams allow to foretell the future, to caution against immoral behavior and to connect the past and the present. Reynolds (19992:28) argues that the dreams contribute to the constitution of the (relational) self. Knowing the usual interpretation of dreams by healers, a child just like an adult: "can repress some or all of his dreams; he can recall more dreams; he can match his behavior to the interpretation; or he can reject the

interpretation and take care not to participate in the metaphor (...)" that links family and ancestors or other 'spirits' involved. (See Jedrej and Shaw et al. 1992 about the complex rule of dreams in African societies, influencing significantly wellbeing, conflicts and their treatments.)

Dreams are perceived as relevant information or as conveying knowledge; the events in dreams are acknowledged as "realities" relevant for the person's wellbeing and relations with the living and all kinds of spirits. There is no complete repertory of the ancestral means, which are creatively developed; the means should serve the main mediating aims without contradicting basic values.

Last but not least, the use of ancestral frames does not guarantee the resolution of the conflicts, which depends on the respect of the most basic principles that allow mediation and reconciliation.

Some basic principles of the palaver

Given that ancestors are the grounding of the social order, they define the life rules and provide the first reference that determine the conception of the offence (Matangila 2000:211). Each lineage has its real and fictive ancestors, who are not necessarily regarded as a historical dimension (Buakasa 1980:293). In accordance with the 'ancestral' traditions reported by notables and chiefs, the first basic principle is that a palaver is based on an oral form of communication. Matangila (2000:210) shows that speech is a carrier of affectivity in all sense: allowing to curse, to bless, to make an offence, to educate, to mediate and to transmit ancestral wisdom. The eldest, as the nearest to the ancestors, are assumed to have the most efficient speech. However, currently, some chiefs (if they formerly worked in the state administration) have a so-called 'secretary' who produces a written documentation of the treated case, following former practices of "Customary Low" framed by the state, but which have been officially abolished in Bas-Congo. The written documentation allows the chief to justify his handling of the case vis-à-vis the administration or people involved in any new palaver sessions. However, written documents are not part of the palaver, which is constitutively grounded in oral modes, involving all the described embodied means. Written documents are frames of the state administration or of the written law system; the production of written 'minutes' during the palaver as proofs is part of vertical administrative modes, and leads to a loss of the fluidity of the dialogical and participative oral mode, which is fundamental to achieve mediation. Many chiefs insist that the palaver mediations must occur orally without written "protocol," which in their view prevents the flow of the mediation process grounded in means like participative speech, songs, shouts and dances. That some chiefs (apparently a minority) feel the necessity to document their actions in written form (in order to quote them later, if necessary) has the cost that the formulation of the minutes interrupts the flow of the mediation; written records call into question the efficiency of the mediation. The fixation also hinders the inherent flexibility of the mediating procedure, which other chiefs and counselors describe as very important.

Another principle seems to be that the admission of the mistake might lead to pardoning, possibly with reconciliation on the basis of compensation directly to the 'victim' party and set by the chief and his notables in their deliberation at the end of the palaver. It is also a principle that sanctions are low and should not be calculated in monetary terms, but in agricultural products or animals. Finally, the chief

and his notables might request compensation for their involvement; it is set in palm wine measures (or in cases of beer), which means limited expenses. All these basic principles of the palaver also apply to the Mbala speakers (matrilineal) in DR Congo in Bandundu province, neighbours of the Kikongo speakers Bas-Congo. Matangila (2000:190-349) describes the ethics and morals grounding the principles of the palaver, showing its basically anthropocentric characteristics, which apply to all the Bantu contexts that I discuss. He argues that the offences and transgressions of the norms are –in the ancestral way– related either to ancestors, or spirits or to some living, which have reciprocal capacity affecting each other. There is no understanding of any offences toward God or against him (2000:220). Offences are not framed individually but are shared by the members of the clan in co-responsibility (in contrast to the individual responsibility assigned in Christianity through sin, or in the official laws). The ethics involved are mainly socially oriented and are grounded in the ancestral prohibitions that constitute an "ethical language" that mainly values reciprocity (Matangila 2000:346).

The purposes and the ethics in the palavers

The weight of the speech, of verbal expression of all kinds (proverbs, narratives, songs, idioms, shouts, invocations, mythologies, fables, riddles, and so on), combined with embodied actions, are applied all together in a "fait total"[132] (Mauss 1973:103) in palavers for clarifying conflicts in the family or the community. They are intended to reinstate unity and social and emotional balance among the living, involving in the procedure the living-dead, who see and hear everything, as a moral authority (see Matangila 2000). The palaver seeks a mutual accord based on the conflicting parties' acceptance of following a philosophy fundamentally different from that of official law. It does not seek to separate culprit and victim, but to reestablish social peace as a balance that may allow to continuing living together, by ensuring that both parties make some contributions grounded in the need of reciprocity. The approach to "seek for balance" corresponds to the search in divination of what Webner (2001) calls "truth-on-balance"; this is quite different from written law, which is based on punishment, perhaps implying the exclusion of the culprits from their community by putting them in jail in accordance with Western judicial traditions (Kant 1797[133]; Foucault 1975; Pires 1998[134]).

The outcome of the palaver as mediation intends to allow the involved persons to continue a common life. Even in such extreme conflicts as the genocide in Rwanda, this aspect remains central. The imprisonment of many culprits does not necessarily help the suffering survivors in the communities, even if it provides a time of relief when the survivor does not have to see in daily life the perpetrator who killed all his/her family. However, the *gacaca* (local justice courts developed in Rwanda after the genocide by combining the palaver tradition of conflict treatment with elements of written law), which sought reconciliation (when this was often not possible) at least allowed the public acknowledgment of the crimes, which is the first step in helping survivors of a genocide to continue to live. The "Truth and Reconciliation Commissions" (dealing with the crimes during the apartheid regime) in South Africa add to this the necessity of recognition of the crime, forgiving in order to be able to continue to live side by side. There was much criticism concerning the official pressure to forgive or to

“reconcile,” which is often not possible. (Rosoux et al. 2008; Verdoolaege 2010[135]). Both of these approaches based on hybrid constructions (including, in the “palaver setting,” several elements of written law procedures and Christian values of forgiveness) demonstrate that forgiving or reconciliation cannot be imposed; however, both hybrid experiences showed that the process of recognition of crimes in public debates (using some framings of the palaver combined with Western framings of written law) might make a positive contribution to the reweaving of the social and emotional bonds.

According to the comparative lawyer Shalukoma (2004), the achievement of reconciliation is a basic aim in “African Bantu Law” and refers to values common to the *muthu* [person] in many Bantu-speaking cultures.[136] The author argues that the African Bantu-constituted order implies the obligation to reciprocal help, the requirement to make reparations for transgressed taboos. According to Shalukoma, “to become open for the social reason” of a conflict is a value implied in the notion of *okukula* [to be great or to grow], as the notion of belonging (in a kinship, lineage, or generation), which characterizes Bantu-speakers’ traditional values on a large scale. This leads Shalukoma (2004:205) to argue that the notion of *okukula* implies a sense of “*social* co-responsibility”. We saw that Matangila 2000: 325) argues that in the Bantu context of Mbala-speakers in South-West DRC, in case of conflicts, the notion of collective co-responsibility prevails against individual responsibility. My studies in South/Central Mozambique show that people related “social responsibility” mostly just to the chief, not regarding it as an obligation for everybody. In his study, comparing Mbala ethics of the offense with Christian and Western ethical notions formulated by Ricoeur, Matangila (2000: 346) shows the former power of the socially shared responsibility and notes critically that the latter and the solidarity are getting weaker. Following Ricoeur, he suggests that the Mbala people need to reinforce the sense of individual responsibility. His reflections show the conflicts emerging from individualism.

It is significant that in their demonstration of the socio-cultural specificities by “Bantu” ethics, these two Congolese authors, Shalukoma (East DRC) and Matangila (West DRC), are strongly influenced by Christianity. Shalukoma insists on the importance of the “heart” in East DRC, which corresponds to Makhuwa knowledge (in Mozambique), and to the descriptions of Devisch (1996a, 1993a, 1990:115-134) for Yaka people in South-West DR Congo. The idea that wise men mediate conflicts through their “good heart” implies that thinking is located in the heart (being connected to emotions. Body is not to be disconnected from ‘spirit’, just as thinking (and reason) cannot be disconnected from emotions. Such thought recalls the dialectic of *kindoki* in which there is no protective *kindoki* without malefic *kindoki*; both are based on the evidence (and wisdom) that there is no day without night.

Contradictory hybrid approaches following diverging paradigms

In DR Congo, some chiefs refer to ancestors’ frames, which do not belong to the local ancestral mode. I argue that strong hybridism, involving contradictory paradigms, might impede achievement of the aims of the palaver. Of the five palavers that I filmed in Bas-Congo, three achieved the intended mediation of restoring peace between the conflicting parties, while two did not. In both palavers that

failed there was a strong mixture of contradictory paradigms. Before discussing the consequences of contradictory hybrid practice, I would like to clarify my motivation: my concern is to look at effectiveness in achieving the intended aims (mediation and, if possible, reconciliation, or neutralization of harmfulness by malign "witchcraft"). Following the criteria presented by many chiefs and notables, my hypothesis is that these objectives cannot be achieved when some basic and minimally necessary frames allowing mediation or neutralization are not followed. The criterion is whether, in palavers, the intended reconciliation can be achieved or not. Using three examples, I will show that excessive mixes of contradictory paradigms prevent the effectiveness of mediation.

My starting assumption is that 'pure' ancestral frames do not exist given that culture is always a product of ongoing mixtures. However, my informants suggest that it is indeed possible to identify basic inherent principles, which most informants agree to attribute to the usual "ancestral ways." Although this statement might seem questionable, given the mixtures involved in the observed cultures, observations in the field in combination with descriptions of experienced chiefs, notables, diviners, or healers give an idea of what belongs or does not belong to what people relate to their basic "ancestral ways" constituting the "narratives" of their respected communities.[137]

For instance, most such informants say that the Kongo custom implies that in case of a *kindoki* accusation, the involved parties should themselves seek the diviners or revealers of their choice, as experts verifying whether they might be considered as *ndoki* [witch] or not. This did not happen in the second case study described above involving adults and a *ndoki*-child. The attempts of the chief to choose such 'experts' himself did not succeed because the persons involved in the *kindoki* accusation did not trust the proposed practitioners as experts. While the inherent logic of the use of divination or revelation by *kindoki* accusations is that such expertise (as a first step allowing a reduction in tensions) can only achieve its aims if the conflicting parties (who choose the expert) trust the commonly consulted "expert". This step (as a precondition) allows the people involved to accept the results of the 'oracle' or revelation more easily. Informants argue that the diviners with oracles following ancestral frames should not directly name any *ndoki*. The oracles of *ngaanga ngoombu* [diviners] in Kwango (Devisch 1991, 1997, 2012a/b) provide means, which should allow the affected person to deal with the social and emotional tensions or conflicts. The dealing with the tensions is central. Once this step has succeeded, the chief and the notables can mediate in a palaver with relative ease.

Concerning the different inherent logics of diverging paradigms, I would note that, contrary to the concepts founding written law (or to confession in Christianity), divination does not want to 'prove guilt' but makes verbal enunciations (indirectly formulated), which intend to help the involved persons to deal with their tensions. Divination is a first step of mediation. The issue is more a therapeutic, an issue of social management of the conflicts than a judicial one.

A second example involves a palaver, which treated conflicts between members of the same clan having to do with the selling of land. In the palaver, the notables used songs, dances, and participative shouts corresponding apparently to 'traditional and ancestral' frames. These notables acted, however,

like preaching pastors; they used the Bible and God as their main reference and preached God's worship as in a charismatic church of awakening. They performed a palaver in the name of the chief and of God, and applied Christian values of individuality[138], also following Western norms of individual propriety of land as an object that can be sold, which deeply contradict ancestral BaKongo tradition[139]. In this case, an uncle of the clan had sold (many years earlier) a part of their forest. The lineage of the clan who sold the forest claimed the rights in a new piece of land from the other lineage of their clan who worked the land but never sold any. In the palaver addressing this conflict, the chief and his three notables declared that the former selling of the forest had been justified.[140] Two involved notables were biased, since they were friends of those who sold the forest and belonged to the same awakening church. This palaver only confirmed the decisions of several former official juridical courts, which nonetheless contradicted the most basic customary rules that land should not be sold. In doing this (avoiding getting in trouble with the written law), the involved notables and the chief (who had been an administrator of the state in another region for 20 years) violated the ancestral rules on several levels. According to the later comments of other chiefs, in the BaKongo tradition, the selling of land is generally to be condemned (with few exceptions). According most informants, it is equivalent to selling-out one's own ancestors (buried in this earth); it leads to the loss of identity. Access to land is inherited from ancestors, that is, those who first settled on that land. Land belongs to what Shalukoma (2004: 206-212) calls *hantu* [vital or sacral place], and is inseparable from the vital force of the living.[141]

Instead of respecting this basic ancestral value, the notables and the chief deciding in this palaver quoted written minutes from the sessions of several previous palavers, and in their internal consultation to decide the case, they reviewed documents of preceding judicial trials in written law (in this same case) in order not to contradict the judgments of several official courts. In doing so, the notables departed from the ancestral oral frame of *kinzonzi* [palaver] by mixing, in an contradictory hybrid way. They departed from the administrative mode by invoking protocols of written law and the right of individual propriety of land, by using accepted and respected Christian frames. They preached from the Bible and invoked God and the Christian moral of the Holy Spirit as the highest moral authority to ultimately defend the sale of land. This seems to be a deliberate misuse of "ancestral" traditions respected by the people. They also defended some principles (the right to sell land) which contradict the most basic ancestral rules concerning access to land (which should not be sold).

In addition, although none of the notables was a trained lawyer or judge, they used elements that they had seen in written law courts, conducting the palaver partly as a written law judgment, some behind a table, producing minutes and reading protocols. The chief organized a setting in which he and his counselors were sitting behind a table facing the participating people (the clan members of both conflicting parties on the right and left sides, with numerous other villagers). The chief used authoritarian modes of intimidation, placing a policeman in a prominent position near him and his notables to demonstrate state authority. Such intimidations run contrary to establishing a positive

atmosphere to promote mediation. Proclaiming God's superiority, the notables attempted to reinforce their authority using religious frames, which they instrumentalized for the purpose of preserving their good relations to the state administration and to the official judicial courts. The ancestral frames were applied only formally (dances, songs, shouts, and using proverbs, partially newly invented) and used to conceal the interests of the notables in supporting one of the two disputing parties. The notables did not succeed in achieving any mediation because their personal interests dominated the case. At the same time, their concern not to contradict earlier written judgments made by official courts made them argue in accordance with values which are not those of the 'ancestral' Bas-Congo framework. The latter, however, should be the guiding norm in a palaver in Bas-Congo. While the involved notables conducting the palaver performed formally as if they were following ancestral norms (dancing, shouting, using proverbs), they in fact emptied these elements of their 'ancestral' content. The claiming party disapproved of the whole procedure. This palaver was a huge show and manipulation, and ended in great confusion and anger.[142]

This case shows that excessive mixes of several diverging and contradictory paradigms cannot achieve the required finalities, either of mediation or, much less, of reconciliation. I argue in accordance with the definition by Devereux (1972) of the requirement for an efficient complementary approach. He suggests that a complementary method implies that different paradigms and means are followed in a parallel way. Each involved and diverging method should follow its own internal logic; this parallelism should occur without randomly mixing the different methods. E.g., the analyses of cultural frames should follow the internal logics of the culture being analyzed. In parallel, one might also follow a psychological analysis (which involves other methods and other paradigms), but the psychological method should not be mixed with the internal cultural logics.[143] The methodology used should respect the logic of each paradigm (or science), allowing the coherence of each realm of knowledge, or of each practice at play, using for each parallel line of logic its own instruments of measurement. However, both parallel analyses might bring new results, which can be combined. Applied to legal pluralism, this means, e.g., not approaching *kindoki* with means dealing with transgressions of "daytime." This theory of complementarities applied to a palaver seeks to mediate conflicts through the respect of a few basic ancestral frames, allowing the intended aims to be achieved more easily: i.e., using the oral modes, and not mixing incompatible paradigms like ancestral frames (based on ancestral principles) with Christian ones (or administrative frames or with modes of the police) or those of the written law system. This also applies to what I call "excessive mixes", of paradigms, frames and values that are too contradictory and incompatible, which easily prevent the coherent application of any single norm. For example when in a palaver seeking reconciliation, a chief uses the authoritarian intervention of an intimidating policeman; these two means are not compatible. The palaver is grounded in a reciprocal trust that the involved persons seek a solution with the goodwill of all, involving the will of the chief to mediate. Other chiefs and notable who observed the film documentation of this case argued that any attempt of mediation should avoid any intimidation in

order not to impede the intended mediation (and reconciliation), which cannot be forced. The approach of mediation in a palaver is profoundly different from an authoritarian, intimidating and investigating approach of the police or of a vertical state administration. The question is: In the name of which authority does the palaver take place. Chiefs and notables following –as far as possible– "ancestral" principles, which they represent, seem to have a better chance of achieving the intended mediation.[144]

Last but not least, lawyers within the legal system of the societies examined argue that misuses of the traditional means in the palaver demonstrate that the oral modes can easily be abused because they lack written rules. But misuse is equally possible in the written law system of which they are part. The written frames ought to guarantee justice, but the ethic and integrity of the involved actors is fundamental in written law system as well as in oral living-law.

Dangers of cultural projections in the anthropology of specific ethics and morals

Laidlaw (2002) claimed that there is no anthropology of ethics. However, Fassin (2014:3) notes accurately that there are good reasons for the skepticism and mistrust of many anthropologists toward attempts to develop anthropological theories of ethics and morals. Indeed, I see dangers of normative projections or of the imposition of certain (Western) norms and rights, which are often presented as though they were universal (Englund 2006, Merry 2006; Csordas 2013; Basu 2013:536-37).

An example of the projection of Western values on other cultures in the African context is the attempt by Laidlaw (2014:197-203) to reinterpret the data of Evans-Pritchard (1937) on witchcraft among the Zande. Laidlaw reads in witchcraft-accusations the allocation of responsibility, which is an extremely problematic interpretation from the perspective of my informants, and I would assume also from the perspective of Evans-Pritchard's or, e.g., Stroeken's (2010) informants. The moral accountability at stake in the discussed Bantu-speaking context has a complex social connotation, often with ritual rather than factual characteristics. For instance, in a matrilineal context in DR Congo (or Mozambique), it is the maternal uncle who is designated as *ndoki* ['witch'], in a way that does not address any individualistic or legal accountability (see Chapters Four). Laidlaw's interpretation that such a designation as a 'witch' would imply an "ascription of responsibility" is easily misleading with regard to witchcraft-accusations in the context discussed. The responsibilization at stake is social, not individual; in a matrilineal context, the position of the *ndoki* is, in the 'ancestral' mode, projected onto the uncle, who is assumed to protect his kin; it is his failure to protect (appearing in cases of disease, misfortune or death in his clan) which makes him into the *ndoki* designated (through the ancestors) in diagnostic procedures like 'divination' (Stroeken 2004). Such a designation implies that this uncle is in a position which he can assume without fear of individual stigmatization. The group is relieved when he accepts the *kindoki* ['witchcraft'] accusation, which allows the suffering person to deal more easily with the conflicts, uncertainty or emotions (like mourning or envy) at work. Such procedures acknowledge the social implications of conflicts instead of individualizing them. It is according to a similar internal logic that an ascription of the position of the 'witch' in terms of "identification" occurs among the Sukuma; Stroeken (2004) suggests that the procedure has to do with therapeutic necessities,

e.g., locating the source of the disorder outside of the suffering person, as Nathan and Lewertowski (1998) show.[145] As the older diviner Josefa Rupia Mayumba in central Mozambique insists, healers are not interested in the "witch," but focus on the bewitchment identified in the oracle of divination. Although "witchcraft" is also often activated in the context of power[146], my data in Mozambique and DR Congo show, just as Stroeken (2010) argues for the Sukuma context, that the issue is indeed in many cases therapeutic. It addresses the quality of the relations between the persons. I suggest that the interpretation of *kindoki, okwhiri* or similar notions of "witchcraft" in terms of attribution of responsibility would imply, as with the Zande, a presumed perspective centered on the "witch," which does not correspond to the perspective of the Zande, Sukuma or the Bantu-groups that I studied. It corresponds more to perspectives of the inquisition (in Europe) or to assignations of individual sin, as are usual in Christianity, or to individual "guilt" in a legal context.[147] The individualizing notion of responsibility (either through sin in Christianity or through guilt in the legal context) makes it difficult to neutralize the harmfulness at work. Such approaches contradict the "ancestral" ways that I described and that are valued in many parts of Mozambique and DR Congo. However, differences coexist, as I demonstrated. Besides this problematic reading of 'witchcraft' among the Zande, my findings suggest that Laidlaw's interpretation that witchcraft accusation among the Zande allocates responsibility, implies a questionable projection of certain (Western) ideas about responsibility. In Mozambique, I tried to comprehend the people's notion of responsibility (which we intended to activate in order to improve HIV prevention). The people recognize a responsibility of parents for their children, of heads of families for their families, and of the heads of villages (chiefs) for their communities. But, e.g., in the patrilineal Central and South Mozambique, the idea of "social responsibility" is mostly seen as concerning only the chief, and not each member of the community. This shows that the notion of "responsibility" requires specific definitions and cannot be used as a universally uniform concept.

The challenge is much more to ask ourselves to what extent it might be possible to overcome reductionist dualities of evil/good through the concepts implied in *kindoki* or similar paradigms of 'witchcraft'. Westernized societies marked strongly by monotheist religions, including in their definition of legality (see Kant's idea of justified punishment), could be challenged and inspired to rethink their simplifying dualism, which has resulted in the prioritization of justice involving the necessity of punishment over the search for treatments, mediations and, where possible, reconciliation. Having too many inmates in many prisons gives rise to great difficulties; imprisonment as a frequently applied sanction does not necessarily lead to helping the person avoid criminal behavior, but instead often to increased criminality, as recent discussions of penal justice reform, e.g., in France, show.
Morals and ethics are strongly addressed in the ancestral context, at times clashing with the coexisting Christian, Islamic, colonial, socialist, capitalist or scientific notions of morals and ethics. This corresponds to Shore (1996), who insists that societies are not morally homogeneous entities. As shown in this discussion, the ever-present danger of inappropriate projection means that great care must be taken in any attempt to make theoretical generalizations in the area of ethics and morality.

II. Competing or complementary Laws practices?

Introduction

In the following, I sketch an emic perspective on official law practices in the view of chiefs and notables, which deepens the understanding of normative ordering from the local point of view in Bas-Congo. Considering chiefs as intermediaries who often act as mediators between the state and the population, one can see (beyond their own interests) that the descriptions by chiefs and notables reflect in large measure the perceptions of the people seeking their support.[148] In the following view on the official Law practices in DR Congo, I am seeking to deepen the understanding of local choices.

Written and official law was implemented in DR Congo (formerly Belgian Congo, later Zaire) in colonial times. This is also the case for Mozambique. The current penal code in DR Congo originated from the first penal code promulgated in 1886 under Léopold II, King of Belgium (Akele Adau 2008a:15), a colonial transposition of the Roman-German penal model and the Napoleonic Code. Akele Adau[149] observes that the Congolese penal code remained unchanged between 1940 and 1970, followed by several stages of reforms (1976, 1986, 2006). With the promulgation of the constitution of the Third Republic (in 2006), jurisprudence of the DRC engaged in a reform of the legal system, which is still in progress. Several Congolese lawyers (Sita-Akele Muila, Akele Adau and Kasongo Muidingue, in Akele 2008a), among others, note the profound weakness of official legal system in the current DRC, its mal-adaptation to modern circumstances, with the population to a large extent using other means of conflict treatment in practice, seeking mediation rather than justice (Pohu 2009; Nzundu 2012; Rubbers and Gallez 2012, 2015; Kotanyi 2012; Kotanyi and Lapika 2012).

The following brief discussion of practices in the national legal system occurs from the point of view of a sample of justiciable living in urban and rural areas. I use the study of Pohu (2009) in Bas-Congo, as well as my own research (in 2011 and 2012) realized with the CERDAS and RCN, "Justice & Démocratie". My study is based on the experiences of the mostly rural part of the population, as expressed by chiefs, notables, and assessor judges in Bas-Congo. I will also quote Nzundu (2012), discussing the reasons for the survival of so-called "Customary Justice" in the province of Bandundu.

Chiefs do not handle penal issues, which they recognize as belonging to the framework of written official justice. Beyond this accepted division of labor, which is a product of the former colonial law practices, there are quarrels about competency between the two fields of legal interventions. Lawyers of the written law system do not always officially recognize the judicial relevance of local *kinzonzi* [palavers] in mediating local conflicts in territories where Peace Tribunals are instated (like in Bas-Congo). Nevertheless all know of the extent of 'customary' local problems. In fact, the state tolerates the local practices. However, the interviews with chiefs show their deep insecurity about what they may or may not treat locally. Informants argue that for certain issues (access to land, *kindoki* [witchcraft], conflicts around power in the clan, and all kinds of family conflicts involving matrilineal

kinship) the oral mediation through palavers responds much more to the people's requirements than does the written law. These views are confirmed by the limited available statistics in Pohu (2009), as well as by the studies of Nzundu (2013) and Rubbers (2015). According to the study of RCN, Justice et Démocratie (Pohu 2009), about 70% of the rural and urban people in Bas-Congo use local mediation through palavers or other kinds of mediating authorities, such as the police, military, or NGOs. This holds for the province Bas-Congo, where the new national written legal system has longest been implemented, with the highest number of "Peace Tribunals" in 11 districts, alleging to cover all judicial requirements. The reason for the discrepancy between local practices and the official objectives of written law claiming to totally replace the 'Customary Law' practices, is mainly due to the fact that the local mediations of conflicts differs substantially from written law judgments.[150]

A. Local views of the official written law practices in Bas-Congo

I will show the local evaluation of the competences of official law practices through findings of Pohu's (2009) on the perception of official written law in Bas-Congo by the "justiciables" (people seeking legal support to treat their conflicts), and the explanations by chiefs and assessor judges of the reasons for the judicial preferences of the people for mediating means such as palavers in living-law. And with an analysis of the handling of conflicts framed as witchcraft, I intend to demonstrate some of the most significant differences between written law and local oral approaches (palaver, rituals in living-law). This should allow an understanding of the limits of the inclusion of the 'custom' in written law, which has been under discussion since 2006 in the judicial reform commission of DR Congo. Finally, I discuss a few of the anthropological challenges implied by such a reform.

The context of legal pluralism in Bas-Congo

According to the lawyer Pohu (2009), Bas-Congo currently has a relatively large number of official judicial institutions (11 peace tribunals, five tribunals of high instance, one of appeal, and several other courts).[151] In the sector of the official legal system, Bas-Congo was the first province in DRC in which the state implemented "Peace Tribunals" in all districts to replace the 'customary tribunals' that had been instated by the colonial power beginning in 1926. The installation of 11 Peace Tribunals (PT) in Bas-Congo in 1979 aimed at integrating through "squeezing in" what the state frames as a hybrid application of the 'custom' into the written law practices.[152] The end of the dual system of law intended to replace the local palavers. Such a substitution contradicts the disposition of article 153, aliéna 4 of the Constitution (2006), which states that "the courts, civil and military, apply the ratified international treaties, the laws, the regulating acts, as conform to the laws and to the custom, as far as it does not hinder the public order or 'public decency" (Cornu 2003).[153]

The question arises as to why in Bas-Congo the local living-law practices of palaver and rituals have remained so resilient over the last 30 years despite their official elimination (Pohu 2009:77).[154]

Do the tribunals of peace provide a justice of proximity?

Pohu measures the quality of a legal system according to the *justice of proximity* that she defines as a justice geographically near to the users, delivering results in a reasonable time, and which is

understood by the citizens to be at an affordable cost. She adds that a *justice of proximity* should take into account the cultural context of its application, enjoying the confidence of its users. (2009:11) According to her informants, the infrastructures and procedures of the national written law system show extreme deficiencies. The judicial staff is not well qualified, and lack training. Not being registered with the administration, they are not paid and charge the justiciables for their activities. Most of all, Pohu's informants observe: "our justice suffers. It is sick, corrupted and it is reserved for the rich" (2009:9).[155]
Pohu's study (based on interviews with 299 justiciables) shows that the people do not appreciate official written law, which was also established by the "Commission on the Reform of the Congolese Criminal Code" (Akele Adau 2008a). Pohu describes an absurd situation in which many conflicts are mediated either by the officially non-existent customary justice (chiefs, or chiefs of quarters in urban areas), or by the police, or by the military, or by non-governmental organizations (NGO). The objective of the peace tribunals was to instate a legal system providing service to the citizens and specifically to the most vulnerable parts of the population, with the intention of allowing access to justice for the largest number of people. Contrary to this ideal, 73% of those interviewed by Pohu said that the spoken language used in this official justice system is French or Lingala, the main language in the capital, while the majority of the rural population in Bas-Congo speaks neither Lingala nor French.[156] Judicial assistance was unknown to 89% of those interviewed (Pohu 2009:5).

Pohu's informants said that the written law, while claiming to be a *justice of proximity*, had no proximity to them at all. Only 35% of Pohu's informants are satisfied with the official legal system, and 29% are moderately satisfied with all forms of available justice. Pohu shows also that criticism of the mediations spoken by the chiefs is nearly as strong as that of the written official law. In cases of conflict, 8% of urban informants would choose the peace tribunals, 7% the civil court, 6% lawyers, 31% would prefer to consult the police, 20% the chief of the quarter, and 18% the traditional chief. The last two figures give a 38% priority to a communitarian approach of mediation through 'palavers', with only 16% for official law, which the informants would consult only if the mediation or other interventions did not lead to a satisfactory result. These preferences are based on the fact that chiefs in urban quarters do not ask for money (20%) or on the view that chiefs would follow the custom to decide with uprightness (15%). For 19% of the informants, lawyers know nothing about the law, while 9% say that the police or civil society could help find mediating solutions.

Views of justice users on the plural sources of law

In correspondence with my own findings and the CERDAS interviews in rural areas of Bas-Congo, Pohu's findings show that people first seek mediation proximity: the local chiefs in urban quarters, the community chiefs, and even the police are seen as closer to the population, as speaking the local languages, and as faster and less expensive, in contrast to the official tribunals. It is a strong sign of mistrust towards state law that 52% of informants think that the organizations of the civil society can mediate in cases of conflict. Only when no solution is found through mediations do the interviewed

people address as an alternative the peace tribunal (25%), the police (24.4%), and the civil court (24%). Yet the majority does not seek out any alternative. See Pohu 2009:28.[157]

The similar valuation of the two ways of negotiating and settling conflicts raises the question as to whether the answers were diplomatic (socially desirable) rather than expressing the people's personal opinion. Pohu's inquiry was conducted by using French-language questionnaires.[158] I observed in Bas-Congo a strong difference in confidence when interviews were conducted in the local languages (Kikongo) rather than in French or Lingala. It is also relevant that Pohu's inquiry was based on written questionnaires, which (according Pohu) caused confusion among many interviewees, who did not have mastery of written French.[159] The data mainly reflect urban positions; official courts are only instated in urban areas. Our qualitative studies with CERDAS in rural areas show, in contrast, a strong tendency toward the acceptance of customary practices of mediation due to its geographic and linguistic proximity, low cost, quick treatments, and commonly shared values and approaches in cases of conflict.
Seventy percent of Pohu's mostly urban informants attributed limited competences to 'Customary Justice'[160]; this high mistrust calls for reflection. The findings of the CERDAS pre-study (2011) indicate another tendency, which is in keeping with the quantitatively limited data of five filmed *kinzonzi* [palavers]. The latter show that three palavers (60%) were treated to the satisfaction of the involved parties, while in two cases (40%), the intervention of the chief and his notables did not satisfy the conflicting parties. In the latter two, negative, cases, the interventions of chiefs or notables did not correspond to the local *kikhuulu* [Kongo traditions]. Although our findings show a stronger acceptance of local "traditional" practices in law in rural areas, the quality of these practices does not always correspond to the expectations. Observations show that it is influenced by the application of 'ancestral' norms, which are meant to ground the local palavers, but which certain Grouping Chiefs apply in an incoherent way. However, the 60% rate of satisfaction with local practices in Law in our rural observation, versus 40% unsatisfied with local mediation through palavers directed by chiefs and notables, differs significantly from Pohu's result of 70% dissatisfaction in urban areas.[161]

One reason for this discrepancy might be the fact that Pohu's study did not include witchcraft as a category of conflict (2009:27-28), although it is highly relevant. The lack of this widespread endogenous category in Pohu's questionnaire prevents the full reality from being taken into account; according to our findings, many conflicts are framed as *kindoki* in rural as well as urban areas in Bas-Congo and in DRC in general. *Kindoki* is, according to chiefs and notables one main source of conflicts treated in palavers and is discussed as an important issue in the debates of the 'Permanent Commission for the Reform of the Congolese Law' (CPRDC) (Akele Adau 2008a). I suggest that if witchcraft had been included in the questionnaires used in Pohu's study, the statistical results would have been different. I will combine the results of the CERDAS pre-study (Lapika et al. 2011) and my observations and joint anthropological studies with CERDAS (Lapika and Kotanyi 2011; Kotanyi & Lapika 2012) with the results of Pohu's[162] study.

Local views on the current practice in written law

In the following, I look at the efficiency of official law against the criteria of a justice of proximity as defined by Pohu, by asking what proximity means, to what extent it is achieved, and if not, why not. Despite the use of different methodologies, the results of Pohu's study combined with the statements that we collected (with CERDAS) show significant similarities in the arguments (1st) that official law practices do not respond to the people's requirements, who prefer other means providing mediations, and (2nd) that official law is extremely inefficient in resolving conflicts, and also expensive.

Pohu (2009:15) notes that the new constitution of 2006 brought several improvements in the legal system in DR Congo by providing human rights such as equitable lawsuits, the protection of individual freedom, child protection, a better defense of the rights of women and so on. New courts were instated: the Court of Appeal, a constitutional court, and a Council of State to control the administration. In all of the studies referred to, the criticisms are about the basic approach, the content, and the functioning of written law and the involved institutions. With regard to the latter, all informants agree that, first; the majority of the judges working in Bas-Congo do not speak the local languages.[163] Rubbers and Gallez (2012) show for Lubumbashi, and Nzundu (2013) in Bandundu, that few people understand the procedures and logic of written law, mistrust lawyers, and criticize the high cost and slowness of the procedures.[164] Also, Pohu's informants in Bas-Congo argue that the costs of official jurisdiction are too high anyway. The corruption implies supplementary remunerations of each judicial step.[165] In our first research workshop (2011), the chiefs, notables and assessor judges staged in theater simulations the corruption and the high costs of official justice. According to a notable from Lukaya, "No money, no cause"[166] is a general rule in state law, a justice more available to the rich. And the cases rarely achieve any final judgment. The procedures take too long, and there are few verdicts applied (3% to 5% in Pohu 2009).

Chiefs' and notables' critical views on the written justice system

All of the informants involved with 'customary mediations' accept the competency of written law for penal offenses but not for other issues. Most of the chiefs and notables interviewed note that the fields in which written law provokes the most new problems are conflicts related to "custom" and to the most basic "endogenous" social and regional rules concerning access to land, heritage, matrimonial or family conflicts involving kinship rules and conflicts concerning the power in the clan, or "witchcraft" for which written law has no appropriate instrument to deal with. According to the chiefs, notables and assessor judges, the official judges often apply patrilineal rules even in a matrilineal context.[167] Application of the wrong kinship rules has long-term prejudicial consequences and may lead to extreme social disorder; official judgments are considered legally binding and unchangeable. Such official decisions may not be accepted as correct by many of the people concerned. The lawyers of written law would not know how to deal with the issues listed above, which are framed as customary. Many verdicts in official legal proceedings are seen in these contexts as inadequate or based on false assumptions.[168] The decisions too often fail to resolve the problems, instead creating new ones. Land is

the source of most conflicts; when the official legal system sets down on paper decisions contradicting the custom about access to land (e.g. through its commoditization by selling), it is difficult to repair the damage, prolonging the conflict by affecting several generations. The official courts tend to refuse to associate the chiefs with decisions taken by the tribunals in the treatment of land conflicts.[169] All of the chiefs interviewed by CERDAS or myself insist that the official justice system specifically does not include adequate means to usefully handle *kindoki* [witchcraft].

In addition, chiefs argue that there are several different customs in Bas-Congo related to the regionally different types of Kikongo languages and traditions, and that most of the judges have neither the sufficient knowledge nor the necessary legitimacy to treat issues related to the custom.[170] Yet the judges often venture to take on cases related to the "custom"; although they have "assessor judges" on their side, who should know the custom, these are often not heard or, if they come from other regions, do not know the involved customs well enough. In addition to the claims that official courts treat the issues in Lingala or French, there are significant differences between the four different Kinkongo languages (and respective different local customs), which demonstrate the necessity of treating the conflicts locally. Chief Lungangu (2011) concludes: "We need to re-establish the "Customary Justice."[171] This claim concerns the abolished "Customary Justice" instated by the colonial power; it appears in Bandundu (Nzundu 2012) as well as in Lubumbashi (Rubbers 2015). Such claims are often interpreted by administrators of the state or by lawyers as being motivated solely by chiefs' desire for more power. However, chiefs and notables are confronted with people's conflicts and their requests for support through locally occurring mediations, which follow well-known procedures in the languages shared by the involved persons.

It is of significance that the comments of chiefs and notables toward official Law practices correspond in large measure to the analysis by lawyers of the functioning of the official Law in Bas-Congo, which shows, in summary, that the dysfunction of official justice system is due to "the deterioration of its infrastructures, the absence of means of transport, its lack of effectiveness, the low level of training of its personnel, its unattractive salaries, the resulting corruption, the peddling of influence, the marginalization of the customary mechanisms, the weakness of juridical assistance." (Pohu 2009:9). These deficiencies also correspond to the results of the Permanent Commission for the Reform of the Congolese Law.[172] However, the chiefs' and notables' claims go beyond questioning the poor functioning of the official legal system. From the perspective of the needs of the people, the chiefs and notables complain about the inadequacy of written law for certain local conflicts related to the custom.

The experiences of assessor judges in official Law

In the Peace Tribunals in Bas-Congo, a judge usually has two assessor judges assisting him who are supposed to have 'customary' competences, given that local mediation follows other rules and uses other means and procedures than does justice based on written laws. In DRC, assessor judges are supposed to come from the local communities and know the regional and local language and customs very well. This is the case for some assessor judges in Bas-Congo, but not for most (Pohu 2009).[173]

The assessor judges are positioned between the population and the written law in a structure that ignores the local authorities (chiefs and notables of the villages and Grouping Chiefs). According to my observations in Bas-Congo, it seems that through their participation in the official justice system (without payment), several assessor judges tend to compete with chiefs. For assessor judge Masamba (Lukaya district), the competition with chiefs is aggravated by the fact that the Grouping Chiefs are paid as state functionaries, while the assessor judges are unpaid. But, the official legal system does not prepare the judges to deal with the custom and instates assessor judges with limited competences, and who are, if competent, rarely listened to by the judges.[174]
The competition between assessor judges and chiefs weakens the ability of assessors to counsel the judges well, given that assessors don't promote the required cooperation with chiefs. For instance, in conflicts framed as witchcraft, assessor judges cannot secure on their own the social control necessary through the presence of the members of the involved communities.[175] Official courts do not provide any or little connection with the community, and there is no social control when the assessor judges do not communicate with the village chiefs, with other notables, or even not with Grouping Chiefs.[176]

The assessor judges note that the written law deals with customary issues such as, first and foremost, access to land (Mayengo & Lapika 2011). They also counsel the official legal system based on written law, which treats issues related to succession and heritage, to the liberation or recognition of slaves in a clan, as well as to *kindoki* and *nkisi* [ancestral spirit in sculpture]. The descriptions of assessor judges about the way they treat *kindoki* conflicts, show that they often take the role of chiefs. The way they support official courts with their knowledge of the BaKongo tradition, also show that some assessor judges apply local traditions, while others partially invent new traditions[177]. Several of the assessor judges interviewed tend to extract from the local traditions that which, according to their personal views, may match the written laws. They combine the two legal systems but without any social control, which is contrary to the matrilineal tradition in which nobody should decide alone (Ivala 2003) but especially not in case of conflicts involving *kindoki.* Through this pretension of representing local traditions alone, assessor judges contradict a preponderant characteristic of Bantu traditions that no one should act in isolation, since this is per definition *kindoki*. Like the chiefs and notables, several assessor judges insist that "official justice has no instruments to treat *kindoki*; there are no written laws about witchcraft."[178] An assessor judge reported that he mediated a case involving *kindoki* in the city, but that he had to treat it outside of the framework of the Peace Tribunal. He did this in accordance with the Kongo ancestral tradition, treating it in the community together with a group of notables.[179] This illustrates again that *kindoki* requires the proper social framework. Any closed room of a tribunal, which is geographically remote from the community involved in the conflict, and which addresses the issues only through individuals, contradicts the social and emotional requirements of mediation. Individuality and isolation are both basic frames associated with witches.[180]
When involved in cases framed as witchcraft, assessor judges, who are obliged to apply the written laws, are caught by the inescapable problems caused by written legislation against 'witchcraft' (see

Geschiere 2006; Fisyi and Geschiere 1990).[181] Assessor Lukano argues that the traditional approaches to law have been "taken hostage" by the civil procedure (in Lapika and Mayengo 2011:65).

Seeking written evidence of recognized rights

The chiefs argue that there are people who use official law to definitively close a case because oral local customary mediation does not provide enough proof; official law produces written confirmations of the rights of individuals, which seems to them to better prevent new conflicts from appearing.[182] But, according to Pohu (2009) only a minority (10%) holds this preference; they belong most often to the minority of the French-speaking people, which corresponds to the findings of Rubbers and Gallez (2012) in Lubumbashi. Issues related to land are those in which people like to have written confirmation, but are also those for which the official legal system often hands down false written decisions that contradict the custom, perpetuating the conflicts over generations, as I observed in Bas-Fleuve. People argue that they need a written confirmation of their rights to the use of the land, but, at the same time, land conflicts may be better resolved locally, where more witnesses are consulted. [183]

B. The war of law in DR Congo

The need for a juridical reform claimed by the chiefs, notables, and assessor judges is recognized by the Ministry of Justice of DR Congo, which is working on the reform of the juridical codes. However, there are divergent understandings of the content of the reform. The *Permanent Commission for the Judicial Reform* in DRC discussed the codification of the custom to be included in the official written laws (see Akele 2008a). However, any codification of the custom is questionable, especially in the context of witchcraft accusation. Taking into account that DR Congo has more than 450 different ethnic groups, a codification is not able to reflect them all in an adequate way. In a country with more than 500 languages, implying different notions and *habitus* in "lived-law", the challenges are high. In addition to this, there is currently a large gap between the majority of the Bantu-speaking rural population, which claims to respect local traditions framed in written law as 'custom', and a minority of the several (mostly urbanized) educated elites[184]. The latter prefer to follow values along the lines of western norms in order to secure their material interests. Akele Adau (2008a:193-195) notes that there is currently a "war of law" in DR Congo. The former coordinator of the "Permanent Commission of Juridical reform", Akele Adau, questions[185] whose interest the laws should represent; is it right that the official written law mostly serves the interests of the elites, or should it become an instrument that is also useful for the majority of the Congolese population?

I described above which kind of law the majority of the population prefers. In the following, I analyze two of the several central divergences between the official written law and the local oral und 'living law' in Bas-Congo. First I discuss the approach written law takes to witchcraft; then I look at the main general divergences between the oral and written modes of law.

The written law approach to local notions of 'witchcraft'

Although the issues related to access to land are equally central, I will further pursue here the next most preponderant area exemplifying the deep differences between local oral and ritual legal approaches and the official written law: the treatment of conflicts related to witchcraft. The Peace Tribunals do sometimes also judge cases concerning witchcraft[186], although they have neither the required juridical means nor the competency. Of seven interviewed assessor judges, four recognized that assessor judges in the Peace Tribunals judge cases involving *kindok*i, but that they do so in accordance with the custom; three assessor judges declared that the Peace Tribunals are not allowed to judge witchcraft, all insisting that the written law system has no laws allowing resolution of cases of *kindoki*.

We saw above in the descriptions of the *kindoki* cases treated by the assessor judges that the interviewed assessor judges use similar 'customary' means to those of the chiefs or notables, but it is not clear to what extent all assessor judges apply them in the required social framework.[187] However, several assessor judges in Bas-Congo follow the expertise of the *mmbikudi* [revealers], designating those practitioners (healers or priests) who practice divination in a Christianized framework.[188] All of the assessors argue that they can treat *kindoki* cases.[189] Assessor judge Mampasi Nsoki relates that in June 2011 the Peace Tribunal in Lukaya judged one person of bewitching another on the basis of a revealer identifying the 'killing' [of the vital force - at night] of a young boy (Lapika & Mayengo, 2011). Assessor judge Masamba argues that assessor judges treat *kindoki* by fraud, questioning the lonely action of assessor judges acting without involving the chief and his counselors; however, Masamba pretend that assessor judges are forced to take this position given the repeated calls for help from the population. Nevertheless, such complaints are a main reason for calls to include the criminalization of witchcraft in the penal code.[190] However, as discussed in Chapter Four, *kindoki* does not address criminality "of day-time," but frames complex emotional and social issues, or social inequalities, or issues of power or fear, which requires specific means able of neutralizing the specific frames at stake.

Besides the rituals used by diviners and healers in neutralizing malefic *kindoki* or similar notions of 'witchcraft', I described in part I of this chapter the ritual of separation of two *bandoki* [witches] applied by chiefs in Bas-Congo.[191] On the contrary, the means available in written law (monetary sanctions of persons accusing others of *kindoki* without showing material evidence) do not allow the treatment and resolution of the social and emotional conflicts expressed in *kindoki* accusations. Chiefs and notables argue that the criminalization of *kindoki* cannot lead to its neutralization. (Geschiere 2006; Fisyi and Geschiere 1990). *Kindoki* and similar conflicts that are framed as 'witchcraft' must be treated with the appropriate means, allowing neutralization of the socially grounded emotions. Approach to *kindoki* should occur in a non-stigmatizing way, which implies that demonizing *kindoki* through a reduction to simple right and wrong is inappropriate; it just produces stigma for the involved persons, without freeing them from the implied harassment (Behrend 2009).

In Bas-Congo, several assessor judges complain that, since 2006, the Peace Tribunals no longer have the right to judge cases related to witchcraft. Assessor judge Mazova of Lukaya argues that assessor judges may assist in helping families resolve *kindoki* problems in the community, but not in the official tribunal.[192] For most interviewed assessor judges, *kindoki* is an issue related to the custom, and should be treated only in the framework of the custom that assessor judges can apply.[193] Lukanu, as an experienced urban assessor judge, describes the approach to *kindoki* exactly the way it is approached in rural areas[194]. He also argues that *kindoki* should be treated in the framework of 'Customary Law'.[195] It is significant that, although the assessor judges are under great pressure to serve and accommodate the written laws of the legal system, they all seem to approach *kindok*i with respect, obviously using all the traditional approaches and means.[196] Like chiefs or notables, assessor judges are careful, not risking becoming victims of *kindoki*; the versatility of this paradigm conditions its power of social control. This power is currently just as strong in urbanized as in rural settings.[197]

Concerning the sanctions for harmful *kindoki*, assessor judge Masamba applies the custom, with small penalties like a case of beer, or a chicken or a goat. He argues that "all these stories are symbolic issues"[198] and that most cases of *kindoki* are due to small emotional difficulties, which can augment animosities when they are not treated. Most of my informants do not regard *kindoki* as a "symbolic" issue and many of them defend that it can be treated and neutralized – either by initiated healers or by chiefs. Fisyi and Geschiere (1990:154) show for Cameroon that penalization[199] by official courts for accusations of witchcraft that end with jail sentences rather increases the social disorders related to *kindoki*, because they do not treat and neutralize the social tensions at stake.

Extreme hybridism among lawyers

The discussion of *kindoki* or similar notions of 'witchcraft' among academic lawyers in DR Congo illustrates the dimension of the challenge. In his analyses of the phenomenon of witchcraft in relation to the reform of the penal code, law Professor Kasongo Muidinge[200] uses definitions of witchcraft (combined with sorcery), which differ from those described by the chiefs, notables, assessor judges, and justiciables in Bas-Congo[201]. Kasongo Muidinge (2008:345-363) classifies three types of what he calls "magic"[202]. The author lists categories of the "white, the red and the black magic", which would be associated with the respectively white, red and black 'races' practicing them.[203] Neither I, nor my Congolese anthropologist researcher colleagues of CERDAS have ever heard such a argumentation in any community in either DR Congo or in Mozambique. At the same time, the author combines these analyses with other descriptions of the categories of 'witchcraft' that again perfectly fit into the local understanding of *kindoki*.[204] Such hybridism reaches far beyond syncretism; it demonstrates the deep gap between the academic lawyers among, or close to, the decision makers, and the majority of the population with their local leaders. It is also significant that Professor Kasongo Muidinge refers only to harmful types of *kindoki*, omitting the *kindoki* of protection, which is a category of *kindoki* no less relevant than the harmful category, since it is the very remedy needed to neutralize the latter![205] It casts doubts on the possibility of codifying and including such 'custom' in a written legal system and its

laws, without destroying its means of efficacy, which are grounded in the bivalence that allows efficient ritual means of neutralization of harmfulness.

Written laws resulting in proliferation of disorders framed as witchcraft

Because of the lacking recognition by the official legal system of the customary mediation, Chief Fatumata in the Bas-Fleuve district argues, like most chiefs and notables, that the prohibition by the state of treating *kindoki* according to the custom has led to the current proliferation of perverted forms of *kindoki*, producing huge social disorders. The current large number of children accused of being *ndoki* who later accuse other adults documents the danger of the situation. First, written laws require material evidence to condemn a person as *ndoki* [witch], while issues 'of the night', are not criminal offences. Secondly, the written law does not recognize diviners or revealers expertise as the chiefs, notables, and assessor judges do. The categorization of witchcraft as criminality implies confusing the powerful analogical language (of 'killing' humans' vital force by eating 'flesh' in dreams) with the realities of material criminal acts of daytime to which dreams, emotions like envy and jealousy, and social inequalities do not belong. This does not mean that *kindoki* (or similar notions) should be reduced to pathology[206]: strong and unjust social inequalities, dreams, and emotions are not necessarily pathological issues, but belong much more to the (social and emotional) reality of human life (Lévis-Strauss 1963) dealing with conflicts between the individual and the group (Hausschild 1982:180). The way such realities are dealt with is fundamental to the efficacy of the intervention and to social peace.

Beyond these observations, the Congolese written law does have means to sanction,- e.g. parents' expelling their children as *ndoki* -, but these are rarely applied. Children expelled from their families as witches are increasing in number in the cities, even though *kindoki* (in the BaKongo tradition) does not apply to children. This 'new' version of *kindoki*, applying frames different from the local traditions, perverts the ancestral paradigm and creates a version of *kindoki* by which the neutralization of harmfulness is hardly achieved if an excessively individualizing notion of sign and confession is used. However, as the chiefs in the above-described case studies demonstrated, they are able to neutralize harmfulness when they consistently apply the ancestral frames and ritual means.

Last but not least, a currently advanced concern of some Congolese lawyers and judges is the question of whether local practices, like the participation of children in a ritual separating the involved *ndoki*-children, contradicts Universal Human Rights. I suggest, together with my anthropologist colleague Lapika and several Congolese lawyers (Aymé Mayengo, Raymond Bouillon, Pierre Akele Adau) participating in our applied research in DR Congo, that the neutralization of the social and emotional harm expressed by the involved children requires the participation of the children with their parents in the rituals, which have the capacity to neutralize the harm at play.

Different approaches to witchcraft by official courts of Mozambique and DRC

A comparison of the juridical approach to conflicts framed as witchcraft in Mozambique and DR Congo shows that the juridical practices in Mozambique tend to confine the treatment of witchcraft

conflicts to the "traditional" framework. Official Mozambican courts or hybrid "Communitarian Tribunals"[207] applying "customary" approaches without the participation of chiefs (see Appendix 6.4. and Sousa Santos and Trindade 1993), both transfer such conflicts. Those considered able to treat these cases are healers and diviners members of AMETRAMO[208] (which is, as I observed, even the case in the capital Maputo), or chiefs and notables. In some cases, the widespread hybrid structure of "Communitarian Tribunals" are addressed, but more rarely, as they are less qualified to deal with such "traditional" issues. In "Communitarian Tribunals", conflicts are treated by communitarian judges, who are supposed to be elected by their community; however, such elections are rarely organized; the judges of such tribunals are usually those of the former "Popular Tribunals" instated by the socialist regime after independence (S. Santos and Trindade 1993; CEPAJI 2013). The communitarian judges of the latter structure are not paid and have no professional training; they usually have close ties to FRELIMO, which is in power since independence. These tribunals apply hybrid approaches, mixing elements of written official law with customary rules in a way that is not clearly regulated. Official approaches pretend that palavers conducted by chiefs are influenced by the RENAMO party in opposition (combating FRELIMO in the civil war), which is not necessarily the case, as my descriptions of examples of Nampula (in Appendix 6.4.) show.

The question arises as to why, in the Mozambican context, official courts seem more conscientious than lawyers and members of official Peace Tribunals in Bas-Congo (see Akele Adau 2008a) about the fact that the written law does not provide adequate means of approaching conflicts framed as witchcraft. Could it be that Mozambican official judges have a greater understanding that such conflicts are not so much an issue of law and judicial procedure but rather of social and psychological significance? Why would this be the case? Are there other reasons for such differences in the understanding by official judges in Mozambique and DR Congo? One thesis that I suggest is that Christian influences seem to have been less invasive in Mozambique than in Bas-Congo[209], and that the socialist experience in Mozambique (1975-1992) seems to have not been so strong and intrusive as to have destroyed the deeply grounded endogenous notions of basic characteristics of "witchcraft".

Overview of resumed implications of written *versus* oral frames of law

Besides the written laws, the habits, custom, proverbs, idioms, and sayings are fundamental means of jurisdiction (Durkheim 1960). They are grounded in *habitus* (Bourdieu 1972), producing patterned ways of practices, understanding, morality, ethics, and judging arising from a specific social field.[210] This resonates in article 153 of the new Congolese constitution (2006), which recognizes the right to treat conflicts according to custom – as long as "it does not disturb the public order or public decency"[211]. However, the judges decide alone whether the custom threatens the public order or public decency; that led to complications, which are increased by several factors summarized below.

First, written official law in DRC is based on Roman-Germanic law, which has several assumptions contradicting the most basic and broadly shared customs in DR Congo (concerning individual interests versus communitarian interests, or land propriety, or paternal kinship versus maternal kinship order.

Second, earlier 'Customary Justice' was codified and instated by the colonial power.[212] However, any kind of written codification of oral normative orders follows frames contrary to the endogenous customs: it imposes a rigidity of written rules, while oral modes allow flexible applications, significantly influencing the chances of success of the mediations.

Third, the objectives of the two approaches are different: penal written law operates by identifying culprits and victims, and by punishing. Oral "living law" seeks to mediate between the conflicting parties, who pursue solutions based on compensation and seeks reconciliation. Direct compensation regulates the conflicts allowing the conflicting people to continue living in the same community.[213]

Fixing the modes of the palaver in a written code would have negative consequences[214]: (1) It would restrict the 'customs' of 450 cultures to what the people writing down the customs may collect as 'custom'[215] (2) The necessarily unifying selection would transform and manipulate local traditions in a process of reinterpretation by fitting them into a written judicial code of laws.[216] The Permanent Commission of the Juridical Reform discussed integrating the various Congolese customs in a new penal code of DRC, advocating a unification of sanctioning and procedures.[217] We saw that this objective would neglect the realities of the legal plurality. This concerns, most of all, conflicts in family law, inheritance, land access, and witchcraft. However, legal pluralism raises several questions. It implies opening up a space for decentralized local mediations following local customs without the pretension to be able to include all the Congolese oral 'customs' in a single, common written penal code. I subscribe to the argument of Kasongo Muidinge (2008:179) that codifying the custom would fix it and hinder its evolution, freezing it in the archaic modes. Others argue that the codification would simplify the task of the tribunals (Akele 2008a:180). This amounts to an argument against a codification of the custom, as it is not an appropriate solution from a communitarian point of view. Communitarian practices require no official control beyond the acceptance of their own way of mediating conflicts. Legal pluralism practices in Mozambique or e.g. Ethiopia (Seidel 2013; Fentaw 2007; Allehone 1999; Getachew 2008; Hoekema 2002) show how such an approach might function.

In contrast to the ambivalent policy in Law in DR Congo, a complementary approach would allow the positive sides of 'customary' mediation to be used legally; Nzundu (2012) argues the written law would be available for cases in which 'customary' mediation fails.[218] According Devereux (1972), a complementary approach respects the internal logic of each involved paradigm. In law it implies that, in civil cases, the "justiciables" could choose in all legality their preferred mode of treatment, and on the other that the conflicts are treated with respect for the inherent social and cultural logics of each involved paradigm. Such solution would satisfy a large part of the population in DR Congo.[219]

Complementarities as a challenge for juridical reform and law pluralism

For chiefs and notables in Bas-Congo, like for the justiciables' preferences in Bandundu (Nzundu 2012) and Lubumbashi (Rubbers & Gallez 2012, 2015), the solution lies in a complementary approach of law pluralism as described above. First, the local 'customary' agencies and authorities (chiefs of the village, grouping, or paramount chiefs) should be consulted, and if the solution is not found at these levels, the case should be transferred to the tribunal (Lapika and Mayengo 2011: 70; Nzundu 2012). Such recognition implies that decisions made at the local level on the grounds of local *habitus*. The described studies in Bas-Congo, the study by Nzundu (2012) in Bandundu, by Rubbers (2015) in Lubmbashi, the discussions of the Permanent Commission for Legal Reform (Akele Adau 2008a), and Akele Adau (2012) all show that official policy concerning Law in DR Congo requires other solutions that respond to the population's requirements of recognition of the value of local mediations practiced in local languages, according to local frames, and respecting locally grounded norms and paradigms.

Official recognition of legal pluralism (as actually practiced in several African countries e.g. Ethiopia or Mozambique) would mean an acceptance of the realities of the parallel and autonomous normative orders. The applied diverging laws might influence each other without necessarily imposing a relationship of domination, thus allowing recognition of separate normative orders (Merry 1988; Sousa Santos & Trinadade 2003; Hinz 2006; Hinz & Mapaure 2010). Legal pluralism is a solution by which the state desists from pretending to control every process of treating conflicts between its citizens. In DRC, the competency of the official written law is broadly recognized for penal issues, but it is not realistic to treat all local conflicts in the frames in which the actors of written law neither are trained nor dispose of adequate means of dealing with such conflicts as those framed as 'witchcraft'.

Human rights and respect for local cultures

In the context of *Legal Pluralism*, the localization of Human Rights is central. Judges in Bas-Congo analyzing filmed palavers of Bas-Congo questioned the local practices, and criticized the participation of a ten-year-old girl in a ritual neutralizing *kindoki* as a violation of universal Human Rights protecting children. Lawyers might apply Human Rights in a mechanical way, easily devaluing local cultural practices and paying little attention to the specific context, although the lawyers Brems (2001), Merry (2006), and de Feyter (2006) insist on the "localization" of Human Rights as a necessity of adjusting Human Rights to local realities. The anthropologist Englund (2006:47-60), however, stresses the problems of translations of human rights leading to disempowerment of the African poor.

In the case in question in Bas-Congo[220], the involved children and the parents on both sides (the so-called *ndoki* [witch] child and the accusing child) were very satisfied with the mediation through the palaver and the following ritual of "separation" of the two involved "*ndoki*-children". Both expressed their relief at the outcome. The film and the interviews afterwards showed that the ten-year-old girl, the 'victim', did not feel bad, neither in the palaver nor in the separation ritual, even not when taking (during the ritual) on her lips a drop of blood from the sacrificed chicken[221], bringing about the

expected neutralization. *Kindoki* seen as 'wrong' bonds due to excessive closeness of living (Devisch 1993a, 1996a) must be "untied". In the present case, all participants were satisfied about their relief from the tensions framed in feelings of persecution through *kindoki*.[222] While expressed in one "victim" person (in this case a child), the conflict concerns all the members of the involved groups. According to the several revealers who made the diagnosis of this case, the bad dreams of the little girl were due to *kindoki*. This etiology is a social construction, and it must be deconstructed with all people concerned: the parents, the "victim" girl (the main actor), the concerned neighbors, and the revealers consulted by the involved families before the palaver.[223] While the palaver cleared up the conflict between the two families, the girl's relief from her nightmares (framed as 'witchcraft') required the presence of the girl feeling as victim so that the necessary (emotional and social) process of transformation might possibly set her free. This process cannot be induced without her participation in the ritual that separates the "witches"; it was performed with her father, the other girl also with her father, and the chief as mediator, and with the testimony of members of her community, all of whom play a significant role in her rebalancing process.[224] Without making medical claims, I described how harmful effects of *kindoki* ['witchcraft'] can be neutralized –socially or/and emotionally. In the case discussed in section D, the ("victim") child present at the palaver and at the following ritual of separation was by no means endangered; neither by the palaver nor by the neutralizing treatment. Any rigorous application of the Universal Human Rights of Children, which would prohibit children to assist at local mediations and rituals would probably not only be hard to enforce, but, above all, counterproductive.

Merry (2006) argues that people at the "grassroots" do not really understand the philosophy of Universal Human Rights. In our case in DR Congo, they do not have much information about their individual rights in general, and even less about Universal Human Rights. Forbidding a ten-year-old child to assist at a mediating palaver in the name of Universal Children Rights would only hinder her relief from the harmful effects of *kindoki*. The critical reaction of the Congolese judges towards the local practices of mediation involving children demonstrates their ambivalence due to their position as representatives of a Western kind of official law, with unclear positions towards the local mediating practices. In the treatment of conflicts framed as witchcraft, the therapeutic and juridical aspects in palavers or rituals are two complementary and inseparable aspects. Official penal law will not change people's dreams and their interpretations, which influence witchcraft accusations; in such a context, *kindoki* (or similar notions) is not a criminal issue requiring legal rules and laws. My research and its results suggest that official penal law is a very blunt sword against the strong and vital influences of social and cultures frames. *Kindoki* and similar notions of witchcraft are deeply rooted in "real" and vital emotional and social issues. If they are criminalized the procedure is not only counterproductive.

Many cultural practices based on traditions, and belonging to the local 'normality', may show elements that are apparently contradicting the universal definition of human rights. However, the analyses of this complex issues exceed this study. According to An-Na'im (1992), the fight against

inhuman, cruel, or degrading practices must involve a cross-cultural search for a common definition. Falk (1992:46) questions the neglect of diversity in the name of Universal Human Rights, which were defined based on western principles. Falk calls for "a human rights consciousness" and insists, with Kothari and Sethi (1989), on moving beyond legalist and static conceptions (Falk 1992:52). Even when cultural heritages are experienced as being oppressive, historical attempts to repress them in the name of progress[225] rarely respond to the needs of the people, and turning into something that may appear as a mere "cult of modernization" (Falk 1992:57). In any case, there is hardly any rationale in prohibiting un-harmful cultural practices in the name of universality or secularity.

Beyond the just described social and cultural problems concerning the universalization of Western values in the currently defined Human Rights, the latter are a strong tool that allow to defend most basic right of the inviolable human. Merry's (2006) studies of domestic violence show that the relationship of Universal Human Rights to culture may involve complex issues such as male violence against women. As I observed in DR Congo, women are often denied their due respect. Yet Merry's comparative study with informants from NGO's and feminist human right activists of several countries, do not see culture as the origin of domestic violence but much more the economic distress, the indifference of the sate representatives, the lack of services and the failure of the law, housing problems, social stigma, religious influences, and urban life with its structural violence and the implied inequalities. The informants of Merry (2006:163) do not see themselves trapped by culture. These are arguments, which are valid for DR Congo and for Mozambique where women in communities do not feel trapped by culture that they practice with pride (CPAJI 2012[226] and Chapter Six). In central and North Mozambique, women defend their rights to practice women's initiation rites (Kotanyi & Krings-Ney 2009; Arnfred 2011), which Mozambican feminists[227] criticize (Osório 2008), arguing that the local cultures disrespect the rights of the woman.[228] Seeking more gender equality should not happen at the cost of one's own identity or belonging; to find the adequate balance is the challenge of "modernity". Women in Mozambique show that they do not want to desist from their culture, the respect for which they claim, and which should be recognized as a basic (human) right. Many women I worked with in several central and North Mozambican provinces are, for instance, happy to be allowed to perform the communitarian parts of the youth initiation that were prohibited after independence. The complexity of these issues cannot be deepened within this study.

In summary, anthropologists, jurists, and philosophers (Merry 2006; An-Na'im et al. 1992; Howard 1992; Brems 2001; de Feyter 2006; Englund 2006) agree that Human Rights should not be approached in an ethnocentric way, but must be adjusted to the specific social and cultural context. This implies the basic right of respect for one's own values in the described Bantu-speaking cultures, with its consequences in the pursuit of health, of wellbeing, of education or in the transformations of conflicts in local ways and in accordance with the own culture, which specific way should be recognized universally as a Human Right to the own approach (the right to differences).

C. Summary and Conclusions

I described the ‘living law’ practiced in local ways, including modes of treatment of conflicts within communities, rural and urban, using means other than those usual in written Law in order to also partially achieve other finalities. The pursuit of amiable reconciliation is central to local mediations based on social and cultural ways. This search is promoted by the use of proverbs, metaphors, idioms and a specific verbal rhetoric, gestures, dances, and songs which have the function of helping the conflicting parties deal with their emotions and reach compromises. Sanctions are applied in such mediations in the form of compensation. I showed that the objective in such a context is not to isolate or punish the culprit, but to enable the conflicting parties to continue living together in peace in the family or in the same neighborhood. In Appendix 5.3., I show examples of pluralism in Mozambique, which allows local treatment of conflicts either through palavers conducted by chiefs and notables, or through ‘Communitarian Tribunals’, both acting complementarily to official written law. Such pluralism is at present not legally allowed in Bas-Congo, but it is practiced and tolerated by the state.

Discussing the neo-traditional context of the local practices in law, I showed the historical complexity of the ancestral grounding of traditional authority of chiefs and notables. Although they relate their local interventions in law to ancestral practices; I suggest that verifications allow the determine whether basic “ancestral” norms and values are respected or not. Beyond the way conflicts are treated, there are central contents connoted with values that require respect, allowing mediation to be more easily achieved.

Mediation in locally held palavers in Bas-Congo treats disputed issues related to heritage, divorce, *kindoki* [witchcraft], access to land, and the division of power in clans within the interrelated constellation of the involved persons, avoiding the individualized approach of the official Law based on Roman-Germanic laws. I don’t want to discuss Roman-Germanic law in general; I only discuss it in the context of DR Congo and Mozambique. With two described and analyzed palavers, I illustrated the local way of neutralizing harmfulness framed as *kindoki* involving children. I demonstrated that palavers followed frames that the involved people connote with “ancestral” ways and values, and in which the mediation conducted by a chief with several eldest notables led to reconciliation and a neutralization of the conflicts, avoiding stigmatization of the involved persons. With a third example, I demonstrated that conflicts involving *kindoki*, which are approached in a contradictory and an excessively hybrid way hardly achieve mediation, much less reconciliation, but rather produce stigma or reinforce social disorders. For instance, in approaching witchcraft, the mix of several kinds of paradigms and frames (administrative, from the police, from written penal law partially with Christian religious approaches), using authoritarian, repressive, and intimidating framings, which treat the involved persons as ‘daytime’ criminals – thus misinterpreting the ‘night-time’ emotional, social, and psychological frame of *kindoki*, is problematic. I suggest that respect for the inherent logics of local social and cultural ways (that I describe along this study) and coherence in the application of the involved paradigms and their respective frames help to achieve mediation and perhaps reconciliation.

I demonstrated that isolated courtrooms far from the involved community members are not appropriate for successfully treating conflicts involving *kindoki* or similar notions of witchcraft. Treating *kindoki* conflicts within the communities in which the conflicts arise, and in the local language, palavers, even if not always successful, may achieve positive results by creating the required atmosphere for compromise and reconciliation. I have shown that it is essential that the chiefs do not decide alone.[229]

The community members, chiefs and notables argue that beyond apparently competing positions, the official law and the local mediations of conflicts can be complementary; the two approaches respond to different requirements and aims. Observations and interviews show that chiefs and notables together can mediate several kinds of locally arising conflicts without the intervention of official law, on the basis of commonly shared values of the members of the communities. Chiefs and notables can more easily achieve reconciliation when they respect the most basic rules inherent to the approaches, which the people involved relate to "ancestral" norms. Discussing cases in which chiefs and notables apply strong hybrid mixes of means; I suggest that the weighting in the mix is relevant especially when the involved diverging paradigms are contradictory to the local norms allowing mediation. But the basic ancestral rules are easily contradicted and hindered, and thus made less successful in their immediate aim of mediation, when those conducting the palaver fail to concentrate on oral mediation (e.g. through the taking of written records and the quoting of existing ones). I suggest that the aims of reconciliation can hardly be achieved by contradictory approaches.

I showed that the means used fundamentally influence the results. But I also discussed the fact that the use of "ancestral" means (songs, dances, shouts, proverbs), or the recognition of the relevance of non-living beings (ancestors, spirits) or individualistically acting "witches" identified by special agencies (diviners or revealers), does not automatically, by itself, guarantee that reconciliation will be achieved. It is necessary to follow the basic inherent and commonly shared principles of the activated paradigms (e.g., concerning dealing with witchcraft or with land access), which help the involved parties to reach agreements. A local approach to conflict resolution following "ancestral" frames is more than a formal issue; it implies that basic assumptions are applied; e.g. that land "is a person" and should not be sold; or that the notion of "witchcraft" is ambivalent. Internal logics often imply the notion that involuntary *kindoki* ["witchcraft"] which can be cleansed and neutralized is at stake. Inherent approaches may imply rituals separating persons involved together in *kindoki*, which are effective in 'untying' the intrusion given to excesses of narrowness.

Neither witch-hunting nor the killing of "witches" seems to be part of what most Bantu-speakers connote with "ancestral" frames (Behrend 1997, 2011; Lankwick 2012; Stroeken 2010). It is rather a Christian tradition to identify and to persecute alleged "witches", framing them as sinners (which includes the contents of their dreams). Also criminology in written law confuses the issues actually belonging to the realm of the 'night' encompassing social conflicts and emotions connected with desires, envy, power issues, and inequalities, as described in Chapter Four.

Several notables argue that contradictory misuse of basic "ancestral" rules and inherent logics are to be avoided; it is necessary to apply them coherently without contradictory and excessive hybridism, allowing conflicts to be more successfully mediated. We saw that confusions can easily occur with chiefs or practitioners (notables, healers, diviners, or revealers) who pretend to apply ancestral frames but in fact predominantly apply other frames (like administrative, written law, or Christian frames). In such cases, they merely follow values others than those locally grounded. My suggestion that the respective category of the involved frames can be identified may be easily misunderstood as essentialist, as if I were arguing for the application of "pure" "ancestral" traditions. In fact, I insist that pure traditions do not exist; cultures are the result of mixes over the centuries. This does not prevent cultures from having their own logic, which I describe in this study for several Bantu-speaking cultures. I suggest that the capacity to recognize which paradigms and values are at play allows the identification of the objectives and aims that are followed.

Finally, following the concept of complementarity according to Devereux's (1972) definition, I suggested, in keeping with Le Roy (2004) and Kasongo Muidinge (2008:179) that a written systematization of 'the custom' holds the danger of fixing the complex *habitus* (Bourdieu 1972), and thus losing the flexibility that characterizes its strength. A complementary approach in law pluralism allows parallel and semiautonomous practices, through clearly defined limits (Merry 1988). Official recognition of their contribution to law would allow chiefs to act with less fear in Bas-Congo; the definition of their field of intervention in a way that acknowledges the realities would end a situation in which chiefs in Bas-Congo act in semi-illegality. I suggest that the described ongoing war of law (Akele Adau 2008a) corresponds to what Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) call "symbolic violence," by which certain social groups impose their values through their symbolic capital, which, according to Bourdieu, augments authority, knowledge, prestige, as well as the productive capacity to accumulate money and wealth. Currently, the potentiality of conversion of symbolic capital into wealth is high for several elites in DR Congo.

The factual (but officially not recognized) legal pluralism is embedded in relations of unequal power by which local non-state law (see Merry 1988:874-878), as a 'living law', is subordinated to the official written law of European origin, promoting individual property, which allows a capitalist economy, international investments, and modernization. However, as Merry (1988) notes, the diverging normative order stays in a dialectical relationship: the potentials of domination through Law imply its limits of domination; "the diverging individual choices express the potential of resistance" (1988:890). The involved dialectic characterizes local approaches in law framing a "distinctive manner of imagining the real" (Geerts 1983:184).[230] The fear of the ruling elites in DR Congo of losing control over the national unity leads to their reluctance to accept the realities of diverging normative orders that are visible in the factually practiced legal pluralism. I discussed the debates of the "Permanent Commission for Juridical Reform", which show that many lawyers defend the idea of imposing a unified (written) penal law. Akele Adau (2008a, 2012) shows aptly the price the majority of the

population pays in the case of a law unification negating the realities of the most different existing normative orders in a multicultural country like DR Congo. Social peace has priority locally as an ethical and practical necessity, if not also a simply pragmatic choice. I suggest that such priority must also be considered in relation to the necessity of the localization of Universal Human Rights, which is required in recognizing broadly shared local values and practices that differ from Western concepts that are framed as universal (An-Na'im 1992; Merry 2006; Englund 2006). This issue does not imply ideas of excessive relativism, but addresses social values, which the people are not willing to drop in the name of a universal leveling that implies, e.g., the imposition of Western norms (priority to individual rights) against local values (respect of group rights).

I subscribe to the view of Merry (1988:882) and Moore (1977) that the political struggles between those whose claims to authority rest on kinship or religion and those whose claims to state power rest on factual power, knowledge and practices given by a certain kind of education (more westernized), point up the linkage between political and economic competition for power, knowledge and practices. What is recognized as knowledge is defined by power at the national and international level.[231] People at the grassroots level, however, have the power not only of their own thought and specific knowledge, but also of their practices. The described local practices in living-law are based on the experience that punishments (as practiced by penal law) promote social exclusion and impede re-integration into the group. In the studied cultures (and according to "ancestral" values), there is a commonly shared understanding that treatments of conflicts should help the involved parties to continue living together. The treatment of people's interrelationship is at the center of focus; local mediating legal practices intend to "re-weave" disturbed living relationships, just as local practices in health "re-weave" relationships among the living and the relationships of the living with the living-dead or other spirits (Devisch 1993a - see Chapter Five). In several African countries, the applications of such ways of mediation allow the treatment of serious conflicts with partial reconciliation. E.g. hybrid approaches of the "Commissions of Reconciliation" in South Africa or in the Gacaca in Rwanda document the strong relevance of the search for the treatment of conflicts among the living based on palavers and rituals. They illustrate how African living-law practices question penal law practices, which connote justice with punishment, while mediation in living-law practices seeks to augment social peace.

Figure 46a: A palaver conducted by a female grouping chief with the notables who are chiefs of their surrounding villages, treat conflicts between two children, who accused several neighbouring adult to have bewitched them. – District Bas-Fleuve, Bas-Congo, RDC (2011) –

Figure 46b: A grouping chief with four of his notables treat conflicts between two brothers, involving issues of land and ritual power.
– District Catarates, Bas-Congo, RDC (2011) – (See Kotanyi, 2012)

PART III

Chapter Seven

MULTIPLE MODERNITIES and DIFFERENTIAL ONTOLOGY

MULTIPLE WORLD COEXIST UND SOME TIMES MEET EACH OTHER

Figure 47:
Healers discuss HIV/AIDS prevention supported by a chief and a medical doctor and nurses

– In Kwango - South-West DR Congo in 2010 –

Outline of Chapter Seven

In Section A, I summarize my ethnography of practices that my research subjects regard as "ancestral ways." I discuss resilience consisting of actualizations in the form of constant adjustments, with changes in: (1) the grounding paradigm of ancestorhood and the requirement of protection of the living, defining morality, supporting well-being and fertility; (2) the transgression of taboos and their cleansing; and (3) notions of 'witchcraft', which frame the ethics/morals of strongly relational persons.

In Section B, I discuss the relevance of the resilience of the 'ancestral' paradigms given that they adjust to constant changes, often being used with other religious and secular paradigms in a plurality with tolerance. The basic paradigms are relevant in rural and urban areas, defining morals, even when they are not respected. They are transmitted by certain agencies (diviners, healers, chiefs, youth initiation counselors and elders) that relate their knowledge to 'ancestral' legitimacy, which is transmitted by means the "sciences" do not recognize. I discuss the diverse sources and legitimacies of knowledge. The diverging epistemologies involved imply the marginalization of knowledge relevant for the majority due to the opposing interests of adherents of religions, secular politics, certain sciences or values of various elites, which influence the politics grounded in an ongoing epistemological war in law, education and health. The factual plurality raises the question of the recognition of the multiple epistemologies and values at stake involving "traditions" that are constantly actualized with adjustments to 'modernity' and to several religions. A connection with the deeply rooted 'ancestral' paradigms that resonate in people's emotions reinforces the effectiveness of interventions in health, education or law.

In Section C, I discuss the multiple modernities at stake. In contrast to early theories that modernity always implies secularization separating cognitive fields like sciences, or the state, from the enchanted and religious, the 'ancestral' ways currently coexist and are often mixed with Christian or Islamic values/practices, sciences and secular politics, in *post-secular* contexts (Habermas 2006). The mixtures of 'modernity' and 'tradition' make this differentiation obsolete; these modernities involve multiple worlds in which Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speakers live.

In Section D, **in an Excursus on Relational living versus Ontology**, I discuss my data in relation to ontological theories with which this study might be associated. First, recalling African philosophers' critiques of constructions of "Bantu ontology," I refute ontological ascriptions establishing 'what is' on the basis of the African philosophical critiques of inappropriate projections of Western theories. Second, I review the implications of Heidegger's *fundamental ontology* and show the ethical problems implied in concepts of ontology establishing "what is." I review Lévinas and Derrida's critiques of ontology's fixing "being" in identities. My study is not about identity, but rather respecting multiplicity, which is always in becoming. Mozambican and Congolese people seem to place priority on relational living (with the living and the living-dead), in several networks, e.g., for the search for wellbeing and peace. The multiplicity at stake fits Deleuze's concepts of some continua involving changes and differences in "virtual becoming.
"

Appendix for Chapter Seven

Appendix 7. Differential ontology of *virtual becoming* of Deleuze 7 p.

Chapter Seven:

Multiplicity & Recognition - Ontology vs. Relational Living

A. Summary of the ethnography and of my analyses

Summary of the ethnography

I showed some aspects of the cosmologically woven relationships of cultural paradigms like ancestorhood, interrelated persons, taboos and notions of 'witchcraft' that are actualized in the search for well-being (e.g. in the HIV epidemic), in education and in the mediation of conflicts (in the locally framed living-law) that many or, in certain cases, most Bantu-speakers in Mozambique and DR Congo apply or recognize as relevant in varying intensity. I analyzed these paradigms from the perspective of the marginalized majorities, suggesting that an inclusive approach would improve the efficiency of interventions like in health, education or law. Exclusive policies apply in many development projects just like in the institutional framework involving the body politic and the political body, which determines the decisions.

Showing the current relevance of those paradigms which some claim are outdated in globalized times, I pointed out that they are activated, beginning at birth, in the passages between the various stages of the life-cycle (birth, passage to adulthood, marriage, first childbirth, death) through ritualized ways of dealing with the forces at work (including humans and non-humans, ancestors and other spiritual entities) in the whole environment. I discussed some of the frames of what I call 'ancestral' paradigms as a qualification that my informants relate to first-settled ancestors in a more mythical dimension that reaches beyond a genealogical connotation. Ancestors stand for morals and ethics of values connoted with life; they are assumed to influence production and reproduction through the fertility of land, humans and animals (Devish 1993; Fialho Feliciano 1998; Mariano 2014). I discussed the gendered sexual framing, which activates humoral and thermal frames influencing people's (partially risky) behavior in sexuality. This is especially relevant in both rural and urban areas, in the context of a more efficient approach to the HIV/AIDS epidemic, where the imperative to have children is not addressed in prevention campaigns. There is the moral power of ancestors as providing ethical orientation, and in part able to influence, as a deeply implemented value, the regulation of human moral behavior (i.a., through taboos as rules left by the ancestors). There are innovative possibilities in inclusive health education, in pragmatically activating the paradigms at work to motivate people to adjust risky practices, like certain ways of cleansing in dealing with transgressions of taboos. Especially those related to sex, blood and death have a relevance of which appears in all the studied cultures; they may delay HIV diagnostics and prevention, and interfere in treatment; I suggested that inclusive negotiations can allow adjustments, augment HIV prevention and improve health education. Official prohibitions, e.g., of cleansing after death, are to be avoided, as they push these practices into secrecy. I finally showed that inclusive health education in youth initiation allows sustainable promotion of

HIV prevention, reaching several generations.[1] Youth initiation is one of the best contexts for education of responsible behavior of adults, especially concerning sexuality.

The moral power of ancestors also legitimates the mediation of conflicts; many avoid official justice, seeking mediation instead, if possible in living-law practices, which might lead, if not to reconciliation, at least to reweaving the social fabric. We saw the mainly interdependent and relational characteristic of persons determining taboos as well as notions of 'witchcraft', which are relevant in health behavior and in mediations or transformations of conflicts. I described palavers and rituals in living-law in which people participate in mediations of conflicts by following ancestral ways, especially in issues for which written law has no adequate means. The people do not necessarily neglect the official written law, just as participating in youth initiation does not automatically devalue schooling or, in health, and the consultation of healers does not hinder people in using biomedicine. Legal, educational, and medical pluralism are typical in Africa, as they are in many other places including Europe (Naraindas et al. 2014.

Different versions of similar themes

I showed differences between the several Mozambican and Congolese 'Bantu' cultures, which all belong to the very large sub-Saharan African linguistic group of Bantu-speakers. Beyond the differences of kinship structures, linguistics and frames, there are basic similarities in the application of commonly shared paradigms. These look like variations on same themes, with differences in how rituals are realized and the terms used for naming the spirits show the strongly relational interdependent persons, of taboos or of notions like *okhwiri, kindoki* ['witchcraft']. In 'witchcraft' accusations, I showed the widespread differentiation between "day" and "night" 'realities', which is common to all the studied cultures.

I described differences between the several studied Bantu-speaking cultures, which do not contradict the fact that the discussed paradigms have in this context similar main connotations, making possible the development of policies that allow them to be taken into account. They form predominant shared cultural, social, moral and ethical values grounded in non-dualism, and have strong emotional loading that could be addressed more. They coexist with other paradigms and values in more or less strong tensions due to the pressures of several kinds of dualist approaches (political, official law or health, institutional education or Western ways, Christian or Islamic), which in turn influence the seeking of health and well-being, education or the potentials of mediation of conflicts. I suggested that the studied Bantu-speakers are not identical (one) with the described paradigms. The described paradigms are followed in the most diverging ways and intensities; they are combined with various other paradigms that are followed either simultaneously (in parallel), or sequentially, or alternatively in an oscillating way, with paradigms grounded in Christianity or Islam, or in "sciences" (like biology) or in other political or economical values. It is the emotional, moral and ethical resonance of the values implied in these 'ancestral' paradigms which is relevant for the way the people currently approach their needs in health – implying wellbeing – in education and in law.

Further, to address similarities is not to neglect the implied differences. I suggested approaching the many constitutive differences in terms of becoming (according to Deleuze 1967 – see Appendix 7.1), which include changes and repetitions in actualizations, over the univocal duration of time that encompasses past, present and future, wrapping the past into the present (Hountondji 2013). It is a dynamic process of actualizations that imply elements of the past combined with changes. Instead of a reduction to sameness as one, I insist on multiplicity in the framing of the commonly shared paradigms, showing some obviously common values. The latter allows the development of dialogical communication strategies (e.g., in health, education and law), which, to be effective, must be addressed in the mother tongues and adapted to the respective cultural context, allowing emotions to resonate and augment motivation, influencing behavior (for instance for HIV prevention). The uses of such dialogical communication imply the necessity of linguistic and conceptual adjustments for each linguistic/cultural group in order that the communication may correspond to the diversities and resonate with the people's emotions. These adjustments (of the used terms, concepts and metaphors) allow the achievement of efficacy by new suggestions, which are comprehensively combined with usual frames so as to facilitate the integration of new knowledge. Besides some different frames between the matrilineal and patrilineal Bantu-speakers that must be taken into account, there are differences between the 'ancestral' approaches and the diverging Christian or Islamic syncretism, and between all of these approaches and that influenced by sciences, biomedicine or official law. These differences reflect the social, cultural, educational and economic differences between the Bantu-speaking majority and the members of several (Western-) educated elites who are ambivalent between several approaches and values. I showed that some might declare publicly that they do not follow ancestral paradigms, even while following them in part or fully in the private sphere. The same person may follow diverging paradigms in different situations according to the specific groups in which he or she participates at different moments and in different places.

Summary of main characteristics of the 'ancestral ways'

Through observations of local practices in lived-law, education and health, combined with explanations from many Mozambican and Congolese rural and urban research subjects, I described and analyzed ways to approach and deal with issues related to wellbeing (involving more than health) and social peace that not only healers, diviners, notables, chiefs and initiation rites counselors connote with "ancestral ways," and that people working in Mozambican or Congolese ministries or in NGOs call "traditional" ways. They are practiced in parallel or simultaneously with other ways (Christian, Islamic, scientific, biomedical, written law, etc.). Following analyses of Wiredu (1995, 1996, 1998, 2002) for Ghana, I suggested that it is possible to differentiate between these approaches; although that should not be controversial, workshops in Mozambique and DR Congo demonstrated that people not used to switching often between the different approaches in play may have difficulties recognizing the differences between the core ideas in the specific paradigms and their respective implicit assumptions and explicit explanatory models of their particular framings. These difficulties of

analytical differentiation hinder people in dealing with the different approaches appropriately; some difficulties are rooted in ambivalences toward the obligations (e.g., of reciprocity) implied in the 'ancestral ways', and/or rejection of the ambiguities involved, e.g., in certain paradigms like *wuloyi, okhwiri, kindoki* or similar notions of 'witchcraft'.

Summarizing a few of the recognizable elements among the multiple frames inherent to the Bantu cultures that I studied, I extract some core tendencies connoted with "ancestral ways" without searching for or claiming 'authenticity', but following the main tendencies of most of my informants. Some of theses issues might be regarded in part as invented traditions (e.g., in a matrilineal context, the notion of "chiefs" – see Chapter Six). However, most people connote them currently with their "ancestral ways."

First, ancestors see and hear everything; they ground rules of ethics and moral behavior through, among other things, taboos that "they left so that the living could live better," as healers say. **Second,** it is the ancestors (or other spirits) who speak through the healer in 'divination' sessions performed by the *ngaanga* [healer], who uses possession or other means to make diagnoses; it is the spiritual agencies that show the healer medium the "source" of disorders or misfortune. The latter are localized in the life-worlds (and cosmologies) in the ecosystem. Beside the diseases "coming just like that", health disorders may involve unsatisfied ancestors, other spirits, transgressed taboos or witchcraft or sorcery. It is assumed that the treatment of biological diseases can only be successful when these several possible "real sources" of the health disorders are first identified and treated. The addressed notion of "real" involves realities of the "night" (dreams, emotions, etc.) **Third,** the latter can be treated in following the respective framings (ways of doing) necessary for each paradigm. Treatments deal with several sensorial modes or codes. Among others, several thermo-sexual frames define the states at stake and the respective way of treating the problems. **Fourth,** persons are strongly interrelated and interdependent; a living person becomes a full person after having transmitted life and taken responsibility for others (by giving birth, taking care of their own or others' children). This involves the dominating value that a person is only seen as complete after having had several children. In that context, life is assumed to be transmitted or able to be blocked by the ancestors. **Fifth**, a lack of reciprocity, emotions like envy, jealousy, feeling of uncertainty (e.g. by diseases or death), or any kind of excessiveness e.g. strong inequalities, are easily connoted with *kindoki, nokwhiri* or similar notions of so-called 'witchcraft' or 'sorcery'. Harmfulness related to such notions of 'witchcraft' (unwilling) and *n-kisi, nipako* sorcery (willful, "bought, done") can be neutralized through specific rituals involving the "sending back" or "untying" or separation of two "witches," and/or extraction, cleansing and in any case protection. **Sixth**, in the logics of relations, including the power of *kindoki, okhwiri* [witchcraft] or similar notions is basically characterized as ambiguous, ambivalent and bivalent. It implies processes of retaliation in cases of the destructive *kindoki, okhwiri* that can turn against the user (regarded as a "witch"). This paradigm can be used either to neutralize harmfulness or to protect (persons, land, animals, homes, etc.), securing peace, health or wealth. **Seventh**, land

corresponds to a person; it should not be treated like a "thing," and not be sold. The people who first settled in an area have the first right to use that land; the so-called 'landlord' (of the first settled clan) is supposed to decide who may use it. **Eighth,** fertility among persons or animals and concerning land is influenced through ancestors. **Ninth,** nobody should decide alone; the *mfumu* [head of family, clan or community] listens to his/her counselors and to the ancestors –invoking and communicating with them– respecting their taboos, norms, values and applying their practices as far as possible. **Tenth**, in case of conflicts, the *mfumu* will seek to mediate between the conflicting parties with the support of counselors; he may suggest that the conflicting parties –consult several diviners/revealers in case of *kindoki, okhwiri* or similar 'witchcraft' accusations. Conflicts are to be treated in the community where they arose, involving the witnessed of the kin and community members. Instead of judgment, the mediation in "ancestral ways" seeks to establish "truth-on-balance" with respect for reciprocity and social balance. Instead of 'justice' for individuals at the cost of others, the involved seek, as far as possible, ways allowing the conflicting parties to continue to live in the same community. These few basic paradigms, frames and inherent principles make no claim to be comprehensive. 'Ancestral ways' allow multiplicity and can be combined with other paradigms and framings. However, combinations of too-contradictory paradigms or framings may hinder the achievement of certain (ancestral) goals. Such contradictions are similar to what Baterson (1973) calls "double-bind" of situations in which a person is confronted with two irreconcilable demands or a choice between two undesirable courses of action. What I call excess of mixes is at stake when the aims of the basic 'ancestral' values (e.g. to neutralize harmfulness, to mediate and try to reconcile) cannot be achieved given the application of paradigms and frames that contradict them. This is the case when e.g. conflicts are framed in terms of *kindoki* or *okhwiri* ['witchcraft'] and are not treated by using means allowing to send-back, or to untie, to cleanse, to extract, and/or to mediate the conflicting parties –e.g. separating two involved *ndoki* ['witch'] – but instead, the indentified *ndoki or nokhwiri* are prosecuted. In such cases, the harmfulness involved cannot be neutralized and the conflicts remain virulent.

All the paradigms described in this study as grounded in 'endogenous' values are combined with other (i.e., Christian, Islamic, non-religious, political or "scientific") values and practices.[2] Changes occur over time in the life of persons and in cultures in general; mixtures and transformations are constitutive for the inherent dynamic of any cultural process. I suggested that the resilience of the paradigms has in part to do with core elements of the paradigms that transport moral and ethical power. The frames (ways of dealing with the paradigms), while keeping some resilient elements, are adjusted to the needs of each era and of the respective historical time, or to the specific context (e.g., an epidemic). The ambivalence of some people toward the resilience of 'ancestral' paradigms does not contradict the relevance of their constant actualization. The latter are part of the multiple modernities involved, which I discuss in section C.

B. Resilient paradigms, practices and knowledge with changes

We saw that the paradigms and frames that many Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speakers relate to their ancestors remain constitutive in rural and also urban life[3], contrary to the position of those who emphasize their weakening and claim their irrelevance as a result of globalization (see e.g. Pfeiffer 2002). The necessity of evoking (in remembering and keeping alive) and respecting ancestors is a broadly shared value, even if it is laden with ambivalences in the urban areas, where it is kept in privately protected spheres.[4] In Mozambique, the latter has to do with the colonial and first postcolonial state's attempt to prohibit "ancestral traditions," while, in DR Congo, it is related to their devaluation during colonialism and in postcolonial times, and to their misuse for dictatorial political purposes at the end of Mobutu's rule.

Currently, the time which Mozambican or Congolese city dwellers take to participate in funerals and other ceremonies related to the death of a person (run a week, three months and one year later) show the relevance of ancestors; these ceremonies determine the "good death" of a person, so that the dead person does not become an unsettled and persecuting "bad spirit". The respect for ancestors activates specific ethical necessities. The first is the plural constitution of a person, whose personhood in terms of specific personality is defined in its relation to the others (kinship and community members) and is grounded in mutual respect. It is the quality of these relations that defines the social weight of a person, involving his or her honor and dignity. A person is regarded as complete only after having had several children (or taking care of children of others). These deeply grounded notions imply values, morals, ethics and approaches to life, death and wellbeing, which are actualized in the seeking of wellbeing/health, in education (e.g., youth initiation) and in the mediation of conflicts in lived law practices.

Plural realities beyond the official devaluation of "ancestral" paradigms

Complex combinations of different paradigms and syncretism

I showed that different paradigms coexist; they are used in parallel, simultaneously or in alternating ways. Often, much syncretism appears in the actualizations of the described paradigms; while the changes might lead to questioning, they do not necessarily lead to eliminating some grounded core values. Instead of not practicing cleansing after death, for example, many people in South/Central Mozambique prefer to adjust the ways of cleansing when necessary (e.g., given the HIV epidemic).[5] The people know how to choose the respective framework for each specific requirement; they use biomedical health services when they are available, and also use healers of all kinds and/or consult religious healers. Conflicts related to *kindoki, wuloyi, okwhiri* or similar issues of 'witchcraft' are treated either by healers or chiefs; diagnosis is established either by 'diviners' or revealers. We saw the relevance of the ethical, implying the resilience of *kindoki, okwhiri*, activated to deal with some emotions (like envy, jealousy), conflicts, inequalities, power and morality. In most of the groups studied[6], it is a paradigm ruled by ambiguities, being grounded in non-dualism. This implies accepting

that ambivalence is unavoidable, which in turn leads to the application of notions of truth that are qualified by Werbner (1996) as "truth-on-balance" and depend on a social reality of porous, interdependent persons in which truth is "tied to the need to constitute ends" (Evens 2008:171). Certain agencies —diviners, healers, chiefs— are socially recognized as qualified to identify such "truth" or "realities", which differentiate between what I call both sides of the mirror, and what Evens calls "the naturalist and the enchanted account" (Evens 2008:182). Like many of my research subjects (healers of all kinds, notables and chiefs), Sax and Basu (2015:19) argue that mediums, oracles, diviners and sorcerers know how to summon what Sax/Basu call "supernatural" beings and forces which know "hidden truths" that help in solving disputes and identifying the causes of illness and misfortune. These agencies tend to be connoted officially with non-modernity. I discussed in Chapter Four and Six that the process of modernization leads to purifications (Latour 1991) seeking to establish states of non-ambivalence, regarded as "rational" (in the cognitive sense) and secular (Webern 1922; Marx 1843). Before elaborating on these modernization theories, I would like to recall some possible consequences when 'enchanted' and non-dualist 'ancestral' approaches coexist with scientific or dichotomizing morals and practices (e.g., in health, education or law) as this occurs in Mozambique and DR Congo.

Sax and Basu (2015:22) show that the ideology and agenda of modernization is particularly hostile to the combination of enchanted ways (often connoted with religion) and cognitive rational or scientific (connoted with secular) ways. Beyond the exclusivity claimed by scientific (in biomedicine in Mozambique and DRC) or "rational" approaches (e.g., in written law in DR Congo), I described the problems that emerge concerning the achievement of certain intended goals, such as the neutralization of harmful *kindok*i, or mediation and reconciliation (see Chapter Four and Six). I showed the problems that arise when Christianity leads to the reduction of *kindoki* to evil and individual sin, or when written laws tend to promote punishment or the criminalization of conflicts, emotions or tensions that the people themselves deal with by framing them in terms of *kindoki* and similar notions of ambivalent and bivalent "witchcraft." Instead of mediation that neutralizes the tensions and harmfulness, criminalization and punishment augment stigmatization, which creates new conflicts. In contrast, the necessity of continuing to live together calls for ways of reweaving social and emotional relations. Practices in legal pluralism in Mozambique show that following complementary approaches leads to greater efficiency.[7] We saw that 'diviners', healers, chiefs or counselors of both genders often defend the respect of 'ancestral' values as actualizations of ancestral ways, which contain changes with some continuity; many people fail to respect them in part, or at times (de Boeck 2012a) or over a period of many years. Nonetheless, misfortune, chronic disease or repeated deaths in a short time in a family/community lead many people –even those who reject 'ancestral' ways but are under social pressure to respect them– to investigate whether (1st) some 'ancestral anger' might be at work by participating in ancestral evocations, (2nd) in cleansing by transgressed taboos, or if (3rd) "bad" spirits,

or (4th) "witchcraft/sorcery" (performed by the living) are at play, in an effort to treat the "true" source of the problem.

Change, simultaneity of diverging paradigms with some continuity

To insist on the resilience of 'ancestral' paradigms seems to contradict authors like Dilger (2005, 2010), Pfeiffer (2002) who argue that globalization and/or influences of Christianity tend to eliminate 'ancestral' paradigms. Although the latter can be partially weakened, my findings show that the different paradigms involved are used in Mozambique and DR Congo sequentially, simultaneously or in an alternating way; this also often occurs among people whose private actions differ from their public statements. In the current social, religious, educational, economic, medical and juridical landscape[8], the use of several simultaneous or parallel traditions[9] and modernities occurs in the most divergent approaches in law, education and health, which apply different ethics and morals.[10] Biomedical doctors, nurses, members of nongovernmental organizations and ministry workers in both countries, as well as a number of anthropologists, argue that 'modernity' in times of globalization restricts the influence of 'ancestral' values in people's approach to health, while my findings and the analyses of authors like Comaroff (1994, 1999), Geschirr (1998), Honwana (2002), Igreja (2003, 2006, 2014); Himua (2003); Meneses (2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008); Mahumana (2013); Langwick (2011), Devisch (most of his writing), Stroeken (2008, 2010) show the opposite. Concerning HIV/AIDS, Dilger (2005, 2010), Fassin (2006), Pfeiffer (2002), van Dijk (2009) suggest that cultural ('ancestral') traditions are no longer relevant –or are less, or only marginally relevant– given the changes due to modernizing and globalizing forces (including the influences of Christianity in both countries studied). Concerning HIV/AIDS, Fassin (2001b) and Farmer (2005) see structural violence as the main problem. Both argue that socioeconomic conditions that sustain cultural conditions have primary relevance and that, beyond cultural explanations, it is the political and economic decisions which are decisive. While I agree with the latter, it is counterproductive to set economics and politics against social and cultural relevance; all those levels are relevant in my informants' lives, including the ambivalences and ambiguities involved in the actualization of the social and cultural 'traditions'[11]. Most people in the societies studied do not stringently divide life into different spheres of economy, religion, kinship, law, health, etc., while according to modernity theories of Marx (1843), Weber (1922) and Durkheim (1915), 'modernity' is characterized by the division of these spheres following the process of modernization in Europe (see Sax & Basu 2015; Rosati and Stoeckl 2012).

With regard to Tanzania, Dilger (2009:280) argues that growing mobility, the insecurity of urbanization, the pursuit of prosperity and the need for solidarity in care explain the attraction of Christian faith organizations[12], which, however, lead to further exclusions, ruptures and conflicts due to their vision of modernity, which promotes individualization. The latter also occurs in Mozambique and DR Congo, being promoted by official schooling, academic education, biomedicine and official law practices. However, Becker and Geissler (2009:19) aptly note that despite increasing individuation, the relational characteristic dominates in Kenya; in Mozambique and DR Congo, people

tend to separate the contradictory worlds, performing in private practices that are not shown publicly. Although the relations to ancestors are not exposed publically, however, they still imply the strong relational characteristics determining personhood, although the latter might be weakened like in urban contexts, or in case of epidemics like HIV/AIDS. Robbins (2007) criticizes anthropology's insistent emphasis of continuity over discontinuity and changes; my findings show that both occur simultaneously. Not only my, but many other observations quoted in this study of several sub-Saharan countries in Africa show that it is not an "either/or" question; although some Churches like the Pentecostal put a strong pressure on their followers to desist from their 'ancestral' ways and many followers seem to accept that. However, at least in Mozambique (e.g. in Maputo city), Pentecostal followers do not necessarily desist completely from their communications with their ancestors, which they often consider as necessary, e.g. in order to secure health or/and fertility. The changes, with actualization in several new versions (in part in strong syncretism), transport the discussed paradigms (ancestors and other 'spirits', taboos, relational persons and 'witchcraft'), which do not disappear but are constantly adjusted. We saw how notions of transgression of taboos or 'witchcraft' are in part transformed without disappearing; they influence people's approach, e.g., to the HIV epidemic or to social and emotional conflicts. These notions need to be addressed in adequate ways in order to improve or allow the effectiveness of the interventions in health or law; official policies and practices often lack the most basic respect, underestimating the emotional mediating and motivating functions of local languages, culture, practices and knowledge.

I suggested that in spite of historical differences[13], both countries today face similar situations in the socially interlinked cultural, moral and ethical problematics. They have in common 'modernist'[14] oppositions to requirements linked to ancestors; the involved paradigms are framed as backward-oriented by Western-educated people in decision-making 'elites' of all kinds, who emphasize individualistic approaches to health (implementing biomedical services that rarely cooperate with healers), or to law (instating tribunals which pretend, in DR Congo, to fully replace local oral living-law practices) and to education in schools or churches (devaluating communitarian youth initiation). The emphasis on individual approaches occurs in the name of Christianity and/or modernity and progress, in which many people like to participate, but not in an exclusive way. The expanding capitalist exploitation requires individuals who are accountable individually through written law, available as working forces (Gronemeyer 1991), reinforced by monotheist religions (Tonda 2002), biomedicine, and particular kind of knowledge (Foucault 1963, 1969, 1975, 1980). The growth of Pentecostal and other Protestant/Evangelical churches in Mozambique and DR Congo seems to show that it also requires a social and ethical framework which allows the individual accumulation of wealth based on individual property that 'ancestral' frames do not recognize with respect to land, and which especially expanding Protestant religions in sub-Saharan Africa promote ideologically. Followers appreciate these religions' greater capacities, compared to Catholicism, to include frames of local cultures, while Pentecostalism promoting individual wealth accumulation pressures adherents to

absolutely abstain from any (non-Christian) 'ancestral' practices and traditions (see Weber 1934).[15] For many people, the accumulation of individual wealth that allows participation in "modernity" is increasingly necessary. Accordingly, Pentecostal adherents seem to accept—though actually less than it appears, or, in some or even many cases, only for a time—abstaining from 'ancestral' ways. The involvement of Christian churches in apparently combating *kindoki, okhwiri* or similar notions of 'witchcraft' may easily lead to its misuse when promoting the stigmatization of individuals by reducing this ambivalent paradigm to pure evil and eliminating the implied ambivalences (see Chapter Four). The Christian dualist and demonizing notions of 'witchcraft' attract followers, but their stigmatizing approach does not necessarily contribute to social peace (Tonda 2008; Behrend 2009)[16]. The promotion of the individual and of rights of individual property of land, both framed as universal in written law[17], is used against the local pressures that give priority to social values, reciprocity and community rights. In accordance with my research subjects, I do not question the utility of written laws and human rights in supporting the struggle of the weakest for more equity (see CEPAJI 2012). However, many of my research subjects question the priority of individual freedom, when it is gained at the cost of others; the social pressure implied in the 'ancestral ways'—of the obligation to practice reciprocity—motivates such questioning (Wiredu 1996, Englund 2006). Despite the promotion of individuality in biomedicine, official law, schools and churches implementing ideas of individual sin, the predominance of *interdependent persons* leads many people to think that wealth accumulation, diplomas or success occurs through using *kindoki* or similar 'witchcraft' (which implies the idea of "stealing" the vital forces of those who remain poor or have no diploma or success) as Mozambicans, Congolese and, e.g., Geschiere 1995, 2013 and Ciekawy 2001 describe for Cameroon and Kenya.

As my findings (and those of Colson 2006 for Zambia) show, many people may not respect 'ancestral' rules for long periods, but this does not mean that they will never respect them anymore.[18] Nothing is fixed; actualizations occur fluently, bearing ambiguities and complementary solutions of as-well-as which escape dualism with its totalitarian tendencies. Simultaneously 'ancestral' practices, rules and values are often questioned in the name of a unique God by Christianity and Islam, or in the name of a progress grounded in ideas of "purified" science (Latour 1991, 1996, 2009b) which should be free of 'enchanted', religious beliefs. However, the same people who question 'ancestral' ways publicly may practice them privately as "cultural" and familial necessities.[19] The class interests of the ruling and other (mainly Western-educated) 'elites', and interests in receiving international financial aid, or in using the advantages of the globalized world, influence decision-making and tend to promote Western norms (that may contradict 'ancestral' ways and values). The different values and priorities lead to what Akele Adau (2008, 2012[20]) calls a "war in law", and to a much stronger war in education and health—all in the name of 'modernity', which I discuss below in terms of its specific and multiple versions in the countries studied.

The relevance of values, moral power and ethics, even if not always put in practice

One reason for the lack of communication about the discussed social and cultural paradigms is the influence of urbanized or rural people, who are either Christianized or follow cognitive rational sciences, neglecting obsolete ancestral rules that they regard as backward. In such contexts and concerning the HIV/AIDS epidemic, several anthropologists show in "critical medical anthropology" (Farmer 2001, 2005; Pfeiffer 2002; Fassin 2006[21]) that it is rising poverty and the economic interests of the pharmacy industry, leading to rising inequalities in access to health treatments, which most significantly influence the HIV epidemic in Africa and other parts of the world. The argument is extremely relevant, especially given the difficulties in having uninterrupted access to ARV remedies. However, it does not justify throwing the baby out with the bathwater, by neglecting the relevance of the discussed social and cultural paradigms and values, only because they are not always or often not at all respected, or because the public discourses do not correspond to the practices in private. In relation to the HIV epidemic, structural violence (Farmer 2005) is the main problem, but this does not imply that the other problems are irrelevant.[22] HIV prevalence continues to grow in part also because the social and cultural paradigms are not involved, either inclusively or complementarily, in prevention and education, perpetuating the devaluation of local values and practices as irrelevant "culturalism". Such positions argue that the people do not respect their traditions anymore. In Europe, Christianity influences the definition of values, not least through its elements that have been put down in civil law[23], even though many people have stopped practicing religion in churches or define themselves as agnostic. Also, when the civil law prohibition of killing is not respected, this does not mean that the law is obsolete. The resilience of the ethical and moral power of 'ancestral' values in the countries studied appears in the burial and cleansing rituals that many practice after death. It also appears in the emotionally loaded metaphors that the people use, e.g., to address 'hot' or dangerous issues like *wuloyi, kindoki* or similar notions that should be spoken of only indirectly, through metaphors, to avoid activating their harmful potentials by naming them. Once understood in their internal coherence, these paradigms, values and their respective rationalities, can be activated by using these metaphors in order to promote a more effective approach: either to health education, HIV prevention or the mediation of conflicts (including through palavers and rituals).[24]

Diverse sources of knowledge and legitimacy

We saw that 'diviners', healers and chiefs argue (explicitly and implicitly) that they draw their legitimacy from ancestral or other spirits through initiation, dreams, trance, possession[25] and rituals allowing the acquisition of the specific power and knowledge required, i.a., in health (diagnostic and treatments), in education (youth initiation) or in law (rituals, palavers mediating conflicts). Mudimbe (1988) and Apter (1992[26]) argue that such knowledge is part of African gnosis, as esoteric knowledge "strictly under the control of specific procedures for its use as well as transmission" (Mudimbe 1988:IX). The specific knowledge(s) that I describe in this study involves ancestral legitimacy, which

implies certain basic frames: chiefs insist on the importance of their enthronization framed as an initiation. However, it is through continual counseling by their advisors that chiefs' knowledge is locally grounded – when they listen to them, and when the advisors follow the 'ancestral' paradigms (Kotanyi 2003b, 2012a/b). This means of knowledge transmission is related to the ancestors as the community chiefs' main source of legitimacy[27]; it is complemented by the acknowledgment of chieftaincies by the state, which, however, transports other sources of legitimacy (written laws, state administration, political interests). The various sources of legitimacy often imply contradictory interests, easily bringing chiefs into conflicts of loyalty.

In the ancestral path of knowledge transmission, diviners/healers experience much suffering during their initiation, which provides them with capacities to divine/heal through communication with ancestors or other spirits. Initiation and graduation rituals are described as hard "work" that provides the acquired "knowledge."[28] Terms like "work" and "knowledge" express the priority given to certain values (in "modern" frames) since the colonial occupation (Gronemeyer 1991). "Work" shows the difficulties, and reinforces the values, emphasizing that its aim is not entertainment (although it involves dances, music and songs) but to achieve certain transformative goals. "Knowledge" provides relevance to the legitimacy of agency to conduct activities as a diviner, healer or chief in ways grounded in knowledge that "sciences" don't recognize as knowledge. Both notions –work and knowledge– allow values associated with ancestors to be combined with official (Western) and/or Christian values.[29]

I analyzed the life-worlds that my informants refer to as "ancestral," which Geerts (1983) relates to as "local," and Mahumana (2013) as "indigenous knowledge" and that I call 'endogenous' following Hountondji (1994).[30] Against the usual devaluation of the particularity of 'endogenous' (alias: 'indigenous') knowledge in the name of science, Ingold (2000b) condemns the scientific selectivity of what should (or should not) be recognized as knowledge. Megill et al. (1994) assert the necessity of rethinking what objectivity is and show the paradoxes of subjectivity in sciences, while in their discussion of the history of objectivity, Daston and Galison (2010) demonstrate that scientific objectivity is connected with image-making, which produces being by what is seen. Devereux (1969) demonstrated the subjectivity involved in sciences by showing the role of emotions interfering in scientific research.

Barth (1995) as well as Bridggs and Sharp (2004) show limits in drawing 'indigenous' knowledge into development and environmental decision-making, the inability to recognize the different perspectives and values of local knowledge (Geerts 1983), the neglect of the relevant cultural framework (Benn 2002; Green 1994, 1999), the failure to engage in challenging alternatives, and the lacking efficacy in development interventions (Crossman and Devisch 2002:102; Tourneux at al. 2008). I subscribe to Sax's demonstration that the idea of purely or enduringly indigenous knowledge is a fiction. Sax argues that "knowledge has always been borrowed, copied, shared, perhaps stolen, but is almost never purely 'indigenous'." (2015:n.n.)[31] Nevertheless, the recognition of endogenous knowledge does not

imply pretending that it is pure; culture and knowledge are always products of mixtures. In my studied field, diviners and healers are not preoccupied with the "purity" of their knowledge. Their practices activate and value mixtures of the most divergent sources of knowledge; mixtures are regarded as means loaded with power able to support transformative processes. We saw that Evens argues aptly that non-dualist perspectives involved with value rationality imply "its predisposition to regard all boundaries as fluid by virtue of encompassment, which makes possible the patently creative practice of commensuration" (2008:156). A healer making diagnoses through 'divination' who has traveled a lot is assumed to know more. Simultaneously, I illustrated (in Chapters Four/Six) that excessive mixtures (e.g., of 'ancestral' ways combined with Christian and official legal ways) may lead to certain incompatibilities. For example, dealing efficiently with locally grounded 'ancestral' paradigms, which require means such as diagnostics through 'divination', seems incompatible with dichotomizing dualist religious or 'scientific' approaches, seeking material "proof"[32]. Instead of following complementary approaches in health, as practiced in law in Mozambique, the state, in both studied countries, tends to impose exclusivity in health. Nevertheless, the Mozambican state applies complementary approaches in law, demonstrating that complementarities are possible and useful, which official law in DR Congo still tends to undermine.

Authors in the "ontological turn," such as Latour (1991, 2005), Viveiro de Castro (2009); Strathern (2005); Henare et al. (2006) or Holbraad (2012) argue that framing anthropologies in terms of ontology (meaning in those cases *differential ontology* – see section D below and Appendix 7.1.) allows going beyond cognitive or interpretative epistemology[33]. However, I suggest that it does not seem necessary to state ontology (or ontologies) in order to recognize that there are different ways of knowing.[34] I agree with the authors of the ontological turn in anthropology questioning the tendency in 'Western' sciences to give prior value to cognitive knowledge, which is, however, also questioned within these sciences.[35] The definition of knowledge is also challenged by many anthropologists e.g. by Devisch (1993a/b), Sanders (2003, 2008), Csordas (2002) and Sax (2002, 2004) who show the embodied practices that lead to experiences (Stroeken 2010), and/or to knowledge which is not exclusively grounded in thought (of *Cogito*).[36] Stroeken (personal comm.)[37] argues accurately that an approach putting experience at the center allows distinguishing frames of experience that are also not limited to a specific culture; it permits taking into account particularities without excluding cross-cultural affinities. In this context, the knowledge of many of my informants, often grounded in experiencing through dreaming or initiations, possession, trance or rituals, produce transformation. Such knowledge is simultaneously characterized by changes including some continuity in time duration[38], through constantly actualized repetitions of the past being adjusted and combined with other kinds of knowledge by wrapping the past into the present as Hountondji (2013:97) formulates: Never the same, not totally new, transporting 'knowledge' grounded in experience and practices in the present, out of the past – always in virtual becoming.

Recognition of knowledge and hegemony

Followers of 'science' (and of dichotomizing religions) often claim the exclusive validity of their knowledge as based in methodologies showing evidence and quoting verifiable sources of information; from this perspective, the use of enchanted means like 'divination/revelation,' including chance, or possession, or the notion of ambivalent and bivalent 'witchcraft,' appear as backwardness rooted in superstition. However, the majority of the Bantu-speakers and their agencies – diviners, revealers, healers, chiefs and counselors, who are recognized regionally to be the best "knowers" of locally grounded practices and traditions (which they adapt to the necessities of present times) – usually approach their life-worlds in plural and inclusive ways, valuing different kinds of knowledge and rationalities (Weber 1922), including those rooted in intuition and using value rationality (Evens 2008). These specific agencies claim that their skills are rooted in specific knowledge, which should be recognized as such, although its sources and methodologies diverge significantly from those of sciences. The same people may also follow other values, like those of 'sciences,' which some qualify as universal; they may also subscribe to Christianity, or to Islam and then turn back to 'ancestral' practices when these are experienced as "more effective", including, however, elements of the former 'visited' religions and of sciences. Many healers and chiefs use elements from diverging sources, combining them in different ways. In addition, many participate in the institutionalized versions of syncretism in religion, such as Kimbangu (in DR Congo) or Zion churches (in Mozambique), which are valued due to their integration of several 'ancestral' values and paradigms that are regarded as part of the people's "own" culture.[39] However, we saw that some excessive mixtures may impede the achievement of certain aims; an understanding of the aims implied in 'ancestral' approaches permits recognition of which paradigms (their concepts) or framings (ways of dealing with them) impede the effective achievement of the intended aims, for example, when palavers seeking mediation of conflicts and reconciliation are impeded by the imposition of authoritarian means.

As we saw, in spite of the multiplicity in which most participate, decision-makers often use "science" to argue that the practices that the people relate to their ancestors are grounded in backward superstitions. And, on the other hand, some healers as well as governments often seek to use "science" to justify traditional practices. Sciences seek grounding in "pure reason" (Kant 1781) and assume to transport universal objective knowledge, which is, however, not at all given (Megill et al. 1994; Daston & Gallison 2010). In his critique of biopower and biopolitics, Foucault (1976) shows the indivisible connection of power and knowledge (see my discussion of HIV/AIDS). This implies hegemonic tendencies of the ruling classes in order to secure their power, as Gramsci[40] argues. Devereux (1967) shows that sciences involve emotions, and Latour (1991, 2009b) argues that science is not always as rational as it is assumed to be by scientists, medical doctors or lawyers in Mozambique and DR Congo, or, as Evens (2008) argues, it is a question of which kind of rationality is at stake. In her discussion of "charlatans" in medical practices, Stengers (1997) suggests that rationality does not belong to "modern" medicine alone; she questions the connotation of inexplicable

healing with irrationality. She notes that the device of healers inducing connections and meaning—as I describe in Chapter Three, Four and Five—raises practical challenges to sciences and biomedicine to invent other ways of healing than the "royal way" (based on physics and chemistry). Latour (2009b) questions the idea that only "non-modern" (non-scientific) practitioners use fetishes (made objects which carry transformative forces), while anthropology of economy (e.g., Thomas 1991) shows that the people's relations are "fetishized," and not only through goods (2009b:34). He argues that instead of losing their influence, "faitishes" (done things), as Latour calls them in French, seem to act constantly in modern practice, disturbing the certainty that control is possible. In this sense, Latour suggests that nobody—neither the 'non-moderns' nor the 'moderns'— "believes". He argues that sciences purified of "idolatry" generate extraordinary forces and transformations without appearing threatening, but that they lack the application of responsibility (idem:71). Foucault shows how reason is defined by power, and by strategic interests: e.g., in medicine (1961, 1963), in law (1975) and concerning knowledge (1980).[41] Indeed, Mozambican and Congolese healers are conscious that the official negation of the values of their knowledge has much to do with power (and the distribution of resources); they claim that their kinds of knowledge, with their sources and specific ways of transmission, need recognition.

Macamo (2005b:7) argues that the way in which modernity was introduced in Africa—combined with Christianity (first imposed by colonialism, currently chosen freely)— opened up new possibilities for individuals. This is undoubtedly the case; simultaneously, an emphasis on individuals, especially in the social and cultural Bantu-speaking context that I described, easily leads to a reproof of excessive individuality (see Ciekawy 2001).[42] As I discussed in this study, a central divergence between the currently promoted notions of what people call "modernity" and the actualized and lived traditions in Mozambique and DR Congo, lies in the promotion of *individual self* versus the priority of interdependent *relational persons.* Life always implies interrelation, but there are more or less strong versions of individuality; in the studied context, individualism oscillates between the contrast of dualism (of tied *independent selves*, implying a tendency to use means-end rationality) and non-dualism (of porous *interdependent persons* allowing ambiguities ruled by value rationality).

Coexistence of multiplicity with some ambivalences toward certain cultural paradigms

Viewed superficially, the Bantu-speakers' paradigms seem to be applied mostly in the rural areas in Mozambique or DR Congo, where the majority of the population lives. The framings of these paradigms are rooted in a world that, in former times, was predominantly rural (Fialho Feliciano 1998) but has since expanded into urban spaces; the epistemology thus transported, arising from such mixtures over centuries, is contemporary 'endogenous' knowledge, which is continually adjusted to the respective needs and possibilities. Some urbanized Mozambicans argue that the urban worlds and cultures differ so much from the rural ones that the "old" paradigms have lost validity in "modern" life. Observations between 1997 and 2014 in the cities of Maputo, Beira, Manica and Nampula, as well as in Kinshasa and Matadi in Congo show the contrary. Although urban dwellers do not live in

the physical rural space in which the frames dealing with the commonly shared paradigms are grounded, many of them continue to rely on these paradigms (in part in adjusted ways) seen as part of their "own culture". For instance, in the case of difficulties conceiving children, people often participate in rituals evoking ancestors' protection, using frames grounded in rain rituals but without acknowledging this grounding. In Maputo city many people practice the *lovolo* ceremony of the 'traditional' marriage (*lovolo* is both, the institution and the goods offered - see Bagnol 2006). Also those valuing the practices of youth initiation (in 7 of 11 provinces in Mozambique) engage their children in such an initiation; they simply adjust these practices to the urban context. [43] However, emotions (in cities people also experience emotions of fear, anger about inequalities, uncertainty of death, jealousy, envy etc.) and institutions (e.g. traditional healing or chieftaincy) lead to a more subdued life also in urban contexts. The paradigm of *kindoki, okhwiri/nipako* [witchcraft/sorcery] is not any weaker in the urban context.[44] "Various continua" (Fernandez 1972) are involved, simultaneously to many changes; they are perceived in the studied Mozambican and Congolese contexts as cultural requirements, e.g., of communication with ancestors and respect of their taboos, or of the neutralization of harmfulness regarded as *kindoki* or similar notions of 'witchcraft'. I suggested that beyond the differences, some concepts show similarities in the approaches of these paradigms with regard to the knowledge, morals and ethics that are expressed in the practices. Mbongo (2014: 34) argues in the African context that the forces of becoming lead the future to join the past, which is its source and to which it cannot be unfaithful. Such an idea of some continuity of time in duration involving changes with contradictions is common to many traditions.[45] Instead dichotomizing the issue, I suggest that both—continuity and changes—have equal relevance for understanding the modernity in question.

Plurality beyond the unilateral imposition of norms

Macamo (2005b) shows that, in Africa, ambiguities characterize the relations and practices concerning 'modernity', which was introduced in Africa through oppression in colonialism, with the support of Christian religion and institutions. This occurred through a process that produced strong ambiguities toward ancestral paradigms in many members of the several decision-making 'elites' and some people participating in Christian or Islamic religions. While some cut their relations to 'ancestral' ways, in general in DR Congo and Mozambique, the so-called 'ancestral' paradigms discussed in this study are often also shared—to various extents—in private by decision-makers and workers of national or regional NGOs, by workers of several ministries, by many nurses and even by some official judges. Because they are Western-educated, often Christian, or perhaps former members of the socialist party in Mozambique, or do not want to endanger their employment, and rather wish to secure the best access to the advantages of what they call "modernity," they may not observe these paradigms in public or at all.

In DR Congo in cities like Kinshasa, Mboma and Matadi, Christian-educated people have often lost much specific knowledge concerning ancestral practices.[46] Some of these values and practices are

often regarded as merely cultural issues, which afford the people protection against interferences from either political or religious sides or given scientific negations. Grounded in colonial assimilation (Fanon 1952), the elites are uprooted and "displaced" people, due additionally to the postcolonial wars. The 'assimilated' people in colonial times made up a large part of the elite minority in DR Congo (see Akele Adau 2008, 2012). They tend to approach the challenges in health, education and law through exclusive policies (in the name of "modernity," sciences and Christian values; see Devisch 2011), often lacking respect for the basic social and cultural aspirations of the majority of the Bantu-speaking people, who connote the discussed paradigms with their own inherent social and "cultural" values; the different valuations between the members of the various elite groups and the majority of the people often reflect different social classes. In addition, those who grew up under Mobutu, who in his policy of Zairisation and back to authenticity used 'ancestral' traditions (in part reinvented) to reinforce his dictatorial power, have ambivalent feelings about 'traditions,' which they associated with Mobutu, despite perhaps recognizing some of the values they transport. However, decision-makers tend to defend policies that serve their own interests and, currently, most often try to impose Western values, sometimes arguing that 'endogenous' cultural paradigms are backward-oriented. Many members of the different elites, like the majority of the people, may use extreme mixtures of the most diverging paradigms, without necessarily reflecting on the ambivalences implied in these mixtures. Especially in Mozambique (and partially in DR Congo), part of the elite groups have family members who follow the 'ancestral' values, obliging them (in private) to respect ancestral practices in order to secure peace in the extended family. Members of the elite will often show respect because of the danger of "witchcraft" accusations: not respecting the primacy of relational living (e.g., not sharing enough wealth with poor family members) can easily lead the less wealthy to accuse rich relatives of "causing" the misfortune of the poorest family members by "stealing" their vital force.[47]

In the name of progress and against "backwardness," the factual devaluation in official programs and policies of the cultural values (with the involved moralities and ethics) corresponds to the interests of international organizations (NGOs and governmental). Such devaluation exploits the spiritually porous African sensitivity (see Taylor 2007a), negating the state of belonging to multiple cultures including one's "own" (Fanon 1967; Mdembe 2001). This process is not limited to Africa (Bhabha 1990): it imposes apparently 'global' normative values that promote the functioning of capitalism framed as "modern civilization" requiring "rational" individuals (Weber 1934; Comaroff 2000) – see my discussion of modernity theories below. Further, the members of Mozambican and Congolese elites need to construct a national unity to maintain power in an ongoing struggle between classes, which goes on at the cost of the majority, with the devaluation of Bantu or other local languages, cultures, knowledge and values, combined with rising inequality. The question is how much wealth must the elites accumulate before recognizing the rights of the majority to participate in the definition of their own wellbeing, education and law requirements in accordance with their aspirations? (Fanon 1969; Cabral 1975). How many inefficient interventions must the international donors finance before

respecting the diversity of the social and cultural values of the majority of the people involved (Barth 1995; Benn 2002; Green 1999)?

C- Multiculturalism and multiple ethics in multiple modernities

We saw that in the Mozambican or Congolese cultural melting pot, there is a multiculturalism, with a majority of Bantu-speaking people applying, to a large extent, different value rationalities that require constant negotiation of values and of the ways in which efficiency may best be achieved, in health in the seeking of well-being, in education or in conflict mediation. Such negotiations occur in the rural and urban context as part of the dynamic of culture in general (Beidelman 1993). In such negotiations, Mozambican and Congolese people often combine different kinds of rationalities (Weber 1922, Evens 2008). For many of my informants the respect for diversity concerns dignity (see Taylor 1994:61; Mbonda 2009:42).

Multiple modernities soaked with ambivalences

The specific ways that the different regional and linguistic groups deal with the commonly shared paradigms are influenced by mixtures including monotheist religions, 'sciences,' biomedicine, written law and political or literate 'educational' frames. Such mixtures contradict the modernization theories of Marx (1843), Durkheim (1915) and Weber (1922); these different theories have in common that they all define modernity through the separation of enchanted, 'magic' or religious spheres from the cognitively rational worlds of sciences, biomedicine and written law. My descriptions of relevant paradigms and practices in Mozambique and DR Congo show the ongoing role of the enchanted or the religious, used simultaneously or in parallel or in mixed ways with sciences, biomedicine or written law which follow cognitive rationality. These combinations differ from ways of modernization in Europe as discussed by Marx, Durkheim and Weber; they sow specific ways of constituting modernities: modernity cannot be reduced to a singular process occurring in the same way everywhere. This corresponds to the observations of Sax and Basu et al. (2015) regarding India, China, South Africa and Kenya, and of Rosati and Stoeckle et al. (2012) about Turkey, Iran, Russia, Nepal and Nigeria. These authors show for these countries that there are currently multiple modernities at issue. Sax and Basu et al. discuss connections between law and healing—especially through possession—demonstrating that modernity must not lead to the eradication of religion. Basu (2015:35) argues, e.g., that transcendental justice as a counterworld or subculture of the poor may coexist with official law; in Mozambique and DR Congo, palavers, rituals, diagnoses through 'divination' or revelation and 'traditional' medicine are not only used by the poor. Sax (2015:246) shows that "traditional" systems of justice can coexist with a "modernist" constitution given that such systems are not mutually exclusive, which is also the case in Mozambique and DR Congo. This is not evident in the framework of the early modernization theories that imagined modernity as result of a world-altering break with "premodern" and "traditional" formations. For Marx, Durkheim and Weber, modernity implied a decline of religion (Sax & Basu 2015:4); for Weber, "enchanted" worlds

including “magic” and religion are incompatible with a “rationalization” that disenchants the world through intellectual knowledge and the systematization of ethics and legal norms that is implied in the idea of universalization (Quack 2012:31). In this sense, my descriptions of Mozambique and DR Congo contradict Weber’s idea of gradual elimination of magical power from the world through the process of modernization. In Mozambique, following Marx’s idea that religion and traditions are the opium of the poor, the first postcolonial secularized state prohibited religious and “traditional” practices in the name of progress, claiming to follow the modern sciences, e.g., in biomedicine, education and law. Meanwhile, the ruling power in Mozambique introduced a capitalist market economy, after abandoning the forced collectivization and socialist ideologies of the “new” man. This secularized state—ruled by the same party FRELIMO, after its conversion to liberalism—accepted that practices of endogenous “ancestral” ways coexist with multiple privatized religions[48] in the framework of a secularized state. In simultaneity to modernization, the adherence of many people to religion is growing in both countries studied. In DR Congo, at the end of the Mobutu era, the predominating privatization of religion passed through a stage in which “ancestral” traditions (in part reinvented) were used to reinforce the ruling power of the state. Despite this recent experience, the state in DR Congo currently has greater difficulty recognizing the plurality at work in law than does the state in Mozambique at present, after a long period of civil war in which the claiming of recognition of plural practices and values was part of the conflict.

In both countries, the official and current notion of ‘modernity’ implies a similar lack of cooperation between biomedicine and “traditional” healers. The process of secularization was perceived in both countries, but especially in Mozambique, as step in decolonization given that the Catholic Church had significantly supported colonization. However, as many authors quoted in this study show (e.g., Devisch 1993, Behrend 1997; Geschiere 1993; Beidelman 1993, 1997; Honwana 2001; Sanders 2001, 2008; Stroeken 2008, 2010, Igreja 2003, 2014; Meneses 2008; Mahumana 2013; Sax and Basu 2015), the relevance of religion and “ancestral” practices or values did not diminish. Behrend (2011), Geschiere (2013), Comarroff et al. (1993, 1999) and Sax & Basu (2015:8) argue that the “occult” remains deeply entangled with postcolonial modernities, while I suggest, like Mahumana (2013:145, 160) and Igreja (2003, 2008), that practices of possession or *wuloyi, okhwiri, kindoki* and similar notions of ‘witchcraft’ cannot be reduced to the occult. They express and deal in specific ways with, e.g., emotions and/or states of inequality that are widespread in humankind and/or are means allowing people to connect the past to the present. These paradigms and means (e.g., diagnostics through ‘divination’, rituals or possession) deal with structural violence and/or strong emotions using violent or strong imaginary and ritual ways. The latter are frequently regarded officially, or by scientists, as backward and superstitious, and are excluded from the official spheres as non-scientific and non-rational—although they are often used in private by many of those who condemn them (especially in Mozambique – see Matsinhe, 2006).

Claims of radical separation arise in law and especially in the field of medicine. Sax and Basu (2015:8) argue that biomedicine is the most successful exemplar of the project of modernization, which may explain the insistence of biomedical agencies on a strict separation which, however, many people do not follow, or only apparently do as Langwick (2008, 2011) clearly shows for Tanzania biomedical health centres in complex and ambivalent ways that also occur in Mozambique and DR Congo. In fact, the success of biomedicine is relative in both countries studied; it does not impede the people—up to 80%, according to WHO (2000, 2002)—in using the services of healers of all kinds, who are consulted even when biomedical services are available (Green 1999b; Mahumana 2013). We saw how healers or chiefs use diagnostics through 'divination'/revelation, or possession combined with complex ritual means; such uses, combined with or used in parallel to biomedicine, written law and sciences, imply that multiple worlds, of 'modernity', religions and 'traditional' ways, are combined or coexist, producing multiple and specific forms of modernity. This illustrates the theories of Latour and Woolgar (1979) and Latour (1993), showing that the theoretical premise of 'modernity' as separated from 'traditions' and religion was wrong. Following the concepts of Latour, Sax and Basu regard "modernity as a set of techniques and practices," and not the result of "an epistemic break with 'tradition'" (2015:10); they show that to 'be modern' does not imply abandoning practices combining law, religion and healing—as exemplified also in Mozambique and DR Congo. Latour uses the phrase "work of purification" to describe the attempt at a strict separation between nature and culture, i.e., between 'premodern' endogenous traditions, 'magical' means rooted in superstition, rituals, "traditional" medicine or lived law practices on the one hand, and the "rational" sciences, biomedicine or secular law on the other. We saw that, according to early modernization theories, a strict separation is considered necessary for the efficacy of the 'modern'. In contrast, the multiple coexisting practices in Mozambique and DR Congo show that the purification of the social and historical context does not occur in societies that, however, also participate in modernity. The greater the closeness between the terms used for culture and nature, the less this purification occurs in Bantu-speaking societies For example, *ntumbuluku*—in Xichangana, Xirhonga —means (1) tradition (in terms of "ancient ways," meaning 'ancestral' ways); (2) creation, cosmos, nature; (3) origins; and (4) culture. The connotations are similar for *kukhuulu* in Kikongo (in DR Congo).

The observation of less 'purified' forms of modernity leads to the questioning of the idea of a single modernity, which cannot be regarded as synonymous with "Westernization"; instead, there is currently a coexistence of "multiple modernities" (Eisenstadt 2000a/b) – effectively constituting an argument for rejecting the classical modernization theories, which state that economic, political, educational, religious, medical and judicial transformations occur in the same way everywhere. Eisenstadt (2003, 2006) suggests that diverging conditions lead to different versions of modernities[49]. I also subscribe to Sax and Basu that 'modernity' is culturally constructed; in formerly colonized countries like Mozambique and DR Congo, 'modernity' is produced in a presumed contrast of past colonial, present Western and the people's own past, combined with the non-Western present (Sax & Basu 2015:16).

Instead of an acultural theory of modernity, a cultural theory of global modernities (Taylor 2001) corresponds to the context of my descriptions. Sax and Basu show that theories and concepts of entangled modernities (Randeria 2009) challenge the hegemonic, normative and epistemological conceptions (like the African philosophers do), reflecting the construction of societies in ways that are in part different from Western ways.

In a similar approach, Rosati and Stoeckl (2012) also argue that the classical theories of secularization by modernization are insufficient for grasping the present relationship between religion and contemporary societies; they show the relevance of multiple modernities in their analyses of *postsecular* societies—a notion defined by Habermas (2006:258). It implies, first, that religion continues to assert itself even in an increasingly secular environment; second, a context in which believing and unbelieving citizens interact with another; third, societies in which the modernization of public consciousness leads to increased acceptance of "reflexively [altered] religious as well as secular mentalities in staggered phases" (idem); and fourth, the involvement of a complementary learning process. In Mozambique, the prohibition at all levels of life of any religious and traditional ('ancestral' but also religious) practices by the first post-colonial (Marxist-Leninist) regime leads me to suggest that this country is in such a post-secular condition, especially given the great plurality of religions and practices now coexisting with a secularized state, without prohibitions. The post-secular concept does not mean that people live fully in a secularized environment; it shows more the limits of the secularization theories of Marx, Durkheim and Weber. Molendijk, Beaumont and Jedan (2010:x) emphasize the relationship between both camps. A relationship between secularized and religious or 'ancestral' worlds involving the enchanted does not occur officially in Mozambique or DR Congo, but it occurs in the life of many people in both countries. Although there is little reflectivity in these societies about the relationship between enchanted or religious practices and the officially stated secularity, the post-secular concept applies as far as it is characterized by the co-presence of religious and secular viewpoints and practices (Rosati and Stoeckl 2012:4). Also, a de-privatization of religion does not occur in either of the countries that I discuss. However, the religious patchworks in question end any religious monopoly and coexist with 'ancestral' and 'modern' practices.

Both countries appear as post-secular societies as far as multiple monotheist religions and endogenous "ancestral" practices live side by side in "modernity," constituting different versions of modernities. The Habemas idea that the post-secular leads to a process of complementary learning between religious and secular worldviews/practices in an enriching process has strong potential; certain non-governmental groups and institutions—like the private university ISEDEL in South Mozambique or human rights organizations in Mozambique and DR Congo—seek complementary approaches, but this is officially not promoted in Mozambique or DR Congo. In both countries, the secular state coexistent with different ancestral and religious views and practices, which are both privatized; this relation is currently characterized by little reflectivity. However, the secularity of the state is often broken by some practices of its agents like e.g. judges or medical doctors. For example, the discussion of the

legal reform in DR Congo shows that Congolese lawyers tend to project their own Christian values onto definitions of morals, ethics, norms and laws that they claim to be officially valid, although many Congolese people follow not only Christian, but also, or mainly, other values like the 'ancestral' endogenous paradigms that I described.

In addition, Macamo (2005b) shows accurately that African modernity, since its introduction through colonial regimes, has been supported by Christian religion; in such a context, modernity is structured by ambivalences of promises and denials. Whereas modernity in Europe implied secularization, in Africa the introduction of capitalism, in its most liberal version, has occurred, and still does, with the support of Christian religions (especially Protestantism and Pentecostalism – see Weber 1934). The ambivalences implied, e.g., the imposition of mobility on mine workers, reducing at the same time the possibilities of African people to become active agents of modernity by denying any equal individual rights for "black" people, or hindering the academic education of Africans. Macamo argues that there is a continuous line from colonialism to globalization: presently, democratization and 'modernization' bring strong inequity. And while religions are part of "traditions" in Europe, and are often regarded as hindering "modernity," in Mozambique and DR Congo, in contrast, Christianity is part of "modernity," promoting individual property, the valuation of individualism and wealth accumulation—values imported from the West since colonialism that were necessary for colonialism and are necessary for a capitalist liberal economy.

In sum, in both countries, the modernities at stake imply societies that are officially (post-)secular[50], in which religious and endogenous "traditional" ('ancestral') paradigms are followed in practices (privatized) and influence people's values and norms, in different processes of modernization in which the so-called "non-modern" elements are part of the transformations across a variety of multiple modernities. The resilience of 'non-modern' practices does not imply simple cultural continuity, as Wagner (2012:163-179) shows for South Africa, but it implies the recognition of the creative role of human agencies that actively transform the present by claiming a necessary connection to their past for a livable present and future, as healers, notables and chiefs argue in Mozambique and DR Congo. The resilient use and transformations in the practices of several 'ancestral' paradigms are part of specific African versions of multiple modernities.

Paradigms that provide meaning and issues of effectiveness

The described versions of modernities, with their different forms of constitution as observed in Mozambique and DR Congo, transport values stating (in an often inclusive manner) that not only the material world is 'real'. These are worlds where 'reality' is defined in following the most different kinds of rationalities, which I described along this study. Taken together, these produce the multiple "modernities" at stake in Mozambique and DR Congo, involving mixtures in which many Bantu-speakers qualify and include paradigms and certain frames that transport, in what they perceive as basic "ancestral ways," values that are not necessarily seen as 'religious' but more as part of "our own culture" that necessary for "life[51]" in the sense that I described and summarized above. The parallelism

of the coexistence of different values and practices dealing with the paradigms described leads to internal tensions in many persons, clans and in the societies described. We saw how Western-educated Mozambican and Congolese members of the different 'elites' (decision makers or not) may easily feel that the "ancestral ways" (regarded as "traditional" ways) of dealing with certain paradigms do not correspond to their emphasis on "modernity": e.g., the obligation to respect reciprocity, or the involvement of spiritual entities in health, or the ambiguities implied in 'witchcraft'. Simultaneously, many 'ancestral' ways and values do not correspond to the Christian or Islamic religions, in which those insisting on the priority of modernity also, or mainly, participate. 'Ancestral' ways also do not necessarily correspond to some political ideal or to the 'sciences' that are valued by religious and non-religious people. Discourses questioning the topicality of "traditions" are widespread[52]; however, we saw that even when neglecting them in public discourses, many (Western-) "educated" Mozambicans and Congolese may respect 'ancestral' values in their private sphere (as family issues), without acknowledging this in public.

The observed resilience includes changes over history, a process which is constitutive to any culture. The discussed paradigms are either combined and assimilated with new influences and paradigms or lived in parallel or simultaneous ways; they are applied in Mozambique and DR Congo in extremely creative manners that produce many versions involving syncretism or hybridism constituting multiple 'modernities'. The people follow paradigms that sometimes diverge, defining priorities in each specific situation. As Okolo (1991,1994) shows, it is because traditions are constantly reinterpreted (to maintain their relevance) that they don't disappear. Many Mozambican and Congolese people are masters in combining, by means of continual adjustments, the various paradigms providing meaning, in order to meet their needs in all the several worlds that they live in. I subscribe to Gaonkar (1999:7), who questions the idea that the (cognitive) rationalization of cultural and social life resulting from the spread of sciences would lead to the progressive eradication of traditional superstitions, prejudices.[53] On the contrary, "traditional" practices and values are integrated in current life, as they are part of the multiple versions of modernities at stake; the described paradigms are often not seen as "tradition" but as a necessary part of the current culture of the person in its family, clan and community.[54]

I subscribe to Mbiti 1995, Eze 2006, Knox 2008, Menkiti 2006, Evens 2008, Zigon 2008 and Stroeken (2010) i.a., that the identified 'ancestral' paradigms generate moral and ethical power that may influence behavior. Even if these morals and ethics are not always applied, however, they involve normative values that are relevant in those societies. They are often combined with other morals and ethics, which may compete with each other; this leads to tensions and may sometimes impede the effectiveness of the approaches in ways that I illustrated in the context of lived-law (see Chapter Six).

The right of differences and of recognition

Many Mozambican and Congolese people claim the recognition of their relevance as necessary, (first) in order to allow people to live in accord with their preferences, which deserve respect allowing dignity, and (second) to better address emotions and motivation that augment the effectiveness of

interventions in health (especially in HIV/AIDS[55]), in education or in law[56]. I showed the emotional, psychosocial, social and spiritual issues that the people regard in part as "priorities"; instead of marginalization and stigmatization as often practiced in the framework of institutions (e.g. in hospitals, health centers), respectful negotiations and dialogue (with complementary cooperation) with healers may entail useful improvement. This implies certain policies. Many medical doctors and lawyers argue that some ('ancestral') practices need adjustments in order to secure better health, education, mediation of conflicts, peace and democracy, in accordance with human rights which respect the basic cultural values that are relevant for the people concerned. Such adjustments can only occur effectively when they are introduced with respect for the people's aspirations; when their values are taken seriously in dialogues based on a socially oriented and not ego-centric inter-subjectivity (Jackson 1998). The observation of complementary and dialogical practices in both countries shows that, contrary to the fears of some decision-makers or development specialists, respect for cultural specificities does not necessarily promote ethnic divisions, while ongoing disrespect leads to the current disconnection of the ruling elites from the marginalized majority. In North Mozambique, it is not ethnic differences that move the people to call for changes in policy, but the claim of the people to their right to difference and to determine their own regional growth in accordance with their own economic, political, social and specific cultural needs and values – as well as the right to profit from the benefits of the national and natural resources concentrated in their own regions.

Taylor (1994), Kymlicka et al. (1995), Gaonkar (1999), Mbonda (2009) ask what must be recognized in order to achieve greater equality, peace and justice. Merry (2006) asserts that it is the respect of cultural specificities with equality between genders. The needed and lacking equity applies for all studied people who in post-colonialism are still excluded within their own countries, through the marginalization of their mother tongue[57], practices and values. Snow et al. (2004:401) point out that, to be appealing, the frames need to be resonant with cultural traditions. Linguists[58] and pedagogues show the centrality of the mother tongue in activating emotions and cognition: the higher the degree of frame resonance, the greater the likelihood it will be successful. It is in this sense of 'frame resonance' that I discussed some relevant paradigms and framings (Snow 2004:394): It looks as if suggestions of changes that resonate in peoples' emotions can lead to some effectiveness in health and education, or to more social peace. Such a perspective implies acknowledging the relevance of specific 'modes of existence' of "living-in-the-worlds" in accordance with the people's culture, ways of living, thinking and feeling – involving multiple values, moralities and ethics.

Taylor, Mbonda and Kymlicka assert the rights of minorities, of autochthones who are discriminated against, while in Mozambique and DR Congo the marginalization concerns the majority; they need recognition and respect for the differences and their values. Reflecting the claims of my research subjects, Taylor (1994:58) shows that universal dignity implies recognition of cultural specificities. We saw that the motive for marginalization by decision-makers of all kinds currently lies in their will to participate in 'modernity', their desire to enjoy the advantages of globalization, combined with

some exclusive understanding of non-enchanted 'sciences', and with either political or religious ideologies, including specific economic interests in the distribution of resources[59], which all together reinforce the ongoing epistemological war, raising several questions:[60] What modernity is desired? Who desires which kind of modernity? Whose tradition calls for respect? Many Mozambicans and Congolese want to ameliorate their life conditions without promoting only individual development that augments inequalities and seems to fill the world with selfish persons accumulating wealth at the cost of others.[61] How can the priority of individual liberties, liberalism and promotion of concurrence allow the respect of strongly relational interdependence as relevant for the majority of the studied people?[62]

The question is whether decision-makers can respect and open up space for the interests of the majority (Akele Adau 2008) in ameliorating their life conditions in a multiplicity (respecting minorities) that combines – ancestral – 'traditions' with 'modernity'. Further, can they do this in creative ways which imply innovations that promote people's living in accord with "their moral footing" (Gaonkar 1999:17), as currently seems to occur in law in Mozambique, allowing differences which require negotiations between the competing interests at work by overcoming the false dichotomy of 'modernity' versus 'tradition'? Contrary to ideas that respect for specific cultural consistency implies the claim of purity of cultures, Mozambican and Congolese people demonstrate that this is not necessary for the recognition of inherent paradigms and frames of specific cultures which, undergoing changes over time, still show some resilience in wrapping the past in the present (Hountondji 2013). That changes and resilience exist simultaneously is not paradoxical but part of life. Cultural specificities are not regarded in essentialist ways; differences in multiplicity prevail. Instead of 'modernizations' following nearly exclusively imported models, many people prefer approaches that respect that which resonates in people's emotions and life. More-efficient changes are called for that respond in a sustainable way to the people's requirements, values, morals, ethics and poetics as part of the most basic needs. This implies the high rate of tolerance of differences prevailing in both countries. To what extent could decision makers, doctors, lawyers and educators accept marginalizing their own people less (Matsinhe 2006, Adau Akele 2008)? The will of many people to not throw away useful ('ancestral') practices and values, which are regarded as the roots of (present) life, calls for politics that respect differences. It concerns long-term policies, which are sustainable ant promote greater equity. This is not romantic, but realistic and necessary.

Multiple worlds

Gaonkar (1999:1) states that modernity is everywhere; indeed, in the countries studied, roads, access to markets and commodities, mobile phones, hospitals and schools are associated with "modernity", although they are not accessible to all. Environmental and material changes are visible in Mozambique and DR Congo; the economy is growing through the export of natural resources, but most of the people see no benefit, which is enjoyed most of all by the several elites. Different realities condition the multiple worlds in both countries; we saw that the several kinds of simultaneous "modernities"

also include 'ancestral', religious or spiritual values and practices of multiple mixtures of so-called 'non-modern' and 'modern' paradigms and frames, either in syncretism or hybrid versions.[63] Kaviraj (2005) aptly argues that there is no clear dichotomy between tradition and modernity. For many people in the countries studied, the need for ancestral respect can hardly be separated from values transported by Christianity (in the North of Mozambique, also Islam), science or politics, even when public discourses claim the contrary (especially during socialism in Mozambique). I subscribe to Kaviraj: "The introduction of Christianity into non-European societies results not in the adoption of European forms of religious beliefs, but ones in which earlier forms of religiosity remain a powerful subterranean presence" (2005:517). This applies in both countries, which have their own syncretism of Christianity (e.g., Kimbangu or Zion churches) and rising charismatic or Pentecostal movements (prohibiting ancestral respect) that augment the diversity. However, "present ideas have memories" (Kaviraj 2005:518). This applies even for many members of the urbanized 'elites' living in more comfortable 'modern' conditions who maintain the memory of some (traditional/ancestral) values that are transmitted in private through their family education and actualized by their elder relatives, even when the 'elite' members may also be driving the disrespect for them. There is no black-and-white situation, but a constellation of wide-ranging grays.

There are neither pure life-worlds of 'traditions' nor pure 'modernity', but rather chaotic and multiple versions of diversities (like the *rhizome*[64] of Deleuze & Guatarri 1980) including more or less 'traditional' paradigms and frames alongside more or less 'modern' ones; instead of a dichotomy, I see a multiplicity of coexisting modernities. I discussed above that the multiplicity at stake is rooted in how modernity was introduced in the countries studied, and in the non-eradication of religion or other enchanted practices and values in the current times that in Mozambique and DR Congo are strongly involved in globalization, liberal capitalism, the use of modern means like money, electricity, mobile phones, TV, biomedicine, written law and so on. The multiple modernities at work imply the most diverse mixtures of modern, traditional ('ancestral'), religious and scientific ways, which to a large extent call into question the relevance of differentiating "modernity" from "tradition," especially given the strong and complex actualizations of "traditions" as demonstrated in this study. The different uses of the various paradigms and values (ancestral, religious, scientific, medical, legal, educational, economic) at stake are constitutive of multiple modernities in the countries studied, in which modernities are not characterized by a purified state "free" of enchanted or religious practices. There is not a single trajectory (Western) into modernity, in contrast to the modernization theories of Marx, Durkheim and Weber.

I discussed in this study how multiple worlds work; in the case of incompatibilities, the worlds are kept separated. For example, a person living with HIV and taking ARV treatments does not tell hospital staff that he/she is simultaneously seeking treatments from healers. This allows the pursuit of one's own emotional and social requirements and the use of complementary medicines.[65] Or a medical doctor or nurse working in the health ministry may not tell others at his/her workplace that he/she is

also initiated as a healer or diviner. Or Pentecostal followers may not tell the pastor that they participate in their extended family in ‘ancestral’ invocations or rituals, or an official judge will not tell his colleagues that he is initiated in the ‘ancestral’ ways of dealing with conflicts due to the education he received from his father, who, as a notable of a chief in the rural community that his family comes from, was a “traditional” judge.

People apply different strategies to deal with their multiple worlds. Some mix them totally or in part, or sequentially, participating more in the ‘modern’ world in their youth, and later, as older persons, integrating “traditional” practices when the time comes to have to assume them (e.g., as the eldest member of the clan/family). Others separate the involved worlds by a division of tasks within the family, in which some members are responsible for maintaining the ancestral bonds of life, others for implementing ‘modernity’. There is a diversity of forms of compromise for dealing with and living in multiple worlds.[66] For generations since colonial times, several strategies have been applied to allow people, even under pressure, to find ways to continue to respect their own ways (in accord with one’s own culture). This diversity of values and practices may lead to tensions either in families or within a person participating in several in-groups of belonging. Some family members (often, but not always, living in the cities) participate more in the ‘modern’ world, disregarding the social and ritual ‘ancestral’ obligations until they are affected by misfortune; in such cases, the ancestral bonds are actualized and people seek support from their relatives who have kept the ancestral bonds alive. This shows the inadequacy of the idea of the eradication of traditions.

However, the partial incompatibility of some (not all) values or practices leads to a widespread tendency to separate the ‘ancestral’ practices and spheres from the ‘modern’ ones (not only seen in scientific, but also in Christian or Islamic practices). The worlds differing in incompatible ways are maintained as parallel, separate spheres that may sometimes meet when complementarities are possible. When too-strong contradictions predominate, people separate them hermetically.[67] This allows divergences not to hinder simultaneous (parallel) or alternating (complementary) uses, which may sometimes create paradoxes that people nonetheless tolerate. Like Bhabha (1990:212-13), I observed that the created “in-between” spaces (of neither the one nor the other), or spaces of as-well-as, allow the articulation of ambiguities.[68] The discussed paradigms imply means of dealing with paradoxes that scientific approaches eliminate in purifications.[69] Living simultaneously in different worlds, we saw that the people in Mozambique and DR Congo live with multiple selves in plural persons, which permits participation in several worlds. Without being fragmented or schizophrenic, persons can live their multiple and dividable selves in alternating ways which do not need to be pathologies given that uniqueness is not the prevailing value in a context characterized by a multiplicity of ways of predominantly relational living. The sense of belonging in this context is framed by, among others: the mother tongue and other languages; ancestors and/or other spirits; taboos and their transgressions including new taboos; and ‘witchcraft’ including new versions or framings of this paradigm that influence, in some continua involving changes, the practices in law,

health and education. Nothing is fixed: Mozambican and Congolese persons participate in constant adjustments of a lively actualization of the past in the present, in an ongoing movement of becoming.

D - Concluding theoretical excursus: relational living versus ontology

We have seen that, from the perspective of healers, diviners, chiefs and initiation rites counselors and of those people using their services in Mozambique and DR Congo, the ancestors and other spirits, or 'witchcraft' all involve "real" entities and forces. We have seen that these "realities" include the invisible and intangible. My own insistence on the relevance of 'endogenous' paradigms can easily be misunderstood: instead of using concepts of ontology that fix the described in terms of "being" and identity, my findings correspond more to concepts of ontology that show the multiplicity in movements of becoming (e.g., Whitehead 1929, Deleuze 1967, Ingold 2011). It is the necessity of such openness, avoiding the fixing connotation of any ascriptions of identity, which I discuss in this section.

As I introduced in Chapter Two and Four, in the Bantu-speaking context studied, intense African philosophical debates were held against theories of e.g. Tempels ((1947) 1959); Kagame ((1956) 1971), 1976; Mbiti 1969 or Mulago (1965, 1971) that ascribe such paradigms to a "Bantu ontology". "Ontology" is composed of *onto*-, in Greek *ôn*, *ontos*, "being, what is" (exist), and -*logia*, from *logos* in Greek, "discourse" and "treaty". "Ontology" is defined in several encyclopedias as "the philosophical study of Being in general, or of what applies neutrally to everything that is real" (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2014)[70]. Following Heidegger (1927), ontology is the science of being *(verb*) in terms of Being (*substantive*) concerning the being-in-the-world (see below). Ontology in general deals with what exists[71].

First I look at ontological theories concerning "Bantu ontology" that have been largely discussed among African philosophers (see its introduction in Chapter Two). Next, and in order to explain my refutation of any ontology that fixes identity by establishing "what is", although "what is" may be pure change, as in many forms of Hinduism and Buddhism, or in ways of becoming (see Whitehead, Deleuze). I resume the concept of *fundamental ontology* (Heidegger), representing best a fixing sort of ontology, and its critiques by Lévinas and Derrida, showing its questionable ethical implications that also apply for this study.

The constructions and critiques of 'Bantu ontology'

Diverging concepts framed as a "Bantu ontology" have provoked one of the greatest debates among African philosophers. It is concerned with what Eboussi-Boulaga (1977, 2011), Hountondji (1977, 2013); Towa (1971) and Mosolo (1994), among others, call *ethnophilosophy* for constructions of a philosophical system grounded as much in Aristotle's as in Bergson's thoughts, combined with Bantu

linguistics and with the people's wisdom and practices. This concerns theories of Tempels (1949/59); Kagame (1956, 1971); Mulago (1955, 1965, 1973); Lufuluabo (1975); Fouda (1967); Mbiti (1969). These theories, generalized as a "Bantu ontology," apply to all Bantu-speakers throughout many countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The critique of this philosophical construction involves several levels.

First, Hountoundji (1970, 1977, 2013) and Towa (1971, 1981) rejected these theories as ethnophilosophy, which combines ethnographies with philosophy. These authors considered this method an abuse from the perspective of academic philosophy, which must be written (with verifiable sources) and critical per se, which would be unusual in the application of traditions in Africa. They refuse to recognize oral sources of sages as "philosophy", while Odora Oruka (1983, 1998) or Wiredu (1992, 1995, 1996) argue that all kinds of oral sources (myths, tales, proverbs etc.) and the oral wisdom of sages are sources of African philosophy just as pre-Socratic oral Greek thinking (e.g. Parmenides and others) is recognized as philosophy.72 Mudimbe (1988) argues that local "sages" concentrate on securing the continuity of traditions without the critical attitude inherent in philosophy, which is reinforced by Wiredu (1998), who shows that the principle of non-contradiction dominates e.g. in Akan tradition. However, Odera Oruka (1990) and Wiredu (1998, 2004) argue that sages, just like myths, tales and proverbs carry philosophical thought, which professional and academic philosophy should recognize as relevant. In this debate, the American anthropologist Apter (1992) insists on the "revolutionary" and critical potentials of ritual practices in the Yoruba context. In the countries studied, I observed that the process of actualization of traditions implies a potential capacity for critical adjustments. However, the main tendency is to a large extent conservative. But innovations are part of the process of actualization of the cultures (see Chapter Five). In addition, rituals grounded in ancestral traditions have a strong critical power in Mozambique, as demonstrated in colonial times and during the early post-colonial socialist regime that tried to prohibit 'ancestral' practices[73]. The people practiced them in the affirmation of their belonging, especially in a matrilineal context, in which the people felt very much disrespected by the national policies (Himua 2003). Like Apter (1992:98) argues, a critique towards chiefs –that cannot be said directly or verbally– can be expressed through rituals, and it is here that critique may occur. For instance, in an annual thanksgiving ritual in the North (Kotanyi 2003b) in which the questions or critiques of a healer towards the chief (his brother) were formulated by spirits —through the possessed healer— accompanied by ritual steps that they performed together and that allowed treatment of the conflict between the two brothers.

Second, Mudimbe (1988) and Wiredu (1998) maintain that the critical African debate must decolonize African minds, philosophy and sciences[74]. This critical African perspective questions the interweaving of African 'traditional' concepts and practices with theories of ontology as developed in Western philosophy and Christian theology, and their projection on African paradigms. In Western philosophy, ontology was discussed in terms of the "being" of God proving its existence (De Clusa 1450). In Africa, Tempels (1947/1959) –a Belgian missionary– constructed a "Bantu ontology"

grounded in the observations of Baluba-speaking informants in Belgian Congo. Eboussi-Boulaga (1977), Hountondji (1977, 2013) argue that Tempels followed a "civilizing" imperialist perspective, showing the colonizing power how to "civilize" and colonize more effectively (Apter 1992) by using indigenous concepts and values.

Third, and related to the foregoing point, most critics reject Tempels' use of Western or Christian essentialism to establish a specific Bantu understanding of "Being," mixing it with, and most of all projecting it onto his observations among Baluba speakers[75]. Tempels describes central paradigms in Bantu-speaking cultures like the notion of the relational *muntu* person, which he, however, reduces to the concept of the vital force (implying the potential of its weakening through 'witchcraft' or sorcery). Tempels fixes these relevant paradigms in a certain kind of "Bantu identity"; he essentializes them in terms of what he qualifies as a "primitive ontology," reducing the Being (substantive) of Bantu-speaking people to their "vital force,"[76] implying the use of "magic." I refuted such essentialization concerning this paradigm (see Chapter Four). This kind of reduction was vehemently criticized by African academic philosophers, e.g., Mudimbe (1988), Hountondji (1970, 1977), Eboussi-Boulaga (1977, 2011:15-45), who clearly demonstrated the colonizing implications of Tempels's constructions, which were not addressed to Africans but to the colonizers and missionaries. These critiques show the imperialist interests supported through the construction of "Bantu ontology" by Father Tempels, just as early ethnographies were mostly at the service of colonization. Given this history, anthropology became, especially in the critiques of African philosophers, the melting pot into which all critiques of colonialism are projected (see Mudimbe 1988). In a less political but rather classical philosophical approach, Towa (2011:126) criticizes any essentialism in African philosophy by connecting this debate with Plato's philosophical thought, the elaboration of which would exceed the scope of this study.

Fourth, the critiques of linguistically based ontological theories (the latter were developed by Kagame 1956, 1971; see below and in Chapter Two) argue that even if characteristics in culture are transmitted through language, this does not imply that all people living in this culture and using this language follow them (Gyekye 1995:xxi[77]). As a result of this debate, Hountondji (1977, 2013) and Wiredu (1998) argue that African academic philosophy is so strongly influenced by Western thought, categories and epistemology that it prevents African philosophers from finding access to their own thinking. Both authors argue that the use of Western languages influences the thinking to such a deep extent that it makes it difficult to develop an African philosophy that reflects and mirrors their own African culture.

Kagame (1956, 1976), a linguist and philosopher from Rwanda, was also a Christian priest. He also developed a "Bantu ontology" which, however, in contrast to Tempels, does not put emphasis on the vital force. Kagame grounds his arguments in linguistic data, in a comparative study of several different Bantu languages of East and Central Africa. He states the validity of a "Bantu ontology" for all Bantu-speakers. His Bantu ontology is rooted in other ontological implications than the Western

notion of ontology, which equates the verb being with existing. In contrast to Tempels, Kagame insists that in Bantu languages the root *ntu* implies the essence of "being," yet without the connotation of "existing"[78]. Given that the root *ntu* of the verb "being" can only be used in a copulative way, e.g., "being this" or "being there" or "being like that," it may express only an actual state. Samb (2010:76) notes that such a verb of "being" cannot state an all-encompassing identity (of persons, cultures, etc.). "Being" cannot be used as substantive in Bantu languages, in which it is not possible to say: "I think, therefore I am," because "being" is different from "existing." According to Samb (2010:141), Kagame's *Bantu ontology* could be seen as a science of "being as *real* immaterial," that is, of a being not implying the notion of existing. Samb argues that such a concept of ontology allows showing the being of invisible ancestors and spirits, as well as of God, which in both cases serves the need of recognizing the relevance of invisible entities. But, following Eboussi-Boulaga (1977) and Mosolo (1994), the constructions of Tempels's or Kagame's *Bantu ontology* only reflect their own views. In addition, ontological ascriptions in the academic philosophy in sub-Saharan Africa seem significantly involved with Christianity[79], which in Western philosophy sought to prove the "being" or existence of the invisible God (Clusa, 1450). In Africa, most people value the invisible, but Christianity had to prove in many parts of the continent the predominant relevance—for the living—of God staying above ancestors, in worlds where God was not a central entity, or if God is regarded as the creator of all (Wiredu, 1998), being in the sky, far away from the living and from ancestors on earth .[80]

However, most of the African critics also had a Christian education. E.g. Eboussi-Boulaga, a former Jesuit, developed a liberating theology of "Christianity without fetishes" (1981) distancing from ancestral ways; Mudimbe was a Benedict monk before starting an academic career. Wiredu (1998), like Mudimbe (1988) notes that many if not most African academics (of the colonial and first post-colonial generation) – were mostly educated in Christian institutions. In fact, Christianity has influenced many, if not most, literate African scholars at least in DR Congo and Mozambique; this is especially the case for lawyers, medical doctors, linguists, sociologists or anthropologists. Islam, on the other hand, has influences in North Mozambique but not much in the academic context. If not directly, academics are at least indirectly influenced by Christian values in both countries. In Mozambique, 17 years of a socialist regime did not erase many Christian paradigms and values predominant among the formerly "assimilated" (to colonial culture), who constituted the first generation of post-colonial elites active in politics, law, economy, health and education. I showed that multiplicity of values and paradigms coexist in both studied countries. Additionally, Wiredu (1998, 2004) demonstrates in his critical analysis of the Akan religion that it is perfectly possible to distinguish between Christian and "ancestral" Akan paradigms. For instance, Wiredu insists that ancestors are not gods and are not worshiped (similarly to the Bantu-speaking context discussed in Chapter One). Furthermore, the "ancestral" Akan tradition (like the Bantu-speakers' "ancestral" traditions) does not state an ontological cleavage between the material and immaterial – as often distinguished in Western and Christian cultures when following influences of Descartes or other

"purifying" thoughts (Latour, 1991[81]). In Akan African contexts it is also part of an "ancestral" approach to accept evil "as necessarily co-existing with good from creation" (Wiredu 1998:40); my findings concerning harmful expressions of *wuloyi, okhwiri, kindoki* or similar notions of 'witchcraft' show a similar tendency.[82] Similarly, P'Bitek (1970) shows for the Luo Bantu-speakers in Uganda that the *jogi* [pl. of *jok* - several forces or power] are regarded as responsible for particular types of occurrences and problems without postulating an omnipotent creator God, which for P'Bitek is an idea implemented among the Luo by Christian missionaries. Unlike in the Bantu-speaking context that e.g. P'Bitek and that I described as allowing plurality and multiplicity, Christian theology states universality, grounded in the idea of a unique God, unifying all humans. This suggestion of the Christian religion also influences several healers and diviners in Mozambique or DR Congo, who practice it, however, in a coexisting multiple frameworks. Such healers and diviners often differentiate between the "ancestral" and the Christian paradigms, applying the latter in their own syncretic ways.[83]
The summarized critics of African philosophers towards constructions of "Bantu ontology" show the problematic of the projection of Western epistemology and values on African life, practices and concepts. This leads me to question the geo-grounding of the concept of "ontology" developed over centuries in Western philosophy to establish in metaphysics what exists (questioning first if God exists), and which ethnographers use to establish 'what exists'. Following Derrida's critique (1967a) of the ethnocentrism of 'Western' metaphysics, I ask: How ethnocentric are such ontological assignations? E.g., the ontological theories of the philosopher, linguist, historian and priest Kagame (1956, 1976) from Rwanda are not based on participative ethnographies analyzing practices and experiences, but on philosophical deductions interpreted out from etymological and linguistic comparative studies[84] that are strongly influenced by (religious) ideological orientations given his Christian commitment as priest: He seeks to demonstrate a specific "Bantu" ontology, insisting on "being" in Bantu languages, without analyzing enough the "relational" characteristics also appearing in Bantu languages (see Kagame 1976:124) and, moreover, in the prevailing practices. Like former the Christian missionaries, Kagame (1976) was committed in promoting in his writing a certain "Bantu" version of Christian religion.
In current times, characterized by the claim to decolonize anthropological thought and practices, do such theories not run the risk of producing new intellectual "colonization"? In Western metaphysics, the differences in agency and subjectivity are often neglected (Haddour 2000) just as it is the case in relation to practices and values (Mudimbe 1988; Bhabha 1994:19).[85] Furthermore, Van Rinsum (2001) analyzes the moralizing "power of defining", for instance, what is real, exercised by postcolonial institutions and by several Christian or Islamic religions. The latter define morality through individual sin and in relation to God/Allah, while 'ancestral ways' base the "real" in a morality and ethics involving the necessity of reciprocity; gift-giving and redistribution of wealth in a moral economy; respecting ancestors' taboos; and the use of the *moral power* involved in *kindoki*, *okhwiri, wuloyi* or similar notions of 'witchcraft.' The different moralities and ethics at stake diverge, in part profoundly.

Christian religions and biomedical and official legal approaches are centered on the "being" of the individual, e.g., in terms of sin, guilt or individually centered etiologies, like that implied in the notion of "trauma," which locates the source of health disorders in the person itself. In contrast, the discussed 'ancestral' ways center morals and ethics in the relational, in the social world outside of the suffering person.

Kodjo-Grandvaux (2013: 26-27) argues that several ethno-philosophies of churchmen like Tempels imply the wrong assumption of an immutable system of beliefs impermeable to time and history, inscribed in universal notions of ontological principles and allowing the rooting of the Christian message in psychological and cultural frames. The critique of immutability is also stated, by e.g., Hountoundji 1980, Towa 2011 and Same Kolle 2013. Kodjo-Grandvaux (2013:27) qualifies the construction of invariable singularity as "a fixing ontology." Without questioning ontological assignation, Towa (2011:171) refutes any conception of absolutely static identity. Towa sees human diversity as the great problem of modern African thought and reclaims "a theory of human diversity in all its singularity" (2011:172-73). He argues that the conscience of identity is opposition to the other. The latter corresponds to the discussion of the Cameroonian psychologist Same Kolle (2013) about the illusion of the discursive appropriation of the self and of the intolerances toward the other; in Levinas's philosophy of alterity, he valuates a thought that recognizes the priority of the ethical positions before ontology (see below).

In such a context, I suggest that the concept of "ontology," when it establishes what "is" (defining "reality" or establishing "identity") is full of traps and leads easily to questionable projections of values and/or concepts. Derrida (1967b) argues that the notion of "ontology" is colored by certain philosophical connotations[86], which I summarize below with Heiddeger's concept of *fundamental ontology* and its critiques, in order to go into greater depth on the problem of assignation of identity for this study.

The critique of ontological theories that fix identity

In modern and Western philosophy, the concepts of *fundamental ontology* as formulated by Heidegger (1927) contrast with the concepts of multiple ontologies as formulated by Hacking (2002) or Mol (2002) and even more with the concepts of *differential ontology* as formulated by Deleuze 1967 (Appendix 7.1.)

Heidegger's fundamental ontology

In his descriptions of practices among Kiyaka speakers in DR Congo, Devisch (1993, 2015) uses the concept of "being-in-the-world"[87] as stated by Heidegger. This concept contrast Descartes's "I think therefore I am" [*cogito*], which has shaped Western philosophy for centuries, centered on interiority and knowledge grounded in thought. Heidegger's philosophy puts emphasis on the experiences of being-in-the-world, determining life. The recognition of the relevance of experiences and practices in philosophy explains the attraction of this concept to anthropologists subscribing to Heidegger's

insistence that ontology is not just theory, not just about representation, but rather involves one's own life. Its application in anthropology shows that ethnographies concern experiences and practices of life not merely as representations, and that the involved issues are not 'just' of symbolic nature.

For Heidegger "*To be* is a self-evident concept" ((1927) 2006:4); however, in Bantu-speaking cultures, it is neither self evident nor central, as I described above and in Chapter Two. Heidegger shifts attention to the existence of the human being. In contrast, for centuries, Derrida (1967b) shows that Western philosophy has discussed the existence (being or not) of God, or tended in a mainly dualist perspective to reduce being to thinking (e.g., Descartes). Such dualism separated mind and body (implying flesh, sensations and emotions) and preceded the purification processes discussed above regarding modernization; it was useful to the development of sciences rooted in growing specializations requiring purification processes. Latour (1991, 2009b) argues that purification also led to concepts separating nature and culture that, however, Western thinkers like Whitehead (1925, 1929, 1934) question. Such separation is problematic in those Bantu-speaking contexts in which, e.g. in Xichangana *ntumbuluku* means (1) tradition (ancestral ways); (2) creation, cosmos, nature; (3) origins; and (4) culture.

The discussion of "being" by thinkers like Heidegger emphasizes interiority (thinking) in a notion of the 'self' that is centered on the individual. However, as my informants insist, the Bantu notion of *munthu* [person] is deeply relational and not centered on the individual, which is easily seen as excessively individualistic (framed in terms of behaving potentially as a '*witch'*). Heidegger's being-in-*the*-world seeks to understand the human Being as a "universal" entity. This is founded in his notion of ontology, which differentiates "Being" (substantive) from the "Being of the being" (verb), placing emphasis on the historical aspect of being. Anthropologists, feeling challenged by a notion of ontology that establishes the ways of being, may argue that Heidegger's notion of *local ontologies* corresponds to anthropological descriptions of the diverging "ontologies" which are described e.g. in their *ontographies* stated by Holbraad (2009b), imagining that the plural use of the term may help to overcome the debatable characteristic of 'ontology' that fixes identities (see Appendix 7.2.).

Heidegger (1927) defines the human Being as essentiality (in terms of its existence), stating existence as "being there." In a first main critique, Lévinas shows that in the concept "being there," existing is measured in relation to oneself. For Heidegger, the notion of "*view to oneself*" is central to his approach to existence. Lévinas (1961) shows that the world of Heidegger's "being-in-the-world" is nothing other than this "view to oneself." In Heidegger's concept of "being-in-the-world," the point of orientation of the notion of the world is the '*one*self'. Lévinas (1961) and Derrida (1967) both argue that Heidegger's definition of being-in-the-world through "the view to oneself" implies emphasis on sameness, meaning the sameness toward oneself as the dominating perspective applied. Although Heidegger shows an *"out of oneself" in the world* that seems to be open to others, it remains in a "oneself"-centered way, which is the main measure in Heidegger's argumentation. It reduces the others to the self-reflective view of the perspective of the "I"; the "I" –not the other or, even less, the

relation to others– grounds Heidegger's concepts of "being-in-the-world." In addition, such a fundamental ontological approach establishes "what is" in terms of fixed being, which defines the involved fundamentalist character. It states what exists as "being-in-the-world," implying a notion of stasis, which reinforces the fundamentalist approach. In Heidegger's perspective, "being" is limited to being in a singular world and unique world.

This perspective leads to four critical issues in the Bantu and African contexts that I examined. First, a predominantly individualizing perspective (centered on "myself") is inadequate in the 'Bantu cultural' contexts, where relational living prevails, e.g., healing or mediation of conflicts requires, most of all, the reweaving of disturbed relationships. It is inappropriate to contexts where "relational living," e.g., in terms of "being with," determines existence more than the idea of individual and static "Being" (as substantive). Second, the measuring of being-in-*the*-world through *one*self states the existence of only one singular world and one way of being – which is centered on individuals. We saw that many, if not most, Mozambican and Congolese people live in a multiplicity of worlds and participate in several diverging paradigms in parallel or alternating ways. Third, the measuring of being-in-the-world in terms of oneself implies an emphasis on sameness (through the scale of measuring through 'oneself' of Heiddeger's perspective). The latter leads to a universal concept of the world defined by Heidegger from his own (Western) perspective (to which the others are subordinated) — a universality that Wiredu (1996) rejects in absolute terms, establishing instead the relevance of cultural particularities. This position recalls the colonial pretentions of imperial domination, which have been rejected by all postcolonial thinkers among independent African people who are rooted in the recognition of multiplicity and differences.

These critiques of *fundamental ontology* complement the critiques addressed mainly by African philosophers to the concepts of "Bantu ontology" as formulated either by Tempels or Kagame. My critique of such concepts oriented to *fundamental ontology* is that a definition of ontology that establishes "what is" in terms of "being" implies a fixing (of persons, ways of living, cultures, etc.) in a singular "being," in one identity and in one world. It neglects the multiple ways of *living-in-the-worlds* that go beyond partial continuities—like the described 'ancestral' paradigms in current practices implying transformations. My most important critique is that the fixation of "what is" in terms of "being" neglects the necessary openness for the dynamic processes of transformation: there is neither a fixable nor a unique identity or "being," but living (as verb) is part of constant transformation processes (Whitehead 1929) characterized by differences, following Deleuze (1967), Lévinas (1961, 1974, 1977), Derrida (1967), Sartre (1957), Foucault (1988a/b, 1994)[88], Moll's (2002) and Hacking's (2002) multiple ontologies.

The ethical questioning of fundamental ontology

Fundamental ontological theories defining "what is" by fixing it in "identity" can become an issue of life or death. There is the danger that nationalist or fundamentalist movements, politicians, governments and institutions of all kinds misuse this concept of a fixed identity for their purposes. In

Africa the genocide of the Tutsi people in Rwanda demonstrated the dangerous potentiality of fixing identities. Belgium, the colonial power, invented two ethnic groups of "Beings" in Rwanda, the Tutsi people (rulers) and the Hutu (ruled) – which in reality are social classes, not different ethnic groups; they speak the same Kinyarwanda Bantu language. This policy of dividing in order to rule strongly influenced the later genocide of Tutsi people by Hutu people. Such dangers in fixing identity lead me to refute those ontological theories that establish "what is," reducing it to an identity instead of regarding ontology always in terms of virtual becoming (Deleuze 1967). I follow the critique of Lévinas (1961) and Derrida (1967b) of the totality involved in the notion of (*fundamental*) *ontology* that they formulated on the grounds of their violent experiences with fundamental ontological assignations supporting the systematic killing of Jews by the Nazi regime just because of their alleged Jewish "essence" (seen as race). The "*Black Notebooks*" of Heidegger between 1931 and 1934 (2014) show that Heidegger was firmly anti-Semitic; it is justified to question whether his anti-Semitism is also grounded in his concept of *fundamental ontology*.[89] Racism is rooted in ontological ascriptions with murderous potentials (e.g., the Shoa in Europe). This ethical implication of fundamental ontological fixing of identities bases its main critiques.[90] I emphasize this issue given that the descriptions in this study might be misunderstood as implying fundamental ontological ascriptions, which is neither my perspective nor that of my research subjects; their practices are characterized by several and different paradigms, using them in a fluidity involving changes. Further, I agree with Scott (2014) that ontological ascription can easily be misused by *methodological nationalism* (2014:445, note 6). Wimmer and Glick-Schiller define *methodological nationalism* "as the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" (1997:302). President Mbeki of South Africa practiced such a misuse of the *ubunthu* tradition [ethic of relational *muntu* person] by justifying the denial of HIV infections. In this sense, any ontological ascription to the ways of living of Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speakers could be misused, if used in order to fix and define one ostensibly unique and fictionally declared "authentic" culture of Mozambican or Congolese Bantu-speakers. This would allow the justification, e.g. of the exclusion of people, which would not correspond to the perspective of my informants, who often practice flexible ways of inclusivity or of complementarity instead of exclusivity. It is against this background that I will review the ethical critiques by Lévinas and Derrida, showing implications transported by any kind of *fundamental ontology*.

The critiques of ontology of Lévinas

Lévinas acknowledges the contribution of Heidegger's "Being and Time" (1927) as extraordinary.[91] But Heidegger's support of the Nazi regime, to which Lévinas lost his entire family, led Lévinas to rethink the philosophical implications of ontology.[92] Heidegger relates the notion of "Being" to "oneself"; the *self* in this case is the main measure of being-in-the-world.[93] This basic characteristic grounds Heidegger's *fundamental ontology*, which Lévinas (1961, 1967, 1974, 1976) questions. Lévinas argues that a person exists in relation to others, who determine his and their own Being[94]; this

includes and constitutes a basic responsibility towards (all) other human beings. Existence is characterized by a relation to others - and that goes beyond simply caring for others.[95] This approach recalls the relational notion of the *munthu* [person], making Lévinas's philosophy appealing in the contexts that I described.[96]

Central to Lévinas's critiques is, in the context of this study, that Lévinas questions the centrality of a notion of subjectivity[97] that is centered on the self and reduces the perspective of "being-in-the-world" to the ego, which takes the self as the main and unique point of reference, as does Heidegger in his justification of *fundamental ontology*. The Latin term for identity is *idem* [same]. Heidegger's conceptualization is oriented to sameness (taking the self as measure), which establishes identity (expressing *per se* "one" and sameness without involving either differences and multiplicity or changes).
Lévinas and Derrida argue that Heidegger's measuring through oneself implies that he seeks only sameness, ignoring or devaluing differences. This also corresponds to the critiques of *fundamental ontology* made by Deleuze, 1967. Lévinas thinks the known, in awareness of the unknown; he also addresses the difference of the Same as a central perspective (like Derrida, 1967b, and Deleuze, 1967[98]). For Lévinas, the centrality of the ego in Heidegger's ontology implies to reduce the "Other to the Same"; it kills differences and pluralism, it constitutes what Lévinas calls the totalitarian nature of ontology. Lévinas (1961) and Derrida (1967b, 1997) both see (fundamental) ontological ascriptions as sources of violence and totalitarianism. For Lévinas (1979), peace is not to be achieved through *being-in-oneself* as it appears in Heidegger's (1927) approach, but through the absence of any self; the alienation in Being (as substantive) is not revocable but is about "the tragedy of being chained to oneself and not the tragedy of a violence that a foreign power has on the self," as Finkelkraut (1989:23) points out. Or, as Lévinas says: "I am not without responsibility. "(1979:n.n.).[99] Lévinas sees in the emphasis on oneself in Heidegger's fundamental ontology the roots of violence, which lie in the idea of the centrality of the ego, which is constitutive for traditional Western philosophy that both Lévinas and Derrida (1967b) question.

Putting the Other at the center of his philosophy, Lévinas (1951) also criticizes Heidegger's universalizing position in "Being and Time" (1927); universalism is a common tendency in Western philosophical tradition.[100] According to Lévinas, Heidegger's philosophy implies "Another" below my-self, which is a dominant tendency in his concept of *fundamental ontology*. It is a leveling notion, which is implied in an ontology that privileges cognitive knowledge in such a way that is not open for *alterity*.[101] In Lévinas' perspective, the paralysis in the totalitarian tendencies in Western philosophy is grounded in a thinking that privileges rationality. Lévinas, in contrast, postulates a thought in terms of the coexistence of oppositions (based on Rosenzweig).[102] In a similar way, many of my Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speaking research subjects follow paradigms that imply the possibility of the

coexistence of oppositions[103] (e.g. in case of 'constructive' *kindoki* ['witchcraft']). Lévinas's critique is ethical:

> "Philosophy of power, ontology as *primary philosophy* which does not question the *same*, is a philosophy of injustice. The Heideggerian ontology, which subordinates the relation to the Other to being in general (…) remains in the obedience of the anonymous and leads, fatally, to another power, to imperialist domination, to tyranny (…). Being [*as substantive*] before being [*as verb*], ontology before metaphysics – is liberty (even if it is that of theory) before justice. It is a movement of the Same before the obligation toward the Other." (1961: 38)

The priority of Being [*Sein* as subject] over being [*seiend* as verb] as stated by Heidegger implies the violence and imperialism that Lévinas (1961:38) sees as inherent in Heidegger's concept of ontology.[104] For ethical reasons, Lévinas and Derrida deny any ascription of ontology that leads to fixed identity.[105] For Lévinas, "the relation with the other is not ontology. This relation with the other cannot be reduced to the representation of the other, but to his invocation" (1951:95). Lévinas sees in invocation a face-to-face dialogue in which being is determined through the relation with the other. Such a notion of invocation is very relevant in the Bantu-speaker's context in which the invocation of ancestors has a central ethical and moral importance.[106] Lévinas gives priority to a positive acceptance of the externality of the Other without reducing the Other to the opposite of the same. This externality reaches beyond the ego in a moral consciousness and answers to the Other; existence reaches "beyond being" and is, for Lévinas (1982), about ethics.[107] While Heidegger's ontology implies the reduction of all to the same through the supremacy of the Being, Lévinas breaks with and overcomes the philosophy of identity in favor of a philosophy of alterity (see Petrosino 2010; Bergo 2006).

The trap of establishing 'identity'

It is the assignation of identity implied in the notion of ontology if it establishes "what is" (fixing identity), which calls for a critique grounded in Sartre (1943), Derrida (1967b), Lévinas (1961), Deleuze (1967/1968) and Foucault (1988a/b). According to these philosophers, to be able to identify what exists establishes identity (sameness), involves essentialist ascriptions and implies insisting on the 'one' as opposed to differences and multiplicity[108]. Cisney summarizes Deleuze's (1969:309) critique: "The essentialist tradition, in contrast to the tradition of *differential ontology*, attempts to locate the identity of any given thing in some essential properties or self-contained identities" (2014: n.n.).

Derrida's critiques of, and deep agreement with, Lévinas

Subscribing to Lévinas's critiques, Derrida argues that it is about "the destruction of the totality of (…) the neutral Same of the Being different than my-self" (1967b:214). For Derrida, "if ontology is a tautology and an *egology*, it has always neutralized the other in all senses of the term" (1967b:143). Reinforcing Lévinas's critique, Derrida states: "it is in the direction of a pluralism which does not amalgamate in a unity that we would like to move towards" (1967b:132). Derrida (1967b, 1987, 1997) shows main concordances with Lévinas in furthering Lévinas's arguments against fundamental

ontological theories through critiques full of solidarity.[109] For Derrida (1967b), the first problem in Lévinas's critique of ontology is the language used: any critique of ontology should avoid the use of the ontological language in order not to transport and perpetuate the static and fixing implications of ontology. The latter remain stuck to the ontological terms, which Derrida reduces to *fundamental ontology* while ignoring Deleuze's differential ontological concept that was first published in the same year, and to which he did not refer in his later writings on these issues. Derrida (1967b:223) shows the neutralizing consequence of using inadequate language in the critique of ontology of Lévinas: he recalls a meditation of Nicholas of Clusa, which shows that even just the question of the existence of God implies his existence[110]. Further, Derrida criticizes Lévinas's use of "Being" as a substantive with which he continues to transport (fundamental) ontological implications.[111] This critique is relevant to me; instead of the violent move fixing the "Being" (as substantive) of my informants, I see the predominance of 'living with'[112] (as verb) in relation with the others. For Derrida, as for Deleuze, instead of "Being," it is the differences that require emphasis.[113]

In sum, Derrida and Lévinas (like Deleuze, 1967) put differences at the center of attention in a common move against *fundamental ontology*, which implies that *dasein* [to be there] is not to be reduced to Being [*Dasein*], as Being is not graspable and should not be reduced to the perspective of oneself, but should include differences and the Other.[114] *Dasein* arises out of the relationship with the Other and not out of the "deep loneliness of existing" (Heidegger 1927). Criticizing Heidegger's orientation to the self, Lévinas and Derrida argue that it is an issue of ethics, which must arise from the others[115], giving the Other space for his differences – including the differences in oneself. Lévinas and Derrida seek a radical respect for alterity by criticizing any attempt to fix being in identity. Even if framed in terms of respected alterity in multiplicity, identity/identities still transports a totalitarian approach if it implies the establishment of Being and of "what is." Lévinas (1974, 1991) puts the relation to others at the center of his critique of (fundamental) ontology, desisting from identifying and fixing in terms of Being (as substantive).

Relevance of the critique of ontology in the field of my study

I summarized the main lines of the critiques of several African philosophers towards constructions of a "Bantu ontology" that is influenced by Western epistemology and Christian values; to these critiques I added the ethical critiques of *fundamental ontology* formulated by Lévinas and Derrida. It is against this background that I suggest that ontological ascriptions establishing "what is" do not resolve the problem of the recognition of the described paradigms, although in current anthropology, many authors use ontological theories to show that what they describe "exists" – from the perspective of their informants. They argue along with Holbraad (2012) and Henare et al. (2007) that their descriptions concern not just "representation" or symbolic issues but that they describe "what exists"[116] –and thus realities–. I discussed the complexity of the notion of "realities" of the paradigms that I described[117]. To seriously consider the "reality" of these paradigms would seem to be consistent

with the “ontological turn” in anthropology, however, I believe that much more was promised by this “turn” than was delivered, —especially given the dangers of confounding *fundamental* and *differential* ontological approaches (see Appendix 7). In brief, a reduction of my ethnography to *ontography,* as stated by Holbraad (2009b)[118], would fix them in one or several identities by establishing ‘what is’. This would imply the danger that some may take or misuse these descriptions as static identities, which they are not. Instead, with the concept of *differential ontology*[119] desisting from establishing “what is,” it might be suggested that my descriptions are ontological in terms of “differences in virtual becoming” (Deleuze, 1967, 1977; De Landa 2002, Viveiro de Castro 2009)[120], which is an antagonistic concept to any ontology establishing “what is” (see Appendix 7). I limit the presentation of this concept to an appendix given that African philosophers don’t use this theory[121] – even though the African practices that I described include a strong entanglement of past, present and future (see also Hountondji, 2013), illustrating the relevance of *differential* ontological theories for such African contexts. The latter seem especially relevant for diagnostic practices like ‘divination’, as well as the ritual treatments dealing with notions of ‘witchcraft’ that I described.

My analyses show paradigms and values that influence people’s modes of living, which are embedded in differences and complex multiplicities – in a life that is not framed in one unique way but allows multiplicity, constantly in becoming. Fundamental ontological ascription is all the more inadequate, given that many Bantu-speaking people follow, simultaneously or in alternation, several other values, mixing the described ‘ancestral’ paradigms with others. Rather than pretending to grasp identity (or even identities), relational living is seen as open and able to change in a moving process (see Whitehead, 1929). The multiple differences involved in this process imply some continuity over time in what one may see as a kind of *univocity,* a philosophical concept of Deleuze that addresses repetitions of differences and multiplicity involving changes in time duration. The latter is regarded as one. *Univocity* aligns to quantum physics in that it addresses multiple voices that are expressed in one time duration encompassing the multiplicity of past, present and future, in accordance with Bergson’s (1924, 1941) concepts of time (Deleuze 1969; 1990:179; Appendix 7.1)[122]. Such concepts seem to fit the perspective of my Mozambican and Congolese research subjects, which firmly avoids fixing the described practices, paradigms and values in a static unique being/identity, but rather includes multiplicities of past and present, in a virtual becoming in constant processes of change.

The debate on identity in postcolonial Africa

On the basis of my descriptions and analyses, I suggest that, in the studied African context, fundamental ontological ascriptions (e.g., by Tempels or Kagame and their followers, who establish “Bantu Ontology”) rather cause a new problem by fixing identity as being. My findings lead me to agree with the African philosophers Towa (2011) and Kodjo-Grandvaux (2013) and the psychologist Same Kolle (2013), who show the multiplicity implied in African contexts and the need to recognize this as ungraspable. This is all the more relevant given the official and academic use of Western languages in Africa; for example, these do not allow adequate reflection of the particular content that

Wiredu (1996[123]), rigorously avoiding any ascription of "identity," analyzes in his demonstrations of decolonization of the mind in the Akan context.

For our purpose, the question is whether anthropological descriptions can desist from establishing "what is" and avoid any contribution to fixing identity. First, anthropological descriptions are limited to what we might observe and what our research subjects as informants, or what *oneself* has experienced and can remember. Second, the "being" of persons and their life-worlds will always reach beyond any description and observation, given that in the living process the "being" is constantly adjusted in the dynamic of becoming. However, descriptions of the specific paradigms, practices and values I analyzed may easily be seen as a demonstration of Bantu-speakers' "identity" (e.g., by Bagnol 2006), which I see as a reduction to one or to sameness that does not correspond to the coexisting multiplicity in Mozambique and DR Congo. The definition of identity by the African philosopher Eboussi-Boulaga (1976, 2011) –in his vehement critic of Western projections on constructions of *Bantu ontology* – allows me to approach the problem of the notion of "identity." He argues that identity must be seen as fact in terms of nature which preserves itself through time. For him, among others, this implies "the stubborn permanence of orality, the universal symbolism of a metaphysical of life force and of participation, with an innate sense of rhythm and of the sacred, an aesthetic canon which is a steady celebration of the integral life, which is victorious over death" (1991:n.n.[124]). These characteristics apply also for Mozambique and DR Congo, and seem to illustrate a certain notion of continuum in time duration which involves multiplicity, differences and changes in a constant process of becoming. In contrast to such a *differential ontological* approach, for Eboussi-Boulaga, identity is a pure determination of the essence which he defines as a category that conceives of "being" as the relation and coincidence to oneself. The disadvantage of such an essentialist definition is that it fixes being in a static way and does not leave room for differences in the dynamic of changes (Samb 2010:95; Same Kolle 2013:143; Kodjo-Grandvaux 2013). Diagne S.B. (2004b[125]) argues that identity is not given but constructed by oneself and by others. This corresponds to the widespread notion in the Bantu context that the person is not given, but must be achieved. My informants would especially subscribe to Sow's (1984) notion of 'identity,' which is less a closure on oneself but more the affirmation of one's own personality and individuality in relation to the Other.[126] Sow questions the creation of an "identity-refuge,"[127] which becomes reductionist and ideological, preventing theoretical consideration of differences. This shows the necessity of an analysis of the problem of attempting to define identity[128].

Kodjo-Grandvaux (2013:25-80) argues pertinently that the historical negation of the value of African practices and cultures prompted most African philosophers in the first postcolonial stage (as well as during colonialism) to seek to overcome the systematic negation of African cultures, religions, languages, knowledge(s), practices and values. This occurred through the attempt to establish African identity (e.g., in terms of *negritude* [blackness]) in an early African conceptualization based on the assumption of the existence of one common African identity with a basic common grounding. Kodjo-

Grandvaux notes that this concept does not reflect the multiplicities at stake. The search to define identity in sub-Saharan Africa remains a reaction to the internalization (Fanon 1952, 1967) of the systematic devaluation of African values since colonialism –and ongoing in post-colonialism– which attempts to impose Western scales of values stated as "universal". This makes it difficult for African scholars to develop critical theories that conceive the differences in ways that allow for multiplicities and specificities that Wiredu (1996) calls "the particular." Mainly since the nineties, a few African philosophers like Mosolo 1994; Gyeke 1997; Guéye 1998; Wiredu 2002, 2003, 2004b; S.B. Diagne 2004b; Appiah 2005; Samb 2010; Same Kolle 2013; and Kodjo-Grandvaux (2013:27) have started to reflect critically on the concept of identity. They reject any reduction of their analyses in terms of "identity." Instead of closures in one identity, these (African) philosophers show the necessity of analyzing differences in the light of the multiplicity involved (corresponding to Deleuze 1967; Derrida 1967b). In this line of thinking, to state identity implies fixing it in an artificial, collective, immutable "one," although each culture—e.g., any of the Bantu-speaking cultures described—is imbued with diversity and transformations in constant movements of becoming.[129]
The Martinican writer Glissant ((1996) 2005:40) suggests the concept of *rhizomatic identity*, using Deleuze & Guattari's (1980) concept of *rhizome*: instead of identity having a singular root, it grows from a network of roots characterizing complex cultures, which for Glissant arises out of processes of creolization. While creolization applies perfectly for societies built on very strong mixtures in which it is more difficult to demonstrate "particular" characteristics, I suggest that the concept of *rhizomatic identity* applies to the Bantu cultures described, in terms of complex multiplicity and differences (not necessarily creolization) based in a network of roots, which, however, show some particularities (Wiredu 1996).

One such particularity that appears in my descriptions concerns the strongly relational moral/ethical values and practices, which require reciprocity. These often differ from the emphasis on individualism in "Western" values. In both countries, the postcolonial choices of those in power (politically, academically and e.g. by decision-makers in education, health and law) lead to perpetuate the colonial marginalization of endogenous practices and values that are relevant for many, if not for most people (including diverse hybrid-mixed practices). The people demand respect and recognition of the relevance of their mother tongue[130], of their knowledge, values and practices, which do not necessarily imply particularism or backwardness. Bantu-speakers, constituting the majority in Mozambique and DRC, are marginalized at the altar of "modernity" and "reason". Whereas African philosophers like Hountoundji (2013) and Wiredu (1996, 1998) insist that starting to think and publish in their own languages would allow Africans to develop theories that reflect African thought and epistemology in accord with the lived cultures and values. This implies, however, avoiding seeing either position exclusively, as Wiredu (1991, 1996) shows.

Coexistence with some relative continua in transformative relationality

Many want to participate in coexisting ways in the potentialities of the 'ancestral' and of the 'modern' practices and values. Scott sums it up aptly:

> "Relational non-dualists see things as relations, both internally and externally. For relational non- dualists, we are told, there are no pure unmixed things or essences, only the web of relations, which inhere in things and in which things inhere … Accordingly, there is likewise no static being for relational non-dualists, only a continuous flux of transformative becoming." (2013:863-4).[131]

This corresponds to the described tendencies of many people in the Bantu-speaking context, starting with the notion of the strongly relational persons, including their vulnerability on the social, spiritual, emotional and physical levels at work. The people, in both rural and urban contexts, insist on the relevance of non-human entities; however, relational *bamunthu* [persons] seem less centered in both their Being (substantive) and in their being (verb), but first value the quality and regularity of relations to the others (humans/non-humans) in terms of "being with." In such a highly relational world, the use of the concept of ontology, which fixes identity as a self-related being, is questionable; it is about "relational ways to live." Strathern (2012:144) recalls that relations are inherently transformative, and Tsings argues that "because relationships are encounters across difference, they have a quality of indeterminacy" (2012:510). The question is how much continuity may occur in the transformative processes inherent to life. I suggested that my findings show some continua, which are relative due to the involved changes: e.g., it is easy to implement new taboos (see Kubik 2007), but it seems difficult to make taboos disappear. Also, ritual requirements tend to maintain their relevance even under conditions other than those of their origins, and even when they imply certain changes (as cleansing rituals practiced after death in the urban context show). In the same way, metaphors tend to show a strong resilience that Fernandez (1972) regards as "various continua," while Deleuze speaks of a "virtual continuum" (see Appendix 7) that reflects the quality of indeterminacy stated above. In summary, strong relationality implies encounters across difference. Transformations occur with various continua (e.g., paradigms, framings, metaphors, taboos).

I ground these suggestions, first, in the analyzed observation that many Bantu-speakers living strongly in relations, e.g., often connote egoism with the concentration on the ego ―easily regarded as "witch"― as a tendency to use others for one's own individual interests, ignoring the priority of maintaining balanced relations to others. Second, some non-dualist relational life practices in the interrelated notion of *munthu* [person] appear in the paradigms relevant in the search for wellbeing (e.g., with regard to AIDS) or in conflict treatments (in lived-law). It is about ways of "*living-related-to-others* in multiple worlds" instead of "*being*-in-*the*-world" (Devisch 2012b:95). I suggest that it is grounded in interrelation with others in the different worlds in which people live simultaneously in

parallel or sequentially, following different paradigms applied in multiple groups in which Mozambican or Congolese people may participate.

Sax (2014) also shows how particular practices produce multiple worlds; following Hacking (2002), he argues that his fieldwork in India shows that "human practices can create new ontological objects, and new ways of being human. We might put the same thought in different words, by saying that cultures really can fashion new worlds." (2014:13). Sax suggests that "these new human kinds are produced slowly, step-by-step, in a process of (non-linguistic) iteration and re-iteration that Hacking (1996) calls "looping effects." I agree that Hacking's "looping effects" also explain the processes of transformations of the 'ancestral' and 'modern', the religious and secular practices in Mozambique and DR Congo that I described. From the perspective of my research subjects, regardless of whether the involved worlds are regarded as "new" or not, they are multiple. In the establishment of multiple historical ontologies that Hacking (2002) discusses for Western history, the question is whether it shows the virtual characteristic of these ontologies as always in becoming, which is reflected in his formulation: "a kind of person came into being at the same time as the kind itself was being invented" (Hacking 2002: 106). The *beings invented* throughout history involve memories that weave the past and present with the future, which states of possession by 'spirits' or diagnostics through 'divination' in Mozambique or DR Congo illustrate. As discussed above, the notion of ontology contains –to a certain extent– totalitarian implications of fixing identities when claiming to establish "what is," even in the plural case, if ontology is not stated in terms of virtual becoming, as is implied in Mol's (2002) critical analyses of multiplicity. There is no way to grasp "what is"; following Deleuze, ontology applies only virtually in becoming in terms of "differential ontology," (Cisney 2014) as May 2005:60, Bergen 2006, recalls. This corresponds to Ingold and Palsson's suggestion that "humans are not really beings at all but 'becomings'" (2013).

Not least, even a concept of "relational ontologies" transports the totalitarian implications of ontology as far as following a concept of ontology that establishes "what is." It still keeps the fixing quality implied in establishing "being"; even when addressing multiple ontologies, it does not express the involved potentials of changes carried in *differential ontology* that desists from establishing "what is." The latter applies even more in the worlds that I have described, which are characterized very strongly through relationships to others, in which the persons require an endless keeping-alive[132] of the relationships to others in a necessary reciprocity. This occurs through continual acts of confirmation (invocation, exchanges, reciprocal gifts etc.), in a continual movement as necessity for survival, for wellbeing, for social peace as well as for moral and ethical living (Appiah 2005, and Chapter One). Many people –also in urban settings– consult diviners for most diverging issues, and as the same time use mobile phones to participate in "modernity": Neither stasis nor singularity is at work in the multiple worlds described. Mol (2012) states that the multiplicity she describes implies "more than one but less than many," which Strathern summarizes as a critical "concept of 'multiple' [which] implies forms of practices coined and disjunct from one another in overlapping, relationally complex

ways that cannot be added up" (2015:134). It implies a process from which the people derive their sense of 'one world,' which Mol analyzes in medical practices in a Belgium hospital. While the just-stated complex relational ways apply for my studied contexts, I question how much Mozambican and Congolese people search to establish a sense of 'one world,' given their frequent tendency to participate (simultaneously or sequentially) in different worlds, as dividable and multiple persons in the non-pathological sense that I discussed in Chapter Two.

I share the goal of those anthropologists interested in ontology to "take seriously" my informants in the multiplicity of their life-worlds. Such an approach appears to some authors as a defense of "culturalism" connoted with the false assumptions of ideas of the timeless, bounded, reified and static, or with "romanticization" (Hannerz 1986; Randeria 1999; Lepenies 2014). In contrast, like Moore and Sanders (2008:18), I regard culture as a concept which " is both stabilizing and negotiable, both about long-run cultural values (…) and about lively daily practice and the determinations of the moment." (2008:18). I demonstrated in this study that the involved processes of changes do not necessarily abolish practices of certain resilient paradigms. This cannot be approached from the perspective of one or several fixing ontology/ies.[133] My findings show the flexibility involved in the described cultures. People constantly re-invent and adjust inherited paradigms and practices to the present, in a more or less strong projection into the future, as the discussion of time and development in Africa show (Diagne and Kimmerle et al. 1998).

Conclusions on identifying ontology vs. relational living

Many Mozambican and Congolese people follow relational non-dualism, which is rooted in value rationality; it is applied parallel or in complement to cognitive rationality. I suggest that the prevailing 'relational living' is not concerned primarily with "Being" but with "living with": living and dying in relation to others in a dynamic of practicing, feeling, dreaming, experiencing, thinking and valuating. Many Bantu-speakers in the countries studied also participate in worlds that valuate a certain range of individualization and commoditization. A person may oscillate between these values, which apply especially in literate, 'scientific', urbanized, Catholic, Protestant, Pentecostal or other 'modern' contexts and worlds, and the contrasting relational values of the "ancestral" ways, which are practiced with adjustments and changes. Many Bantu-speakers would reject any reduction that fixes their modes of living in terms of a single being, defining 'identity' in terms of one. Many people follow various elements of the "ancestral" ways, often simultaneously and "as well as" other ways of living (Christian, Islamic, atheist, scientific, materialist, etc.). They choose the fitting approach in accordance with the situation, the in-group they are part of at that moment, and depending on the necessities of the moment or the future. There are also competing dualist ideas that do not recognize the relevance of "ancestral" notions such as the ambivalent, vital "body" in its floating in-between characteristic that is regarded as vulnerable to malevolent or envious others. Dualism reduces this ambivalent dimension,

which involves emotions, phantasms and dream realities, to clear badness (e.g., in chronic illness or misfortune), seeking (and persecuting) a vilified "perpetrator" instead of recognizing the complexity of the socio-therapeutic procedures that must be activated to reweave the disturbed social tissue. The multiplicity at stake does not allow a reduction that would fix the living in single (e.g., good or bad) or plural ungraspable "identities." Rather, the living is in constant motion. Difference is central; however, from the perspective of *ngaanga* healers, chiefs, counselors of both genders and the many people following their advice, neither their life nor their values are "alterity."[134] The multiple worlds that I described are lived in the same time as I live (Fabian [1983] 2014), and become part of my worlds through my participation in them in my fieldwork and applied research[135]. In contrast, a negatively defined alterity is often the official perspective of those who discount endogenous or 'ancestral' values and practices as backward. This leads to the exclusion often practiced by Western advisers, donors and many Christianized or Islamized persons and members of institutions. It results in structural violence in economic and political, as well as, with regard to the definition of relevant values, social and cultural terms. The members of powerful 'elites' or those using specific knowledge (like literacy, sciences, politics, official national and international law or religions) may easily activate a power of "defining," e.g., the relevance of practices, knowledge and values, by devaluing the endogenous and the local as backward-oriented. Such power of "defining" of minorities can be regarded as a kind of "structural violence" (Farmer 2011), which marginalizes the majority through "othering" in a negative alterity. Relegating cultures to the realm of the romantic or exotic, either through persons or institutions in Mozambique and DR Congo, or from outside (international cooperation), the neocolonial danger lurks behind concepts of an *ontology* that establishes 'what is' or negatively defines *alterity*, neglecting to recognize that which Wiredu (1996) describes as particular, and which my research subjects described in this study. What alterity is depends on one's perspective: is it ascribed to others in a devaluating sense, or in a positive sense of respect and recognition? For the majority of Mozambicans and Congolese, the paradigms described are self-evident, basic needs that frame their *relational living,* which involves a multiplicity of differences, some 'continua' and constant changes in the dynamic processes of becoming in everyday life.

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Appendix for Chapter Seven

Appendix 7.	Differential ontology of *virtual becoming* of Deleuze	7 p.

Figure 48: A healer in central Mozambique. She lives at the road - 30 minutes with car from the city Beira. As mediumistic healer she works with spirits; here in state of possession in a process of 'diagnosis' through spirits. She was former a teacher. She assisted on the field several of my researches; The provincial dependency of the national council combating AIDS request often her support. When the bus transport works, she goes regularly working as healer in the capital Maputo. She is godmother by youth initiation and coordinates the women in her region. She lives simultaneously in several worlds, like many Mozambican people.

Figure 49:
Ngaanga ngoombu (mediumistic healer) in Kwango (DR Congo) who combines all powers. At his shrine, he has objects recalling his Yaka ancestors, and also Islamic, and Christian religious recalling. A powerful healer is able to mobilize and to combine all the worlds in which he participates.

Figure 50:
A *mhamba* (ancestral invocation) in Manica city in Central Mozambique
– Dialogo research with healers, chiefs and initiation rites counselors (2006) –

Epilogue

"…These, our children, our guests, who came with us – give them luck!
In all the works that they told us – protect them!
That everything goes well – everywhere they go.
All they achieve should be of benefit to them.
When somebody is helped, he will forget where he was helped;
Even when it takes time, they must bring us benefit.
That we might see that all they do will be very wonderful.
It is thus. We must wish all good health.
I don't want to speak anymore; with *Muluku* [God],
we give thanks that all we have seen is beautiful."[i]

Invocation of ancestors of Chief Komola, performed by the brother of the chief of Erati in 1999 in the province Nampula, at the top of the mountain Erati, in North Mozambique. Matrilineal, Emakhuwa-speakers.

***

Sabina: Let's kneel. *Thokozile.*
Choir: *Thokozile nsilavayingwe zulu.*
Sabina: What I say to you, Grandfather …I say it to you, Suai;
We have reached the end of the works about which we informed you;
We have ended my ...graduation ceremony with the fetching of your amulets,
which had remained in the lower town since the floods.
I tell you: meet with your *svikwenbu* [spirits] that are Tenjua,
with Mafendlyeni; tell it to the husband Pofu, to the co-parents,
who are the Sauas, to the N´wakwalni, to the N´wabolani, to the Misindosi
and to the Nguni and Ndau *svikwenbu* [spirits].

Meet with your son Masambisi,
Meet with your co-parents Masinzambiri,
Meet with our visiting people,
and with the spirits of the single people and with the warriors *svikwenbu* [spirits];
That all meet here, that nobody remain – the worlds as well;
Meet with all those who honor this act of presence,
in order that all the deceased return in peace;
This is what I tell you.
We worked well; there was no problem;
This work should become brilliant, just like these visitors, who are here of foot;
This is what I tell you.
Those who are leaving, that they return in peace, without any problems on their way.
This is what I tell you.
Thokozile !
Choir: *Thokozile nsilavayingwe zulu."*

Paixar ancestral invocation of the healer Sabina, in Xai-Xai, in South Mozambique (*at the end of the film "EspiritoCorpo"*, Kotanyi, 2003a). Patrilineal, Xichangana-Speakers.[1]

[1] The invocation of ancestors of the healer Sabina closes her graduation, thanking them. She first evokes her own ancestors, then the Nguni and Cindau *svikwembu* [spirits] ("foreign spirits") to help her in healing/'divining'. She calls for "a unification of all the worlds", showing the social and cosmological embodiment of her person reaching far beyond her own ancestors. That requires unity of her person with a much larger sociality as her own ancestors until the first of her clan. The invocation involves all spirits that influence her worlds and also of the world from those other persons participating to the ceremony, including the spirits of all foreign visitors,– me and my team.

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Relational living in Mozambique and D.R. Congo

2nd VOLUME:
Notes, Tables
Appendixes
Bibliograhy

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Notes of the Introduction

[1] With “Both sides of the Mirror” I refer to Deleuze’s (1969) reflection on Lewis Carroll’s (1871) *Through the looking glass*, not to Rodolphe Gasché’s (1986) *The Tain of the Mirror*. Deleuze’s reflections recall the Congolese and Mozambican differentiation between issues of the night and those of the day. Quoting Hegel, Gasché (1986:58)deconstructs the critiques of Derrida and Lévinas of the totality of the self-reflective notions of identity, showing that Hegel’s concept of totality encompasses non-identity. My notion of “Both sides of the Mirror” is less concerned with self-reflection than with the different kinds of worlds, truth and ‘realities’ involved in people’s lives.

[2] In a same movement, which may seem paradoxical, I argue that, just as any description of existence mirrors virtuality (Deleuze1968, May 2005, Delanda 2002), this is also the case for my descriptions of the forms of existence of many Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speakers. “Virtual” stands not against a “reality” that my research participants define in their own ways, but against the pretense of establishing what is, which can only exist in becoming (Deleuze 1968, 1980, 1981,1983:24, Deleuze and Parnet 1996:183-185).

[3] My descriptions will be impregnated with the notion of reality held by my research subjects – diviners, healers, chiefs, initiation rites counselors, men and women – and shared also, with strong ambivalences, by many nurses, judges, jurists, NGO workers and ministry functionaries.

[4] I understand ‘paradigms’ to be core ideas and concepts determining practices which are grounded in a set of basic assumptions involving values, respective categories, theories and practices that are broadly shared and accepted by many people belonging to the cultures described.

[5] See, among many others, Tempels (1969), Obenga (1986), Devisch (1993a, 1996a, 2001), Janzen 1992, Mbuti 1965, Hontondji 19977b, 1994; Mosolo 1994, Gbadegesin 1998, Jacobson-Widding & Beek et al. 1990, 1991; Jackson & Karp 1990; Comaroff et al. 1993; Beidelman 1993; Moore & Sanders 2001; Bond & Ciekawy et al. 2001; Kiernan et al. 2006.

[6] Mol (2002) demonstrated that this is the case even in one and the same culture, hospital and concerning one disease, seen very differently from one or another hospital section.

[7] See my expanded discussion of the definition of paradigms and frames in Chapter Three.

[8] This definition is inspired by Latour (2012), who defines framings as *ways of existing*.

[9] See “Pierre Bourdieu - L’habitus est un système de virtualité qui ne se révèle qu’en situation“ in *Entretien avec l’historien Roger Chartier diffusé dans "Les chemins de la connaissance"* (partie 4, 1988), http://www.sociotoile.net/article51.html

[10] See Goffman 1974; Jacobson-Widding 2000; Stroeken 2006; 2008; 2010.

[11] My approach does not consistently follow the idea of basic structures (Levi-Strauss).

[12] The idea of “system” has inappropriate mechanical connotations; see Latour 1991.

[13] See Deleuze 1967, Derrida 1967 and Chapter Seven & Appendix 7 of this study.

[14] See Zigon 2008; Lambeck et al. 2010; Fassin et al. 2014; Laidlaw 2002, 2014; Webb 2016.

[15] This classification is due to their relevance in the context of the observed ways of dealing with, e.g. neutralizing harmfulness and mediating conflicts (Chapter Four and Six) and of health, specifically in the context of HIV/AIDS (Chapter Five).

[16] See Devisch 1993, 1996a, 2016; Jackson 1998; Behrend 2011; Stroeken 2010.

[17] Among others, Mbiti 1969; 1995; Mudimbe 1982; 1988; Janzen 1992; Jacobson-Widding 1989, 1991; Moore & Sanders 1999, 2001; Devisch 1993, 1996, 2015; Beidelman 1993, 1997; Fialho Feliciano 1998; Mosolo 1994; Odera Oruka 1990, 1994, 1997; P’Bitek 1994; Gbadegesin 1994; Karp & Mosolo 2000; Honwana 2002; Hountondji 2013; Macgaffey 2006; Wreford 2008; Stroeken 2010; Wiredu 1996, 1997, 1998.

[18] See e.g., Lévinas 1961, Derrida 1967, Deleuze 1967, Kodjo-Grandvaux 2013.

[19] The areas were: **Kasongo Lunda** (145,675 inhabitants) at the heart of the Yaka culture, with the seat of the Lunda paramount chief Inana ruling over the entire district and beyond, including all Lunda. **Popokabaka,** 160,824 inhabitants. **Kimbau**, 159,679 inhabitants, mostly Suku Bantu-speakers. **Mwela Lembwa**, 84,899 inhabitants in ca.3,000 villages. **Kenge** (251,418 inhabitants): semi-urban area, near the main west-east national road; speaking Kiyaka, Kisuku, Kipelende, Kikongo, Lingala Bantu languages.

[20] Bas-Fleuve with Kiyombe speakers, Catarate with Kindibu and Manianga speakers, and Lukaya with Kitandu speakers, in the city Matadi with Kikongo ya leta.

[21] Additionally, I carried out a short psychosocial study in Rwanda (2004) in several districts, involving psychologists, biomedical practitioners from Christian and NGO local organizations, and healers, providing insight into the endogenous cultural context of psychosocial health disorders and of HIV/AIDS among Tutsi and Hutu, both Kirwandarundi Bantu-speakers. In 2005, a short applied research program in Guinea-Bissau involving members of NGOs active in the field of HIV/AIDS, including a short study with healers from PROMETRA. A short study in Uganda (2001) gave me insights into the inclusive approaches to HIV/AIDS of THETA (nurses) and PROMETRA (healers) as the first serious cooperation on the HIV epidemic.

[22] Reliable statistics are not available: Dates are approximate and contradictory.

[23] According to the national statistics from 1980, Censo 2007.

[24] Cindau has 1,580,000 speakers in Mozambique; however, Cindau is quite similar to Cishona. Cishona-speakers comprise 80% of Zimbabwe's population (6 million), Lafon, 1995, Ethnologue.com (consulted Feb. 13, 2011). Cishona is spoken in the central province of Manica, at the border to Zimbabwe, where most Cishona-speakers live.

[25] Xitshwa speakers live in the north of the southern part of Mozambique (approx. 900 km north of the capital, Maputo), where a part of this study was realized, in a district with many famous healers.

[26] The reported numbers of the percentage of the dimension of the respective linguistic groups are based on the population census 1980 (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1980).

[27] Xitsonga includes several derived languages (e.g., Xichangana, with 12.4%), constituting, together with the approx.722, 000 Xirhonga-speakers, the second-largest linguistic group in the South.

[28] Xitshwa-speakers number approx. 695,000.

[29] The World Factbook https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mz.html (2011)

[30] http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/czaire.htm

[31] The extended studies by René Devisch of Kiyaka-speakers gave me reliable and fundamental insights into this specific linguistic and cultural context (located mainly in Kwango & Kinshasa).

[32] *Nyanga* healers work with spirits, mediumistic diviners, and *nyangarume* work with plants in the South/Center. In the North, in Emakhuwa, they are called *mukhulukana.*

[33] Grouping chiefs rule over between 8 and 80 villages.

[34] It was significant that these research subjects placed hope in seeking dialogue and recognition of the positive potentials of complementarities of the diverging approaches. In my experience, these so-called "traditional" agencies more often show greater will and capacity for inclusiveness than do officials and institution members; the former can combine different paradigms in a complementary way, unlike biomedical staff, who tend to exclusivity, often neglecting the validity of other medical approaches. The dominating arrogant attitude of biomedical agencies claiming to know everything better in health due to the supremacy of their biological scientific knowledge prevents them from addressing their deficiencies concerning social, emotional and cultural aspects. The resulting limitation on their efficacy in prevention or health education is what motivated this study.

[35] "*La palavre qui tranche" -* three of five filmed palavers in Bas-Congo (Kotanyi 2012).

[36] Beidelman 1993; Devisch 1993a, 1996a; Sanders 2001, 2008; Buakasa 1981; Jackson 1998; Eze 2001; Bond & Ciekawy 2001; Webner 2001; Wreford 2008; Stroeken 2010, among others.

[37] This implies following intuition. The involved non-rigid 'method' implies the necessity to constantly verify that the researcher does not project onto the subjects and objects of the research her/his own values and emotions, which may limit her/his capacity of perception and openness to confront the practices and values that are strange to her/him (Devereux 1967).

[38] This comparative exchange instates a third space (Bhabha 1994; Schimpf-Herken and Baumann 2011) outside one's own and the official scale of values and practices. Beyond differences, the commonly shared paradigms are obvious in ritual communication with ancestors, in the role of transgressed taboos, in the framing of issues seen as related to 'witchcraft' and the way to neutralize its benign sides. Similar practices appear in "traditional" healing, in youth initiation, in cleansing ways of "pollution," or in the mediation of conflicts through palavers; beyond local specificities, the people seek similar aims.

[39] They were, in part, Bantu (Uganda and Rwanda), while other healers were from non-Bantu linguistic contexts (Guinea Bissau and Senegal).

[40] Janzen (1978) shows that diagnosis, treatment and healing in Bas-Congo implies that family members form what he called a *therapy management group* to accompany the ill person, who does not

speak with the agencies of the different consulted medical or spiritual services. It is members of the *therapy group* who speak for the patient. One reason is grounded in the idea in traditional healing that the ill person is carrying, or better, just expressing, a disorder which has origins outside of the patient, being grounded in the life-world, involving the influence of living-dead, perhaps of other spirits, or due to some witchcraft or sorcery. It is only if these sources of disorder are identified and treated that "biological" treatments are assumed to have positive results. The healing requires the involvement of the family members, ensuring that they do what is necessary to allow the patient to recover not only a state of health but also of well-being.

[41] The ethno-psychoanalytic complementary approach in family therapy was developed in order to deal with these psychosocial issues, bridging between the culturally framed disorders of the patients and the way such disorders should be treated according to the requirements of the patient on the one hand and, on the other, Western psychology, psychoanalysis and family therapeutic approaches. See the quoted publications of Tobie Nathan, Marie Rose Moro, and Kotanyi 1999a, 1999b.

[42] I noted that lawyers show more openness to recognize the advantage of complementary approaches than do in general biomedical doctors. Biomedical staff in both countries tends to undervalue the effects on physical health of psychological, emotional, spiritual and social interferences. Lawyers seem more aware of the limits of the potential of the means used in official law, and recognize the utility of the mediating potentials in local practices - like the meanwhile officially recognized complementary plural law system in Mozambique shows.

[43] We got the agencies of biomedical services and of official law to observe the local practices (analyzing film sequences) while avoiding projecting other paradigms and principles in the perception of endogenous practices, allowing them to identify and analyze the subjacent principles. The dialogical workshops realized with teams in Mozambique and DR Congo encouraged the participants to recognize what belongs to "endogenous" ways following other paradigms, e.g. those of Christianity, of state administration etc. Such an approach provides instruments for dialogue, and allows acceptance of more complementary ways, which respect the people's aspirations.

[44] See Machel 1970, Vieira 1978.

[45] Ministry of Education of Mozambique, according to the Censo of 2007, http://www.mec.gov.mz/DN/DINAEA/Pages/Taxa-de-analfabetismo-por-prov%C3%ADncia.aspx

[46] See Fanon 1967; Ngungi wa Thiongo 2005; Derrida 1967a/b, 1972, 1978; Wiredu 1998; Hountondji 2013.

[47] Mahumana (2013) argues that 60% of the people working in the Ministry of Health, which marginalizes traditional medicine in Mozambique, have scarifications: it demonstrates that they use the services of healers whom, however, their ministry tends to neglect, or to denigrate as backward and grounded in superstition. Matsinhe 2006 argues that 100% of the people use traditional medicine.

[48] For Deleuze, repetition is not the reproduction of the same, but the "power of difference" (in Raphael Bessis, http://www.cite.uqam.ca/magnan/wiki/pmwiki.php/AER/VocabuDeleuze See Deleuze 1967. According to Alcantara, for Deleuze, difference is "real determination, fully positive, which is never reduced, neither to the same, nor to the One infinite producer of virtual and actual differentiation" (2003:104). Différence : «Détermination réelle, entièrement positive, qui ne se laisse jamais réduire ni à l'identique ni à l'Un, infiniment productrice de différentiation virtuelle et de différenciation actuelle. » (Jean-Pascal Alcantara, « Différence », in Le vocabulaire de Gilles Deleuze (dir. R. Sasso et A. Villani), Les Cahiers de Noesis n° 3, Printemps 2003, p. 104.) (My translations)

[49] In the first postcolonial years, the socialist regime prohibited all religious practices and all ceremonies related to ancestors, involving healers, or any meeting of clan heads with chiefs (palavers) outside those organized by the sole ruling party. These prohibitions ended after 14 years of civil war in 1992. Traumatic traces remained, with fear concerning official positions toward the 'ancestral' practices; the people did, however, continue to practice them as far as possible in private.

[50] See also most writings of Vistor Igreja and Narciso Mahumana (2013).

[51] See Vansina (1990:259-60, the early anthropological writings of, e.g., Junod (1910, 1912) or historians like Vasina (1961, 1962, 1966, 1973, 1990) or MacGaffey (2000).

[52] Reybrouck (2010) spoke with people who experienced Belgian colonization, giving direct notions of the precolonial practices. However, most reports are grounded in oral transmission, which is often characterized through more mythical than factual "reporting" ways.

[53] It is often related to the more mythical dimension; the Emakhuwa and Elomwe people relate the origins of all Emakhuwa/Elomwe-speakers to the Namuli Mountain, which exists geographically, but the role of which concerning "origins" is mythical, not historical.

[54] The same kind of reference to the first occupier is currently used in DR Congo to give legitimacy for land occupation; however, in Congo, the first occupiers were in many places other peoples (e.g. Pygmies) who today are dominated as minorities.

[55] See Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Arens and Karl (1989); Karp & Bird (1980); Barth (1987).

[56] See Vansina 1990:259; Mudimbe 1994:206.

[57] These paradigms are also shared by many other sub-Saharan cultures; see Obenga 1985; Mbiti 1969; Janzen 1992; Devisch 1993a, 1996a; Jacobson-Wedding 1978, 1989, 1990, 1991; Dieterlen et al. 1973; Beidelman 1993, 1997; Comaroff et al. 1993; Green 1994, 1999; Moore & Sanders 1999, 2001, Kiernan et al. 2006 and Wreford 2008, among others.

[58] In July 2014 a responsible figure in the National Council Combating AIDS in Mozambique argued to me: "If you have a strategy concerning fertility, I buy it!" The problem is that any adequate strategy in that field would, to a certain extent, have to contradict the centrality of, and ways of promoting, family planning as supported by the international donors financing HIV prevention.

[59] See Eisenstadt 2000; Sax and Basu 2015.

[60] For the people, "modernity" involves material facilities, literacy, sciences, biomedicine, official law and Christianity (involving Pentecostalism and prophetic or awakening churches) or Islam, which are –more or less– combined with 'ancestral ways' regarded as traditions.

[61] Bergson (1922, 1941).

[62] Deleuze (1966, 1969). See Chapter Seven and Appendix 7.

[63] According to Ehrlich (2013), *living-law* constitutes multiple normative ordering systems that I will subsume under the all-encompassing term "law" as defined above, including not only the formal legal system but also ancestral, religious or other systems of normative ordering.

[64] Thomas (1973) speaks of the "coherent pluralism of the notion of the person in Africa." See Dieterlen 1973; Middleton 1973; Thomas 1973; Thomas & Luneau 1975; Hampaté Ba 1973; Bastide 1973; Beidelman 1993; Tempels 1969; Comaroff 1981; Jacobson-Widding 1979, 1989, 1990, 1991; Kubik 2007; Mbiti 1969; Junod 1996; Devisch 1993a, 1986a; Mosolo 1994; Karp and Mosolo 2000; Janzen 1978, 1983, 1992; Eze 1998; P'Bitek 1994; Gbadegesin 1994.

[65] Palavers as *mihatho* in Emakhuwa (Mozambique); *kinzonzi* in Kikongo (West DR Congo).

[66] See Beidelman 1992; Bond and Ciekawy et al. 2001; Evens 2008.

[67] Life and cultures are in a constant process of becoming, grounded in multiple differences. I will argue that beyond the differences expressed in several languages, the described basic paradigms active in the studied Bantu-speakers' cultures, have - beyond all their differences - a unifying potential and show some commonly shared values of human life, forming a common "civilization," (which is admittedly a problematic term to use). The notion of "civilization" was extremely misused by the colonial power, reducing African cultures to 'primitivism' and 'ethnicity', emphasizing differences in the logic of 'divide and conquer'. I mean civilization defined as the refinement of thought and manner being synonymous with culture, lifestyle and society and related to customs, manners, mores, values; folklore, heritage, legacy, tradition; subculture, sub-society, in http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/civilization, consulted Mar. 25, 2013.

[68] African philosophers like Mbiti 1969, 1995; Mosolo 1994; Wiredu 1995; Gbadegesin 1998; Eze 2001, 2005; anthropologists e.g. Jacobson-Widding & Beek et al 1990, 1991, Jackson and Karp 1990, Moore and Sanders 2001; Kiernan 2006; lawyers like Shalukoma (2004) and historians like N'Diaye, 2014.

[69] Culturalism is an absurd critique in anthropology, a field dedicated to taking seriously what people do, which is their culture in the largest sense of the term (see Moor and Sanders 2006).

[70] I realized two films (Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b) in parallel as long-term documentations, each with shooting times within one year and a half (1999-2001). The more than 90 hours of video documents for each film (all translated several times to ensure accuracy) were condensed in two films used in adult education in South and North Mozambique (in Portuguese and Emakhuwa versions), and later also used in DR Congo (in French). The analysis of these documentations of local practices by several Mozambican and Congolese workshop participants (coming from health, education or law) allowed the participants and myself a deepened understanding of the filmed rural practices, which,

however, are to a certain extent also practiced in urban contexts. Both of these first studies in Mozambique involved the Emakhuwa, Xichangana, Xirhonga and Bitonga Bantu linguistic context. We used the films in adult education in seven provinces of Mozambique, first in 2003, and later in 2006-2007 in an applied context. The film "SpiritBody" was used to identify, develop and promote a culturally inclusive approach to HIV and AIDS.

[71] I use the notion of "trauma" (a biomedical concept in psychiatry) in a social sense, to denote deep emotional traces left by the postcolonial official prohibitions on living in accord with one's own cultures and values. The traumatic characteristic of those historical times appears in the narratives of my research subjects as highly emotionally loaded negative experiences, produced by fear, leading to despair and leaving deep traces in their memory. The postcolonial prohibitions, imposed with violence, were felt, and later described, as more violent than the colonial violence, given that it was imposed by the people's "own" politicians, those whom the people supported in the colonial war in order to win independence. See in Kotanyi, 2003b the narratives of older men and women documenting the traumatic character of these historical experiences.

[72] INDER (Instituto de Investigação do Desenvolvimento Rural) ordered the film documentation; it is a research institute dedicated to development, which was first independent, but was then included in the Ministry of Agriculture and later the Ministry of State Administration. The director of INDER wanted to show how the Emakhuwa people (in North Mozambique) reconstructed their lives after the civil war, but the members of INDER, committed to the national policies since independence (instated in the South) were still not ready to respect the regional cultural realities. The persons in charge belonged to the patrilineal South; either Christian or former socialist party members, they were still influenced by the recent (already past) policies of "*abaixo.*" They accepted neither the fundamental horizontal implications of "ruling" in this matrilineal world (see Chapter Five) nor the educational moral/ethical, social and emotional needs to which the youth initiations respond (Chapter Six).

[73] When the film was presented to the public in Maputo in 2003, INDER was under the Ministry of Agriculture, led by a Minister originally from Zambezia in central Mozambique. Coming from a matrilineal society, he appreciated the film, which he introduced officially, insisting on the strong relevance of the ritual practices documented in the film. (See Himua 2003; Arnfred 2011).

[74] The philosophy of Lajos Szabó (1902-1967) is near to Buber & Ebner (1921), Levinas and to Benjamin's thoughts about Klee's painting of Angelus Novus pushed into the future by the strong winds of the past. Szabó developed a critique of the modern set theories in mathematics, showing that the latter, like traditions, imply contradictions, including the incapacity to overcome or at least conceptualize the involved paradoxes, which in his understanding modern sciences should recognize as unavoidable, in accordance with most religious traditions. This critique of Szabó is grounded in "the whole of all the sets" of G. Cantor (1895, 1897). (Szabó, 1937, "*The logic of the faith").* The astrophysicist Christophe Kotányi, explains: "The idea of feeding religious thought back into logic would be in agreement with Hamann's criticism of Kant concerning the separation of thought and language, of reason and revelation." (in unpublished translations of Szabó's thought in French, p.58).

[75] The Kongo tradition implies securing the future of the current and next generations in a relationship to the past (ancestors), according to a judge well-rooted in the Bas-Congo cultural tradition, in a verbal comm. during a seminar introducing juridical anthropology in March 2012.

[76] Joking relationships are specific relations between certain members of a kinship or larger social unities; they allow jokes or mockeries and are grounded in reciprocal help (Fouéré, 2008:17). See, among others, Brant, C.S., 1948, "On Joking Relationships," *American Anthropologist,* 50 (1): 161-162; Apter A., 2007, *Beyond Words, Discourse and Critical Agency in Africa.* Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

[77] One village is called "Léonidas" like the famous Belgian pralines producer; another is called "Materne" of the Belgian jam products. The chiefs spoke often of "the times of the Flemish" (Belgian colonial times) in addressing Belgian ethnicity in terms of power; they explained that in the first period of Walloon colonial domination, the oppression was not as brutal as in the later, more economic exploitation dominated by Flemish people. This, among other things, may explain the greater wealth of Flemish regions in Belgium, obviously not only grounded in their own presumed harder work compared to the Walloons, but simply in the greater exploitation of the resources of Congo and Congolese labor.

[78] Comaroff 1985; Janzen 1992; 1998; Asforth 2005; Colson 2006; Knox 2008; Wreford 2008; Stroeken 2004; 2010; Behrend 1997; 2011, among others, including all the African philosophers quoted in this study in note 43, 62 of this introduction and in Chapter One, Two and Seven.

[79] Devisch 2012:80; Mahumana 2013.

[80] Theses practices are only apparently mostly rural; they are actively followed by a large majority of urbanized people (not necessarily the privileged 'elites').

[81] Beidelman 1993; Devisch 1993a, 1996a, 2015; Fialho Feliciano 1998; JacobsonWidding 1978, 1990, 1991; Moore and Sanders 1999, 2001; Honwana 2002; Igreja 2003, 2008.

[82] Levi-Strauss 1963; Evan-Pritchard 1938; Bourdieu 1972; Devisch 1993a, 1996a; Moore and Sanders 1999, 2001; MacGaffey 2000; Sanders 2008; Strocken 2010; Behrend 2011. Critical medical anthropologists' may argue that such a study of different behavior reinforces "otherness" as exotic and even produces the exotic. Such a critique is all the more disconcerting given that anthropology is based on the study of different cultures, of experiences and thoughts grounded in the respective cultures' knowledge and thoughts (see Jacobson-Widding 1990, 1991; Moore & Sanders 1999, 2001; Devisch 2001; Sanders 2010).

[83] "Religions of the Books" designate the Judaic, Christian and Islamic religions.

[84] What is good from an endogenous perspective depends on the aims: those defined locally do not necessarily correspond to the officially defined aims that follow presumed universalistic, globally defined goals (by Western agencies) of the millennium's ruling capitalist neo-liberalism as argues Comaroff (2000).

[85] I saw this tendency in Uganda, Rwanda, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and DR Congo.

[86] Merleau-Ponty 1964; most writing of Devisch; Csordas 2002; Jackson 1998; Stroeken 2010.

[87] Some members of elites may have often found in Christianity, Islam or in non-religious political approaches moral values providing a unity that reaches beyond ethnic particularities.

[88] The Mozambican Commission for Bioethics recommends keeping anonymous the names of the research participants in a study concerning health issues; however this contradicts the interest of healers, chiefs and initiation rites counselors wanting an acknowledgment of their knowledge, which they claim to have acquired through hard work and personal suffering. They perceive anonymity as 'stealing' and a lack of respect, while the Commission for Bioethics treats such research participants as if they were patients, which they are not. They are partners and must be recognized as such. A sociocultural study requires different ethical criteria than does a biomedical study.

[89] Healers appreciated the encounters with nurses, medical doctors or other scientists less when the intention of the encounters was more to 'steal' their knowledge of medical plants.

[90] The biomedical nurses of THETA in Uganda, the first NGO in Africa to train healers of all kinds in appropriate approaches to HIV and AIDS so as to allow them to integrate these in their practices in complementary and inclusive ways; they told me in Kampala in 2001 that they indeed work in a one-way form, teaching healers from their side but not integrating in their approach the chance for the biomedical staff to also learn in reciprocity from the healers. This contrasts with the organization PROMETRA (existing in several African countries), which involves biomedical doctors or other Western-educated scientific persons who are deeply grounded in "traditional" healing, seeking a reciprocal exchange.

[91] This surprise was considerable, especially given their negative experience with national authorities in the postcolonial socialist times in Mozambique (1976-1992), during which traditional and religious practices were strongly discriminated against or even prohibited. Such prohibitions happened at all levels of life: economics, politics, religion, health, education and law. See Geffray 1991; Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003b; Arnfred 2011; Igreja 2003, 2008, 2014; Mahumana 2013.

[92] However, I was not systematically initiated in traditional healing like the anthropologists Van Binsbergen 2003; Jo Wreford 2008, and Koen Stroeken 2010.

[93] Two enterprises of film production in Maputo- Mozambique.

[94] CVM: Red Cross of Mozambique.

[95] Two regional N.G. associations working in Health in the province of Nampula.

[96] I thank my fellow researchers for exchanging anthropological, psychological, biomedical and religious views at international conferences in Mozambique (2008), South Africa (2006), Europe (several), in USA (2007, 2008, 2009), in GB (2014) and in the SAI Heidelberg (between 2008-2015).

Notes of Chapter One

[1] Or *nleika* (in Emakuwa and Elomwe); *nzimu* or (in Cisena) *mudzimu* ya *mphodoro* (in Cisena Xigorongozi); *wagimu/wadzimu* or *wakutanga* or *mudzimu* (in Cindau); *mudzimu, vadzimu, tateguru*, or *mbuya* or *tateguru* (in Cishona, Central Mozambique) corresponds to *tinguluve* (in Xichangana, Xironga) or spirits of the house *svikwenbu xa la kaya* (in Xitshwa); *umufi* or *amathongo* (in Zulu in South Mozambique); *bankaka* in Kikongo and Kiyaka in Southwest DR Congo.

[2] In North Mozambique: *wifuwela* (Elomwe); *munthu* (Cisena), *munhu* (in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa), *munthu* in Cindau, Cishona in Central Mozambique); *muutu* in Kiyaka, *mutu* in Kikongo.

[3] *Kinzonzi* in Kikongo.

[4] *Svayila, svakuyila* in Xichangana, Xirhonga and Xitshwa (South Mozambique); *n-siku* in Kiyaka, Kipendele, Kisuku, and Kikongo in South-West DR Congo.

[5] Hans Jörg Dilger, personnel communication, 2005.

[6] I made anonymous the names of the people and places unless they are public knowledge.

[7] The chief of Inora grew up in a missionary school; he is currently the catechist of the Catholic Church in his community. He lived in the city during the civil war, where he and his wife enjoyed a more 'modern' life. They found life in the village far from electricity, hospital, shops and other facilities to be much less comfortable. However, for the wife of this 'modern' chief, *makeya* [communication with ancestors] maintained its moral weight to such a degree that she could not risk lying to her ancestors during this ritual.

[8] The pejorative use of 'obscurantism' has been in use since colonial times. It was widely employed by FRELIMO and by several politicians to characterize activities connected with traditional practices and beliefs. See Geffray 1990; Honwana 2002; Arnfred 2011.

[9] In 1997 in South Mozambique I met a healer who had been taken off the street and sent for no apparent reason to a "productive" camp in Niassa in the North. At that time, chiefs were not recognized officially, and healers and diviners could not work openly (see Honwana 2002).

[10] See Honwana 2002, 2003; Igreja 2014; Arnfred 2011.

[11] Gbadegesin (1998:133) argues: "In order to live, man must adapt to his environment."

[12] Foucault (2000:263) differentiates between ethics and morality, arguing that morality is a set of rules that a society or social institutions impose on their members. He defines ethic as "the kind of relationship you ought to have with yourself" (Foucault 2000:263). The behavioural rules defined by ancestors are internalized and are not defined by state or religious institutions external to the person. However, for most Bantu speakers in Mozambique and DR Congo, morals and ethics, like the notion of the 'person,' are not perceived in the individualistic terms that Foucault ([1984] 2004) defines for classical Greek society and which are current in Western societies (see Chapter Two).

[13] Christian and Islamic religions were implemented through colonial conquest; ancestral practices, values and norms were present before. Christian, especially Pentecostal, morality diverges from that associated with the ancestral paradigm.

[14] See for DRC, Devisch 1995, 1998a, 2000b, 2003b; for Mozambique, West 2005a, 2005b.

[15] See Honwana 2002, 2003; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008; Bagnol 2006.

[16] The latter does not apply for all Christians and Islamized persons, but for many of them.

[17] "Mia Couto of Mozambique makes a convincing case for a plural man with a plural language through the telling of his attempt to translate for a group of visiting environmental scientists from English into Portuguese, which was then translated by a local fisherman into the local dialect Chidindinhe. In short, the word "scientists" (which does not exist in the local Xichangana language) is translated into "witchdoctor" [*inguetlha*], "environment" becomes "a sort of Big Bang" [*ntumbuluku*], and "bush pigs" is rendered into "spirits of the dead" [*tinguluve*]. Confusion ensues. Couto's point is that certain African "cosmovisions" are "not easily reducible to European processes of logic," and he poses the tantalizing question, "What is the role of God in a world that never had a beginning?" For many, he says, 'the universe quite simply has always existed.'" (Griffin 2009).

[18] Second DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, Central Mozambique.

[19] Second DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, Central Mozambique.

[20] The matrilineal Makhuwa are the largest group of Mozambican Bantu speakers, comprising 33% of the population; they are spread over four Northern provinces in Nampula, Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Zambezia.

[21] Corresponding to other Bantu societies according to Abraham (1966:63) or Brain (1973:125).
[22] *Kuphalha* —speaking while offering drink or tobacco—is the most common way of communicating with the ancestors in South Mozambique.
[23] *Kufemba* [extraction of "bad" spirits in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa] involves possession, diagnosis and treatment by healers (in South Mozambique).
[24] In South/Central Mozambique, *mhamba* is an offering to the ancestors.
[25] *Ehsembe* (Cisena in Central Mozambique) is the simplest means of communication with the ancestors; it corresponds to *kuphalha* in the South and *makeya* [flour offering] in the North.
[26] There are also specific natural places, such as mountaintops, generally reserved for chiefs; for healers it is the edge of a freshwater pool, a lake or river, or the sea.
[27] See also Colson 2006
[28] Junod 1927; Martinez 1989; Fialho Feliciano 1998; Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b.
[29] *Mudzimu mbuya* are male and female ancestors of Shona women; *mudzimu tateguru* are the male and female ancestors of Cishona men. The Sena differentiate paternal [*midzimu wa sekuro*] and maternal ancestors [*midzimu wa mbuja*].
[30] *Tateguru* in Cishona corresponds to *tinguluve* in Xichangana and Xirhonga.
[31] Second DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, Central Mozambique.
[32] Matrilineal kinship systems in North Mozambique (among the Makhuwa and Makonde) are similar to that of the Kongo people in West Congo DR. Sons do not inherit through their fathers, but rather through their uncles (mother's brother) (Geffray 1990). Matrilineal does not mean matriarchal; women do not possess political power among the Makhuwa. However, women have significant roles in relation to land, fertility, descent, and the ancestors. The political power of the male *mwene* [head of the family, clan or community] requires the ritual support of the *piyamwene* [most respected woman]; without her support, the *mwene* cannot assume or maintain power. In Nampula Province, I saw several women with significant political power. However, perhaps the most significant aspect of power in a matrilineal society like that of the Makhuwa is that no one decides alone. The chief makes decisions only after discussion with his 'old' counsellors. This type of horizontality is critical to the understanding of power in matrilineal societies (Kotanyi 2003b, 2003d).
[33] *Svakuyila* (in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa); *mwiikho* (in Emakhuwa and Elomwe).
[34] *Minepa sanmussi nloco* or the *minepa sa amussi wa womamani* [maternal ancestors].
[35] *Minepa sa amussi anenene mutthu* in Emakhuwa.
[36] See Geffray 1990. The belonging of the child differs in a patrilineal context.
[37] Called "*minepa sa amussi wa wolopwanani"* or *"sa woyaryani*" in Emakhuwa.
[38] *Minepa sa wovithanani* in Emakhuwa.
[39] Western kinship terminology does not apply to the Emakhuwa matrilineal system, in which there are no sex-based distinctions for members of the same generation (Geffray 1990).
[40] *Midzimu ya nemba* and *midzimu* of *mabvoka* [categories of "home-spirits" in Cisena].
[41] Second DIALOGO Workshop (2006), Central Mozambique.
[42] First DIALOGO Workshop (2006), South Mozambique.
[43] *Svikwembu xa la kaya* in Xitshwa, Xichangana.
[44] First DIALOGO Workshop (2006), South Mozambique.
[45] Junod, 192; Fialho Feliciano 1996; Honwana 2002; Martinez 1989.
[46] See Chapter Three on personhood.
[47] In Xichangana, Xirhonga and Xitshwa; *umoya* or *usithunzi* (in Zulu), *ndzimo* or *mudzimu* (in Cisena), *mudzimu* (in Cishona), *maxai* or *mudzimu* (in Cindau) and *eruku* (in Emakhuwa/Elmowe).
[48] Bagnol 2006, 2009.
[49] Human beings and all kinds of *svikwembu* [spirits], according to Honwana (2002), share the same agency in a combined and common existence. In South Mozambique, the dead are buried in the family compound, as close as possible to the living. Unlike Bantu speakers in southern Mozambique, the rural Emakhuwa in the North bury their dead next to their community in an area forbidden to the uninitiated, and where even adult initiates rarely go (Martinez 1989). Beyond such differences, all the studied Mozambican Bantu speakers conceive of their ancestors as beings similar to the living, with the same wishes and preferences they had during life. This becomes evident with the offering of food, drinks, tobacco, and when necessary, animals, to the ancestors. In general, it is assumed that the offerings correspond to what the ancestor liked during his lifetime.

50 Martinez 1989; Geffray 1990; Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b; Bagnol 2007a

51 Thanks to Constantino Magalheas in 2008 and 2010 for this information.

52 The *minepa naperwa* are the joking brothers-in-law; they help through the dreams they send. The ancestors of the close kin cannot touch the person without risking becoming "bad" spirits.

53 See my discussion of the namesake in Chapter Three on personhood.

54 This is also the case in many other countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

55 Called *minepa mitatari hiri vati vatene* (per Constantino Mangalheas, research assistant).

56 The chief of Erati is buried at a special place considered to be very "strong", i.e., filled with special energies present in each stone (no one may take them away without permission) on top of the highest mountain in Erati. This place connects the chief to the strongest spiritual entities: buried in the earth, he is part of the ancestors. He is at the same time buried on top of the highest mountain, where he is near some of the strongest spirits of nature (i.e., those of the cave at the foot of Erati Mount and those of the mountain itself. The most important ancestors, the "eldest" ancestors [*makhalelo minepa*], (who first settled the land) are buried on top of Mount Erati.

57 Tauxier 1912; Zwernemann 1990.

58 Devisch 1993; Michel 2006; Ngubane 1977.

59 Strathern argues: "objects (of whatever kind) are reified as things-in-themselves. Concomitantly in a gift economy, objects act as persons in relation one another." (1988:177). This is valid for Mozambique and DRC. See also Le Roy 1983, 1995, 2003; Shipton 2009; Geissler and Prince (2013:332).

60 Shipton (2009:90) notes that among the Luo in western Kenya, land is connoted with 'home', which is there where the placenta is buried (see D. Cohen and Atieno Odhiambo, 1989:25, *Siaya: The Histrial Anthropology of an African Landscape.* James Currey, Heinemann Kenya, Ohio Univ.Press.

61 In DR Congo, permission to use the land depends on the local chief, whose "customary" rights are recognized in the Congolese constitution. In Mozambique, a person has to ask the chief to designate the land that one can use. However, when industrial uses or mineral resources are involved, the law in both African countries designates the underground as property of the state (similar to colonial laws). This example shows how modern states try to respect deeply rooted ancestral rules, but ignore them when larger financial interests are at play. However, any kind of ensuing accident or misfortune will be considered due to this lack of respect of ancestral rules. In development projects, when digging in the earth for a well or for mineral extraction, for example, the chief will be called to conduct a ceremony asking ancestors to accept the intervention in both Mozambique and DR Congo. In case of misfortune or accident, it will be presumed that failure to perform this ritual caused the problem, and a ceremony asking the ancestors' forgiveness will be required.

62 Conflict resolution in a community, which follows traditional rules and principles.

63 See the opening of the first palaver in the film "*La palabre qui tranche*" (Kotanyi 2012).

64 In the matrilineal Makhuwa context of Mozambique, the one who becomes chief [*mwene*] normally receives his power from his aunt, the sister of his mother, who is the *piyamwene* [the most respected woman, and the female ritual counterpart of the male *mwene* chief]. She is the most respected woman who conducts most ancestral *makeya* [flour offering] rituals.

65 I use the notion of "Westernized", to refer to influences related to the colonial era, and to current influences of Europe and North America, including Canada.

66 Mbiti (1995:109) argues that only certain African societies believe that the 'living-dead' are 'reborn', which concerns the constitution of personhood. The involved widespread African notion of a connection between past and present is not necessarily linked to the notion of rebirth.

67 Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008, 2009.

68 Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b; Bagnol 2006; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008, 2009.

69 See the *mhamba* ceremony in the first case-study in Kotanyi 2003a.

70 While a *mhamba* ceremony in South or Central Mozambique involves an animal offering (at least a chicken or two) with tobacco, traditional cereal beer or another drink, Makhuwa people in the North do not normally communicate with ancestors using animal offerings, but rather by putting cereal flour on the ground.

71 Prohibitions/taboos that are called *svakuyila* (in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa); *mwiikho* (in Emakhuwa); *muhkó* (in Cisena); *zvinoera* (in Cishona) in Mozambique, *n-siku* (in Kikongo, Kiyaka, Kisuku) in DRC.

[72] See Chapters Two and Five.

[73] I observed this tendency in North and South Mozambique between 1998 and 2002 in relation to psychological problems, and between 2003 and 2008 in relation to AIDS.

[74] See such a ceremony in Kotanyi 2003a.

[75] Zwernemann (1990:97) reports for the patrilineal KaCisena, Nuna and Moba in Burkina Faso that the ancestors punish descendants who transgress the rules of everyday life by withholding rain.

[76] The Lugbara (Uganda or East Congo) attitude towards the dead is similar to that of Mozambican Bantu speakers (Middleton 1960). The dead, according to Middleton, keep the living in proper order. Like community elders, ancestors are 'progenitors' one must respect.

[77] According to Janzen (1992), regaining health among the Bantu from Equatorial Guinea to South Africa involves restoring the disturbed balance by appeasing an offended ancestor. This is the case for many, if not most, Bantu-speaking cultures.

[78] Jacobson-Widding (1990a) for the Cishona of Zimbabwe, Brandström for the Sukuma of Tanzania; Zwernemann (1990) for the KaCisena, Nuna, and Moba in Burkina Faso.

[79] Junod (1912)1996; Martinez 1989; Fialho Feliciano 1998; Kotanyi 2003a/b and Appendix 3.1 for Mozambique, and Devisch 1993a, 1996a, 2015 for DR Congo.

[80] While writing the first Xichangana-Portuguese dictionary (while translating the Bible), Junod has influenced the way the terms *xikwembu, svikwembu* had been translated in European languages.

[81] '*Minepa*' in Emakhuwa/Elomwe, or spirits of the house '*svikwembu xa la kaya'* (in Xichangana, Xitshwa) *tinguluve* (in Xirhonga), *midzimu* ya *mphodoro* (in Cisena Xigorongozi) *midzimu/ vadzimu tateguru*, and *mbuya* (in Cishona), *wagimu* or *wakutanga* (in Cindau).

[82] Called '*maciini*' (in Emakhuwa/Elomwe), *midzimu ya kashata* (in Cishona), *mfukwa* (in Cisena), or *nfunkwa* (in Cindau) in Mozambique.

[83] Called *midzimu wek unze* or *ingozi* (in Cishona), *midzimu ya kundja* or *ya kuipa* (in Cisena), or *nfukwa dzekunja* (in Cindau) (from the video recording of the two DIALOGO workshops in 2006).

[84] Torrend (1891), *A comparative grammar of the South-African Bantu languages*.

[85] The Tsonga in the South, the Zulu and Swazis speak of "the Big one above the big ones." Several authors argue that it is this notion of a supreme divinity, which facilitates the adherence of Bantu speakers to Christian religion. Still, Junod (1996:382) notes the Tsonga do not have as clear a notion of a supreme deity as other Bantu speakers may have in East and Central Africa.

[86] Martinez 1989; Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b.

[87] Kishindo and Lipenga 2007.

[88] Second DIALOGO Workshop; research organised by MONASO & CVM, 2006.

[89] See the prologue.

[90] The Portuguese translation of the original Emakhuwa film-text of a *makeya* ritual filmed in September 1999 in Nampula province: "Deus dono de tudo. Começo a invocar o seu nome por você é criador de tudo. Tudo que falo fui transmitido pelo regulo que é Rodrigues Muhula..."

[91] The *minepa makhalelo* ["oldest" and most important ancestors] according to the researcher assistent Constantino Mangaleas (in 2009).

[92] During my observations of several *makeya* [invocation of ancestors], I was surprised to hear often the evocation of *Muluku* as an introduction to the invocation. However, I remained uncertain whether this was a Makhuwa tradition, or whether my presence as a white person and presumed Christian influenced the ritual. But the Emakhuwa people always insist that *Muluku*, the creator above all, is part of the traditional Makhuwa cosmogony.

[93] " Deus! Vos invoco, porque foi você que nos criou. Porque é forte. Nascemos povos da terra. Nós fomos todos nascidos pelo Deus. Hoje, já vimos com esta gente que apresentamos. Senhor Komala (*fala nos antepassados*), perdoa-nos...."

[94] Among Kiyaka, Kisuku, Kipendele, Kikongo and other Congolese Bantu speakers.

[95] Whether ancestors are "gods" or "our eldest" reflects the danger of projecting the researcher's beliefs into ethnographic research.

[96] According to several healers and chiefs from North and South Mozambique (between 1998 and 2003) at the first and second workshops in South and Central Mozambique (unpublished records of DIALOGO research, CVM & MONASO, 2006)

[97] During the DIALOGO workshop with chiefs, healers and diviners from Central Mozambique, the academic linguist and initiated mediumistic healer [*nyamusoro*], Narciso Mahumana, argued that in Xirhonga and Xichangana *svikwembu* is the right term for ancestral spirits and *Xikwembu* for God.

[98] For example in Zulu, Cisena, Cishona, and Emakhuwa languages.

[99] A female Zulu-speaking healer, - First DIALOGO Workshop, 2006.

[100] In South Mozambique, the ancestors must be near the living in order to protect them properly.

[101] This concerns the Mbala Bantu speakers in South-West DR Congo.

[102] *Svakuyila* in Xichangana, Xirhonga, and Xitshwa in South Mozambique, *mwiikho* (in Emakhuwa in North Mozambique), or *n-siku* (in Kiyaka, Kisuku, Kikongo in Southwest Congo).

[103] See Kotanyi 2003b and Chapter Six.

[104] Hammond-Tooke (1985) claims that it is necessary to investigate the relationship between cosmological views and the structure of kinship. He studied the Nguni (Zulu speakers in South Africa), who have also influenced the spirit worlds of people living in South and Central Mozambique since the wars of the 19th century when they occupied the region. They left behind the 'bad' spirits of many unburied warriors on Mozambican territory, which continue to torment and possess the living, claiming revenge for their bad (violent) dead. When a possessed person becomes an initiated healer, they may gain control and acquiring healing powers by 'marrying' this spirit (Honwana 2002). With reference to the Zulu, Hammond-Tooke (1985:53) observes that in case of a lineage quarrel, those in conflict "must put things right by performing a special rite to appease the ancestors who sanction their behaviour." See also Ngubane 1977 and Chapter Three on taboo transgressions.

[105] In South Mozambique it is necessary to 'bring the dead back home', which occurs after six months or a year. Without bringing the ancestors 'back home', the matrilineal Makhuwa in the North have their last and most important burial ceremony [*eynlo*] one year after death, marking the final transition to ancestorhood. Depending on the importance of the deceased, the ceremony may involve a large part of the community, including the *mwene* [community chief] who must drink the traditionally made sorghum beer [*otheka*]. In this case, the *mwene* is the most important mediator with the ancestors. See Kotanyi 2003b.

[106] Mozambicans have been traumatized by the post-colonial socialist prohibitions on traditional ritual, religious activities, healing and divining, which were in force between 1978 and 1992. Urbanized people often declare that these are matters relating to "our culture," which tends to inhibit further questioning. Others refer to these practices as "family" issues, locating them in the private sphere. Both responses are evidence of the reticence engendered by post-colonial prohibitions. See Geffray 1990; Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003b.

[107] Honwana 2002; Igreja 2006, 2008, 2009, Kotanyi 2003a; Bagnol 2006,

[108] As Colson (2006) reports for the Tsonga in Zambia.

[109] See the cleansing ritual at the beginning of the film "*Viver de novo*" (Kotanyi 2003b).

[110] As Wreford reports, people living with HIV feel the need for cleansing, which should be respected. Such cleansing does not risk transmission of HIV or other STDs.

[111] Morgensen 1997; Gausset 2001; Ingstad 1990; Offe 2004, 2010:270-291.

[112] Chapter four discusses the witchcraft paradigm; chapter six deals with the notion that people living with HIV feel themselves bewitched, a subject that has been addressed by Farmer (1992); Nathan and Lewertowski (1998); Rödlach (2006); Ashforth (2005); Wreford (2008); Kotanyi (2005, 2009); Niehaus (2007); Bagnol (2007); Quantara (2010).

[113] See Thomas 2000; Moore and Sanders 2001; Devisch 1981, 1996).

[114] Bagnol and Lafon, verbal comm. Bagnol, 2007, unpublished research report for MONASO.

[115] *Svikwembu* in Xichangana; *moya* in Zulu; *npfukwa* (in Cindau not well buried "spirit"); *maciini* in Emakhuwa. There are a great number of spirits in each region. Through the centuries, the names may change, but in all studied Mozambican cultures, some spirits remain a live more than 100 years.

[116] See Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003a; Ganjo 2007.

[117] E.g., the 'Germani' *maciini* (from Tanzania, where Germans were a colonial power). Each spirit has particular characteristics associated with a specific natural feature of the sea, mountains, etc.

[118] Honwana (2002) and Bagnol (2006:160) show that through the initiation of a healer, the spirits of the master and of its pupil (novice) are bent together and united as in a marriage. Bagnol argues: "In Mozambique, *lovolo* has generally been understood …as practices that involve transfers of goods

in association with a marriage ceremony, and inscribing the individual in a set of kinship and affine relationships that define rights and duties." (2006:3). Bagnol observes that the complementarity between person and spirit is necessary to become a healer. "The use of the term *lovolo* in southern Mozambique to refer to the ritual that symbolises this union also reinforces the metaphor of marriage." (2006:160). The healer novice is always framed as man (even if it is a woman), who has to 'pay' the *lovolo* to the healer master representing all the spirits helping the master and his/her's pupil to "work" (to heal/divine). The *lovolo* performed between the family of the novice healer and the healer master establishes a long-term relationship between the novice and the clan of the healer master, including all his spirits. "The involved in the exchange are bound in perpetual dependence. (2006:18). "It is only after giving the *lovolo* that the teacher reveals the secret of the *gona* preparation to the student. The *gona* symbolises spiritual forces and gives the novice the potential to have "clients" and students." (2006:172). However, the *lovolo* is not perceived as a payment of the novice to the master but as the expression of recognition of the relationship to the spirits of the master, which allow and help the novice to "work"; the *lovolo* opens a relationship of interdependency requiring constant reciprocity (Bagnol 2006:160-170). See also Southall (1969: 269); Whyte (1991: 158).

[119] The initiated healer woman becomes 'married' with the revenge seeking spirit; this is marked by a *lovolo* (bride price) ceremony by which the healing clan of the healer master stay for the clan of the husband (the revenge seeking spirit). The novice being framed as masculine, it is the clan of the initiated healer women, who 'pays' the bride price' (not as fee of her initiation through the healer master but as a ritual instating the interdependency with the spirits of the master). Through this *lovolo* ceremony, the healer novice becomes member of the *bandla* (healer clan) of the healer master as her/his new kin group. "The initiation relationship becomes a kinship relationship in the sense that it defines a link with a new group of living and dead persons." (Bagnol 2006:131). Bagnol shows that (1) The *lovolo* facilitate a union, which is not necessarily a union between a man and a woman, (2) the initiated person becomes linked with a new kinship (of living and spirits) of the master; (3) *lovolo* is a socio-cultural process allowing access to clairvoyance, wealth, well-being, children and peace.

[120] This is an interesting example showing that Bantu speakers following 'ancestral' ways are concerned with prevention; however, it is not the prevention of diseases related to the physical body which is their first worry, but much more those issues which are related to the 'spirit' that survives after death dead (see in Chapter Two on about the notion of the person).

[121] From South to North Mozambique, non-ancestral spiritual beings include the following: the **Zulu** speak of *mulhiwa* [foreign spirit] or *xipoko* [not protective or ancestral 'spirits']. The *kuhalisiwa* are the 'bad' spirits, those of persons who died through *kuthaka* witchcraft. The **Xichangana** term is *svikwembu* as the generic term for all kinds of "air/spirits". The **Rhonga** speak of *mudhiwa*. In **Xitshwa**: *ngungulo*, *mulungu* or *mpfukwa*, or of *mandique* or *mandhodzi*, all types of 'bad' or 'foreign' spirits (i.e., not protective ancestral spirits). The **Ndau** speak of *mvuko* or *madjoka* or *ndjini*. The **Ndau** in Manica and Sofala speak of *nfunkwa*, while those 'bad' spirits claiming compensation for *lovolo* are called *nfunkwa ajo kundja.* (On terms from South Mozambique, see Mariano, 2007:18; the other terms were collected during DIALOGO research in 2006. **Makhuwa/Lomwe** speak of *maciini* (Kotanyi 2003a).

[122] Xitshwa, Xichangana, and Xirhonga-speaking healers indicate that those who behave badly during life will continue to be bad after death and persecute the living. When a person is 'eaten' through witchcraft, his or her spirit may seek revenge upon the family members of the one who bewitched and caused the death.

[123] Honwana 2002; Bagnol 2006; Kotanyi 2003a.

[124] Rouch 1948, 1954, 1960/1989; Lewis. I.M, 1966; 1971; Zempleni 1966, 1977; Turner V. 1968; Colson 1969; Werbner 1977; Sow 1978; Comaroff 1985; Boddy 1989; Stoller 1989, 1995, 1997; Sharp 1990, 1993; Callaway 1991; Janzen 1992, 1998; Comaroff et al. 1993; Blakely & Blakely 1994; Behrend 1997,1999, 2011; Willis 1999; Behrend and Luig at al. 1999; Luig 1999; de Sousa 1999; Hell 1999; van Dijk, Rijk and Spierenburg et al. 2000; Corton 2006; Flikke 2006; Van Geest, 2004; Stoeken 2010; Meier and Steinforth 2013.

[125] 'Bad' death includes death by violence, flood, fire, or strangling; by a 'bad' disease such as measles; or far from home, i.e., the place where one's umbilical cord is buried. 'Cleansing' is required in these cases in order to prevent the living from suffering the same type of misfortune. See Bloch and Parry 1982, Van der Geest 2004; Corton 2006, Udoye 2011:96.

[126] Junod 1996; Bouillon, 1976; Feliciano 1998; Honwana 2002; Igreja 2006, 2008, 2009; Bagnol 2006, 2007; West 2005; Israel 2011. In Central Mozambique, Cindau spirits have long been perceived as very dangerous: Earthy (1934:227) described them as able to kill whole families.

[127] In Emakhuwa, the term *maciini* comes from the Arabic *djin*, likely through contact along the coast of Nampula. Like Makhuwa speakers, Lomwe speakers have a number of specific terms for 'bad' or 'foreign' spirits like the *nakuru, eyootto, namuerya, manoro, sa elapo, sa yaeyeye* and *oliviwa*.

[128] Kotanyi 2003a; Honwana 2002; Bagnol 2006.

[129] It must be determined how far the fear of revenge through *maciini,* given their "bad death," might motivate certain men (who may not want to know if they are infected with HIV) to reconsider their risky sexual behavior, which may lead to HIV infection and premature death of their partners.

[130] I use the term 'cult' in an anthropological sense. The cult of the spirits involves a set of reciprocal obligations between the living (healers/diviners) and the spirits.

[131] Kotanyi 2003a; Colson 2006; Knox 2008.

[132] Kotanyi 2003a; Bagnol 2006

[133] The Cisona people live in both countries, in Mozambique and Zimbabwe; the people are used to visit their relatives on both countries, – so the spirits also pass from one to the other country.

[134] A Xitshwa-speaking (patrilineal) healers explains: "Every member of the family can become a 'house spirit' (ancestor) if they die after reaching a certain age—50, 60, 70 or older. A person who dies young or who didn't give birth or conceive a child, cannot become a protective 'house' ancestral spirit, nor a son-in-law, but the wife can. Grandchildren or other children cannot become house spirits. 'House spirits' can only be the elderly ancestors." (First DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, South Mozambique).

[135] First DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, South Mozambique.

[136] The hierarchy of the ancestors to be evoked also depends on whether descent is patrilineal or matrilineal. Matrilineal societies such as the Makhuwa have kinship rules that differ from those of the patrilineal societies in South and Central Mozambique. However, children are not recognized as ancestors in any of these societies. The matrilineal Makhuwa hold that the non-initiated cannot become ancestors, even adults. In the South, where youth initiation rites are no longer practiced, people who "did not take responsibility" (e.g., by marrying or having children) cannot become protective ancestors. This example shows how beliefs adapt through time or regions. The basic paradigm may continue, though specific practices may change or disappear.

[137] First DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, South Mozambique.

[138] "The ancestors put pressure on the living: when they do not follow traditions, the dead send diseases or misfortune; the family [will have] no money and many problems [will] occur." (Idem).

[139] "When a child is born and cries a lot, it can mean that it must get the name of the deceased who is disturbing him. In that case, the disturbing force is an ancestor, who wants to give his name to that child." (Idem).

[140] Nathan 2001; Kotanyi 1999.

[141] First DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, South Mozambique.

[142] He belongs to a patrilineal Bantu-speaking group in the South.

[143] This minister had previously participated in FRELIMO's campaign against all ancestral 'traditions.'

[144] First DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, South Mozambique.

[145] This finding contradicts E.C. Green's (1999) claim that the living have no way to interfere in cases when divining identifies ancestors as the source of the disease.

[146] Following Green's argument (1999), only diseases with a 'natural' origin could be treated.

[147] This logic leads to conflicts with biomedical explanations of HIV/AIDS for people in South and Central Mozambique who presume that most HIV symptoms (by AIDS) are signs of ancestral sanctions. Often, people first conduct cleansing rituals in accord with local traditions. Such cleansing may lead to delays in HIV testing, prevention and treatment.

[148] People know that this ceremony will not necessarily resolve the health problem, but they assume that it is a necessary pre-condition for the success of any biomedical or traditional treatment.

[149] Mahumana (2013:198) lists the following kinds of motivation to perform a *mhamba*: "(1) social reintegration of their deceased ancestors; (2) social reintegration, cleansing and healing of

people and spirits exposed to *ntima* or *xisila* [bad luck, misfortune] due to trauma, death and bloodshed, as well as propitiate mourning and forgiveness; (3) building relationships and socio-cultural and political history; (4) and delivering requests to their spiritual agents to support, peace, harmony, prevention of misfortune and suffering." It is the first kind of motivation that applies in the *mhamb*a that I document in Kotanyi 2003a.

[150] See the inauguration of a new *mpanze* [a ritual tree in South Mozambique] of a healer for ancestor's invocation at the end of the film "*EspiritoCorpo"* (Kotanyi 2003a).

[151] "DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, South Mozambique. In "*Djarama Boé"*, I refer to a Fulfulbe ceremony in Guinea-Bissau, for a person who conducted divination before travelling. The way the ancestors are informed differs from one region to the next: even Islamised people in West Africa, like the Fulfulbe in Boé, inform the ancestors requesting their protection before travelling (Kotanyi 1991).

[152] *Eshembe midzimu yadida* in Cisena.

[153] The ancestral invocation at the end of the film „Congo River" (Michel 2005) has nearly the same formulation as some ancestral invocations that I filmed in North Mozambique among Emakhuwa speakers.

[154] A Changana healer explains the *mhamba* [offering ritual]: "The role of the *swikwembu xa la kaya* [spirits of the house] is to defend their children. Our failures, those of we the living, will provoke some blockage: for example, a child who suddenly becomes sick. So that you, the eldest of the family [*munumuzane*] will have to look for a healer and you will hear him say: 'There is a *nguluve* [ancestor] here in your house, who wants something.' Then the family members will communicate with their siblings, those who are living far away [and tell them] that they have to come home. They will mark a day when they will come together to offer what the *tinguluve* [ancestors] was claiming: it can be some drink, or the offering of an animal." (Video recording of the first DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, South Mozambique).

[155] *Esaakha* is performed during the night, with dances, drums and *miheia*, [rhythmic instrument] used to call the *minepa* [ancestors] who are being celebrated. The offered animal is for the participants, to reinforce kinship bonds and practice reciprocity. At the observed *esaakha* in the Muecate district, the liver of the sacrificed goat was given by the healer to the chief of the community as sign of respect; the chief was a cousin of the healer conducting the *esaakha*. They had been at odds for many years in conflicts; the liver of the goat was part of a mediation ritual involving ancestors.

[156] See Appendix 3.1., Devisch 1993, Mahumana 2013, Mariano 2014.

[157] Similarly, when the man is missing in the patrilineal context, women may start in their place conducting the ritual invocations of ancestors necessary in order to get their support to re-establish health and wellbeing (see Ashfort 2005).

[158] A Changana healer woman insists on the importance of respecting the hierarchy when invoking the ancestors: "Not all the members of the family become ancestors. All become spirits once they were born in the family, but the hierarchy must be respected in their evocation." (DIALOGO Workshop, 2006). Members of patrilineal societies will first evoke their paternal ancestors, as matrilineal societies invoke maternal ancestors. The hierarchy of ancestors is present in all the studied Bantu cultures and parallels the living human hierarchy. Bantu tradition gives priority to certain social positions, in general to the eldest members of the family, who are in the best position to communicate with the ancestors as they are nearest to them. In the patrilineal South it will be the eldest men—grandfather, father or eldest uncle. A male Changana healer explains the ancestors' hierarchy in a patrilineal society: "A deceased person is considered to be *svikwembu xa la kaya* [spirit of the house] by his family members. All members of the family can become *ngoluve* [ancestor]. But the hierarchy must be obeyed. By hierarchy we mean for instance that first the eldest must be evoked, the *ngoluve lei kulo*, the grandfather of the father. After him comes the evocation of the aunt who works together with the eldest *ngoluve lei kulo.* Thereafter comes the [evocation of the] other aunts, *makhosazana*. These aunts are led by the *hahani*, who is [also a] *khosazana.* The main *hahani* aunt works together with the *kokwani wa la kaya* [protective ancestors]. All family members can become *svikwembu xa la kaya* [*house spirits*]: However, when a family member used a 'foreign' spirit to increase his power [through witchcraft], his spirit will never be considered a protective 'house spirit'." (The first DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, South Mozambique).

The question of whether a person who died as a witch can become a protective ancestor leads to extended discussions among specialists such as healers and chiefs. The tendency is to deny witches the status of protective ancestors, a finding that agrees with Cross's (2001) data from Burkina Faso.

159 In the segmented matrilineal Makhuwa society, each clan has a female *piyamwene* [most respected woman] and a male *mwene* [head of clan or community]. The *mwene* of each clan of a community counsel the community *mwene* (called officially "*regulo*" meaning "regulus" ['king' - used in colonial times for the chief]). Each community chief requires a *piyamwene* for any *makeya* [flour offering for ancestors] ceremony, given that land use rights pass through the female line. Therefore, a woman born on that land must conduct communications with ancestors.

160 See Geffray 1990; Kotanyi 2003b; Arizcunaga Zeballos 2008.

161 A "queen" can help to resolve complex conflicts. I witnessed this in conflicts between different responsible healers belonging to two healer organizations; the queen of Nampula province performed (in 2007) a specific ritual *musamwana* for the mediation and treatment of conflicts. Under the authority of their common "Makhwua" ancestors, she brought together several regional healers, following different religions and political parties, to talk through their conflicts and reconcile.

162 Additionally, concerning the position of the "queen" in Chimoio (Central Mozambique), it is interesting that such a position of a woman exists, as Chimoio is populated with patrilineal groups of mainly Cishona and Cindau speakers. The position of a "queen" might have been thought up (and negotiated regionally) by the colonial power following the model of a *piyamwene* in the matrilineal context of the North; it is a position without political power, but which supports the power of the *mpwene* [chief]. In that sense, the colonial power, as a male "chief," added a "queen" on its side who may assume some ritual parts of the power. The state was seen as the "father" and the "queen" just as the "regulus" as the "mother." In the matrilineal context, chiefs say: the state is the father and the chief is the mother, implying that there the greatest power lies with the local chief, not with the state!

163 In Kwango, where the land was occupied by the Lunda from Angola, power is divided. The so-called 'lord of the land' (which doesn't imply land ownership) is a Yaka descendant. (The Yaka were the first Bantu speakers to settle the area). The lord's lineal connection to the first settlers enables him to communicate best with those eldest ancestors, who help to protect the health of the living and the fertility of land and of humans and animals. In a double leadership structure, the Yaka "land lord" remains on the side of the Inana, the paramount Lunda chief who rules this district (and over a larger territory that extends beyond current national borders and corresponds with the territory occupied by 19th-century by the Lunda). The Lunda paramount chief currently has limited political power; however he has influence due to his grandfather, who was present at the negotiating table at the conference that established the independence of Congo DR (formerly Zaire) from Belgium.

164 While the socialist FRELIMO party and authors like Arnfred (2011) argue that the chiefs were a colonial construction intended to better control the land, collect taxes and oversee forced agricultural work (e.g. for cotton production), studies by Geffray (1990) and my own interviews in the Nampula region give a different picture. Certainly, the colonial administration created and used chieftaincy in both Mozambique for political purposes, for example, by appointing a number of new chiefs whose positions had not existed before colonization. This action led to local conflicts, some of which continue to this day. Colonial administrators also transformed the traditional roles of regional notables partially into chiefs (Synder 1981). (See the detailed discussion of this issue in Chapter Five.) But the chief of a territory, who should represent the clan that first occupied the land, is a widespread political office that existed before the colonial period.

165 In matrilineal communities in North Mozambique, *makeya* is conducted by a respected woman [*piyamwene*]. Each *mwene* has his own *piyamwene.* The chief conducts rituals concerning the "protection" of land and fertility (rain, agriculture, forest, hunting and construction of buildings and wells). When the chief is not a member of the first clan that occupied the land (due to colonial or political interference), he will have to mobilize the ritual support of a living descendant of the original clan [*mwene elapo* in Emakhuwa]. The ancestors of the original 'landlord' must be asked for their consent in all matters concerning the land. This is the case for the Lunda chiefs in Kwango (DR Congo), who must consult the Yaka chief as the "land lord"; the ancestors consent in a simple ritual, sometimes accompanied by small offerings. If such ritual not occurs, misfortune, failures, accidents and diseases that result will often be attributed to failure to perform such a ritual.

[166] Community chiefs were systematically misused by colonial administrators and after independence they were initially forbidden to rule since they were believed to have supported the colonial regime (even though many chiefs in North Mozambique fought for independence; see Geffray 1991). After 14 years of civil war, these chiefs are now recognized by the state, which in 2000 defined newly their official status in the post-colonial state. More important than their limited function vis-à-vis the state is their legitimacy and efficacy as mediators between community members and the ancestors. Studies of Mozambican Bantu societies show that the community leader has primary responsibility for community members. This explains why in Congo, for instance, where the Bantu follow similar traditions as the Bantu in Mozambique, the chief was formerly not only in charge of rain rituals but also dealt with epidemics. A chief who fails in his duties to protect the community or perform the appropriate rituals will lose his authority (De Heusch 1982, MacGaffey 2000).

[167] Between 1997 and 2008, I conducted individual and focus group interviews with different types of healers, diviners and initiation rites counselors of both genders, who provided an orientation for my studies. This basic information was later useful for applied activities.

[168] Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003a; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008.

[169] In 2006, during the choice of research participants for DIALOGO, with the linguist Mabasso.

[170] I filmed such possessions in South Mozambique among Changana, Rhonga and Bitonga healers employing 'foreign' spirits. Makhuwa/Lomwe healers in North Mozambique may use Eyootto, Nakuru, and many other 'bad' or 'foreign' spirits as agents of treatment (Kotanyi 2003a).

[171] *Nyanga* and *nyangarume* are Xichangana, Xirhonga, and Xitshwa terms.

[172] Among the Emakhuwa speakers, Eyootto is considered to be one of the most dangerous spirits and is associated with human fertility issues. I observed an Eyootto initiation lasting seven days in 2000 on the coast of Nampula. Eyootto initiations are like those of a "secret" society.

[173] Possession by *maciini* is induced by rhythmic music of drums and ecstatic dances. Most possession occurs in the province Nampula within the framework of therapy groups; each type of *maciini* has its own dress, just as *vanguni* or *vandau* spirits in South and Central Mozambique have very specific types of embodiment (movements) (see Kotanyi 2003a).

[174] *Vandau* or *vanguni* spirits in South/Central Mozambique are those of young soldiers who died in the Tsonga wars in the 19th century and were not properly buried, leading them to trouble their living descendants (Honwana 2002). See also Mahumana 2013.

[175] *Tinhlolo* [diagnosis/divination] is done in South and Central Mozambique with the help of the *vanguni* spirits (Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003a; Ganjo 2007, Mahuaman 2013).

[176] In Tanzania: Sukuma tradition is similar to Bantu traditions in Mozambique & DR Congo.

[177] Evans-Pritchard 1936; Douglas 1967, 1970, 1994; Augé and Herzlich 1984.

[178] I use the term 'divination' in the broadest sense, to refer both to more 'traditional' techniques as well as to syncretic approaches, such as the revelatory modes found in some Christian evangelical churches in DR Congo. Mozambican and Congolese Bantu speakers refer divination to ancestral or spiritual agencies; Christian and Islamic speak of 'revelations' and refer it to God or Allah.

[179] First DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, South Mozambique. See Chapter Three.

[180] HIV prevalence statistic of 2000 (18%) and of 2007 show 35% prevalence in Gaza (Chai-Chai), according to detailed regional statistics from the Ministry of Health of Mozambique (2008:20). *Report of the Revision of the Data from HIV Epidemiological surveillance Rund 2007*.

[181] Green 1999a/b; Kotanyi 2005; Bagnol 2007; Mariano 2007; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009.

[182] Second DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, Central and North Mozambique.

[183] See Chapters Three and Five for a discussion of taboo transgressions. In North Mozambique, taboo transgressions involving death, sex or blood produce swollen bodies. In South and Central regions, HIV/AIDS symptoms (skin rash, weight loss, coughing) are attributed to taboo transgression.

[184] Data from the research preparation of DIALOGO, in Manica – Central Mozambique, in 2006.

[185] Second DIALOGO Workshop, 2006, Central Mozambique.

[186] Two Cameroonian physicians working in two different regions of Cameroon reported in 2008 that 50% of their AIDS patients undergoing ARV therapy interrupt treatment in order to undergo traditional healing rituals for one of two reasons: either to reinstate the protection of ancestors or to respond to presumed witchcraft attack. (pers. comm. in 2008)

[187] See Stroeken 2004 and in Chapter Three and Four the discussion of several sensory modes.

[188] Luedcke and West et al. 2006; Pfeiffer 2002; Dilger 2005; Becker & Geissler et al. 2009.

[189] Devisch 1996a, 1996b, 2003, 2004.
[190] Knox 2008:115; Behrend 1997, 2011. See Lauwers 2009 for a historical perspective.
[191] Turner 1965; Janzen 1992; Devisch 1993a; Junod 1996; Jacobson-Widding 1979, 1989, 1991.
[192] See the description of the treatment for fertility in Chapter Two.
[193] See Turner 1965; Jacobson-Widding 1979; Janzen 1992, and in section F the summary of common shared chromatic frames among Bantu-speaking cultures.
[194] See West 2005, 2007. Is also corresponds to similar combinations that I could observe by Islamized practices of healers in Senegal or Guinea Bissau.
[195] Each group builds a community that together deal with the suffering caused by certain *maciini* [bad spirits] by invoking the *maciini* through singing and dancing (in "EspiritoCorpo" Kotanyi 2003a)
[196] Dancing while possessed allows the suffering to express their distress and deal with it actively; if possession doesn't make the suffering disappear completely, it does allow sufferers to find ways to bear it. The resulting solidarity is similar to that found in Western therapeutic peer groups, such as those which help people living with alcoholism or drug addiction. See among others Kotanyi 2003a; Igreja 2003, 2008; Honwana 2002, 2003; Behrend 1997.
[197] See the ritual treatment to neutralize harmful witchcraft in Kotanyi 2003a.
[198] The Zionist Church constitutes a strong Christian community (originated in South Africa). See Fernandez, J.W. (1971) 'Zulu zionism', Natural History, 80(6): 44–51.
[199] Kimbanguism arose in the fight against colonialism and developed in order to allow the combination of Christian paradigms and "Bantu" frames in an African setting.
[200] This is a pattern also documented by Colson (2006) in the Tonga-speaking context in Zambia
[201] Colson (2006) shows a strong resilience of ancestral frames, in a period of 50 years observation; people might interrupt during years any ancestral evocations, but restarted to practice their evocations and to respect them later in life, by getting older.
[202] This dyad is originated in Catholicism during the 11th century (Delumeau 1978). The African version involves the vilification of local cultures, religions and healing traditions (Behrend 2011: 151).
[203] In the Zionist context, blue-green implies control of excess and represents the replacement of the mediating color red with blue-green (Kiernan, 1991:30–31). Ngubane's (1977) suggests that, in the therapeutic context, blue-green (water, sea, sky, vegetation, hope) is subsumed under white, the positive pole, while black—and its association with witchcraft— occupies the opposite, negative pole.
[204] See also Breidenbach 1976; Jacobson-Widding 1979; Ngubane 1977; Turner 1965.
[205] In DR Congo, the strongest Christian Kimbanguist Church also uses green and white and eliminates red. This Christian movement began as a strong critic of colonial oppression, with its "white" God. Many Church members view Simon Kimbangu (1889–1951) as a prophet and an African Christ. Kimbangu died in a colonial prison after 30 years of imprisonment (Wauthier 2007). The Kimbangist Church developed after Kimbangu's death passed through strong purification processes, taking away most of the African specificities of this religious movement, The Church was accepted officially in 1969 by members of the Ecumenical Council of Churches as EJCSK (Église de Jésus Christ sur la Terre par Son Envoyé Spécial *Simon Kimbangu* / The Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu). See Asch 1983, Wauthier 2007.
[206] See Behrend 1997, 2006, 2011; Tonda 2002.
[207] Often western values are presented as being universally valid given their presumed 'scientific' framings, although these values are rooted in 'beliefs' such as that in the existence of one unique God.
[208] The discussed paradigms constitute values (Jacobson-Widding 1991). In Mozambique, people, especially in the city, do not call them 'values,' but describe them as part of "our culture". With this expression, they justify why these issues are relevant and cannot be abandoned, despite challenges from politics, religion and science. By identifying these frames as 'cultural,' urban people attempt to protect their values by shifting them into an untouchable private sphere.
[209] Like in Mozambique, the strongest contrast between public rhetoric and private practice exists among Congolese Western-educated elites, a minority that has increasingly adopted more individualistic values. However, interdependence applies for most people.
[210] E.g. Comaroff 1981; West 2005, 2006; Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b; Colson 2006; Arnfred 2011.
[211] Honwana 2002, 2003, Igreja 2007, 2008; Bagnol 2006; Behrend 1997.
[212] Honwana 2002, 2003; Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b; Bagnol 2006; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008.

[213] These limits may be related to the fact that the eldest of the family or clan must conduct the ceremonies at the family's place of 'origin', which is often far away from the urban residence.

[214] The resilience of ancestral paradigms is illustrated by the fact that people in South Africa do not like it when Mozambican migrants die from AIDS in their country, as they should die and be buried in Mozambique. This would ensure that the dead person would become a protective ancestor, rather than a 'bad' or vengeful spirit. By remaining in South Africa, a spirit may provoke (social, spiritual, emotional) disorder among local people, taking seeking revenge for his 'bad death'. The family members of Mozambican migrants also prefer that a sick person come home to die. Mozambican migrants to South Africa and other countries often fear stigma if their HIV/AIDS status becomes known. As a result, HIV-positive—people such as miners—may return to their families in Mozambique, without informing their wives about their infectious condition.

[215] Devisch 1993a, 1996a.

Notes of Chapter Two

[1] In non-specific contexts, I use the Cindau spelling *munthu* for all Mozambican Bantu groups; when I quote persons speaking another Bantu language, I use their specific spellings. I use *muutu* (in Kiyaka) when I refer in general to the people of South-West DR Congo.

[2] Deleuze & Guatarri's (1980) concept of a 'rhizome' appears to apply to the notion of the person of many Mozambicans and Congolese. From a rhizomatic perspective, the Bantu notion of person develops in a non-linear and multi-stranded way, and defies systemization (Strathern 1995:21).

[3] Ninety-three percent of Mozambicans speak at least one of 12 Bantu languages. Only 6% speak Portuguese, the official language, as their mother tongue. Portuguese is spoken by 39% of Mozambicans, mostly as a second language. A non-Bantu concept of the person is found among those with European (ca. 1%), Indian or mixed origins, often among the socio-economic elite with a Western education (Statistics in INE 1997.)

[4] I.e. Lufuluabo 1975; Sow 1984; Eboussi-Boulaga 2011; Hountondji 2013; Mosolo 1994; Karp & Mosolo et al. 2000; Gyekye 1997; Serequerberhan 1994; Guèye 1998; Matangila 2000; Wiredu 2004; Appiah 2004; Samb 2010.

[5] *Munhu* (in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa);in the South. In North Mozambique: *mutthu* (in Emakhuwa) and *wifuwela* (in Elomwe). In South-west DR Congo, *mutu* in Kikongo and *muutu* in Kiyaka. The stem *ntu* indicates a common etymology for the term in most Bantu linguistic groups in both countries. This is remarkable given that North Mozambique, where the term *mutthu* is used, is geographically distant from the Kongo/Yaka people in Sout-West DR Congo (Map 3).

[6] *"Breath/air/spirit" moya* (Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitswa); *umoya* or *usithunzi* (Zulu); *midzimu* (Cisena,Cishona); erooho of the living, becoming after death *munepa* (Emakhuwa).

[7] *Ndzhuti* (Zulu); *ndzhuti* or *ansuti* (Xichangana); *xinzuti* (Xirhonga); *enzuti* (Xitswa); *ntunzi* (Cisena); *mwuti* or *mvuri* (Cishona); *eruku* (Emakhuwa).

[8] *Nyama* [fleh] or *muzimbha* in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa in the South; *ntudi* in Cisena and *muiri* in Cishona in Centre; *erruthu* in Emakhuwa; and *mwili* in Elomwe in North Mozambique.

[9] This is a good example illustrating that such a paradgim is *per se* not clearly defined, allowing different definition and interpretations (see Kuhn 1976).

[10] A healer in Moamba (in 2008) and DIALOGO research workshops in Mozambique in 2006.

[11] See also Mahumana 2014:60.

[12] It is not clear when Mahumana uses Xichangane or Xirhonga terms. Strangely, in this sentence, Mahumana puts "blood" before the physical body, still keeping the spirit at third place.

[13] For Mahumana (2013:152), *svirhu* "parts of the body" contains "(1) internal organs and (2) external body"; in (1) the heart, liver, kidney, head; in (2) neck, arms, legs and trunk are involved.

[14] Concerning South Mozambique, in this issue, I report statements of the Zulu and Xichangane *nyamusoro* Amos P. (province of Maputo) and the Cindau-speaker Mazingue (prov. of Inhambane) from 2008. I also include statements by the healer Veronica A. Salada from Sofala (Central province), who 'divines'/treats by being possessed by 'spirits,' or by herbalist healers like Elsa Elisa (Inhambane province, South) in 2001, who treats diseases often classified as 'mental diseases' in the biomedical context (Kotanyi 2003a). The issue is valid in the Emakhuwa-speaking context of the North.

[15] Bryant (1966) and Berglund (1976:85-86) note that for Zulu speakers in South Africa and Mozambique, that the shadow is associated with morality, prestige and dignity.

[16] See also the differentiated discussion of *ngati* ("blood" involving several bodily fluids) in Mahumana, 2013, including the category of "*ngati*" diseases.

[17] Healers, chiefs, nurses, and ministry and NGO employees agree on the ways that the shade can be weakened. Devisch (1986:126–127) argues that olfaction and sexual appetite, jhust like hunger, are manifestations of the vital force. See Devisch 1996a, 2001, 2002, 2005b; Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b, 2012.

[18] On the transformative potential of the shade, and of any liminal life-cycle event, see Devisch (2001b, 2002, 2003a, 2005a); Sanders (2008); Karp et al. (1989); Jackson & Karp et al. 1990; Jacobson-Widding (1979, 1990, 1991) and in Chapter Three, Four and Five.

[19] Geschiere (2013:26-28) discusses 'witchcraft' through the shade in terms of Freud's notion of the uncanny. Devisch (2015) shows that the shade frames the ineffable, especially illness and death.

[20] In South and Central Mozambique, the implementation of Christianity and biomedicine started earlier; they are more widespread and their influences on endogenous practices and concepts are stronger than in North Mozambique, especially in Nampula province, where I conducted extended

research in several districts. An illustration of this is that in South/Central Mozambique, healers know a *nyoka* (small snake) in the physical body, which may give 'signs' in cases of disease/infertility, and which 'defends' the physical body (Green, 1999a/b, and Chapter Five). In contrast, Emakhuwa healers in different districts of Nampula insist (in 2007) that only the *minepa* [ancestors] can defend/protect the physical body; there is nothing within the latter which might defend it, according to their healing tradition. This is stated as much by Islamized healers on the coast as by those living in the inner parts of the province, who follow more openly 'ancestral' ways (which the Islamized healers also do, but in more-hidden ways – see Kotanyi 2003a).

21 Regarding the Yaka context, Devisch states: "Men regard the ineffable firstly as life's primary principles of origination and order, as well as the primeval source of sociability which animates the social and cultural institutions" (2017: Chapter 10).

22 Contradictions between pre-Christian ancestral traditions and Christian concepts may lead to situations, especially in the realm of health or law, in which suffering is perpetuated, rather than relieved (Kotanyi 2012b; Chapters Four and Six).

23 See Latour (1991, 1993b) and Stengers (1995, 1997, 2001) on how the purifying 'sciences' seek to minimize or eliminate uncertainty. However, Monaud (1973) in biology and Dürr (2007) in physics, among others, demonstrate that science can encompass uncertainty.

24 See Chapter Four on weakening the shade through "witchcraft". See Chapter Five on how HIV infection is attributed to the vulnerable shade attacked by witchcraft.

25 This concept diverges from Mahumana's (2013:153-155) concept for South Mozambique, which classifies the components of the person first in terms of a physical body combined with a spirit, both being related to the component of *ngati* [blood(s)]. Blood is usually defined in the broad sense of *vital force* in a Bantu context, which Mahumana does not elaborate on. My research subjects in this issue in South (as in Central and North) Mozambique, mainly healers, connote *ngati* with the intermediary shade, as second component of the person. Mahumana does not speak about the shade/shadow, although this is the level on which the weakening of *ngati* [blood/vital force] is assumed to occur, e.g. through taboo transgression, disease or 'witchcraft'/sorcery, etc. The question arises as to whether this different conceptualization reflects stronger influences of biomedicine and Christianity, or if it is related to the differences between patrilineal and matrilineal societies.

26 Officially, medical doctors and nurses are not allowed to refer patients to healers. However, Mozambique has only two psychiatric hospitals (in Maputo and near Nampula). The ambivalence of the medical staff is so strong that a male nurse told me that medical doctors, who generally question healers' approaches, may often fear transmission of the spiritual diseases from their patients.

27 See Gordon 1988; Young 1982; Foster 1976.

28 It is similar to the Yaka notion of *muutu* [person], in which becoming a person means becoming "a whole" [*luunga*] (Devisch 1993a:132).

29 In contrast, Mahuaman (2013:154) insists on the dependence of physical body and 'spirit'.

30 "Blood", *ropa* in Cishona; *ciropa* in Cisena; *ephome* in Emakhuwa. This section is grounded in an unpublished research video with healers, diviners, initiation rites counselors and chiefs in South/ Central Mozambique (DIALOGO Workshops 2006, MONASO & CVM, Kotanyi, unpublished). I use the Xichangana term, because I will later quote Mahumana, who uses it.

31 Douglas 1969; Green 1999a, 1999b; Cross 2005.

32 Stated by the research participants in the DIALOGO research (2006-2007). "Weak *ngati*" [weak blood] can be used as an expression to convey the biomedical notion of "immunity" (necessary to explain HIV/AIDS), and may be used in education programs (Mariano 2014), as the notion of an immune system does not exist in traditional Bantu medicine.

33 See Chapter Three on the thermo-sexual frames determined by several bodily fluids [*negati*] that regulate moral behavior in the studied contexts.

34 To healers, the red of the clay does not symbolize blood but rather indicates power (Turner 1966).

35 These attributes of blood described by Thomas (1973) for West African cultures are similar to those discussed here. See also Mahumana, 2014; for DR Congo, see Jacobson-Widding, 1999.

36 In Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa (South Mozambique).

37 In Cishona (Central Mozambique).

38 In Cisena/ Cigorongozi (Central Mozambique).

[39] In Emakhuwa, Elomwe (North Mozambique).
[40] A healer in Nova Mambone, 2008.
[41] See Appendix 2.2 and Dieterlen et al. 1973; Beattie 1980; Jackson and Karp 1990.
[42] We saw that *ngati* [blood] includes all bodily fluids, which comprise the vital force, *ngati* is central to the *munthu* [person], determining the potency, fertility, health and wellbeing of a person.
[43] Several authors suggest a ternary concept of the person in Bantu-speaking contexts (see Jackson and Karp et al. 1990; Jacobson-Widding et al. 1991 and Mahumana 2013) – which applies to the studied Bantu contexts.
[44] The findings show that the persons easily syncretize new influences such as those found in Christianity, Islam, biomedicine and law; such mixtures can lead to tensions, like those that I describe in Chapters Four and Six.
[45] Kagame 1976; Obenga 1989; Janzen 1992, 2000; MacGaffey 2000.
[46] The use of the term «soul» suggests that Jacobson-Widding's informants are strongly influenced by Christianity, (which is also the case for the author as confirms René Devisch – in a perponal communication). Bas-Congo was the first region of Congo where Christianity was introduced. Portuguese missionaries arrived there in the late 15th century. Most people are Christianized, but many also follow several pradigms and framings that they relate to their ancestors.
[47] Among the Fipa in southwest Tanzania, Willis (1990) describes a tripartite structuration of the cosmos and the body. Each is a metaphor of the other (1990:272) The Fipa and those whom I studied share the same three colours and their respective associations: white («spirits» and ancestors); red («shade»/power); and black (physical body, death, witchcraft).
[48] See Nathan and Lewertowsky (1998) on witchcraft suggesting that witchcraft accusations produce a dichotomy between the witch and the bewitched person. Mediation and public testimony are required to neutralize this opposition, not just in "traditional" Bantu settings, but also in therapeutic settings in France among recent immigrants.
[49] Devisch argues that one becomes a *muutu* [person] in: "a progressive realization of the capacity to place one's own mark in social reality by the 'grafting of social reality on the body' [*yidiimbu*]" (1991:294).
[50] Devisch gets to the heart of it in his discussion of "witchcraft": "Taken in its own right (that is, endogenously), witchcraft (as is the case in south-western Congo, in Yaka society) points to non-dichotomizing ontological premises..." (2005:377).
[51] Even in a single region, healers suggest different rankings; there are the differences between my research subjects' suggestions and those of Mahumana (2013) in the patrilineal context of South Mozambique.
[52] Jacobson Wedding, 1991:213.
[53] See a discussion of the *xithuzi* [presence], in Mahumana 2013:161-162.
[54] Kagame (1956, 1976), Obenga (1995), and theologians such as Mulago (1965) and Mbiti (1969) followed Tempels (1959). Other African philosophers, such as Eboussi-Boulaga (1968, 1977, 2011); Hountondji (1977, 2013); Gyekeye (1994, 1997), and Kaphagawani (2000:69-73) criticize Tempels' characterization of Bantu ontology. Appiah (1992), Hountondji (1994), and Wiredu (1996) developed an African "Philosophy of Culture" (Appiah's term) which they applied to "indigenous knowledge systems." This philosophy was grounded in post-colonial critiques (Mudimbe, 1988). See summaries in Mosolo (1994), Karp and Mosolo (2000:21-24), Wiredu et al. 2004 and Samb 2010.
[55] See a summary of Kagame in Mosolo (1994:57) and Samb (2010:75). See also Mulago (1965:152-53), Mujinya (1972:13-14) and Shakukoa (2004).
[56] See also Jahn 1990; Mulago (1955, 1965, 1973).
[57] See a good summary in Samb 2010 :75-76.
[58] The Africanist Stroeken observes: In *mtu* or *ntu* the root is <u>*tu*</u> while *m* or *n* is the prefix of first class noun. The *n* in *muntu* is part of the extended stem *ntu*, hence *mu-ntu.* (Personal communication)
[59] A special or remarkable child, particularly one that cries a lot (for a variety of reasons), may be identified by diviners or healers in several West African cultures as an "ancestor child." This allows that child to be addressed with the respect due to an ancestor and to be treated with greater care without arousing the suspicion of "witchcraft."
[60] In a Changana context, the first name is that of the namesake patrilineal ancestor (Feliciano, 1998:320). See Junod (1912) 1996; Kotanyi (2003b). Bagnol (2006) notes that the same ancestor may

be reborn in multiple children over several generations, which reinforces the continuity of the clan . See also Jahn (1990:111) on South African Bantu.

[61] "Guardian angel" is *mudzimu nkaliri* in Cisena; *mudzimu wakunikoya* or *maxai* in Cishona; *munepa wasomo* in Emakhuwa. Among the Emakhuwa, the *munepa waparaka* [ancestor giving the name], protects the person from witchcraft.

[62] Devisch in a personal communication; confirmed by my Emakhuwa informants.

[63] A person becomes several names along life; for instance in the matrilineal Emakhuwa context, the maturity initiation marks adulthood becoming then a person, establishing the belonging of the child (Geffray, 1990). The first at initiation is to receive the secrete knowledge of the name of the own mother's *nihimo* [maternal clan], which is the main common social group and a spiritual and esoteric entity transmitted by the 'belly'. This includes to know the secrete path [*nifito*] traversed by the ancestors of the clan; which is orally transmitted.

[64] In the matrilineal Makhuwa context, each *munepa* (sing.) has specific functions and protects the living against misfortune and ensures health, well-being, fertility, luck and so on. The "eldest" ancestors, the *minepa nakholo*, are seen as the most powerful. Other categories of ancestors include: the *munepa wasomo* [namesake ancestor]; the *minepa naperua* [ancestors of the husband] protect through dreams; the *minepa makhalelo* [earliest family ancestors]; the *minepa sa paraka* [spirits of 'nature']; the *minepa samussi* [ancestors of direct kin, i.e., parents/ child, brother/sister] bring luck; the *minepa samussi* are a collective of protective ancestors.

[65] This is one of the reasons that infertility causes such suffering. However, adopting children or caring for orphans are considered indicators of adulthood. For example, an aunt caring for several nephews or a woman taking care of orphans is recognized as an adult with children.

[66] Treatments for infertility therefore include ancestral invocations and offerings.

[67] «*Eviternity»* was used by Kagame (1956). The term is derived from the Latin *aeviternu*s (synonym to *aeternus* = eternity) which emphasizes duration in time (from *aevum*) (Samb, 2010:82).

[68] According to Veronica Antonio Salda, a Cisena healer. See also Bagnol 2006:99.

[69] Marriott 1976; Strathern 1988, Pool & Geissler 2005, Mahumana 2013.

[70] A new chief embodies his predecessor, the first chief who settled an area. The new chief does not represent or become "like" the former chief; he *becomes* him and thereby changes his position relative to others in the clan and community. The chief takes the name of the first chief who settled a territory, losing his own personal name, and becoming fused to and identified with that first chief.

[71] Among others, Mbiti 1969; Kagame 1956, 1976; Dieterlen et al. 1973; Jackson & Karp et al. 1990; Gyekye 1997:38; Appiah 1992; Hountondji 1977; Mbembe 1992; Mosolo 1994; Wiredu 1996; Gyekye 1997; Karp & Mosolo et al.2000; Matangila 2000; Kaphagawani 2006; Samb 2010; Eboussi-Boulaga 2011; Kodjo-Grandvaux 2013.

[72] Kenyatta's (1965) assertion that nobody is an isolated individual applies in Mozambique and DR Congo where "The more socialized, the more individualized" (Devisch 1991: 294).

[73] The notion of *self* is rooted in Western thought and can be traced to Plato and Aristotle. Descartes located the individual *self* in the mind, which was separate from the physical body.

[74] Amos P., Zulu-speaking healer, South Mozambique, 2008.

[75] Hakwa, Cindau speaker, Inhambane, 2008.

[76] Reciprocity with ancestors implies obligation to look after and to take care of those in subordinate positions. Such rules can be empowering, as Bagnol notes.

[77] "The ancestors will move away, not protecting you anymore, thereby letting in witchcraft or bad spirits." Constantino, research assistant 2008.

[78] Honor [*kukhenseka*, *kubonga, kubongiwa* in Xichangana, Xirhonga]. According to Bitonga-speaking healer Elsa E.: "What is the honor of a woman? A person who does not respect herself is not a social person. A person cannot live alone. We have to live together. One may become ill [and] require help. But without respecting others, people will not support you when it is needed."

[79] Discussing the witchcraft paradigm in a seminar with colleagues, the project manager used me as an example of someone who might be seen as a "witch," someone who knows too much, who is perceived as special, or is behaving differently from others.

[80] See Markus & Kitayama (1991) on Japanese notions of the self.

[81] Triandis (1977, 1980) relies on Tajifels's (1978:63) notion of a *social identity*, which structures an individual's concept of self relative to a social group, including the values and emotional significance attached to that membership.

[82] Triandis and Taylor (2007) characterize stronger social control as «tight».

[83] There are also traditional 'elites', such as chiefs, elders, recognized diviners and healers, and some initiation rites counselors, all of whom carry social, political, or moral "weight." And there are the specifically religious elites, of the several confessions.

[84] However, when Mozambican informants refer to a 'soul', it indicates a monotheistic religious influence (Christian or Islamic) in their thought.

[85] See Behrend 1997, 2011; Meyer 1998, 1999.

[86] Under Mobutu's post-colonial regime in Zaire (now DR Congo), people were required to use African names, in order to connect them to "ancestral" traditions and values, which the regime reinterpreted and reimagined to serve its own purposes.

[87] Kimbanguism (Ash 1983a/b) and Zionist Churches are regarded as independent African versions of Christianity and developed as alternatives to Catholic, Protestant or Evangelic Chruches.

[88] The strong flux of people joining the arising new religious movements since the end of the 1990s coincide with the break-down of Mobutu's dictatorial regime, who used several 'ancestral' frames in order to support his dictatorship (de Boeck 1996). The reasons for joining the growing Pentecostal Churches since the 1990s in both countries are complex and their analyses ultrapasses the framework of this study. See Devisch 1994, 1995, 1996b, 2000b.

[89] In prophetic churches in DR Congo, the Holy Spirit (Devisch 1996b, 1999b, 2003) is an amalgam of ancestral notions of spirits and the Christian concept. In my view, the Holy Spirit takes an intermediary position between the Father and the Son in the Trinity. However, this intermediary position does not correspond to the "shade" of "traditional" practices. The "shade" embodies ambiguity, while Christianity tends to minimize or deny it. See, among others, Devisch 2000, 2003b, 2004, 2011; Meyer 1998, 2002; Tonda 2002.

[90] In seven of eleven provinces of Mozambique, youth initiation rites are conducted for both boys and girls, and are intended to convey the values and duties of a *munthu* [person in Cindau]. These rites continued in secret until after the end of the civil war (1992), and are now practiced collectively (Himua 2003; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009; Arnfred 2011; Bagnol 2011).

[91] The socialist FRELIMO party ruled from 1976 to 1992, when thecivil war ended.

[92] A suggestion of Stroeken (in a personal communication).

[93] The Makhuwa clans protected their *mpewe* [head of community] sometimes by sending an impersonator to colonial administrators.

[94] See Janzen (1978) in Congo, Ingstad (1990) in Botswana, and Morgensen (1997) in Zambia.

[95] This finding is similar to that of Markus and Kitayama (1991), who observed the integration of modern and traditional values in Japan.

[96] See Devisch 1991, 1993a, 1995, 1996b, 2000, 2001, 2003b, 2004.

[97] Devisch (1990) argues that the skin is a social interface. T. Turner sees the "social skin" as the place "upon which the drama of socialization is enacted (1980:112).

[98] Following Douglas, Taylor (1992), Devisch (1993), Werbner (1990) Willis (1990) and Sanders (2008:9) argue that the physiological properties and potentialites of human bodies are mapped into other realms by means of metaphor and/or symbol, which for Sanders are shaped by practices. Jacobson-Widding (2000) and Gausset (2002) situate the body and human sexuality within a broader set of relations in which everything is homologous, metaphoric, or symbolic of everything else within a particular universe of values.

[99] Langwick (2011:11) defines for Emakhuwa and Makonde speakers in Tanzania maladies as "opposed to diseases, illnesses or sickness, as undesirable, painful and often debilitating states of being." The author argues that "malady resonates more strongly with the meanings and the connotations of the Kiswahili word *ugonjwa* than does 'disease' or 'illness'" (2011:11).

[100] Diseases appearing "just like that" imply that the ancestors have withdrawn their protection.

[101] *Biopower* is for Foucault the way in which "government practices have tried, since the eighteenth century, to rationalize the problems presented by phenomena inherent to those who constitute a *population:* health, hygiene, birth, life span, race…" (2004:323).

[102] I saw several NGOs in Mozambique expand with the AIDS business, and then collapse due to corruption and/or to the loss of international aid.

[103] The *biopower* of the state has obvious weakenesses, as when hospitals transfused patients in an entire district with HIV-infected blood, according to physicians in Mozambique and DR Congo.

[104] MONASO (verbal comm.) during the first National Conference on AIDS, Maputo, July 2008.

[105] Official Mozambican health policy recognizes the existence of traditional medicine but does not mobilize funds for cooperative programs, thereby marginalizing traditional medicine.

[106] Many people in Mozambique use traditional medicine first; biomedicine is secondary and/or complementary (Green 1999a, 1999b; Matsinhe 2006; UNAIDS 2000, 2001). In spite of health ministry prohibitions on cooperation, many nurses engage in informal dialogues and exchange of information, similar to what Langwick (2008) describes for Tanzania. In Mozambique, these practices tend to be more hidden, especially in the South and Central regions.

[107] Thanks to Stroeken for this suggestion in a personal communication.

[108] Information collected during workshops involving members of the Health Ministry in 2003 and in the "DIALOGO" applied research conducted in 2006 and 2007 in Mozambique.

[109] But, healers must avoid certain practices, which reduce the efficacy of allopathic remedies.

[110] For Mozambique, see Honwana 2002; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008; Bagnol 2006; Ganjo 2007a, Mahumana 2014. For DR Congo, see Janzen 1992; Devisch 1993a, 1996a, 2000a, 2017.

[111] In South Mozambique it is framed as a marriage, with a 'spirit' claiming compensation for the damage done by a predecessor from the same clan as the possessed person.

[112] As Csordas shows, religious healing involving possession is concerned with embodied transformations, not with "the elimination of a thing" (2002:3), as Christian exorcism is.

[113] Healers in South or Central Mozambique will extract 'bad' spirits through *kufemba* [smelling out the spirit];. This enables the spirit to communicate through the healer as medium).

[114] Nathan (2005:26) contrasts the singular, exclusive and individualist persons with the multiplicity implicit in relational, inclusive and interdependent persons.

[115] Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008, 2015; Honwana 2002, 2003; Janzen 1992, 2000; Van Dijk and Reis and Spierenburg (eds) 2000; Behrend 1993; Behrend and Luig 1999.

[116] Csordas defines embodiment as "an indeterminate methodological field defined by perceptual experience and the mode of presence and engagement in the world" (2002:241).

[117] "*Somatic modes of attention* are culturally elaborated ways of attending to and with one's body and surroundings that include the embodied presence of others." (Csordas 2002:244).

[118] Csordas (1990:5-47) observes that the embodied practices of trance and possession lead to the unity of "body and mind" by involving all senses and bodily perceptions; for Mozambican and Congolese diviners and healers the involvement of all senses and bodily perceptions implies the unification of the ternary components of the person.

[119] Willis 1999: 150-176; Kotanyi 2003a; Langwick 2008, 2011.

[120] Devisch (1985:121) describes the necessity of restraint among Yaka. See filmed sequences of youth initiation in North Mozambique in Kotanyi (2003b), and Beidelman 1997; Madeira 2007.

[121] Devisch (1990:123, 1993) shows that the qualities and affective states of close kin depend not so much on cognitive processes but on the intimate exchange between individuals through the body.

[122] Turner 1988; Csordas 1983, 1988, 1994, 1999, 2002; Sax 2002, 2009:245-246, 2010a, 2010b; Devisch 1990, 1993a, 1996a; Stroeken 2010.

Notes for Chapter Three

[1] Goffman (1974) defines framing as the meaning surrounding field and frames as cognitive structures, which steer the perception and the reflection of reality. The idea is that frames are not produced consciously, but that they are transmitted unconsciously in the communication. Latour (2012) discusses framings as ways of existing. Entman (2002, 2004) shows the political dimension of frames, which influence power by transmitting information; in Entman's view, there are dominant and preferred meanings expressed in framings. Merry (2006) defines 'framings', according to Ferre (2003:308), as an interpretative package surrounding a core idea. Such a definition reduces frames to representations, whereas framings achieve through certain practices (like ritual practices) the desired results (to divine, heal, mediate, reconcile, etc.) through experiences (Stroeken, as sensory reality 2010:124-25). Experiences are fundamental means of healing, of transmitting knowledge of how dealing with framings (Bourdieu 1972; Devisch 1993a:269; Csordas 2002; Sax 2002, 2009; Stroeken 2012:115, 131).

[2] In this study, the discussed "ancestral" and endogenous "paradigms" are the core ideas and practices concerning ancestors, taboos, personhood and 'witchcraft' or sorcery.

[3] Among other authors, Junod (1996); Fialho Feliciano (1998); Devisch (1993a, 1996a), Beidelman (1993); Sanders (2008), without calling them frames, describe a larger scale of frames at work among Bantu-speaking cultures which are also relevant for those Bantu cultures that I study.

[4] Stroeken grounds his sensory theory on Howes' (1991) "sensory modes" and Ingold's (2000) "perspective" e.g. of 'dwelling' corresponding to what Stroeken calls the "being with" that prevails in the Kisukuma-speakers' context. The latter applies to the Bantu contexts, but I discuss it less in terms of "being" but more of "living" (see Chapter Seven), which corresponds to the "dwelling" of Ingold.

[5] See the «perspectivism» of Viveiro de Castro (1998) and Ingold's (2011) discussion of living in terms of dwelling: "the perspective of dwelling, a way to overcome the entrenched division between the 'two worlds' of nature and society, and to re-embed human being and becoming within the continuum of the life-world" (2011:4).

[6] "Truth is transmitted relatively, according to 'choice' of ends, as an ethical matter" (Evens 2008:166).

[7] Evens states "witchcraft" as an example involving much ambiguity: He argues that moral force creates and re-creates meaning out of ambiguity: "Ambiguity stands as a critical condition of the operation of moral force" (2008: 2011-2012). See also Geschiere (1995, 2013: 75-76), Devisch, 1986, 2001b, 2002, 2003c, 2005a); West (2005); Stroeken (2012:119) and Chapter Four.

[8] I discuss the ambiguities in relation to "witchcraft or sorcery" in Chapter Four and Six.

[9] Moore, Sanders & Kaare 1999; Sanders 2008. See Appendix 3.1. about non-genital gendering.

[10] Gender applies not only to humans but also to non-human networks of actors (ancestors, spirits) or things (Sanders 2008; Latour 2005, 1997), following analogical principles (Fialho 1998; Devisch 1993a, 1996a; Sanders 2008; Moor and Sanders 2001).

[11] Approaching the issue of human fertility and sexuality in the context of health in general, and of HIV and AIDS in particular, it is useful to oscillate between the two diverging logics of genital and non-genital gendering following a complementary approach, which should not mix diverging logics. The right methodology is, according to Devereux (1972), to look at each paradigm following its own logic, but in parallel. An analysis of a paradigm must follow the logic of this paradigm. This means that it makes no sense to analyze ritual cultural health practices among Bantu-speaking cultures using biomedical or Western criteria. Only a logic corresponding to the endogenous analyzed Bantu-speaking culture can give useful results, when the objective is to achieve efficiency for a Bantu-speaking population that acts in its own cultural logic. The results of the parallel study give a complementing picture of reality, helping to better understand and to achieve new findings or results.

[12] The multiple components of the human body are centered in a ternary way: (1) What I summarized as *spiritual body* ("air/spirit" including the protective, name-giving ancestor); (2) as the *vital body* (for my informants the "shade" including all "bloods" vulnerable to "witchcraft or sorcery attacks" and (3) the physical body.

[13] Douglas 1994. See section C and D below, and also Chapter Five of this study.

[14] E.g., Mariano (2014:159-64) illustrates that sexual framing is not seen as being related to the physical body alone: she shows that besides several other cultural etiologies of disorders in

procreation, the cultural etiologies of *kutshamiwa* are reported as a possible factor hindering procreation. *Kutshamiwa* can involve either spiritual interferences, which may provoke miscarriage, abortion or the child's death, or "sorcery/witchcraft," both of which can cause *kutshamiwa*. It is a disease "whose signs encompass the salience of "flesh" on the ski in the genitals and perianal areas…" (Mariano 2014:156)

[15] *Churi laku buvisa* (in Xichangana/Xitshwa): "the mortar that makes good flour."

[16] *Kuja mbita yinwe* (in Xichangana/Xitshwa): "To eat in the same pot."

[17] *Wanuna wokala angavuki (mbita yi fayekile*) in Xichangana/Xitshwa: "the pot broke."

[18] Beidelman (1993:40) reports similar uses of the metaphor of food for sex by the Kaguru in Tanzania, calling the vagina with metaphors of wooden mortar, calabash, pot or basket. The same use of these metaphors is also reported by Devisch (1993a) for DR Congo, and by Wolf for Malawi. A widow justifies her not searching for sexual contact as not having "appetite" yet. A woman having had sex would say: "I have eaten today" (Wolf 2001).

[19] Life transmission involves also a sort of warmth [*nyoka* in Xichangana] as Mariano (2014) describes. Simultaneously the over-heating effects of the transgression of sexual taboos (as described in this chapter) are assumed to hinder life transmission.

[20] This type of 'heat' is embodied in the ritual production of fire by rubbing one wood stick against another. The latter, as an embodied metaphor of coitus, is performed in initiations into the secret spiritual society of *Eyootto* (promoting human fertility, among other things). I observed the production of fire in several rituals among Emakhuwa speakers, e.g., in the annual (or after-war) cleansing of the land to reinforce its fertility (Kotanyi 2003b), and Sanders (2008) refers to it as a ritual step in rainmaking rituals for the Inhanzu-Bantu speakers in Tanzania.

[21] Verbal information from Esmeralda Mariano, concerning South Mozambique during the study "DIALOGO" in 2006; see also Mariano 2014. Devisch (1993a) shows the same for the Kiyaka-speakers' context in Southwest DR Congo, and Heald (1982) for the Gisu in Kenya.

[22] A woman should 'keep' as much "white blood" (semen) as possible in her vagina. A woman having fertility problems will be suspected of having "lost" too much semen by being too 'open'.

[23] According to Janzen, "Flow and blockage is a dominant metaphor by which these substances flow within the body social and physical, contributing to health, whereas blockage through envy and ill-will may lead to constipation, infertility, witchcraft, disease, and death" (2001:64). Janzen shows that the concerns about the physical body fuse with those of the 'spiritual" body, the two being inseparable. Whyte (1994) reports that in several Ugandan societies, coitus, a sharing of bodily fluids, creates the relationship and makes it binding; this shows how the positive value of the unblocked flow of sexual fluids is widespread among the Bantu-speaking cultures in sub-Saharan Africa.

[24] Aschwanden (1982) argues that, in the Cishona-speaking context, the peak moment of coitus is seen as a melting process. Distinctions between man and woman are abolished when the man 'dies' (orgasms). Jacobson-Widding (1999:284-285) argues that the idea of a 'fusion' of distinct categories belongs to the 'muted structures' in Bantu-speaking societies.

[25] See Junod 1910, 1936; Ingstad 1990; Ingstadt et al. 1997; Morgensen and Gausset 1996; Morgensen 1997; Gausset 2001 Green 1996, 1999a/b; Kotanyi 2005; Kotanyi & Krings-Ney 2009, 2010; Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007; Janzen 2001; Wolf 2001.

[26] I suggest that a wet/dry or narrow/large vagina, dealing more with the physical body, implies diverging specific application of the common framings, while the involvement of ancestors to secure fertility (in connection with sexual gendering) lies on a deeper cosmological level, and tends to be applied more in a common way in a large number of Bantu-speaker cultures (Devisch 1991, 1993a). The way of dealing with the frames of a wet/dry or narrow/large vagina diverge from one Bantu-speaking culture to the next, while the framings involving the cosmological sexual gendering remain common for a large number of Bantu-speaking cultures in sub-Saharan Africa, well beyond the studied cultures (see Jacobson-Widding & van Beek et al. 1991).

[27] However, the male expectation of a dry vagina does not correspond to the analogical frames usual in the discussed Bantu-speaking context. Fialho Feliciano (1998:389) demonstrated for the Thonga context in South Mozambique that the power to create life (in humans or animals) and crops (in the land) is grounded in analogical processes and in the complementarity of hot/cold and male

(dry)/female (wet) (see summary in my Table 3.1), in which life creation (of babies) requires wetness, while dryness is connoted with lack of crops and death.

[28] E.g., sexual intercourse among Mozambican Bantu-speakers often requires a dry vagina, while in Rwanda a wet vagina is preferred in an inversion of the same frame—such variations on a theme are frequent in sub-Saharan Africa (Obenga 1984; Janzen 1992). The existence of extended variations on the same themes in the Bantu-speaking context, which involves a great number of different Bantu languages in sub-Saharan Africa, from Cameroon to Central, Eastern and Austral Africa (Map 3), is an empirical observation documented in numerous anthropological studies quoted in this study.

[29] Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009; Krings-Ney and Kotanyi 2010.

[30] CNCS; PEN II, 2005-2009, and PEN III, 2011 -2014.

[31] This demonstrates that a woman's pleasure is obviously socially influenced.

[32] "*Kufukwamela mandza yo bola,*" in Xichangana (in South Mozambique), Nhaombe 2002:217.

[33] A result of research workshops in both south and central Mozambique in 2006 (CVM & MONASO) including informants from eight Mozambican Bantu-speaking cultures from six provinces.

[34] It is the living remembering which keep the ancestors alive, as I discussed in Chapter One.

[35] Bantu' as category is a linguistic category which involves a very large number of languages spread all over sub-Saharan Africa. Following many anthropological authors (Obenga 1989; Janzen 1992; Devisch 1993a, 1996a, 2015; Beidelman 1993), I use it as a category encompassing cultural frames and paradigms, which are largely shared by many Bantu-speakers expressing ancestral values.

[36] Fialho Feliciano (1998) discusses what he calls the sexual 'code' organizing the economic and social life of the Thonga of Mozambique, which affects perspectives on agriculture, fertility, and health and wellbeing in general. This fact is expressed in everyday life "…in a system that articulates rules/prohibitions, which define a social network, the time and space in which genital sexuality is practiced…" (1998:378). I see the sexual frame neither as a 'code' nor as part of a 'system'; both imply automatism, which is not in play here. The described Bantu "internal logics" and practices leave space for ambivalences as constitutive in 'Bantu' approaches (Jacobson-Widding 1991; Beidelmann 1993; Devisch 2001, 2002, 1993a). There are indeed significant normative rules in the sexual frame (through taboos); however, the sexual frame is determined equally by values (like fertility).

[37] It is not surprising that it is people who have lived with HIV in Kinshasa for many years who best explained how biomedicine can secure life transmission without HIV transmission.

[38] CNCS, Pen III, 2010-2014. However, medical doctors in both countries report contamination through unsecured blood transfusions or syringe injections. Homosexuality concerns only 5% of HIV infections in Mozambique (UNAIDS, 2009)

[39] A personal communication of Esmeralda Mariano concerning South Mozambique.

[40] The person responsible never contacted me or my colleague to pursue the issue. However, family planning and contraception are promoted so little in Mozambique that USAID is now making funds available to find more efficient approaches to promoting family planning.

[41] Fialho Feliciano (1998:389) insists for the Thonga in South Mozambique on the necessity of an 'ideal' complementary gender action to produce rain, fertility and procreation, since only the fusion of the genders enables procreation. Similarly, for the Yiyaka speakers in South-West Congo, Devisch (1993a) argues that fertility involves the intervention of ancestors. For Cishona speakers (in Zimbabwe and Mozambique) Jacobson-Widding notes: *"The ancestors live in the blood of those who come after them (...) the 'white blood' of man is his semen. The woman's 'white blood' is her vaginal fluid, madonjo. When these two kinds of water meet, it is our ancestors who meet"* (1989:41).

[42] See Appendix 3.1, confirming Filho Feliciano (1998), or Sanders' (2008) findings among the Inhanzu in Tanzania showing the complex relationship of rainmaking rituals with gender and fertility.

[43] The initiation into the secret "cult" of the *Eyootto* spirit in the Makhuwa context that I observed in North Mozambique shows well the fundamental framings allowing people to achieve fertility; e.g., it implies the performance of embodied analogies (of crops and human fertility) and metaphors; it involves several ways of invoking the ancestors' support to achieve fertility (producing *otheka* beer), as well as the production of ritual fire as the male contribution to human production (of babies). In DRC, see Devisch, 1993a, for the healing of reproductive disorders among the Yaka.

[44] We saw in Chapter One that the several Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speaking cultures share the concept that ancestors embody a continuity of life after death. According to Jacobson-

Widding and van Beek, “ancestors are considered to be crucially involved in the fertility of human beings and agricultural land and in the continuation of life beyond death as well.” (1990:31).

[45] In Nampula province, filmed in 1999 in a populous neighborhood in Nampula city.

[46] She keeps this as a kind of “diploma” all her life and puts it on her head for every qualification ceremony of other healers. I observed in Maputo city a big *twhasa* ceremony during which older healer women put on their head the dried gall bladder from their own initiation many years before.

[47] See also Ngubane, (1977:54 and 63) about the use of the gall bladder in several nubility and marriage rituals to ensure the girl’s passage to womanhood, or woman’s fertility.

[48] This confirms Sanders’ (2008) insistence on gender complementarity in order to secure fertility in the Tanzanian Bantu-speaking context of the Inhanzu.

[49] The description of the Makhuwa treatment above performed in Nampula city corresponds to several sub-Saharan African models of fertility in Africa referred to by Jacobson-Widding and van Beek. The authors note “…ancestors may block the procreative capacity of their descendants, either by ‘closing’ the womb of a female descendant, or by afflicting the male descendant with impotency. This applies equally to several patrilineal and matrilineal cultures of the agricultural regions of Africa.” (1990:31). The treatment described above is combined with Islamized elements Makhuwa and Bantu healing traditions of Malawi (to the North of Mozambique, where the healer lived and learned). The closing of the womb blocks the flow (necessary for procreation) of the male semen, of the male white blood, which in case of the woman’s infertility is presumed to not stay in the womb. See in this context the closed/open framings referred to by Bagnol and Mariano (2008) for women in Tete province and their relation to infertility (Mariano 2014). In all the researched cultures, the state of being closed or to open (allowing fertility) appear as closely related to ancestors (Devisch 1993a).

[50] In her study of female spirit possession among the *Zãr*, Arabic-speaking Muslims in Sudan, Boddy (1989) shows that numerous fertility disorders are attributed to Zayran spirits possessing the women. The author argues that the reference to spirit responsibility for a woman’s infertility liberates her from the fear that something could be ‘wrong’ in her own nature; rather, it is in this case Allah’s will. In contrast to Bantu-speakers’ association of fertility with the ancestors, the *Zãr* ascribe it to Allah’s will. Both approaches imply pressure on women to assume reproduction. Boddy argues that “*Zãr* illness contains an oblique admission that fertility, though socially regulated and vested in women, is not humanly governable…” (1989:188). While Bantu-speaking ancestors may close the womb, it is the spirits who close it for the *Zãr;* in both cases, the reference to other entities opens treatment possibilities through possession for the *Zãr*, or through the *Eyootto* spiritual initiation among the Emakhuwa (which does not imply possession), or women’s fertility treatments as described above, which aim to reinstate ancestral support to remove the blocking of the flow in the woman’s womb.

[51] Fot the Kiyaka speakers in DR Congo ancestors have agency for fertility (Devisch 1990, 1993a). In their comparative study of “African Models of Fertility”, Jacobson-Widding and van Beek encompass fifteen different sub-Saharan cultural contexts, showing that it is possible to identify a basic “paradigm” concerning the continuity of life. According to the authors, “ancestors are responsible for the regeneration of life among human beings…” (1990:31). See Brandström 1990, for the Sukuma in Tanzania; Zwernemann 1990, for Voltaic people; Berglund 1990, for Zulu-speakers. Also MacGaffey (1980: 301-328) shows that the Kongo (DRC), Bolia and Tonga (e.g. in South Mozambique) exhibit the same religious structure.

[52] Mariano argues that “productive inability” (infertility), which in South Mozambique is mainly treated by traditional healers (2014:204), is either related to a “weak *nyoka,*” seen as a weak ‘vital force’, or to “dirt” framed in terms of *xilume* connoted with “pollution (2014:146), or to *kutshamiwa* of consecutive experiences of the loss of children conceived (2014:156), the last three being connoted by gynecologists with sexually transmitted infections (2014:158). *Kutshamiwa* as a complex etiology can also be connoted with spirit possession or with “witchcraft” (2014:163-4). Mariano shows that infertility can also be due to a woman “rejecting” the semen, or seen as being caused by “witchcraft” grounded in the envy of neighboring women or co-wives (in the case of a woman’s infertility), or of “witchcraft” by the spouse (in the case of the infertility of the man).

[53] Lacan (1977) differentiates three levels of order: the real – symbolic – imaginary, which Stroeken (2004) applies for the Sukuma Bantu-speakers healing context.

[54] Stroeken (2004:5) argues about the search for explanations answering for the "why" of death, affliction or misfortune: "It seeks the dimension of the real: the origin or emerge in events. As the source of the symbolic, of all phenomena experienced in social life, this dimension is situated outside the symbolic, beyond discursive communication. Therefore the Sukuma expect from the oracle to address the real."

[55] See Chapter Four and Seven.

[56] Freud (1923) demonstrated that humans unconsciously apply several 'techniques' in dreams, such as inversions, projections and analogies (the same 'techniques' that are applied and embodied by healers during ritual treatments). He also demonstrated that dreams deal with emotions, though this is not the only point of view (see also Devereux 1974).

[57] Contrasting what he calls "symbolic" means of efficacy with the transformative effect of ritual actions, Sanders (2008:103) observes in his analysis of the rainmaking rituals of the Inhanzu in Tansania that gender and the fusion or combined action of man and woman produce an effect with transformative power, as seen in several societies in sub-Saharan Africa in rituals and activities like iron smelting, pottery, initiation or rainmaking. Sanders argues that it is necessary to acknowledge that local informants never speak of symbolization, but of matters of reality.

[58] This discussion is similar to that of witchcraft in a Cameroon Conference (de Rosny 2006) where African scientists questioned anthropologists' symbolic approach to witchcraft. Often, African informants argue according to the endogenous cultural logic that witchcraft is based on existent realities and not on symbolic issues. Such a position may appear to remain far outside of scientifically accepted frames. However, Sanders demonstrates that such logics are based on the observation of realities framed in pictures and metaphors, which describe transformation processes.

[59] Sanders argues: "Non-human gendered forms make sense not because they are 'like' human bodies that ostensibly pre-exist and 'explain' them but because, when appropriately combined, they produce particular outcomes. What 'explains' (…) is not some conceptual mapping of bodies into other things gendered but the fact that gendered combination, of whatever sorts, produce results - be they iron, rain, babies, pots, or something else." (2008:105).

[60] This phenomenological approach valuates embodied experiences following Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1945: 212-241) or Csordas (2002: 58-87, 126-36), who both question the (Western) 'scientifically' fixed difference between biology and culture. According to Csordas, the sensory modalities (to see, to feel, to hear the spirits, who belong to one's lived-world) determine a phenomenological approach that valuates embodiment as a form of perception (Csordas 2002: 248).

[61] In the same way as a dream expresses profound emotions of the dreamer though strong images, independently of whether it comes from the night reality due to the 'intelligence of the night,' (see Devisch 2002) or from the day reality. I am not speaking about symbolic effects of dreams, but about dream experiences which transform the person's emotions, and about the capacity to integrate emotion and/or deal with conflicts either in oneself or in the relationship with others, which basically defines the *munthu* [person in Cindau] in the studied context (see Chapter Two).

[62] Devisch describes: "Like the vacillating shadow, the Yaka religious experience manifests itself in the liminal space between appearance and disappearance, presence and absence; it is a flashing experience…requiring sensitivity to the 'between', the 'neither nor'. A person's shadow or double [*yiniinga* in Kiyaka] offers a borderlinking metaphor for the religious." (2009:250).

[63] For Jacobson-Widding: "The shadow is ambiguous, unpredictable, and moves with the owner, but beyond his control. It is just as elusive as anything that is fluid." (1991:199).

[64] Devisch sees "embodiments of our being-in-the world" (1993a) in the Yaka understanding of the ancestral origin of life-transmission; he puts it in ontological terms. I question such ontological assignations fixing the observed practices to being; I see them more in a constant movement of living and of becoming (see Chapter Seven).

[65] This apparently entertaining way of dealing with conflicts appears at each crucial moment of the 'palaver'; it opens a new stage of the treatment of the conflict and appears in moments when the emotions are getting too 'hot' (see Chapter Six).

[66] See Burke (1957:256), *The Philosophy of Literary Form,* rev.ed., New York: Vintage Books.

[67] For Fernandez, culture is a quality space of ‘n’ dimensions or continua (1972:47); «there is an important social use of metaphor involving the occupancy of various continua which in sum constitute a cultural quality space» (1972:48).

[68] Green 1999a; Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007 and Chapter Six of this study.

[69] See Junod (1927)1996; Fialho Feliciano 1998; Honwana 2002; Martinez 1989; Green 1999a, 1999b; Kotanyi and Krings Ney 2009, 2010.

[70] The enthronization of a chief is an extremely ‘hot’ situation because the enthronization involves the transgression of the heaviest taboo (incest) – which may happen ritually – marking and instating the very specific and unique social position of the chief of the community.

[71] These rules connecting the thermal to the sexual framing are, among the Mozambican Bantu, based on a life-world intertwining life and death, fertility and social order (Fialho-Feliciano, 1998), in a very similar way to the Shona in Zimbabwe (Jacobson-Wedding, 1989), or the Ihanzu in north-central Tanzania (Sanders 2008), or in other Bantu-speaking cultures (Jansen 1992; Green 1999).

[72] Ingstad 1990; Gausset & Mogensen 1996; Green 1999a/b; Wolf 2001; Kotanyi 2003b, 2005; Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007; Kotanyi & Krings Ney 2009.

[73] Green 1999b; Kotanyi 2005; Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007; Kotanyi & Krings-Ney 2009.

[74] Fialho Feliciano analyses the interconnections of the thermal and sexual framings concerning fertility mediated by the ancestors: “Reproduction is seen as a cycle including complementarily hot and cold, the living and the dead, hot man and cold woman becoming hot through sexual intercourse and pregnancy, while people are protected by the cold ancestors. They are inserted in a succession of stages, which alternate hot and cold, which are analogue to the alternation in the kinship system” (1998:390).

[75] Thermal frames that Fialho Feliciano described for the Thonga in South Mozambique correspond to those among the Zulu in the South, and the Cishona, Cisena, Cindau and Emakhuwa or Elomwe-speaking context of Central and North Mozambique. A similar logic exists, in part, among most Bantu-speakers in DR Congo, especially in the East.

[76] It is not an issue of positive or negative values; the required balance recalls the Chinese notions of *ying/yang*, which are complementary, both being necessary.

[77] The hot newborn baby (in contact with ‘hot’ blood) becomes cold after the umbilical cord is cut; the baby remains hot after receiving its first name, even if it is the name of a reincarnated ancestor. Identification with the cold ancestor occurs only after appearance of the first teeth and the first attempts to crawl; these events are considered to be the social birth of the child (Fialho Feliciano, 1998:391). These descriptions of the South are valid for all the studied cultures in Mozambique/ DRC.

[78] It is a basic frame stated in 2003, 2006 and 2007 in all studied provinces of Mozambique. Fialho Feliciano (1998) explains that the taboo relates to the heat-conserving properties of salt. A woman may not serve food or drink that she made to anyone while in these hot states: to do so would transmit her heat, which is reinforced by the heat of cooking, in a kind of fermentation process. She must first perform a cleansing ritual to cool down.

[79] This situation changed, as since the end of the civil war (1992), all people can live and work where they want, and all rituals, traditional healing and religions are allowed. With its law of 2000/1), the government recognized the tasks of traditional authorities in the communities.

[80] RENAMO (*movement opposed to the ruling FRELIMO, which at that time was a socialist party*) was created with the support of the apartheid neighbors, the USA and other Western countries. In the film “Viver de Novo,” the eldest of a rural community explains how RENAMO soldiers entered their community with violence, burning all houses and shops in the community village, forcing them to go back to their ancestral land and never return to the community villages (in Kotanyi 2003b).

[81] “We were disorientated, they frightened us! [Referring to the official power prohibiting all ceremonies] Your uncle died, your brother died, and you couldn’t conduct the burial ceremonies! We became sick, until we died! It is those who came from outside who built the community villages, who decided that the *minepa* [ancestors] and *Muluku* [God] did not exist (...). When they informed us about that, we did not accept it; it was too much . . . . We could not live well anymore!” (Kotanyi 2003b)

[82] This danger that deaths that are not ‘well buried’ will imply that the not-well-settled ‘spirit’ of the dead will be transformed into a ‘bad spirit’ seeking revenge among the living kin, appears in all the studied Bantu-speaking cultures. See Chapter One. This link between the activities of the living and

the condition of the dead, found among the matrilineal Makhuwa in the North, corresponds to the cosmological framing of the patrilineal Thonga context in South Mozambique described by Fialho F.: "The living seek to secure the cosmological forces in the air [where 'bad' spirits appear], which are, according to belief, controlled by the dead who are in the space underground. The dead who protect the living affirm a separation and a conjugation of death and life." (1998:160).

[83] Jacobson-Widding reports the same for the Shona people of Zimbabwe (1989) at the border to West Mozambique. The author reports about the 'bitterness' of salt and that it could be used for 'witchcraft' or to kill someone. This last connotation implies that the ancestors do not like salt, which should not be added therefore to the meat offered to them. In the same logic, sprinkling salt around is assumed to defend against 'witchcraft'. This frame implies that the contact with salt in 'wrong' combination with coitus is presumed to cause coughing/tuberculosis (Jacobson-Widding 1989: 31).

[84] Fialho Feliciano explains for the digestive framing the qualities of salt, which is used to preserve food for a long period of time; salt also preserves bad things such as an excess of heat due to death or abortion. This may explain why a widow, just as any woman who has aborted a pregnancy, should not put salt in the food before the required cleansing treatment. Informants of South/Central Mozambique insist that chronic cough is related to the transgression of taboos concerning sexual relationships by a widow failing to perform the cleansing. See also Jacobson-Widding 1989, 33-34.

[85] Jacobson-Widding for the Manyika Cishona-speaking culture (1989:27). See also Fialho Feliciano 1998; Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003a; Igreja 2003, 2008 and Jansen 1992.

[86] The connotation of heat with illness and the requirement of "washing rituals" also apply for Zulu-speakers in South Mozambique and in South Africa (Berglund 1989: 223-25).

[87] Fialho Feliciano explains the thermal balance of the elements of nature (fire, water) combined with man/woman and with land fertility and sexual potency of both: field and gender. The author argues that fire cleans the forest and opens new fields, while the ashes fertilize the plantations. Fire produced by man complementing water carried by woman is metaphorically referred to in rituals among Mozambican Bantu-speakers, as also among the Kaguru in Tanzania (Beidelman 1993) who refer to the fire of the man and the moisture of the woman's fertility (her blood and vagina). Fire and water are complementary for cooking and for all food needed for human life. Boys are 'reborn' as adult men through the fire (cutting) of initiation and through purifying the water of their ritual bath. The complexity of the analogical grid described by Fialho Feliciano shows the Thonga conception of human, animal or land production and reproduction in an analogical relationship, which appears in the thermal, sexual, chromatic and thermal framings. These are expressed in the narratives of healers, chiefs and initiation counselors in Mozambique and DR Congo, combining the sexual, fertility and thermal framings inherited from the ancestors.

[88] Following Jacobson-Widding, new crops and children are the result of fire, which has been subsequently cooled down with water, corresponding to Fialho Feliciano's (1998) findings among the Thonga in south Mozambique. Also Blakely P. & Blakely T., analyzing endogenous Báhêmbá (in east Congo, formerly Zaire) ceremonies (initiation, burial), note the importance of ancestors for the health of the living. The authors report that for the Báhêmbá, 'heat' and 'cold' have positive connotations. "Illness, death and out-of-control interpersonal hospitality are associated with negative heat (*yûhyá*). Competence, vigour, and energy are associated with positive heat (*yûhyá*). Negative 'cold' (*ínyôngá*) pervades such undesirable states as fatigue, incompetence, and despair. Positive 'coolness' (*ínyôngá*) associates with self-control, social harmony, and health" (1994:429).

[89] Similarly, a large number of cleansings required and practiced in Rwanda (Young in FHI/Impact-Rwanda, 2002) correspond to the cleansing usual in East DR Congo. In South-West DR Congo, there is no cleansing involving sexual intercourse, but the same framings are activated in other ways. See Devisch's (1981, 1998) descriptions of the rituals after death, involving an explosion of sexual intercourse transgressing all rules and prohibitions.

[90] At this last burial ceremony, the main steps of the former initiation into the *Eyootto* 'spirit' (*maciini*) had to be repeated for the initiated Catharina at her grave. This necessity shows that belonging to a spiritual secret community like Eyootto implies a new affiliation alongside the normal kinship. In South Mozambique, any initiated healer will become a member of the kinship of the master healer, and will have to follow all rules of reciprocity, similar to those in a marriage.

[91] Singular form of 'ancestor' in Emakhuwa.

[92] People not living where they were born try to ensure that their corpse is buried where they were born. To minimize the associated costs, people try to return before dying. This is often the case for Mozambican workers in South Africa.

[93] Members of societies like those celebrating the Eyootto spirit may undergo a burial involving transgressions, which is not necessarily representative for the rest of the society. However, hot drumming and dances are performed in most important burial ceremonies finalizing the burial of a person in this region. Members of the community had difficulty explaining this to me, in part because I could not find the right questions to ask. In a country with a history of white, Christian colonialism, with its emphasis on monogamy, it was not an easy subject for my informants to discuss. I began to understand it much later, in 2010, through discussions with chiefs and healers about sexual intercourse occurring chaotically and in the darkness during burial rituals among Kiyaka, Kisuku and Kipendele Bantu-speakers in Kwango (West Congo). I thank Tatiy Kikutika (anthropologist of the CERDAS; Univ. Kinshasa) for assistance in this sensitive issue. It was the extended studies of cleansing rituals after death in Mozambique that prepared me for this discussion.

[94] Jacobson-Widding argues that in death, "the normality of the social order is denied in the midst of emotional and existential crisis" (1999:291). The author notes that in sub-Saharan Africa, rituals of transformation have mostly two dominating representational forms: first around temperature, and second by the use of color imagery.

[95] This burial was observed in the central districts of the province Nampula; burials may diverge significantly in the Islamized parts of Nampula province, especially on the coastal side.

[96] Honwana 2002; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008; Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b; Bagnol 2006; Ganjo 2007, like in many sub-Saharan cultures (Janzen 1992, 2001). These "bad dead" torment the living, as described by healers in Mozambique, South Africa (Carton 2006; Niehaus 2005, 2008, De Gelder 2012), Ghana (Van der Geest 2004), Burkina Faso (Cross 2005).

[97] Cishona healers argue: "There is the transgression of *geko* [a certain taboo], which happens when taking a bath using the same washing stone or scrubber that transmits [the disease] *nzoni* from one person to another. Or the transgression of *madzade*, which is the prohibition of the husband entering the house of a neophyte girl in seclusion prior to initiation. Or the taboo of eating from the plate of a *mudzade* before the [umbilical cord of a newborn] baby detached from the navel. All these [transgressions of taboos] provoke weight loss, framed locally as *mukondombera* [chronic diseases leading to death], or as *dhende kufa* [not performed cleanse after death], or as *phudzi* [violation of taboo on sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman]. Menstruating women are also prohibited from using salt when cooking." These healers also describe transgression of taboos which do not lead to disease: "Taking the fire out of the house during the night. Eating, or selling a goat that should have been offered for the spirits." DIALOGO research in 2006, Central Mozambique (video recording of a workshop).

[98] Healers also explain: "Having sexual intercourse in a 'sacred' place, for instance on a mountain [where ancestors reside], or work on 'sacred' days, or the prohibition of having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, or with a young girl [not yet menstruating] or with a [post-menopausal] woman, or with a member of the family, or with the widow of your brother. (…) All these are transgressions of taboos that attract bad spirits and diseases. For instance, [taboo violations] cause fertility problems for a woman, or complicate the birth of a child, who may be born dead or with defects. The person committing the transgression can become ill, as well as other people" (Video of the "DIALOGO" research-workshop, in Central Mozambique, 2006).

[99] Willoughby describes a large scale of taboos concerning food, menstruation, cohabitation, childbirth, pregnancy, death, and contact with the supernatural; taboos pertaining to hail and rain, to the number seven, the abnormal or uncanny, twins, etiquette, tribal ceremonies, and to those who commit homicide. Fortes (1965), characterizes such ancestral prohibitions as "jural." However, in my fieldwork, I was not confronted with the jural aspects of taboos.

[100] Transgression of the incest taboo is much more serious than the very common *pringaniso* [general term used for transgression in Cishona, Cisena or Xigorongozi] related to death, blood and sex, which often interfere with HIV/AIDS. Incest [*ephuko* in Emakhuwa] as the worst *iphukho* [transgression], a general state of "weak" blood or general physical weakness. Healers avoid the use of this term when speaking of what is excessively 'hot'. In contrary to all other transgressions, incest

cannot be cleansed being not just a form of social and moral disorder; it is perceived in an Emakhuwa context as *okwiri* [witchcraft]. It may lead to misfortune, death, or stillbirth. In the matrilineal Emakhuwa context, marrying a member of your own clan is a serious transgression considered to be similar to incest; transgression may lead to misfortune for the whole family.

[101] Honwana 2002; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008; Ganjo 2007; Van Geest 2004; De Gelder 2012.

[102] Terms for taboo include: *chisumbadzi* (in Cindau), *zvinoera* (in Cishona), *mukho* (in Cisena or Xigorongozi), *svayila* (in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa) or *mwiikho* (in Emakhuwa and Elomwe) in Mozambique. In southwest DR Congo, the term is *n-siku* in Kiyaka, Kisuku, Kipendele and Kikongo.

[103] I discussed the issue with healers of all kinds in Mozambique, DR Congo, Uganda, Rwanda and West Africa (Guinea-Bissau, Senegal). See Ngubane 1976, 1977; Douglas 1990, 1994, 1999; Gausset and Morgensen 1996; Gausset 2001; Green 1999a, 1999b; Wolf 2001; Ingstad 1989; Ingstad et al. 1997; Ashfort 2005; Matsinhe 2006; Wreford 2008; Kotanyi 2005; Mariano 2007; Bangol 2007; Salomonsen 2008; Kotanyi and Krings 2009; Leclerc-Madlala 2009.

[104] These taboos and the excess heat they generate are observed in Mozambican and other sub-Saharan cultures, not just among Bantu-speakers. See Douglas 1967, 1994; Green 1999. Westerlund (1989:210-211) argues that even societies like the Maasai, which did not activate 'witchcraft' as an etiology, valuating so-called 'natural' causations, have a large number of taboos or rules to observe.

[105] Video of two DIALOGO research workshops in South/Central Mozambique (unpublished).

[106] *Makumurela* in Emakhuwa; *nsila* in Xirhonga/Xichagana/Xitshwa (in Mozambique).

[107] *Wutomi* in Xichangana, *murettele* or *ekumi* in Emakhuwa, is 'life' and implies wellbeing.

[108] Carton 2006, De Gelder 2012, Van Geest 2004, Niehaus 2005, 2008, Honwana 2002.

[109] *Svikwembu* [air/spirits] in Xichangana/Xirhonga or *maciini* [foreign spirits] in Emakhuwa.

[110] The situation was even worse for the many children who were kidnapped and forced to kill their own family members in order to sever kin ties. In such extreme cases, ritual cleansing was not always sufficient. Psychologist Efraime J. (2007), who treated such children, argued that cleansing alone would not free the children from war trauma. However, many informants in North Mozambique argued that the cleansing helped for the reintegration of women/children in their family/community.

[111] In Xichangana: *kutsema minala* [cleansing after death]. A healer of South Mozambique introduced in a research workshop his syncretic perspective of the necessity of performing the 'cleansing' ritual after a death with the following story: "I will tell a story that happened to a widow. She loved her husband very much when he was living. She went to the cemetery regularly, saying: 'It would be good if you woke up and loved me the way you did.' She went home and returned a few days later saying the same thing. One day she said: 'I wish God took me away to be with you.' So God made the world tremble, right there at the place of the grave. The husband had been ill before he died, and she said: 'Ah! At last, you will take me with you without waiting for me to become ill too!" (Video recording from the "DIALOGO" research workshops in South Mozambique, 2006).

[112] This corresponds to the obligation of healers in South Mozambique to avoid sexual intercourse during their *twhasa* final initiation/graduation. Sexual abstinence is required of a neophyte healer throughout his initiation, which may take years (Kotanyi 2003), or during the time in which a healer treating a person. Both illustrate the widespread notion that sexual intercourse is 'hot' (a contact with 'hot' diseases may produce an excess of heat, hindering healing); a successful treatment of a 'hot' issue can only happen through 'cleansing', which may neutralize the excessive "hotness" at work.

[113] Turner V. (1967: 94) describes the function of the liminal period as the period of transition from "one type of stable or recurrent condition, that is culturally recognized" to another. During the liminal period, the state of the ritual subject/neophyte is ambiguous and thus excessively "hot."

[114] Abortion (also a death) requires ritual "washing" to prevent future miscarriages by the mother, or disease in the mother of the woman who has had the abortion (if not married).

[115] There are similar interpretations of infant diseases in all the studied regions.

[116] This transgression happens very often, as the father must practice sexual abstinence with the mother for up to one and a half years. Many disorders or diseases of a child will be attributed to this common transgression. In all the studied Bantu-speaking cultures, cleansing is necessary after birth. Emakhuwa people call it *ovasiwa*, a cleansing with plants and water, which is also when an initiate youth has previously seen a death.

[117] Reported by female initiation counselors in Sofala in 2005, this specific Cisena *mukho* [taboo transgression] might have a Christian origin; Christian implementation was earlier and is stronger in Central Mozambique. In the North, the virginity testing that I saw in 1999 among Makhuwa women during female initiation in the Muecate district in Nampula province was a test that was not performed on the body of the novice girls. Rather, the godmother of the novice had to pull a plant in the bush; the constellation of the roots (one or two roots) was presumed to establish whether the girl was a virgin (see a similar description in Ribaue by Arnfred, 2011). Traditionally, virginity was not necessarily expected in marriage in an Emakhuwa context; this changed under Christian and Islamic influences.

[118] I heard the same thing from a well-known healer in Nova Mambone, South Mozambique, 800 km north of Maputo, where a large number of well-known healers are established .

[119] *Kucinga* in Xichangana/Xirhonga or *ndzhaka* in Zulu.

[120] Xitshwa- and Xichangana-speaking group on the purification of transgressions, the healer/diviner Amós P., video recording from the DIALOGO research workshops, 2006.

[121] The findings are similar in DR Congo (Lapika 1992; Kotanyi 2010, Lapika & Kotanyi 2010).

[122] Matzingue argues: "The ancestors help us to know how to behave by giving us instruction. But if we don't follow their rules, they will not protect us anymore. They open the way for *vuloyi* [witchcraft] or for diseases; the 'home spirits' open the way for problems, when people do not follow their rules" (video of the DIALOGO research workshop, Cindau group in South Mozambique, 2006).

[123] Called *ephuko* (in Emakhuwa/North) or *tsanganiko* (in the Center) in Cisena, Cishona or Cindau. In South and Central Mozambique, this taboo endangers all family members of the deceased person, including those living far away, leading to social pressures on the widow/widower to ensure their cleansing. Their cleansing must be prepared the same day the widow/widower is cleansed, with some of the cleansing remedies saved until their return home.

[124] Cindau speaker, (in Mariano 2007:34).

[125] *Habitus* as defined by Bourdieu, 1972, is a large core of cultural, social, religious practices related to endogenous concepts, notions and principles specific to each cultural framework.

[126] The reasons for this difference between the South/Center and the North are not clear. The Catholic influences inland or the Islamic influences on the coast may have limited the former local practices of cleansing through sexual intercourse after a death. Catholic pressure has existed in the southern/central provinces with patrilineal kinship longer than in the matrilineal North *(where ancestral practices have coexisted for centuries alongside Islam and later Christian religions)*, but without succeeding in abolishing ritual cleansing through coitus after death.

[127] There are some social and cultural practices, which are not practiced anymore in the patrilienal Center or South parts of Mozambique, but which continue to be practiced in the matrilineal context of Nampula (e.g. the cleansing ceremonies that women and children had mostly to undergo after returning from the civil war in order to be reintegrated into their community). Christianity was instated earlier and with stronger force in the South/Central regions, while its systematic propagation occurred later in the province of Nampula, where the Makhuwa "ancestral" traditions are often more alive.

[128] When informants argue that a practice used to be common but is not anymore, a doubt persists as to whether this statement is perhaps a diplomatic one, intended to avoid any negative judgement from the researcher. People know that the official and religious institutions reject such practices. Most informants in Nampula knew about these practices, showing that it was practiced not so long ago and might still be practiced.

[129] In the Makhuwa/Lomwe context, in these initiations the child becomes an adult and learns how to deal with death; youth initiation involves learning more as an introduction to sexual life.

[130] These two taboos do not appear in Table 3.4 referring to Central Mozambique, because male initiation rites are no longer performed in South or Central Mozambique. Male initiation and circumcision is practiced in five provinces of North Mozambique, together with Zambezia.

[131] See Table 3.5 designating the types of *mwiikho* [taboo in Emakhuwa] for the taboos related to blood, sex and death with their respective symptoms (inland and at the coast of Nampula). Beyond certain linguistic differences, the principles and requirements (cleansing) are similar in Nampula.

[132] Green 1999a/b; Kotanyi 2005; Matsinhe 2006; Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007; Kotanyi & Krings-Ney 2009.

[133] Douglas 1970, 1990, 1994, 1999; Ngubane 1977; Gausset and Morgensen 1996; Gausset 2001; Green 1999a, 1999b; Wolf 2001; Ingstad 1989; Ingstad et al., 1997; Ashfort 2005; Wreford 2008; Salomonsen 2008; Leclerc-Madlala 2009.

[134] Strathern summarizes the connection between transgressions and the body: "Actions that are the product of will and intention have repercussions on the bodies of those involved, and the incidence of these repercussions tells us how the moral universe is structured. (...) It reveals the ethno-theories of the people themselves about flows of substances and powers between persons" (1996:17–18).

[135] I agree with Douglas's critique of the reduction of the issue in terms of "risk," in which she argues that "the new dialogue about risks normally does not protect the collective good" (1994:28), while dialogues about sin or taboos do. Douglas connotes both with the discourse of religious faith, used to uphold the community, contrasting both to the notion of risk (especially of biomedicine).

[136] But Mary Douglas seems to under-appreciate the difference between the dualist moralization of Christian notions of sin and the pragmatism of Bantu notions of taboo violation framed in terms of "heat." The moral issue in the transgression of taboos is, in the studied framework, an offense against community values, while sin (as a Christian/Islamic religious category) implies another kind of morality with a stronger individualizing connotation. See in Chapter Four my discussion of how the semi-public confessions current in Pentecostal churches in both countries may lead to social blame, in turn augmenting individual stigma.

[137] The second reason for the widespread preference of the etiology of taboo transgression is that the diagnosis of HIV infection, when ARV treatments are not available, presents the perspective of premature death, often combined with endless stigmatization. See Chapter Five.

[138] The connotation of HIV infection with taboo-transgression has, in the same way, a mostly sense-giving characteristic, leading to a main cultural interference in the HIV/AIDS context, in Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, South Africa, DR Congo and Rwanda.

[139] Any contact with semen or menstrual blood, even indirect, is perceived as dangerous (through its excess of hotness) to men or human fertility, and also to crop fertility. Healers in several Mozambican provinces argue that coitus in a field endangers the fertility of crops and humans, given the excess of "heat" of the combination of earth, hot semen and hot coitus (in DIALOGO Research 2006). As Feliciano (1998) shows, crop fertility and human fertility are rooted in a complex cosmological connection between rain and human sexual fluids. See also Sanders 2008.

[140] Video recording of the DIALOGO studies in South and Central Mozambique (2006), unpublished. See Turner 1965, and for Congo, Jacobson-Widding 1979, confirmed for several Bantu languages of DRC, in an applied research workshop that I conducted with Bruno Lapika in 2010.

[141] The color black is referred to as dark red (Turner 1965; Devisch 1993a; Jacobson-Wedding 1979). It was also associated in the "DIALOGO" workshop in 2006 in Central Mozambique with healers, traditional leaders and initiation rites counselors (Cishona, Cisena and Cindau-speaking and Elomwe/Emakhuwa-speaking from the North). Research by MONASO and CVM. See 3.3. Appendix

[142] Following Douglas (1970), Scheper-Hughes & Lock argue that in such societies "the individual body-self tends to be fused with or absorbed by the social body. […] The physical body integrates the aspects of self and social relations. It is dependent on, and vulnerable to, the feelings, wishes, and actions of others, including spirits and dead ancestors. The body is not understood as a vast and complex machine, but rather as a microcosm of the universe." (1987:15).

[143] *Ephome* in Emakhuwa/Elomwe, or *ngati* in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitswa.

[144] Videos of both workshops of the 'DIALOGO' study in South/Central Mozambique in 2006.

[145] "Social transmission" conveys illness or misfortune following the transgression of taboos; the "signs" do not always manifest in the body-self of the transgressor, but sometimes rather in the bodies of others. In my workshops for biomedical practitioners active in AIDS prevention, I show the differences between biological and social contamination that lead to explanation of the problems through the exclusively biomedical view, which considers only the physical body and biological contamination to be relevant.

[146] Following Douglas (1970), Scheper-Hughes and Lock argue that in such societies "the individual body-self tends to be fused with or absorbed by the social body. […] The body is seen as a unitary, integrated aspect of self and social relations. It is dependent on, and vulnerable to, the feelings, wishes, and actions of others, including spirits and dead ancestors. The body is not

understood as a vast and complex machine, but rather as a microcosm of the universe" (1987:15). The authors argue that in societies which subordinate individual body-self to the social body, "sickness is often explained or attributed to malevolent social relations (i.e., sorcery), or to the breaking of social and moral rules (taboos), or to disharmony within the family or the village community, as Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987:15) argue. This corresponds to the description of highly relational persons (see Chapter Two).

[147] Kubik (2007) studied in South-West Tanzania and Central West Africa in East Angola, among the Lucazi- and Mbwela people, where he also studied the *mukanda* [initiation of boys], where the taboos are taught, just as they are the central teaching in male and female initiation in Mozambique.

[148] Freud ("*Das Ich und das Es*", 1923, G.W., XIII:282; S.E., XIX:52-53) defines the super-ego as a part of the psychic apparatus that is comparable to a judge or censor of the ego. See Laplanche J. Pontalis, J.B., 1991, *Das Vokabular der Psychoanalyse,* Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.

[149] The Chitumbuka Bantu-speaking cultures in south-west Tanzania use the same terminology as the Emakhuwa people in neighboring north Mozambique, and in Chichewa it is, analogically, *muukho*.

[150] Nevertheless, healers and diviners explain that they use certain "explanations" to help their patients to accept their advice; the "ancestors" are a concentrated "container" for the value and definition of respectful behavior, which applies between the living and in relation with the living-dead as the first and main instance defining ethics and morals for the living.

[151] Dangerous liminal states occur in the same way during initiation rites for young people (i.e., circumcision), and for diviners and healers. These rituals generally involve seclusion; in the liminality of the state of in-between, the neophyte is extremely "hot" and must be isolated for his or her own sake and for the safety of others. During the liminal period, the neophyte healer may have no sexual intercourse, which would augment its state of heat, just as the parents of boys will avoid coitus so as not to disturb the healing of their just-circumcised child. See Chapter Five.

[152] 'Life' in Xichangana, *ugumi* (in Cindau and Cisena)*, ungumi* (in Cigorongozi)*, uthongo* (in Cishona)*, murettele* or *ekumi* (in Emakhuwa or in Elomwe). See definition in Chapter Six.

[153] See in Chapter Six the consequences of communication in HIV/AIDS prevention.

[154] In patrilinear societies in Mozambique and DR Congo, the first choice for the cleansing is the brother of the deceased man. In the Emakhuwa/Elomwe matrilineal context, the maternal nephew is expected to "cleanse," and this means in both cases that they remain "married" (even if it implies that this widow has to become a second or third wife). In the patrilineal groups, it is the only way for the widow to stay in the clan of the father of her children and not lose access to them.

[155] In general, the healer prepares just healing roots, bark and foliage; he is not involved in coitus.

[156] "In case of the death of the wife, the husband must be cleansed with *madombazviyile*, [roots for the prohibited things]" Video (Xitshwa group), "DIALOGO" research workshops in South Mozambique, 2006.

[157] "To do a *matsumbi* treatment, a member of the family of the patient collects leaves and goes to a crossroads and sits there on a mat, rubbing himself with the leaves, and speaks the name of the witch, saying that he gave [the patient] the disease. One must say what was said by the diviner, and say it the same way the diviner did. When returning home, there is another treatment. The father or the mother of the [sick] child goes to the crossroads; they must take a box of snails. If you are ill, the *nyaanga* [healer] goes with you; he will 'beat on the shadow' of the patient and say what he wants to achieve. After that, they go to the crossroads. If the patient sleeps and feels well after that treatment, this shows that it was really witchcraft." (Healer, Central Mozambique, in Bagnol 2007:35)

[158] However, cleansing grounded in ritual ways involve several possible framings.

[159] Jacobson-Widding explains the involved framing, in which people at a crossroads are "coming from different directions and going in different directions (…) where many other people have tramped." (1989:35). Healers in Mozambique provide the same explanation, in all the studied regions.

[160] Words are actions; they produce the action they invoke, a widespread principle (Delaurenti 2007; Butler 2004).

[161] Hair cutting also occurs at a birth and during initiation, marking passage from one state to another.

[162] In Emakhuwa: *okumuhia erunku elopwana*.

[163] In contrast to South Mozambique (or to the Kongo people of Bas-Congo), among the Emakhuwa-speakers, the dead are buried outside the community, far from the homestead. But in all cases, ancestors as 'living-dead' (Mbiti 1969) are assumed to protect the living.

[164] See Chapter Four and Fialho-Feliciano 1998; Green 1999a, 1999b; Kotanyi 2005; Bagnol 2007; Mariano 2007; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009; Krings-Ney and Kotanyi 2010; Kotanyi 2009.

[165] *Kucinga*, or *pita kufa* in Cishona and Cisena. This is usual in South/Central Mozambique, in DR Congo, Rwanda, and many other countries in South-East Africa (see Offe 2004, 2010).

[166] Male Xichangana group (video, DIALOGO research workshop in South Mozambique, 2006).

[167] "*Kucinga* means making your home *kubasisa* (to remain clean through sexual intercourse) in order to avoid misfortune. *Kubasisa* means that you were 'dirty', but you took the requested bath, and became cleansed. All the living in your home being cleansed, it avoids more deaths. To be cleansed means that no one dies from the mourning." (Xichangana-speaking group, video of the DIALOGO workshop in South Mozambique, 2006). Healers in South and Central Mozambique argue as in this example: "For instance, today a man has sexual intercourse. The healer comes and prepares the remedies and in the morning they put them in the drink, just a little bit (…). This prevents the people from dying. If you don't follow this tradition, some people will cough; others will have back pains. The young people will have swollen legs or feet, or they will be ill in the breast." (Video of the DIALOGO research workshop 2006 (Xichangana working group) – South Mozambique, CVM & MONASO study). In the mid-2000s, the practice was occurring in five of seven studied provinces in Mozambique. During the "DIALOGO" study, we determined that healers in South and Central Mozambique generally take the requirement of cleansing after death very seriously. See Mariano 2007. Bagnol 2007; Kotanyi and Macaringue et al. 2008, unpublished reports.

[168] The healers, diviners, initiation rites counselors and chiefs who between 1979 and 1992 experienced a violent repression of their traditional practices by the governing party FRELIMO harbor a persistent fear of the official entities. Still confronted with the negative judgments of the ministry of health and of those responsible for communication with the medical sector, healers have seen little respect for their 'traditional' practices, and very little dialogue aiming at truth. In the case of the HIV epidemic, the required dialogue implies a discussion and a negotiation on proper ways of cleansing to avoid physical infection, without prohibiting cleansing in general, but supporting the process of the adjustments of ritual ways when they involve risks. But this should not happen with the lack of respect that healers and other traditional practitioners often experience from official biomedical services.

[169] However, the representative of PROMETRA (working with healers), the linguist and healer Mahumana, confirmed that *kucinga* [cleansing with coitus] is still widespread in South Mozambique.

[170] Elsa Elisa is *nyangarume* [herbalist healer] working only with plants, and not possession by spirits. She specializes in mental illness and acquired her knowledge through dreams from a deceased aunt who was a healer. Her practices are documented in *EspiritoCorpo* (Kotanyi 2003a).

[171] Such cleansing involves ritual inversions (Devisch 1993a; Berglund, 1976) that are activated in order to restore social order.

[172] Death through an abortion also calls for cleansing: "An abortion is a death: the cleansing through sexual intercourse is between the parents of the child. There is in this case no necessity to seek cleansing with someone from outside." (Video documentation of the DIALOGO workshop, 2006, a Changana group in South Mozambique). Or if it is a young and unmarried girl who has the abortion and who still lives with her parents, she must inform her parents, who must perform the cleansing.

[173] Similar framings of transition or passage occurred in the second treatment against malefic *buloki* [witchcraft] in South-West Congo that I describe in Chapter Four. The three patients went under an arch built of branches and were washed first with leaves and hot water, and later in a bath.

[174] My field observations in Mozambique concerning HIV/AIDS show that one of the main frames influencing health is related to what Janzen calls "Humors, bodily fluids or states that are thought to be fundamental aspects of human and all life" (2001:55). These are, according to the author, of classical Greek origin, transmitted by Islam, but are not identical to those of Hippocrates (ca. 460-377 B.C.). Janzen defines humoral notions as follows: "They are often made up of combinations of natural elements or forces such as fire and water, earth and air, which are considered to exist within the body and the basic attributes of the person. These systems of correspondences between outside nature and inside body-person define affliction as an imbalance between the two

opposing sets of 'humors' or elements. Health is therefore defined as a balance between opposing forces, humors, and elements." (2001:55). Jacobson-Widding and Devisch (1993a) argue that, for Bantu-speaking cultures, the balance between two opposing elements is mediated by a third element, like the color red, which mediates between white and black. This type of 'mediation' between opposing elements also appears in Mozambique (as in Bas-Congo, DR Congo), where the shadow [*Xiviri* in Xirhonga] mediates between the spirit [*moya*] and the physical body "flesh" [*nyama*]. The humoral understanding in Bantu-speaking cultures is based on the idea of a 'balance' or 'harmony' between the individual, the community and the cosmos. This requires equilibrium between the humors and between hot and cold, which influence health and all productive processes (human, animal and vegetal), as demonstrated by Fialho Feliciano (1998).

[175] Sander analyzes the "like-attracts-like" logic as a basic ritual principle among the Ihanzu Bantu in Tanzania, which is applied in several Mozambican and Congolese Bantu-speaking cultures. See Janzen 2001; Devisch 1993a; Jacobson-Widding 1989; Herbert 1993; Sanders 2008.

[176] In the same logic and way, a purification of the land after a war (see the beginning in Kotanyi, 2003b) involves removing all the "old" fire in each house of the community, each member of the community taking a ritual "cooling" bath with medical plants and bringing home the 'new' fire prepared by the specialized healer called by the community chief to conduct the 'land' cleansing ritual.

[177]The same is valid in South Mozambique for men returning from prison or from immigration; a healer must first secure a 'cleansing' treatment, either with medical plants mixed in water, or with fire that is moved around the person during cleansing.

[178] A dead person who has not yet become a protecting ancestor spirit, or a hot ill person who has yet to become healthy, or a neophyte who has not yet been completely initiated (a youth, or in the enthronization of a chief, or in the initiation of a healer).

[179] This holds also for any *twhasa* [graduation by a healer initiation] or in the North for the seclusion during an initiation into the secret spiritual society *Eyootto.* (See Bell 1992.)

[180] Reported (between 2003 and 2008) by activists of diverging organizations working around HIV/AIDS in Mozambique.

[181] Manners of cleansing are changing currently due to the AIDS epidemic. See Chapter Five.

[182] Reported by a Xigorongozi healer in Central Mozambique (DIALOGO research, 2006).

[183] Offe (2004) reports that in Zambia, the cleansing of widows involves putting a band on the wrist. This is a way of cleansing that I observed in North Mozambique among Emakhuwa-speakers, where it is used for cleansing after a war (*see the start of the film VIVER DE NOVO, Kotanyi, 2003b*). Once the band falls off, the widow can remarry. Offe reports that many deaths due to AIDS lead family members of the deceased spouse to tie a band around the wrist of the widow so closely that it cannot fall off. The band prevents further transmission of the virus by the widow.

[184] We saw that transgressed taboos provoke in the physical body certain "signs" that are regionally and culturally defined.

[185] Beidelman (1993) describes the ambiguous nature of the frames and paradigms active in Bantu-speaking cultures. He argues that Kaguru speakers (in Tanzania bordering Mozambique) imaginatively use metaphors to represent their way of living; these metaphors are expressed in several kinds of initiations, healing rituals and other ceremonies (e.g., in rainmaking, the enthronization of a chief, etc.) For Beidelman "such sensations enable us not only to manufacture symbols and ideas, but to invoke and contemplate them in the imaginative mind's eye of ourselves and others" (1993:6).

[186] Thonga (also called Tsonga speaking Xitsonga, Shitsonga, Tonga, Gwanba) involve the languages Xichangana, Xitshwa, and Xirhonga appearing more in this study. See http://cclm.liviodemorais.com/linguas_de_mocambique.php

[187] The author qualifies this dynamic as a "magical" causality. The analogies used in the described ritual practices interact in a dynamic way, mobilizing a certain kind of power. "Magic," which according to Fialho Feliciano can be positive or negative, is often referred to as 'black' or 'white'. Fialho Feliciano quotes Mauss, who defines magic as concrete acts differing from religion and metaphysics in the following terms: "Whereas religion aims for metaphysics and tends toward the formation of ideal images, magic derives its powers from the thousand rites of the mystical life in order to involve itself in and serve the secular world. (…) [Magic] tends toward the concrete, while

religion tends toward the abstract. (…) Magic is above all an art of doing. (…) It does with words and gestures what technology manages through work." (see M. Mauss and H. Hubert, 1906).

[188] In my view, the term 'magic' is much connoted with disqualifying colonial views. My healer informants do not speak of "magic," but of a strong or weak "witchcraft" [*kindoki* in Kikongo], *okhwiri* or sorcery [*nipako* in Emakhuwa], meaning an ambivalent power/knowledge as discussed in Chapter Four. Stroeken argues (in a personal communication) that patrilineal societies like Sukuma make the distinction between *bugota* (an ancient term for medicine or actually 'magic' because it is not hospital medicine) and *bulogi* ['witchcraft'] (similare to *buloki* in Kiyaka, *ki-ndoki* in Kikongo, using mostly the same Bantu stem "*lok"*, which addresses always the illicit).

[189] However, for Fialho Feliciano (1998:435), it is the 'magic-religious system' that frames all these relations with the invisible world, which is perceived as part of the living social world. Mahumana (2013) refutes such approaches reducing the factual effectiveness of "traditional" practices to magic and religion given their relations to the invisible world (ancestors and other 'spirits'). I also refute the reduction to 'magic.' Regarding the invisibility involved, healers embody and may see 'spirits,' but many of my research subjects all over Mozambique argued that the invisible is at stake.

[190] Improperly performed burial rituals prevent the dead from becoming ancestors; instead, they become "bad" spirits that torment the living.

[191] See Latour (1997, 1999, 2005) in the Actor-Network Theories and Law & Hassard (2006).

[192] Homeopathy is a medical approach developed by Heinemann (1755-1843) that uses an extremely diluted substance of a disease to treat this disease. When Devisch speaks of homeopathic methods, he means the application of a "like-attracts-like logic" in ritual treatments of all kinds, which neutralizes a source of disorder by using the same ways that this disorder occurs (see Chapter Four).

[193] Dreams interpretations play significant roles in healing: most healers in Mozambique and DR Congo say they receive knowledge through dreams (Kotanyi 2003a, 2011; Devisch 1993a, 2002). While the content and interpretation of dreams is culturally constructed (Devereux (1961) 1974), their importance to physical and emotional health is universally accepted and acknowledged. The various uses of dreams are evident in healer narratives in Mozambique and DRC. E.g., the healer Horacio explains that during his initiation he spent a week in the water. Skeptical Western-'educated' people (also Mozambicans or Congolese) may wonder how what this healer says could be true. I suggest that Horacio's account is that of a dream (which could be of either the night or daytime).

[194] In contrast, for psychoanalysis, dreams express through metaphors the dreamer's emotions and subjective inner conflicts, expectations or desires (Freud 1923). Devereux (1974, 1977) and Nathan (1988a/b, 1996) show that a cultural and psychoanalytical understanding can be complementary.

[195] See Freud (1923); Róheim (1950); Devereux (1974, 1977); Jedrej and Shaw et al. 1992.

[196] Stroeken uses 'magic' in a specific way: as an act of reciprocity, equalling even technology and all other common forms of social exchange with the unknown (marriage, sex, etc.). Hence, according to Stroeken, magic belongs to the first experiential structure as it does for Sukuma initiated (in a personal communication). In contrast, Sorensen (2007) uses 'magic' in opposition to rationality.

[197] This is the case, e.g., in initiation rites, where song and dances achieve transformations of the physical, emotional, social and spiritual *bodies* of those involved. See Turner 1967; Beidelman 1993, 1997; Richards ([1952] 1982); Dias 1970; Melo 2005, 2007.

[198] Róheim, 1950, suggest that the dream is the smallest psychical denominator of humanity, arguing that the culture produces psyche and that both are different expressions of the same structural reality. For Róheim, culture and dreams are twins (see Nathan 1986: 21-22). Nathan (1986: 204-209) discusses the relational function of dreams, whose dynamic he says establishes the border between inside and outside – which, however, is exactly the border that healers and diviners in Mozambique force open. Devereux 1974, 1977 shows in many examples and justifies in theories the relation of complementarities of dreams and culture.

[199] For Africa, Horton (1967, 1970) is the classical author defending cognitive theories of magical efficiency. Sorensen (2007:35-39) discusses several cognitive theories; he quotes several cognitive theories of magic, discussing magic from different viewpoints: (1) in the *physical* domain (by Spelke et al 1995; Baillargon 1994; Baillargeon et al. 1995); (2) in the *biological* domain, such as ideas grounded, e.g., in the internal source of energy (by Mandler 1992) or inner essence (by Medin and Ortony 1989); (3) in the *mental and psychological* domain referred to as "folk psychology," which

involves specific conceptual system prevalence in a given culture (by D'Andrade 1987); or (4) in the *social* domain (by Hirschfeld 1988, 1994, 1995), in which collective pressure and concepts of "psychological essentialism" (1994, 1995) are discussed.

[200] In German, a priest or pastor is called a "Seelsorger" (somebody who takes care of the soul).

[201] See in Chapter Four my discussion of the notion of «divination».

[202] The pharmacologist Coué demonstrates that when he gives a remedy to a patient following certain rules (speaking to the patient in a certain way and suggesting that the remedy will be useful), this influences the effect of this remedy in the treatment of that patient.

[203] Devisch developed a critique arguing that Groddeck "proposes a psychosomatic unity by attributing to the body an *organic* capacity to symbolically express the vital force (*das Es)*. In my view, symbolization is not determined by an organic capacity but rather by a metaphorical one" (1991:301, note 10). See also Sami-Ali (1982, "Penser le somatique: á propos de 'Mars' de Fritz Zorn. *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse* 25, 299-308).

[204] Pignarre (1995), a pharmacologist, shows that placebos do more than differentiate between bad and good remedies. Placebo effectiveness in tests means that it is possible to heal even without material remedies. Pignarre argues that a large-scale scientific clinical study against placebos realized by a big pharmaceutical laboratory discovered that placebos had an effect in up to 70% of cases—not 35%, the percentage usually cited (Pignarre 1995:7).

[205] Just as the ecological, so-called 'natural', environment differs from one part of Mozambique to the next, so also do the applications of the similar cultural frames. For example, people living on the coast have more sea spirits, while those living in the mountains have more spirits associated with mountains and caves. The *maciini* ([foreign spirits] in Emakhuwa), like those of the sea, mountains, and caves, are all located in the 'bush', a space that is not under human control. The bush exists in contrast to the 'domesticated' world of the compounds and cities.

[206] Ancestral spirits facilitate and protect the production, reproduction and health of kin group members, including wealth and material goods. We saw that they intervene in a context which includes other kinds of spirits and forces, like the forces of nature (rain, dryness). It implies for Fialho Feliciano (1998), that invisible entities like ancestors or other spirits are part of the social world of the living, being part of their life-world or cosmology (Mbiti 1969; Comaroff 1981; Honwana 2002).

[207] Tobie Nathan is anthropologist and psychotherapist who developed, together with several international therapists (and with Marie Rose Moro), a specific setting treating African and other migrants in Paris (in the Centre Georges Devereux). See Kotanyi, 1999a.

[208] Diviners use certain means like e.g., a set of "bones and shells" [*tinhlolo*] in South and Central Mozambique, or other means in the North). See Junod 1996; Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003a; Ganjo 2008 and Chapter Four.

[209] See the huge literature on self-efficacy in the psychology of management (see, e.g., Gist M.E. and Mitchell T.R., 1992. 'Self-efficacy: A theoretical analysis of its determinants and malleability', *Academy of Managements Review*, Vol.17, No.2, 183-211.

[210] Nathan (1994, 1996) makes a differentiated analysis of the suggestive therapeutic techniques of traditional healers and diviners, showing their rationalities differing from Western sciences. He analyzes certain transformative therapeutic operators (inversion, analogy and mediation) used in traditional healing, also showing the transformative role of "objects" in healing rituals (Nathan, 2001), which Devisch (2001) and Surgy (1994) analyze extensively.

[211] See analyses of the *therapeutic operator* of inversion in Nathan 1988b: 115-133.

[212] Nathan argues that inversion means that if bad spirits can enter into a person (possession), they can also be led to go out. As I observed, the inversion used by healer in cases of neutralizing treatments of *okhwiri* or *kindoki* [witchcraft] is that if such witchcraft can be transmitted, it is also possible to send it back. See Chapter Four and Five, and Kotanyi 2003a.

[213] The several framings are conceived by Fialho Feliciano as 'codes', which for Sperber (1974) is not an adequate concept. Sperber argues: "The one single condition that would permit the consideration of symbolism as a code is not fulfilled: no list gives, no rule generates, a set of pairs (symbol, interpretation) such that each occurrence of a symbol finds in it its prefigured treatment" (1974:16). Between other arguments, code requires decoding (which frames/framings do not), because

codes have unmistakable interpretations, while framings potentially imply several possible interpretations.

[214] According to Comaroff's definition, the "…cosmology refers to manifest perceptions of the world as they inhere in the context of action and experience. As such, its component elements, a symbolic repertoire of causal principles, which are not expressly rationalized, are predicated upon a deeper structural order. And cosmology relates to that order, after Saussure, as parole to langue (as 'speech' to 'grammar')" (Comaroff 1980:643). And as Beidelman states: "The cosmology is myriad, as protean as human experience itself must be in a dynamic society and fluid environment" (1993:27).

[215] A personal communication; Devisch refers this issue to what people consider to be an issue of "common decency" (see also Devisch 1993a, 1996a).

[216] Descriptions of alternative ways of cleansing that respect ancestral ways without provoking any biological contamination were given to me (in 2003, 2006-2008) and to the four teams of the Red Cross of Mozambique working in four cities in the South, Center and North (in 2006-2007).

[217] Several counselors of people living with HIV/AIDS report that most of them feel "bewitched", accepting at the same time to be infected by HIV. The question concerning "bewitchment" gives answers to the issue of "why" – providing sense to misfortune (see Chapter Five).

[218] These findings are according to the sensibilization work of four teams of the Red Cross of Mozambique in 2006 and 2007 (during the DIALOGO project promoting dialogue between healers and hospitals). My own researches on the resilience of taboos in urban contexts were in Nampula city (2003 and 2014); in Maputo (2003 and 2008); in Beira (2005); in Manica (2003); in Nacala Porto (especially in 1999 concerning taboos related to war; in 2003 and 2007 concerning taboos related to HIV/AIDS). Also in 2010 and 2012 in Kinshasa city (in DR Congo). See Chapter Five.

[219] Fialho Feliciano argues that several general cultural 'codes' coexist in southern and central Mozambique and integrate new cultural elements the same way Jean Comaroff (1980) describes this for the Tshidi, a subgroup of the Barolong cluster of southern Tswana people living in the Northern Cape province of South Africa. See also Devisch 1993a.

[220] Following Actor Network Theories (Latour 1994, 2006; Law and Hassard 2004, 2006).

[221] Regarding the challenges of interpretation, Ricoeur (1969:68) argues that "the only philosophical interest in the symbolism of being is that it reveals, by its structure of the double-sense, the ambiguity of being: 'the being describes itself in multiple ways.' The *raison d'être* of symbolism is to open the multiplicity of sense about the ambiguity of being" (my own translation).

[222] See Bell 1992; Merry 2003, 2006; Latour 2006. For instance, in South or Central Mozambique in the case of *kucinga* [the cleansing of a widow], which involves ritual sexual intercourse: it is not helpful for HIV prevention to propose the avoidance of risks by using condoms during cleansing rituals; this is advice that will not be followed. It is the flow of 'hot' sexual fluids that 'cleans' the widow of an excess of hotness. The 'hotness' of ritually performed sexual intercourse achieves the separation of the former couple, leading the shadow from the dead to free the surviving widow, allowing her to have another sexual partner in the future by following the principle of 'like-treats-like,' albeit in a kind of 'homeopathic' dilution. See above on thermal frames and the cleansing of taboo-transgressions.

[223] Similarly, Devisch (1993a) and Beidelman (1993, 1997) demonstrate how the efficacy of ritual practices involving sexual and non-sexual gendering combined with the thermal framings arises from their interconnections. See Jacobson-Widding and van Beek et al. 1990, for descriptions by Zwermann on Voltaic peoples; by Jacob for Winye Gurunsi of Burkina Faso (both West Africa); by Hákansson for Gusii in Kenya; by Brandström for Sukuma-Nyamwezi Bantu-speakers from western Tanzania (East Africa) and by Berglund for Zulus in South Africa.

[224] According to Boddy (1989), Arab-speaking Muslims in Sudan identify three kinds of *jinn*. White *jinn* are considered benign, while black *jinn* are malevolent and bring disease or mental illness resulting in death. Red *jinn*, or the red winds [*zayran*], are capricious and ambivalent spirits. Boddy observes that the red *jinn* are "neither good nor evil but, like humans, something of both" (1989: 187). For Congolese or Mozambican Bantu-speakers, red is associated with blood and ambivalence.

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[227] Makhuwa healers locate reason in the heart, like the Yaka healers in South-West Kongo.

[228] See in Chapter Seven my discussion concerning different kinds of epidemiology.

[229] According the ANT theory (Latour 1997, 1999, 2006; Law & Hassard 1999, 2006), networks are constituted not only by people but also by things.

[230] Reference to 'systems' or 'code' would imply a mechanics and systematics that is not at work, although internal logics are involved. Latour argues that, rather than speaking of systems, a better understanding can be achieved by looking at these realities as networks of paradigms used by 'agents', who can be the living, the living-dead, spirits or things that are 'actors' in interrelated 'networks'.

[231] Beidelman 1993; Jacobson-Widding 1979, 1989; Sanders 2008.

[232] "It is neither society nor social arenas, nor social boundaries, but translations existing between mediators that are likely to generate associations that can be traced" (Latour 2006:157).

[233] E.g., in Rwanda, Tutsi and Hutus spoke the same Bantu language; the differences were mainly social but they were divided into two separate ethnic entities by the colonial policies.

[234] Lévi-Strauss argues: "Concept thus appears like operators opening up the set being worked with and significations like the operator of its reorganization"[something is missing here or needs to be rephrased] (1966:20).

[235] Jacobson-Widding (1991), discussing the Kikongo cosmology in Congo argues "that white, red and black form a coherent system of symbols […] it is the most overt manifestation of classification in central-African cultures" (Jacobson-Widding 1979:16). The author describes how in this constellation the color red mediates between white and black, showing "how a particular culture may leave scope for people to reconcile their own irrationality with the rational classifications of their society" (Jacobson-Widding 1991:178). The author interprets red "as a major symbol of the 'neither-nor feeling' in connection with the need for cognition of opposite categories" (Jacobson-Widding, 1989:35). This follows the logic that the fusion of opposites makes it impossible to distinguish them and this will be associated in the cultural context with heat, as we will see below.

[236] "Bantu" is a linguistic category; however, the scale of common frames for many Bantu-speaking cultures leads several authors (e.g., Kagame 1976; Obenga 1986; Janzen 1992; Devisch 1996b; Shalukoma 2004) to speak of "Bantu thought."

[237] The ambivalent character of "Bantu thought" is also evident in Sanders' (2002) analysis of the rainmaking rituals of the matrilineal Ihanzu in north-central Tanzania. Sanders describes three different gender relationships for the Ihanzu, demonstrating how contradictory gender representation may be locally. Ihanzu rainmaking rituals are rooted in complementary gender relations between men and women. Yet, in day-to-day life, the Ihanzu consider men to be superior. On the other hand, women are more powerful in the household: they control grain storage and the domestic economy. Sanders explains these contradictions between daily gender hierarchy and idealized gender complementary in the rainmaking rituals: "Above all else, by acting out the principles of gender complementarity, while at the same time relegating ideologies on gender asymmetry to the symbolic background, ritual participants seek to create an alternative vision of their social and natural worlds: one where male and female co-operate, reside harmoniously together and where, as a result, fertility flows in abundance" (2002:11). This example shows how divergent values are combined in one Bantu-speaking society.

[238] The Zionist Church is a strong Christian community, which is originated in South Africa.

[239] See also Breidenbach 1976; Jaobson-Widding 1979; Ngubane 1977; V. Turner 1965.

[240] When blue-green is subsumed under white, and takes on the connotation of purity, respect for the ancestors is simultaneously conveyed (Ngubane 1977).

[241] In DR Congo, the strongest Christian Kimbangist Church also uses green and white and eliminates red. This Christian movement began as a strong critic of colonial oppression, with its "white" God. Many Church members view Simon Kimbangu (1889–1951) as a prophet and an African Christ. Kimbangu died in a colonial prison after 30 years of imprisonment (Wauthier 2007). The Kimbangist Church developed after Kimbangu's death passed through strong purification processes, taking away most of the African specificities of this religious movement, The Church was

accepted officially in 1969 by members of the Ecumenical Council of Churches as EJCSK (Église de Jésus Christ sur la Terre par Son Envoyé Spécial *Simon Kimbangu* / The Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu). See Asch 1993a/b; Wauthier 2007.

[242] Such as those described by Honwana (2002) concerning Nguni (Zulu) presence in South Mozambique due to internecine warfare in the 19th century, which left behind many wandering Nguni and Vandau spirits. Wandering spirits became useful for healing and divination through possession of initiated healers: these 'foreign spirits' became part of Bantu cultures in South and Central Mozambique (Junod [1927] 1986); Fialho Feliciano (1998); Honwana (2002), Igreja (2003), just as Emakhuwa-speaking healers in North Mozambique include 'German' spirits from the period of German colonization (1871–1918) from neighboring Tanzania, or other foreign *maciini* in their spiritual world (Kotanyi 2003a).

[243] For instance, in the patrilineal South, the oldest male in the family must conduct ceremonies addressed to the paternal ancestors, who have the most "legal power" (Ngubane 1977), while in matrilineal Makhuwa society, women play a central role in communication with the ancestors, especially the *piyamwene* [the most respected woman] of the community and clan. The family normally lives on the ancestral territory of the woman in a matrilineal kinship system (Geffray 1990).

Notes for Chapter Four

[1] See Geschiere 1995, 1996; Niehaus 2007, 2010.
[2] DIALOGO research – of CVM & MONASO, in Bagnol 2007:38.
[3] General term for witchcraft in Bantu languages in South Mozambique.
[4] *Okhwiri*, or 'eating in the night', in Emakhuwa.
[5] *Nipako*, day-time witchcraft, 'bought' or 'done' with 'drugs' in Emakhuwa.
[6] General term used for witchcraft in Kikongo (West Congo).
[7] In Kiyaka tongue in Southwest DR Congo.
[8] According to Koongo (DR Congo), Makhuwa (North Mozambique) chiefs, notables and healers and consistent with Buakasa (1981), Behrend (1997), Eze (2001), Ciekawy (2001), Bond, Ciekawy (2001), Stroeken (2012).
[9] Corresponding to analyses of e.g. Devisch 1986, 1996a, 2001b, 2002, 2003c, 2005a, 2015a; Niehaus 2001; Meneses 2008, 2010; and Stroeken 2010.
[10] E.g., in his study about "indigenous healing" in South Mozambique, Mahumana (2013:145) only uses the word "witchcraft" in footnotes.
[11] Devisch (2012) argues that it makes little sense to differentiate between witchcraft and sorcery, as Evans-Pritchard (1976) does; Emakhuwa and Elomwe speakers (Mozambique) differentiate between unwilling *okhwiri* and willing *nipako*, while Kiyaka and Kikongo speakers (DR Congo) use *kindoki* for both.
[12] General term for witchcraft in Bantu languages in South Mozambique.
[13] *Okhwiri*, or 'eating in the night', in Emakhuwa.
[14] *Nipako*, daytime witchcraft, 'bought' or 'done' with 'drugs' in Emakhuwa.
[15] General term used for witchcraft in Kikongo (West Congo).
[16] In Kiyaka Bantu language in Southwest DR Congo.
[17] See Geschiere, 1996, Fisiy, Geschiere, 1990, Devisch, 2001, 2002, 2005a.
[18] Some authors would speak in such cases about "black" vs. "white" magic (like the lawyer Kasongo Muidinge M. 2008a/2008b in DRC). I will not use this terminology, which requires an adequate understanding of the local connotation of those colors (see Appendix 3.2.). My informants did not use such terms; they use the terms usual to address either "witchcraft" or "sorcery", assuming that the context shows the malign or benign sense.
[19] Fravet-Saada (1977) describes current witchcraft and sorcery practices in France, and Hauschild (1979) for Italy through the widespread notion of the 'malefic glance'.
[20] E.g. Meneses (2008) describes a rural conflict near Nampula among Emakhuwa speakers struggling for land and subsistence rights against a Brazilian missionary woman, a South African agricultural enterprise and the Mozambican state. The local people spread 'witchcraft' rumours in order to recover land rights.
[21] Some Mozambican partners saw the fact that I took the perspectives of my informants seriously as backwards. In 1999, my questioning at a village meeting was seen as paradoxical, since as a white European I was associated with colonial power and Christian missionaries, all of whom devalued emic approaches of witchcraft. Later, I experienced witchcraft as a cultural insider when, for a short time, I was involved in a project as the scientific coordinator that made me the subject of envy and jealousy. A diviner interpreted as bewitchment the aggression that I experienced and proposed rituals to neutralize the 'witch'. My experiences support the account of the Cishona-speaking healer Ropia (in Bagnol, 2007:38) and Stroeken's argument (2012:134) that states of 'bewitchment' are the real issues at stake, not the seeking of "witches".
[22] Werbner & Ranger 1996; Gaonkar 2001; Taylor 1992, 1999; Comaroff & Comaroff 2000; Eisenstadt 2000; Moore and Sanders 2001; Kaviraj 2005; Liechty 2003; Devisch 2005b; Schmidt 2006; Costa et al. 2006; Swinn 2009.
[23] See Santos Junior & Barros, 1952: 615. Santos Junior, J. R. & Barros, F. (1950), «Notas etnográficas de Moçambique». *XIII Congresso Luso-Espanhol para o progresso das Ciências.*, vol. V., Lisboa, 609-623.
[24] This limited tolerance existed amidst general devaluation of traditional medicine; in Central Mozambique (in Manica, Sofala and Zambezia) the instruments of divining and the plants of healers were burned as evidence of occultism and witchcraft. Healers were called 'witch-doctors'. In

Tanzania, the British associated the 'occult' with harm, superstition (Langwick 2011: 48-49), and forces "not apprehensible by the mind." Witchcraft was considered fraud and charlatanry (2011:51). Contrary to the situation in Tanzania or Belgian Congo, in Mozambique there was no anti-witchcraft law. However, this did not prevent the Catholic Church from persecuting healers and diviners seen as 'witches'. At the same time, there may have been Catholic or Protestant religious working as medical doctors or nurses, who cooperated with some healers, or who studied medicinal plants used by the healers (Martinez 1989; Junod 1996).

[25] See Retel-Laurantin (1974) on ordeals; Raymond Verdier (2008, 2010, 2011) suggested (in a verbal communication) that ordeals could be used to reintegrate children wrongly accused of witchcraft by their relatives.

[26] «The simple magician, sincere in his work, commits a real crime of poisoning, but accepted by the victim, for he puts himself spontaneously to the ordeal test, convinced that his innocence will overcome any test […] the action of the diviner assumes the nature of a judgement. He adopts the position of investigator of the spells, which affect his clients and of criminal judge of witches. Any native knows that in the colony today there is no justice other than that exercised by the Portuguese authorities. […] Respect for customs of the indigenous people [...] is established in our law as a fundamental principle of our colonial policy, but it is restricted to habits and customs which are not contrary to morality, nor to the precepts of humanity, nor the sovereign rights of the state» (Gonçalves Cota 1946, art. 21) In Meneses 2010, and Gonçalves Cota 1946, *Projecto definitivo do Código penal dos indígenas da Colónia de Moçambique.* Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional.

[27] Urbanized people are often worried whether a healer is a charlatan or a 'real one', which shows both skepticism and shared frames.

[28] Stroeken (2010) discusses witchcraft among the Sukuma (Northwest Tanzania) and calls "magic" the ambiguous version of sorcery that alternates evil and good, while he uses "witchcraft" for a rigid version of sorcery, which does not correspond to the perspective of my informants, neither in Mozambique nor in DR Congo.

[29] See Langwick (2011) for a similar phenomenon in Tanzania and Meyer (1999) for Ghana.

[30] Translation of the Bible introduced new categories, e.g., the term "*tipu,"* meaning shade, images and ancestral spirits, was used for the Christian notion of 'spirit'. Translation introduced the Christian idea of 'spirituality', which did not exist before (Behrend, 2007, 2011).

[31] In combating the ambivalence of endogenous thought, missionaries in their 'purificating' approach (Latour, 1991) produced new hierarchies, new oppositions, and new definitions while simultaneously marginalizing and criminalizing the endogenous *jogi* and *ajwaka* [diviner and healers]. In reference to ordeal, Behrend argues that the colonial administration "eliminated an institution that functioned effectively when fears of witchcraft periodically emerged." (1997:178). In punishing those who accused others of witchcraft, Behrend (1997: 178) observes that in North Uganda, the colonial administration "confounded good and badness, culprit and victim." Behrend (1997:177) observes that such dualism led to the invention of multitude 'bad spirits' that could be used for witchcraft. See also Langwick 2011; Mutimbe 1988; Ranger 1983.

[32] Stroeken notes (personal com.): "It is rare to find fixed beliefs, − especially about witchcraft."

[33] Grounded in a sense of moral economy, those having more are assumed to have "stolen" it (through *okhwiri, kindoki* or similar notions) from others (family members, neighbors) (Ciekawy 2001a). Comaroff and Comaroff (1993, 1999) argue that increasing inequalities due to capitalism augment witchcraft accusation. See Geschiere 1997; Moore & Sanders et al. 2001; Meneses 2008.

[34] This film title means: „To live newly: Nobody decides alone"

[35] *Minepa* in Emakhuwa, singular *munepa.*

[36] RENAMO (party opposing the ruling FRELIMO) fought a civil war, especially in North and Central Mozambique, throughout the 1980s. RENAMO became a political party after peace was established in 1992.

[37] Jomene, an Lomwe healer, and Suleimane, head of the national healers' organization AMETRAMO in Zambezia province, explains: "*Okhwiri* [witchcraft] means 'drying the head' [meaning "to have courage"].

[38] Other Bantu terms for witchcraft include *uloi, ufite* in Cisena or Cishona in Central Mozambique; *vuloyi, wuloyi* in Xitshwa, Xirhonga, Xichangana, Bitonda in South Mozambique; and *kindoki* in Kikongo (Southwest DR Congo).

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[39] In the matrilineal Emakhuwa kinship system, people in the same generation are considered brothers and sisters within the *nihimo* [clan] (see Geffray 1990).

[40] [*Otalikhiya*] in Emakhuwa/Lomwe.

[41] It would make no sense to generally identify *okwhiri* by a *mwene* [head of community or clan]; it is expected that he is initiated in *okwhiri* [witchcraft] and in *nipako* [sorcery], in order to be able to protect the land and the community members living on the territory of his (maternal) ancestors.

[42] As Parin, Morgenthaler and Parin-Matthey (1978) observed for the Agni in Ivory Coast, in a matrilineal society without a clear hierarchy and powerful decision-makers, conflicts tend to persist.

[43] I observed such an ordeal ceremony among Fulfulbe speakers in the region of Boé, in a village in eastern Guinea-Bissau in 1992. It was led by a famous healer coming from far away. Such healers are seen as more powerful. The ceremony mobilized strong emotions; the participants appreciated this opportunity for general "cleansing."

[44] Cleansing of persons follows the same inherent logic as cleansing (and protection) of land; indeed, land cleansing reinforces the protection of all those who live in the area. Among the possible dangers are wild animals, criminal acts, witchcraft, 'bad spirits' [*maciini*] of all kinds, and rivalries between communities or leaders. Cleansing the land requires household fires be extinguished. The healer then makes a new fire and circles the area with a torch. Everyone takes a flame from this fire to reignite their household hearths.

[45] See Table 4.3. summarizes *okhwiri* among Emakhuwa/Elome speakers, showing that a main difference is the systematic reference to *olipelela*, a so-called 'positive' or protective type of *okhwiri* that increases harvest, luck, fertility of all kinds, love and wealth. Constructive witchcraft (West, 2005) is present in all the studied cultures. Specific to the Emakhuwa/Elomwe speakers is that the transgression of the incest taboo [*mathupu*] is perceived as *okhwiri*. The notion of incest as witchcraft is found also among the matrilineal Kiyaka, and Kikongo speakers in Southwest Congo DR.

[46] Elomwe-speaker from Alto Molocwe, 2006.

[47] Healers, in Alto Molocwe (Bagnol 2007:92).

[48] According to Devisch (1996a, 2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2005a/b) powerful substances (body fluids, excrement, hair, nails, menstrual blood and so on) are combined with other animal or mineral elements, the power of, which are based on analogies. Such mixtures are confined in the *n-siki* [objects loaded with ancestral power] used among Kiyaka speakers in order to influence people's behavior, health, politics, the economy, et cetera. Devisch argues that *n-kisi* or *yiteki* ['fetishes'] or similar objects used for sorcery invoke an imaginary realm of energies, which "mobilize force fields that seek to harness the manipulated energies present in the human body, the social universe, and the living world, while activating a sense of fusion, connectedness, and plenitude in the individual" (2005b:105). They are assumed to influence the vital forces of the shades of the living. Fetishes deal with inter-subjectivities at the interface between individuals and others. Their ambivalent character means that they can be used for good or bad purposes (Behrend 1997; Devisch 2001; Bongmba 2001; Eze 2001; Bond & Ciekawy 2001; Geschiere 2006).

[49] West (2005:77) for Makonde speakers and Geschiere (1997:57–58) for Cameroon, like Devisch, argue that categories of sorcery are blurred and nearly indistinguishable. I agree for Bas-Congo and Kwango, where the same term is used for all categories (i.e., *kindoki* in Kikongo or *buloki* in Kiyaka). However, Emakhuwa and Elomwe speakers, similar to Bantu speakers in Central and South Mozambique, linguistically distinguish between willing and unwilling witchcraft.

[50] For the Sukuma context, Stroeken (2004, 2008, 2010) calls this notion sorcery "magic".

[51] *Mathupu* [incest] are witches making drugs for others. The term *mathupu* is used for several other serious transgressions connoted with witchcraft**.** *Mathupu* kills, but it can also mean to steal, or incest, or to watch a woman taking a bath in the river (according my own fieldwork in Nampula with Carlos Mucamisa in 2007). *Mathupu* is not *wuloyi*, [witchcraft] because *wuloyi* happens at night. *Wuloyi* is explained as an animal that comes from the belly, remains in the anus, like a bat, and which will beat people" (Elomwe-speaking male healers and chiefs at DIALOGO workshop, 2006).

[52] "When people quarrel and say: 'You will see', then the person will become ill; he has been bewitched", Elomwe-speaker from Alto Molocwe (Bagnol 2007:93).

[53] Constantino Mangalaes (DIALOGO research assistant in Central Mozambique) explains: "*Opuhula* are also offences, like provoking a man through words, or involving debts, which always make problems. It always implies a provocation. It needs an object, which the person you want to bewitch has used or touched. In the case of stealing crops, you can bewitch a person using their

footprints. It can also be done with clothes or by using a picture of the person. It might involve vengeance. It always has a connection with spirits. Your *moya* [spirit] becomes weak for some reason; you may have offended somebody. The manifestations of *opahula* are the same as those of *nipako* [sorcery with prepared objects]; both have visible characteristics" (in Bagnol 2007:92).

[54] An expression also mentioned by Stroeken for the Sukuma in Tanzania, 2012.

[55] But see Comaroff and Comaroff (1999), who identify the expansion of liberal capitalism as the main cause of rising envy and jealousy, which may lead to witchcraft accusations.

[56] Elomwe-speaking female healers, initiation rite counsellors (video DIALOGO, 2006)

[57] Elomwe-speaking male healers, diviners and chiefs (video DIALOGO workshop, 2006).

[58] "A man can have witchcraft in his own belly; the fetish is in the intestine. A man can transmit it to his children during the pregnancy of his wife. He cuts his own intestine and puts it into the belly of his wife and at birth; the child comes out as a witch. The transmission of *okhwiri* [witchcraft] is never later; its transmission occurs early in the belly of the woman. Transmitted this way, the person has no consciousness of it; the transmission is unconscious. It comes out only after birth, when it is obvious that the child is a stranger to the family. When you beat this child, it does not cry; you then see from his behavior that there is *okhwiri*." Jomene, Elomwe-speaking healer, in Bagnol 2007:88.

[59] "Stepping on" is discussed by Ngubane (1977) and called *umeqo* in Zulu in South Africa.

[60] Discussing the misunderstanding around the term of 'fetish', Tobia-Chadeisson locates the malefic connotation in Christianity in the compilation of the Theodosian Code elaborated between 429 and 439 in order to destroy pagan cults. This code defined as malefic any kind of divination that involved communication with so-called 'demon' spirits', thus reducing ancestors to demons. Power over things was called *maleficium*, [bad action, and fraud] 'charm', or 'enchantment,' whose root *facere* is related to *facticius* (Tobia-Chadeisson 2000: 69). In 1260, the terms *fechizo* [objects made through magic], *fechicero* [the one doing it] and the generic term *fechiceiria* [the action] appeared in Castilian. All of these terms have been associated with sorcery or witchcraft (Tobia-Chadeisson 2000: 71).

[61] Elomwe-speaking male healer, diviners and chiefs (video, DIALOGO workshop, 2006).

[62] The healer Horácio uses such an object loaded with special power during the first case study described in section C: the treatment of 'dying and being reborn' (see Kotanyi 2003a). The content and the 'drugs' contained in such objects depend on the creativity of the healer. However, healers in both Mozambique and DR Congo, share very similar frames about what is powerful in treatments.

[63] Malefic mixtures use very 'hot' substances (see definition of hotness in chapter three) and substances with strong analogical, metaphorical power; different substances should normally be kept separated from each other because they become powerful when they are mixed.

[64] Ngubane (1977) mentions that malefic "mixtures" used to bewitch are associated with 'fetishes' in a Zulu context.

[65] In South Mozambique, healers speak of '*gona*' [powerful mixes], combining plants and elements of animals, minerals, menstrual blood and so on, similar to the *n-siki* [fetishes] used in the Yaka context.

[66] Horácio refers to this form of bewitchment at the end of his protective treatment described in the first case study in Part I, section C.

[67] Such prepared, highly 'loaded' objects are used in all the studied cultures; they have different names and their ingredients are specific, but the basic principles are similar. They are all mixtures that produce and manipulate energies.

[68] "O*khwiri-wisatxihera* or *khalanamwatcho* [witchcraft done with the help of lions]. These witches receive their power from strong drugs, derived from lions or leopards, which they keep in their pot." (Elomwe Healer Rodrigues, in Bagnol 2007:88). According to West (2005: 72-77), this kind of witchcraft is used among Makonde speakers in initiation of *mwene humu* [community chiefs].

[69] For instance, blood resulting from a violent death, or coming from a girl's first menstruation. This corresponds to what healers in South Mozambique describe as the strongest power of a 'remedy,' which is comprised of plants and other things that *mangondzane* birds use to make their nests. These birds fly far away and carry all kinds of plants and menstrual rags, which are seen as powerful mixtures (see "EspiritoCorpo", Kotanyi 2003, or Filhao Feliciano 1998).

[70] Ngubane (1972:32) describes the bodily ingredients as 'body dirt' (sweat, nails, hair).

[71] Similar to the endogenous *ntumbuluku* [Bantu-tradition], secret knowledge of the power of paradoxes is at the heart of various esoteric traditions transmitted orally, such as the Kabbalah or

Gnosis (Cicucu 2010) and in found in mysticism in the Christianity of the late medieval theologian Meister Eckhart, in Sufism, in Zen Buddhism (Suzuki 1949; Watts 1947) and in Chinese Taoism.

[72] An Elomwe healer of North Mozambique explains: "The *nokhwiri* [witches] wanting fresh meat writes down the name of the person who must die in an accident: this person will have an accident and die, and at that moment they divide the meat [which regulates reciprocity]. The delivery of meat from one family to another, to the other witches is not an obligation. But you must return some meat in case you have accepted it from others. They will not kill strangers; they will search their own families for someone to kill to return the required meat. This obligation cannot be denied. Diviners are required to help with their spirits or with their drugs: they see who has *okhwiri* [witchcraft power/knowledge]. They may prevent *okhwiri* from jumping over at birth. When witches share their witches' pots containing the flesh and the bones of people, when they take a bath in these pots, they increase their life span, they will live longer" (Jomene 2006 in Bagnol 2007: 89).

[73] The same logic holds in all the studied Bantu-speaking cultures and in other cultures in sub-Saharan Africa. See Lallemand 1988; Comaroff and Comaroff 1993, 1999; Geschiere 1995, 1997, 2013; Moore & Sanders 2001; Bond & Ciekawy 2001; de Boeck 2000; Niehaus 2001; Tonda 2008; Fancello 2008, et al.

[74] *Waphaama* in Emakhuwa/Elomwe.

[75] *Olipelela* in Emakhuwa/Elomwe.

[76] *Okhwiri walipelela anamuane avate* in Emakhuwa/Elomwe. In the DIALOGO video documentation; Elomwe-speaking female healers and rite counsellors, (DIALOGO workshop 2006).

[77] *Orihela wa nokhwiri* in Emakhuwa/Elomwe.

[78] "We have also *esikwi* [witchcraft with drugs], which is thrown by a person, but that does not kill. These drugs cause swollen eyes or sore legs" (Elomwe informants, 2006). Swollen eyes or legs are the physical signs most mentioned by Emakhuwa-speaking healers as resulting from transgressions of *mwikho* [taboos]. "One must call a healer [who will] see if he can 'catch' and eliminate the drug." (Elómwe informants, 2006)

[79] Emakhuwa/Elomwe healers and chiefs understand the complexities of witchcraft in ways similar to that of Kiyaka, Kisuku, Kipendele and Kikongo speakers in Southwest DR Congo. All groups of informants mention the ability to fly, to avoid being seen, and using an animal (such as a hyena).

[80] Constantino Mangaleas, in Bagnol 2007:86.

[81] Local terms and meanings used in Bantu-speaking contexts in Mozambique and DR Congo suggest a kind of force, as well as states of being (similar to *djambe* among the Maka in Cameroon). Geschiere proposes framing these notions using a term such as *occult force*, meaning hidden knowledge. "Occult" has connoted moral categories of good or evil (1997:14) since colonial times (Langwick 2011). I suggest avoiding the term 'occult' and speaking more neutrally of invisible or secret knowledge and practices.

[82] Behrend 1997, 2011 suggests the same for Uganda.

[83] Emakhuwa/Elomwe speakers share a common mythical origin; their ancestors came from Namuli Mountain.

[84] Christian approaches propagate hope through salvation and through the remission of the "sins" of the living; like national law, they don't allow for ambiguities, reducing witchcraft to evilness or criminality, respectively.

[85] "Divination" comes into use in the 13th century from Latin *divinatio* (nominative), meaning "the power of foreseeing, prediction," literally "to be inspired by a god."

[86] See www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=divination

[87] See Meyer (1998, 1999); Behrend (1993, 1997); Luedke (2011) and West (2005).

[88] However, in the Inhambane district in South Mozambique, the *nyangarume* Elsa Elisa, who heals with plants, cleansing and rituals without spiritual possession, claims that it is one of her ancestors, a former healer aunt, who shows her in dreams the plants and healing means/ways that she uses (Kotanyi 2003a). Elsa Elisa, a Bitonga speaker, belongs to the category of *tinyangarume* that also according to Mahumana (2013:131) learned healing from ancestors without initiation with a master.

[89] Devisch (1986, 1991, 1996a, 1997, 2003a, 2012); Peek at al. (1991); Behrend (1997); Ganjo (2007, 2011); Honwana (2002), Stroeken (2010, 2008) and Igreja 2015.

[90] See good descriptions and analyses by, among others, Devisch 1997, 2012a, 2012b:84; Honwana 2002, Kotanyi 2003a/b; Igreja 2003, 2008; Mahuaman 2013.

[91] Ancestors are involved in new forms of divination such as "televised divination" in the Gorongosa province of Central Mozambique (Igreja, 2015:707-8), although, Igreja argues that they are only used as sources of inspiration. Nevertheless, Igreja reports that ancestors are called through songs sung by diviners and their clients—a common "ancestral" framing. Igrejas shows that this new form of divination is used by healers to reinforce the confidence of their clients and that it applies ancestral frames.

[92] See Chapter One and also Mahumana 2013:197. It may seem that the procedures of 'diagnosis' involve chance. However, Devisch argues (in a personal communication) that there is not a term in Kiyaka that addresses the notion of "chance." Indeed, as Devisch argues, confronted with "harm", the healer officiating a treatment rite or making diagnoses in contexts involving *buloki, kindoki* or similar notions of 'witchcraft' or sorcery seeks to avoid positioning himself as a judge assuming the right to issue a judgment or to arbitrate as a human. Rather, he seeks an opening to the order of the world: he seeks to avoid acting through human and personal reflexivity. Confronted with 'witchcraft' forces, the healer/diviner, as a witness, avoids any implication that could risk showing any complicity. Therefore, he seeks to respect the forces that are part of their social world but 'out of human kinds'; as a medium, he is merely a conduit for the advice of ancestors or other spirits that are the (non-human) agencies making the enouncements during his 'divination.'

[93] See my own experiences with divination in Mozambique and DR Congo in Appendix 4.1.

[94] Igreja describes emerging forms of divination that combine ancestral frames with new technology, such as television.

[95] I was surprised to observe similarities in comparing the currently used 'divination bones' used by diviner women of Josina Machel Island in 1997 in South Mozambique with Junod's ([1912] 1996) drawing of similar bones used among Thonga. In contrast, Ganjo (2007, 2011), who conducted fieldwork in Maputo, demonstrates that divining bone sets have changed significantly. Not all diviners use such sets; the means used for divination vary from one region to another. See a short summary in Appendix 4.1. of my experiences with divination in the context studied.

[96] Behrend (1993/1997) and Meyer (1998) show that ancestral approaches did not dichotomize bad/good in pre-colonial times, but involved ambiguity that Christian religious and colonial administrators strongly discouraged.

[97] Stroeken 2010; Meneses 2004 (2010).

[98] Ganjo (2011) notes following Fernandez (1991:217) that the dialectic of divination built between the diviner and his client is the dialectic between a 'social definition of experience' as provided by the diviner and the individual's sense of suffering experienced by the client.

[99] See treatments in Mozambique in Kotanyi (2003a); in DR Congo, see Devisch (1991, 1993, 1996) and Kotanyi (2011).

[100] De Rosny 1981, 1996; Kotanyi 2003a, 2010, 2012.

[101] Stroeken (2012: 196-203) discusses the widespread and exaggerated number of killings related to witchcraft accusations among the Sukuma. Despite the frequency of witchcraft rumours in sub-Saharan Africa, I argue that killing, at least in Mozambique and Southwest DR Congo is rare and atypical. In North Mozambique, Israel (2011) connects temporary hysterical anti-witch movements with political issues, while Meneses (2008) shows that in Nampula, mass-media and a Brazilian missionary led to reports of supposed mass murder of children by witches, which criminal investigation could not confirm. Behrend (1993/1997), Meyer (1999) and Langwick (2011) show that since the colonial period and in part due to Christian influences, rumours of witchcraft have been used to create insecurity, thereby providing justification for strong repressive measures and the imposition of Western norms.

[102] Appadurai (1998:234) and Devisch (2012:371) describe the dynamic of witchcraft as "cognitive paranoia."

[103] Devisch observed Yaka divination practiced in urban and rural areas.

[104] Devisch cites several anthropological approaches, i.e., Willis (1999), the experiential-cognitive approach of Dupré (2001), the personal sensorial experiences of Edith Turner (1992), and of colleagues initiated as *sangoma* [diviners, healers] in South Africa), such as van Binsbergen (2003), Wreford (2008) and Stroeken (2012). Willis (1999) describes a Zambian diviner as a "master of

knowledge", someone whom Stroeken characterizes as "synchronous with the whole" (2012:248). These approaches recall Western systemic approaches (Watzlawick (1998) applied in family therapy (Stierling 1982; Huber and Plassmann 2012) or 'family constellations' (Hellinger 2010). Hellinger had previously observed therapies performed by healers in South Africa, before he developed therapies in 'family constellations'.

[105] Myhre (2006a) notes that oracular statements, in relation to their practical use, "'really' mean something else than they appear to" (2006b:19). Stroeken (2012:174) argues that the diviner seeks to achieve through his utterances the articulation of "the subject's emotional unrest". When he succeeds, he produces relief in the client, invigorating him or her by dealing with and 'domesticating' (Ganjo 2007, 2011) uncertainty.

[106] See the narratives of female and male healers and diviners in Kotanyi, 2003a.

[107] See above footnote 91.

[108] Explanations for such dilution of boundaries go beyond the framework of this study: quantum physics has developed a theory to explain how the boundaries of time and materiality can be overcome, to which Van Binsbergen (2010) and Devisch (2012) refer.

[109] The Mozambican pediatric psychiatrist Isabel Parade Marques argues that: "The traditional systems are not incomplete. All systems are coherent and complete in themselves. If there is in a system the notion of witchcraft and of magic, it will also exist in this system the rituals of protection allowing an efficient elaboration of an individual protection" (in Kotanyi 2003a.)

[110] Called 'sorcery' by Evans-Pritchard (1976). The term "drugs" is used as a metaphor that encompasses all kinds of material means to weaken the shadow or vital force of the victim.

[111] *Nawawa* in Emakhuwa/Elomwe.

[112] Mangaleas Constantino, research assistant DIALOGO, in Bagnol 2007:86.

[113] Stroeken (2012) could not confirm reports of witch killing in his study area in Tanzania. Cases in Mozambique generally either involved political or Christian religion interests. In most cases, when ancestral approaches are used, there is no need to kill; in the worst case scenario, the accused would be forced to leave the region. Healers are concerned with freeing the bewitched, not with persecution. Direct confrontations with 'witches' make little sense.

[114] 'Sending back' witchcraft corresponds to the law of retaliation described by Devisch (2002, 2003c, 2005b). See section D.

[115] In Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa; it is called *ubuntu* in South Africa (Chuma 2011).

[116] Jacobson-Widding 1990; Comaroff and Comaroff at al 1999; Janzen 1992; Moore at al. 2001; Devisch 1993, 1980, 1981, 1996, 2002a, 2002b.

[117] The film *Viver de novo*, in which Horácio appears, was shown in Maputo in South Mozambique while the FRELIMO party was still in power. Under socialist rule, since independence, all the ceremonies were prohibited in the name of progress.

[118] Horácio's maternal ancestors show him what he needs to see during divination; the healer perceives himself as a medium, between the living requiring help and the *minepa* [ancestors] able to see everything.

[119] See healers that criticize anthropologists who tend to relate witchcraft in first instance to metaphors (in de Rosny, 2006). I don't argue here that witchcraft is a metaphor, but that the healing techniques used to neutralize harmful *okhwiri* involve the performance of several embodied metaphors. Our discussions with healers in May 2006 in South Mozambique show that healers are conscious of their use of metaphors. They told us that we should use metaphors (*chigego*) in discussions of HIV/AIDS prevention.

[120] See among others Yengo 2008; Behrend 1997, 2009, 2011; Meyer 1998; Langwick 2011.

[121] Islamic healers (Nampula City) demarcate the healing space using sorghum flour to sketch the form of a Moshe.

[122] The transformative power of such especial and strong mixtures corresponds to that of the *n-kisi* fetishes described by Devisch (1999, 2001, 2002, 2003c, 2005b); Laman 1963; MacGaffey 2000.

[123] I did not ask Horácio what was in it, respecting his secrets, which was my approach to healers. I asked why he did what he did but not which plants he used. My approach differed from those who worked for departments of traditional medicine of the Ministries of Health in Africa, whose activities are often perceived as 'stealing' local knowledge.

[124] This stage of the treatment corresponds to the separation stage in passage rites (Gennep 1981).

[125] "[A] powerful metaphor for magical preparation is that of 'cooking'" (MacGaffey 2000:100).

[126] Horácio is not an Islamic healer like those I met on the coast of Nampula (Nacala Porto) or in Ribaue. But he lived a few years on the coast (during the civil war) where he saw how his Islamized colleagues worked. To strengthen his treatments, he sometimes uses pages from the Koran, but I never saw him actually quotations from the Koran as Islamized healers do in Senegal, Guinea Bissau and on the coast of Nampula).

[127] Isolating the patient by delimiting the space of the treatment is required in all types of traditional treatment in all the study area. This preliminary step activates the frame inside/outside (Devisch 1993a, 1981:509). It seems a typical Bantu frame to enhance ritual efficacy.

[128] Note that no 'exorcism' occurs. This treatment of 'dying and being reborn' does not involve any bad 'spirit.' As Horácio says, he 'pulls' her [shade] out of her death. Following Latour (1997, 2012) and Sanders (2008), I try to stay as close to my informants' words as possible and limit my own interpretation.

[129] I do not say "represents"; such approaches are not 'representations', but embody in practices the invoked thing or situation itself (Sanders 2008, 2001). Just like words, objects are 'actors' in the treatment (see Actor Network Theory, in Latour 1997).

[130] Homeopathy is a form of medicine developed by Hahnemann (1755-1843), which uses highly diluted substances from a disease to treat the same disease. When Devisch speaks of homeopathic methods, he means the treatment of a disease with the same substance in extremely diluted form.

[131] All these ritual techniques (activating similarities through embodiment and metaphors, thermal frames and suggestions through words) are used to achieve transformations and correspond to Sanders' descriptions (2008) of Bantu speakers in Tanzania, analysis of rainmaking rituals, and Devisch's (1993, 1981, 1996/1999) descriptions of the efficacy of ritual treatments by Yaka healers and diviners.

[132] Healers throughout Mozambique and DR Congo report that they 'received' their healing or divining knowledge through dreams (Kotanyi 2003a).

[133] See Ahearn (2001). Orther (2001:78) describes agency as " virtually synonymous with the forms of power people have at their disposal, their ability to act on their own behalf, influence other people and events, and maintain some kind of control in their own lives."

[134] On the power of words, see Butler (2004), Delaurenti (2007), Camus (2005).

[135] Similarly, Favret-Saada (1980) reported that an "unwitcher" in rural France used the same methods as the witch.

[136] However, the issue corresponds to a biomedical doctor who can only avoid killing a person in treatment knowing which remedies kill on which way.

[137] See Part II of this chapter about retaliation and the versatility of *okhwiri* or of similar notions.

[138] Through a small cut with a razor blade, the healer introduces the medical plants to the body. Through exposure to biomedicine, healers have acquired terms such as 'consultation,' 'vaccination,' and 'injection'.

[139] According to the Mozambican *nyamusoro* [healer, diviner] Ropia (Bagnol 2007:38). People report that some consult healers to bewitch others. While healers insist that the task of healers is to heal, they argue that healers using witchcraft to harm others are witches. However, all agree that a healer or diviner must be initiated in witchcraft in order to identify and neutralize witchcraft, just as any medical doctor must know what kills in order to save his patients.

[140] Stroeken reports also for the Sukuma in Northwest Tanzania treatments that "sent the curse back to where it belongs" (2008: 478), combined with steps of expulsion, cleansing and protections (steps that also Rosny (1981) describes for healing in Cameroun).

[141] When the "identification" of the presumed *nokhiri* or *ndoki* ['witch'] designates, e.g. in a matrilineal group, a maternal uncle, who is broadly respected for his assumed power and knowledge, there is no problem with such designation. However, the designation in patrilineal groups of widow (as a person external to the patrilineal kin) is more problematic, given the weakness of the designated position (the widow). In general such designation often has no consequences for the designated person who can be "cleansed", however, "identification" of "the witch" may currently lead to its persecution e.g. in Christianized contexts.

[142] Delumeau 1978; Mary 1998; Tonda 2008; Fancello 2008; Behrend 1997, 2006, and section C.

[143] Behrend 2006, 2012; Meyer 1998, 1999.

[144] They were Kiyaka, Kisuku, Kipendele, and Kikongo Bantu speakers.

[145] The Kwango district in Southwest DR Congo was formerly occupied by the Luunda from Angola. The Luunda have retained local and regional 'political power' to the extent that the central state allows it. The Kiyaka, or Kisuku or Kipendele-speakers, as descendants of those who first arrived in the territory, continue to determine how land is allocated and used. They are the "lords of the land" (considered to be the best intermediaries with the ancestors, who first settled the land) and are recognized as such by the ruling Luunda.

[146] In 2001, I filmed a man coming from prison cleansed with fire and smoke by a female healer, near Maputo.

[147] Turner 1967; van Gennep 1981.

[148] Similar techniques were mentioned by Emakhuwa healer Salimo in North Mozambique (in 1999), describing the cleansing of women and children returning from war.

[149] See Rosny's (1981, 1996) descriptions of extractions of witchcraft by healers in Cameroon.

[150] E.g. by infertility treatment or by a *muswammaha* [reconciliation] ritual as performed in Nampula province, or by an ancestral offering ritual as performed in South Mozambique (see Kotanyi, 2003a).

[151] See Chapter Seven and Appendix 7.2.

[152] See my discussion of ontological theories in Chapter Seven and Appendix 7.1.

[153] States of extreme weakness are framed as "depression" in western psychiatry.

[154] Jackson 1989; Devisch 2001b, 2002, 2003a, 2003c, 2005a, 2015a; Stroeken 2010.

[155] See Kotanyi 2003b; 2012.

[156] Healers are called similarly to Mozambican Bantu, *ngaanga* in Kikongo and Kiyaka in South-West Congo.

[157] "Nós não fazemos nada ao feiticeiro, não temos nenhum problema com o feiticeiro; só queremos cuidar da pessoa doente." "We don't do anything to the witch, we have no problems with the witch; we just take care of the affected [ill] person" (Ropia in Bagnol, 2007:38).

[158] *Nzailu* in Kikongo, Bas-Congo.

[159] *Lendo* in Kikongo, Bas-Congo.

[160] *Ngangu* in Kikongo, Bas-Congo.

[161] In a research in Bas-Congo conducted 2011 with Prof. Lapika & A. Mayengo (CERDAS) and with R. Lumbika, University of Bas-Congo, with the support of RCN, Justice & Démocratie.

[162] *Kindoki kia lundila kanda* in Kikongo.

[163] *Kindoki kia fuasa* in Kikongo.

[164] Statements from community chiefs from Lukaya and Catarates at a research workshop of PFI (Kotanyi) and CERDAS (Lapika) in 2011 in Bas-Congo for RCN, Justice & Démocratie.

[165] In Mbanza Ngungu district, Bas-Congo.

[166] *Kindoki ntuadi* in Kikongo.

[167] *Kianlundila kanda* in Kikongo.

[168] In Kwango in Bandundu province.

[169] *Ndoki kabuloca* in Kikongo.

[170] The 'heaviness' of these '*gona*' or *n-kisi* [remedies/drugs] is due to the multiple powers they carry, as explained by the healer Sabina (South Mozambique) at the end of my film *EspiritoCorpo* (Kotanyi, 2003a). Sabina describes the power of the plants and objects collected by healers, such as the contents of the *mangonzwane*'s [stork-like bird] nest: "The nest of this bird is very important, because this bird travels far away to bring to its nest several roots and plants, but also clothes with menstrual blood. These constitute a very strong remedy, because of their origin in different places to the south, north, east and west."

[171] "When several people in a clan die in a short time, this may signify that a problem has not been properly solved, or that there is *kindoki* [witchcraft in Kikongo] at play. These deaths are perhaps caused by *kindoki*—but not always." (Chiefs and notables from Lukaya and Catarates at a research workshop for PFI, and CERDAS in 2011 in Bas-Congo with RCN).

[172] This notion of "revelation" differs diametrically from Turner's definition in the Ndembu ritual context, in which: "Revelation is the exposure to view in a ritual setting, and by means of symbolic actions and vehicles, of all that cannot be verbally stated and classified. Thus divination is a mode of analysis and a taxonomic system, while revelation is a prehension of experience taken as a whole. The

action sequences of these two processes of exposure are likewise antithetical. Divination proceeds by a sequence of binary oppositions, moving stepwise from classes to elements. Revelation, on the contrary, begins with authoritative images or root metaphors, manifested as sets of connected symbols, and is culturally contrived to give those exposed to it a sense of what Walt Whitman might have called "the rondure, the cohesion of all." Divination is dualistic, revelation non-dualistic. Divination seeks to uncover the private malignity that is infecting the public body, while revelation asserts the fundamental power and health of society and nature grasped integrally." (V.Turner 1975:15-16). Currently, in Bas-Congo, revelation tends to be dualistic, while divination as practiced at present by *ngaanga ngoombu* diviners in the neighboring district of Kwango tends toward non-dualism.

[173] The etymology of *mmbikudi* comes from the verb *kuula* (to save). The *mmbikudi* reveals the hidden and may, through that act, save the situation by identifying the 'reasons' for the disorder. Such an interpretation is related to the Christian notion of salvation.

[174] According to chiefs from Lukaya and Catarates in 2011: "The connection between the living and the ancestral spirits is necessary in order resolving problems, because the ancestors see and hear everything. They can [identify] *kindoki*. (…) However, sometimes ancestral invocations in a cemetery are also used to achieve witchcraft."

[175] Assessor judges in Bas-Congo, 2012.

[176] Devisch 2001; Geschiere 1997, 2006.

[177] In Mozambique, witches are assumed to change into hyenas or other nocturnal animals.

[178] In Bas-Congo interviewed by Kotanyi (2011).

[179] Kolomba, a notable in Bas-Congo, explains: "When I use onions to bewitch somebody, it is spiritually. You have eaten the onions into which my *kindoki* spirit has entered; in the night, I claim from you either your mother or your father. You are afraid, you give me first your mother, and I will say 'We will see together what happens.' And indeed, we will see people being killed, people being 'eaten' by drinking their blood. You will 'eat' the meat of humans. It is *vandusua* [transmission of *kindoki* witchcraft] through spirits" (Kolomba 2011, during a research workshop).

[180] Spiritual transmission is related to the plural notion of the person, which implies that effects on the *moyo* [air/spirit in Kikongo] of a person are more dangerous than any physical effects on the body. This is grounded on the assumption that after death, the physical body disappears, while *moyo* remains and may eventually become a wandering, unsettled spirit that haunts the living, instead of an ancestor that protects them.

[181] This has been the case since the colonial period, but colonial enterprises cultivated palms for palm oil, allowing local farmers to pursue subsistence agriculture between the palm trees. Currently, in Bas-Fleuve (Bas-Congo) where we were confronted with several cases of *'ndoki'* children, great expanses of land are being used by a foreign enterprise for rubber production, which does not allow subsistence agriculture to occur under the trees. Currently, the "*ayant droits'* (those having the right to use the land as the 'first settled') don't have maps or deeds to their land, which prevents them from asserting their rights. They have no access to the judicial system.

[182] De Boeck 2000, 2002.

[183] Galtung 1969; Farmer 2005.

[184] De Boeck 2000; Bernard 2006; Tonda 2008; Yengo 2008.

[185] The names of all the children have been changed.

[186] Cleansing at a river or by a lake is a widespread frame in the ancestral Bantu context.

[187] This is not the traditional *khasa,* a plant presumed to make witches vomit. However, treatments with plants boiled in water are used in ancestral treatments (see Kotanyi, 2003a).

[188] Devisch 1996b, 1996c, 2003b, 2004, 2011; Meyer 1998, 2002; Tonda 2002; Behrend 1997.

[189] The 'president' is the presumed leader of the group of '*ndoki*' of which Gérard had unknowingly become a member in the realm 'of the night'.

[190] Told in Kikongo, translated into French by a translator, and by me from French into English.

[191] De Boeck 2000, Yengo 2008; Farcello 2008; N'Koussou 2008.

[192] A ten-year-old girl from Angola, speaking a different dialect of Kikongo in this Mayombe-speaking part of Bas-Congo, told me a similar story in Portuguese. She had 'eaten human flesh' at night, and was obliged to 'give' and 'kill' her family members, resisting until forced to 'eat' with a group of *feiticeiro* [witches], of which she became a member without knowing that they were witches. She used the same metaphors that other children used in Mayombe, speaking of banana leaves as

dollars, about the mirror used to steal money, and so on. She was very thin and appeared ill. She died a few months later. I wonder if she may have had HIV/AIDS.

[193] Young men, especially in cities, have difficulties finding women to marry, due to highly bride-price obligations.

[194] See Devisch's (1996b, 1996c, 2000, 2003b, 2004, 2011) analyses of parody characteristic of the charismatic and prophetic churches in Kinshasa.

[195] "We have our television and video, like the one we see in the Kimbanguist Church. The materials that we use, it is the president [of the witches' group] who transformed them by making cups of gold out of the bones of corpses. They had us drink blood [associated with childbirth] to stop us from revealing the secrets of the night. The only thing that we don't eat is the vaginas of women, because it is a poison. Our spoons are pineapple leaves; our plates are of banana leaves, like those given to the children during the day.... The president has a mirror of the night that he used to bewitch the money of the people of Kimamyombe. When he tempted you for three days, when you saw that somebody gave you a disease that will harm you and will make you lose your money—and when you have cold blood, then they eat you. The mother president also has a hoe [of the night], which she uses to weaken the fields of others, taking their fertility for her own fields. God may forgive me; it was not my will, but the will of those living with us. If I forgot something, may God remember it" (Thomas, Bas-Congo, 2011).

[196] Thanks to Stroeken's suggestion of this idea in a personal communication.

[197] See Jennifer Johns, 2005, „Transitional object, space" in: *International Dictionary of Psychoanalysis*, online consulted 3.11.2015:
http://www.encyclopedia.com/International+Dictionary+of+Psychoanalysis/publications.aspx?pageNumber=1

[198] The Chagga associate 'modernity' with forces and institutions imported since the colonial period: churches, schools, clinics, money, commodities, technology, the capitalist mode of production and the apparatus of the state. See Setel 1990: 261*n*10 in chapter three).

[199] Devisch 1993a, 1996a, 2001a, 2002, 2005a/b; Fialho Feliciano 1998.

[200] The *n-siku* **[**taboos] in Kikongo, Kiyaka, Kisuku or Kipendele in DR Congo are like the *mwiikho* [taboos in Emakhuwa] or *svayila*, **[**taboos in Xichangana] or behavioral rules "left by the eldest, the ancestors", as described in chapter three.

[201] Buakasa 1980; Lubanzadio Luyaluka 2009, and the first part of this chapter.

[202] Kotanyi, 2003a, Kotanyi, 2010; Devisch 1993a, 1996a.

[203] When a village or a community is in danger, the chief of the community has to assume responsibility for the defence of the community and its members in case of attack of any kind, including witchcraft. The chief organizes the healer, who will conduct protective or cleansing rituals as appropriate.

[204] Devisch and Mathieu 1979; Devisch 1981.

[205] A theme proposed by René Devisch (verbal comm.), relevant to several situations described in the literature or observed in DR Congo or Mozambique.

[206] Thanks to the translations and personal explanations of Ntedika Yala, linguist in Bas-Congo.

[207] In Kotanyi (2003a), the healer Elsa Elisa argues that she requires an ancestral invocation with an offering, a *mhamba* performed by all the members of the lineage of the sick woman in order for her to successfully "fight against the involved *wuloyi* [witchcraft]".

[208] Discussing divination among the Tswapong in East-central Bostwana, Webner concludes: "The truth about the self and other that wisdom of divination establishes is known to be negotiated as *truth-on-balance*, and it is a part of the pragmatic search for understanding of suffering and moral dilemmas in the face of (…) uncertainties and contingencies (…) in town and countryside" (2001:2008).

[209] In taboo transgression, behavior is not regarded as personal 'responsibility,' but as a 'provocation': the physical signs of transgression are assumed most often to appear in persons other than those who transgressed the taboo (see Chapter Three).

[210] External causes include witchcraft and unsettled 'bad' or 'foreign' spirits taking revenge.

[211] General word for witchcraft in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa, Bitonga in South Mozambique.

[212] Emakhuwa, willing witchcraft associated with 'eating in the night' (Table 4.3).

[213] Emakhuwa, witchcraft of the day, 'bought', or 'done' with 'drugs' (Table 4.3).

[214] General Kikongo word for all kinds of witchcraft.

[215] According to Vogel (1982:14-15), sinners in early Christian communities did sometimes make public confessions for serious transgressions. When a penitent publicly confessed his or her sins, the decision to do so was always on the individual's initiative. The public character of early penance should be understood as the prayerful participation in the community, and with the support of its members—not as public humiliation. In the 7th century, the Catholic Church transformed this practice into private confessions that included absolution and repentance. Reconciliation dates to the 11th century (Poschmann 1963:156).

[216] In his discussion of the changes in Ivory Coast, "From persecution to culpability," Zempleni (1975: 155-218) summarizes the strong somatization that occurs, e.g., after traumatic events (like death, adultery, disputes on land issues, etc.), or after traditional rituals which do not succeed, or after cyclical 'witchcraft' accusations. He shows that Christian prophetic approaches lead to endless confessions (in the case of 'witchcraft'), provoking an internalization of a personalized sense of culpability. Augé argues that such an individual culpability is an "objective rampart against the questioning of the regime" (1975:211). In contrast, Zempleni suggests that it is the socioeconomic and political conditions that first generated individualization; Ivorian people seek in prophetic religions ways of defending themselves against these violent transformations, especially in urban contexts where the lineage no longer assumes the support of all their members. Zempleni regards prophetic movements as a response to the 'deterriorization' (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:250) that is at stake through urbanization. In the prophetic churches' sanctioning of the diabolized individual, Zempleni sees a "traditional" response which neglects the decline of the usual socio-psychological mechanisms of support in the clan. He recognizes, however, that in liberating the person from the persecutions of 'ancestral ways' (see Ortigues, 1966), prophetic individualization nevertheless leads to imprisoning them in a "diabolic responsibility" (1975:216).

[217] 'Ritualized persecution' may permit people to deal effectively with suffering. The practice of *nfunguna* [speaking out in Kikongo] (Buakasa 1980, discussed in section C) may accomplish this, even when it occurs as result of strong social pressures. *Nfunguna* is similar to ritual healing involving possession in which the process of 'domesticating' the possessing 'spirits' may therapeutically free the suffering person (see Honwana 2002; Kotanyi 2003a; Igreja 2008). Once again, the location of the 'problem' outside of the individual facilitates ritual neutralization.

[218] *M-bibikula, m-biudi* or *m-moni* in Kiyaka and Kikongo (Devisch 1996b, 1996c).

[219] In Bas-Congo, Catholic priests approach *kindoki* through additional prayer.

[220] See Fancello (2008) on Pentecostal practices in Ghana, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso; Meyer 1999 on Ghana.

[221] Like Bantu traditions, Jewish mystical traditions employ non-dichotomizing approaches.

[222] Delumeau (1978:233-232) argues that Satan, as abstract theological figure in the medieval period, became concrete through artistic representation (like public confessions by *ndoki* [witch in Kikongo] give reality to the phantasms of 'eating in the night'). The medieval historical process creates a new obsession with sin: Arnould (2009: 86) like Delumeau (1978), notes increased significance of the devil that "reflects all the fears, all the phantasms of an ill society."

[223] Christian religions produce a similar effect through the forgiveness' given by Christ through the priest or pastor. However, the affected person retains a sense of individual guilt, framed as sin, from which it is difficult to escape through confession.

[224] Among Kiyaka speakers in Kwango (Province Bandundu, DR Congo) this generally takes place in public. See the film *The oracle of Maama Tseembu* (Dumon and Devisch 1991).

[225] Willis (2004) discusses witchcraft accusations among the Bemba and Fipa of Central Africa and in Dahomey (Benin) and argues that accused witches are put under enormous pressure to confess during cleansing rituals. At the same time, Willis notes that, following cleansing, "most reports suggest that the self-confessed witches immediately resume their accustomed place in the community, without any hint of ostracism" (2004:131).

[226] On chiefs' handling of *ndoki*-children through endogenous law, see chapter five.

[227] Such stigmatizing approaches are an echo of the Christian tendency, since Saint Augustine (354-430) in *De divinatione daemonum* (1941), to demonize dreams, spiritual beings, witchcraft, and persons able to recognize ancestral messages, or who could see the future (such as diviners). In a

similar way, Saint Cyprian (200-258, in *Quod idola dii non sint*, 7), associated Satan with any kind of spirit possession.

[228] *Maciini* [spirits] are the unsettled spirits of the deviant dead among the Emakhuwa.

[229] Behrend 1997; Honwana 2002; Igreja 2008.

[230] Honwana 2002; Ganjo 2007; Kotanyi 2003a; Stroeken, 2010; Devisch 1991, 1994, 2012.

[231] *Svikwembu*' [spirits] in Xichangana/Xirhonga; *mpfukwa', gamba'* Cishona and Cisena respectively.

[232] During the limited time we spent with the children in Mama Elalie's village, we had the impression that the children could find comfort and eventually reintegrate in their communities. Beyond the doubts raised by the use of confessions that immure children in their phantasms, we wondered if the long seclusion of the children was not due to the fact that they provided subsistence for Mother Elalie and her family.

[233] The rejected children recall Devisch's (2002a:7) descriptions of 'witches' seen as "living fetishes: at the same time visceral intimate of yourselves and nevertheless driven back like abject garbage."

[234] Jacobson-Widding 1978, 1990, 1991.

[235] Devisch 1996b, 1996c, 2003b, 2004; Behrend 1997; Tonda 2002; Mayer 1998; v. Dijk 2001.

[236] See Devisch and Dumon 1991.

[237] Nathan (1992) suggests that chickens are the most widely used remedy in the world.

[238] Diviners identify the source of the disorder by linking their own perceptions to the past, and formulating indirectly, through metaphors, the origin of the witchcraft, which in Kwango will have a uterine origin. Speaking 'from the heart' or 'from the womb' (Devisch 1996a), the diviner re-establishes social relationships, creating or recreating lost or missing bonds. See also extended descriptions in De Rosny (1981, 1996).

[239] The practice of naming witches may be caused by Christian or political motivations. Mixed with ancestral frames, the persecution of 'witches' is associated with ancestral approaches (Meyer 1998; Behrend 1997, 2009; Stroeken 2010; Langwick 2011.)

[240] De Boeck 2000; Yengo 2008; N'koussou 2008; Fancello 2008.

[241] The semi-public confessions immure the children in their phantasms, like the sarcophagus of massive concrete covering the Chernobyl nuclear reactor. The lifetime of this sarcophagus is uncertain, but the substances inside remain hot, and like the 'hotness' in the children's narratives doesn't cool down.

[242] Such hybridization uses the individualizing characteristic of 'sin.' *Kindoki* [witchcraft] is reduced to an issue of individual responsibility for 'sin', which confuses the tangible with the intangible, night with day, mixing endogenous ancestral frames with Christian stigmatizing ones.

[243] As Tonda states: "The violence of the imaginary is this physical violence, which is exerted in a framework of missing distinctions between the real and the unreal, just as distinctions are missing between the figures of Evil, the witch, and the Holy Spirit" (2008:330).

[244] Devereux (1974) analysed the dreams of American Indians and showed how they are framed in the specific culture of each group, which the researcher must understand to avoid misinterpretation.

[245] Fischer 1999; Taylor 1999; Moore Sanders; 2001:14; Werbner and Ranger 1996; Latour 2012.

[246] 'Ancestral' refers here to the ancestors, those who first 'established' themselves in an area.

[247] People in Kwango may travel as far as 100 km in order to visit several *ngaanga ngoombu*. The involved persons take their decision after visiting at least two or more diviners.

[248] Verbal communication of a CERDAS anthropologist, University of Kinsahsa (2012).

[249] Jacobson Widding (2000:353) argues that there is no word in Cishona for « responsibility ».

[250] Referred to in two workshops by the chiefs, notables and assessor judges from Bas-Congo (2011/2012). See also Buakasa (1980).

[251] West Africa does have the endogenous frame of "ancestral child" or "child going on a wire" that enables people to deal with exceptional or difficult children (Kotanyi 1999b; Nathan 2000).

[252] Men are seen as 'children' as long as they are unmarried and without children.

[253] This aetiology is new in RDC. See *Cahier d'études africaines*, 2008, vol.1-2.

[254] See Kotanyi 2011a, 2011b. In DR Congo and Mozambique, a number of diviners, healers, chiefs and notables assert that they follow ancestral frames (rather than Christian or hybrid ones). From their point of view, traditional frames mixed with frames grounded in other paradigms,

contradict the aims of ancestral approaches. A similar transformation and perversion happens in the combination of *kindoki* discourses with modern free-market capitalism. The individual accumulation of material goods contradicts the basic rules of the traditional moral economy. Commoditization is combined with Christianity; God, like access to desirable goods, is far away and unattainable.

[255] Just as happens in urban Congolese contexts (see Tonda 2002, 2008).

[256] Buakasa (1980:142) explains for *kindoki* in the Kongo matrilineal context: "[it is] a special intelligence and higher than the human intelligence".

[257] Junod speaks of *vuloyi* as "black" and "white magic." Christian and non-endogenous observers devalue this paradigm by referring to it as 'occult'.

[258] Christianity in South and Central Mozambique is of earlier date than in Northern Nampula, where colonization happened later. This may account for differences in views on witchcraft.

[259] "*Kudlisiwa a Marambo ya Mbuti*" in Xichangana.

[260] Emakhuwa/Elomwe female healers and initiation rite counsellors insist that *okhwiri* [witchcraft] is first of all related to envy: "Where *okhwiri* appears, there is envy. Another type is *opuhula* [witchcraft] destroying others, when the witch takes sand from your footprints, and after that your feet will suffer: that is *okuasea*, off the sand that has been bewitched. There is *okhwiri* to make the people feel bad, become ill and die because of the envy for what you have and the witch does not. The envy may come because you have more food or more children, and the *nokhwiri* [witch] does not. Such *okhwiri* kills the person, makes the children suffer. It makes the *nokhwiri* happy, because everything is destroyed in your home, even the food. Sometimes it is a witch woman who wants to marry the husband of a woman whom she bewitches." (DIALOGO workshop, 2006).

[261] "When someone envies you for your good life, with animosity, he may bring misfortune to your family. A dispute may lead one brother to bewitch the other brother" Healer Mazingue (in 2008).

[262] Devisch (2005a:378) notes that in the view of Yaka, "domestic animals like dogs, clever companions to a hunter or traveller, are capable of showing the way to man's desired furthest utopia."

[263] "To say that you are bewitched, you say *kudlisiwa*, meaning you were 'eaten'; it means bewitchment through the meat of a goat. It happens at night, when sleeping. *Kudlisiwa* means a lot; it implies bewitchment by dreaming of eating something, some meat or some fish" (Helena, a Xichangana healer in Maputo, 2008).

[264] "Witches are people living with us during the day, but changing at night. Sometimes while dreaming you are struck, or you have sex with a man—all that implies that you were bewitched." They were similar statements of Cishona male healers/ chiefs (DIALOGO workshop in the centre, 2006)

[265] **'**Being eaten in the night' is widespread in sub-Saharan Africa, not only among Bantu speakers (Lallemand 1988; Thomas 2000). I first encountered it among Fulfulbe speakers in Boé (East Guinea Bissau) in the early 1990s. Some young men felt bewitched by their mothers, who were making good money by selling onions. The usual division of labour involves young men earning cash, mostly outside their rather isolated region. The women learned of a development project to produce for the market. The economically empowered mothers were accused by the young men in the village (sometimes their own sons) of having "eaten their sons in the night". I was puzzled at how a mother could 'eat' her own son. I later understood that 'being eaten in the night' addresses the shade and articulates social inequalities. Witchcraft as widespread levelling mechanism is a factors limiting economic development in sub-Saharan Africa. Sahlins's (1972) explains the internal logic of moral economies in societies relying on subsistence production.

[266] *Kudainza nuloi* [witchcraft of the night] in Ndau (Central Mozambique).

[267] Healers in South Mozambique (1999) refer to snails as the best source of remedies for children suffering from epilepsy. Snails are also used to treated major transgressions.

[268] The same metaphor of imprisoning the shade in the night is used in Mozambique and DRC.

[269] Cindau male and female healers, chiefs in central Mozambique (DIALOGO workshop, 2006).

[270] "You have witches passing on their witchcraft by giving food: this may happen during the night by dreaming, or through drinks. We call this type of *uloi* [witchcraft] *kudyssua*." Cindau-speaking male and female healers, chiefs in central Mozambique (DIALOGO workshop, 2006).

[271] "We treat *ufite* [witchcraft], [which is] done by giving meat to eat in the night. In such a case, a real healer must treat it because it is very difficult. The person dreams of 'eating meat', or being pursued by dogs, fighting, or naked people: all that is not good. When a person with good spirits dreams of these, and goes to diviners, they will tell you that you had meat to eat from the flesh of dead

people." Cishona-speaking female healer, diviners and rite counselors in Central Mozambique (DIALOGO workshop, 2006).

[272] Dreaming of having sex is not uncommon; the fact that it is seen as witchcraft shows that witchcraft addresses issues, which are not necessarily extra-ordinary. Freud ([1900] 1923) argued that dreams universally deal with emotions, expressing desires (e.g., dreaming of sex) and fears (e.g., dreaming of eating meat, burial). Among Bantu speakers, dreaming of sex is interpreted as witchcraft; Freud would consider it a subconscious desire of the dreamer; the local interpretations are different. I follow the local approaches, which are relevant for the dreamers (Devereux 1974).

[273] Healers suggest using *xigego* [metaphors] in order to make people listen better in HIV/AIDS counselling and prevention programs (DIALOGO research workshop in South Mozambique, 2006).

[274] Geschiere 1997, 2006b; Niehaus 2001; Moore & Sanders 2001; Kiernan 2006; Devisch 1999, 2001, 2002, 2005b; de Boeck 2000; Sanders 2003; West 2005, 2007; Tonda 2008; Fancelo 2008.

[275] *Vuloyi, uloyi/wuloyi, ufite, olaiwa* [witchcraft] in Xichangana, Cishona, Cisena and Emakhuwa.

[276] *Vuri* (in Ndau); *ansuti, xinzhuti* or *enzuti* (in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitswa); *eruku* (in Emakhuwa or Elomwe), *ntunzi* (in Cisena); *wuti* (in Cishona) in Mozambique. In Southwest DR Congo, the term is *yiniinga* in Kiyaka.

[277] Term used in management and describing the power of will.

[278] It explains the association of witchcraft with AIDS (Ashforth 2005; Niehaus 2007; Rödlach 2006; Wreford 2008, 2009) and Chapter Five in this study.

[279] Freud (1923) insisted on the reality of dreams; dreams are not mere representations, but rather experiences of the psyche. However, Mozambican and Congolese informants take a holistic approach, prioritizing a fundamental relation among the several *bodies* at play. From such a perspective, Freud's notion of the 'psyche" appears reductionist in his transformation of the spiritual body into an issue of the 'psyche'. Both approaches, however, have in common the idea that a troubled spiritual body ("psyche" by Freud) may be experienced through the physical body (regarded as 'psychosomatic' by Groddeck, 1923, 1933).

[280] For Mutata (healer), protective witchcraft is a 'courage": power/knowledge to fight dangers.

[281] Mutata, the Ametramo responsible in Chimoio, 2006, Central Mozambique

[282] Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Niehaus 2001:192; Meneses 2008:181-186.

[283] *Ntumbuluku* [Bantu tradition] is oral. Due to its flexibility and fluidity, its transformation into a written text loses these characteristics. African philosophers, anthropologists and psychologists have embraced the endless task of recording *ntumbuluku*.

[284] Behrend (1997) quotes Christian moralists arguing that "sending back" involves the same kind of witchcraft. Such critics neglect the metaphor involved, deal with them as though they are material actions of the 'day'. See also Geschiere 2013:76) quoting a Cameroonian healer arguing that the best way to deal with witchcraft is to send it back; in a Christian approach of such a framing, Mary (2009:15) regards that as responding to badness with badness.

[285] Van Binsbergen (2001:237-240) looks at the moral ambiguity involved in African witchcraft frames in which morality is defined in terms of taboos. Selfish individualism violates social norms and rules of reciprocity that are required to continuously (re)construct kinship bonds.

[286] Buakasa (1980); West (2005); Meyer (1999); Behrend (1997, 2011) discuss the neutral frame of the 'witchcraft' paradigm. Bayart (1989) discusses its political uses. Geschiere (1997, 1998, 2006b) and Comaroff et al (1999) discuss witchcraft given the increasing economic inequalities. Moore and Sanders (2001) analyze its resilience.

[287] „Fetishes act beyond discursive or cognitive order embedded in words, and paradoxically exploit and pervert society's order of law and reciprocity as internalized in the members' *habitus* or bodily dispositions" (Devisch 2002:178).

[288] Augé and Herzlich 1984; Thomas 2000; Devisch 2001, 2005a/b.

[289] See the film *La palabre qui tranche* (Kotanyi 2012). Several deaths (even of older people) one after another are considered a sign of clan disorder; the reweaving of social bonds often occurs through witchcraft "verification" in highly ritualized procedures (Augé & Herzlich (1984), Thomas (2000), Devisch (1979, 1981, 1999, 2001b, 2002, 2005a)).

[290] Devisch (1981) argues that the compensation that the clan of the man gives to the bride's clan (often called "bride-price") is usually returned after the death of the bride among the Yaka in Kwango.

'Bride-price" was originally an act of reciprocity used to weave the social bonds between clans. Currently the bride price is increasingly commoditized (e.g. in urban areas); in Kinshasa, "bride-price" became an issue of 'payment.' The amount required is so high that young men find it impossible to get married. The difficulties may be caused by the estrangement from their kin. E.g., the responsible uncle may live far away, or be unable or unwilling to provide the money. In Mozambique, "bride-price" is not an old-fashioned reality (Bagnol 2006). In patrilineal societies, "bride-price" still helps to secure the position of the wife (especially in relation to her access to her own children).

[291] Video of Cishona-speaking male healers and chiefs (DIALOGO workshop, 2006).

[292] See descriptions of ordeals in Retel-Laurantin 1974, 1976; Verdier 2010, 2011.

[293] This corresponds to Surgy's, 1994 observations for the Evhé and Ouatchi speakers in Togo.

[294] See Buakasa 1980; Behrend 1997; Geschiere 1995, 1997; Meyer 1999; Beidelman 1993; Bond & Ciekawy et al. 2001; Bryant 1927; Marwick et al. 1970; Niehaus 2001; Stroeken 2012; West 2005).

[295] This last point has strong relevance in the context of HIV prevention: See Chapter Six.

[296] In a personal communication.

[297] In a personal communication.

[298] Mystical traditions in Judaism, Christianity, Islam or Zen Buddhism all deal with paradox, however, in ways that differ from Bantu notions framed in witchcraft. Common to all is the association of paradox with 'secret' knowledge.

[299] According to Devisch, 'whoever abuses the life of a member of his own group is finally turned on himself and will consume his own flesh and self-destruct" (2002a:88).

[300] The notion of retaliation may be especially problematic regarding HIV, since patients insist they have been victims of witchcraft. Counselors should take care not to contradict HIV-positive patients who insist they are bewitched.

[301] Cindau male/female healers and chiefs in Central Mozambique (DIALOGO workshop 2006).

[302] The aetiology of witchcraft provides hope, which is fundamental for people living with HIV, as Nathan and Lewertowski (1998) observed among their African migrant patients in Paris. Their observations correspond to those of Wreford (2008) in a South African hospital treating AIDS patients, and to those of AIDS counsellors in Mozambique.

[303] Cindau male & female healers, chiefs in central Mozambique (DIALOGO workshop 2006)

[304] Cishona-speaking male healers & chiefs, - Central Mozambique (DIALOGO workshop 2006).

[305] See Behrend 1997; Meyer 1999; Langwick 2011.

[306] Parsons 1970; Kriege 1970; Gilbert 1989; Danfulani 1999; Fisiy & Geschiere 1990; Geschiere 1997; Devisch 1996a, 2001, 2002; Bond & Ciekawy et al. 2001; Eze 2001; Bongmba 2001; West 2005; Stroeken 2012. Diallo & Hall (1989:190-192) argues that a Malian person rooted in his traditional culture must negotiate between three sets of values: the animist tradition and those of Islam and the West.

[307] A general term used for witchcraft in Bantu languages in South Mozambique.

[308] *Okhwiri* of 'eating in the night' in Emakhuwa.

[309] *Nipako* 'bought' or 'done' with 'drugs' in Emakhuwa.

[310] In Kiyaka in Kwango.

[311] General term used for all kinds of witchcraft in Kikongo.

[312] Listed by Werbner in Eze 2001:280.

[313] See Eze 2001:280. Devisch (2001:113) argues that sorcery and fetishes, just like witchcraft as an inversion of the social ideal, act as imaginaries by which "the enchanted individual's explorations are driven by an insatiable desire for thrill and pleasure" (2001:107). Contrary to most interpretations connoting sorcery with subversive, demoniac disorder, Devisch (2001:116) argues that through the utopian and liminal power of "*floating signifiers"*, sorcery (based in the imaginary) opens a space "of vagabond desires, thrill, lust and immediacy of forces." These forces achieve effect through what Devisch calls "homeopathic reversal", - according to the widespread frame of "like-attracts-like logic" (Sanders 2008:155).

[314] See Van Binsbergen (2003), Wreford (2008) in South Africa; Stroeken (2012) in Tanzania.

[315] Geschiere 2001, 2006, 1995, 1997.

[316] Van Binsbergen 2001.

[317] *Uwavi wa kudenga* in Makonde (North Mozambique).

[318] "*Mirethe sowemaxa elapo"* [magia para colocar o regulado ou a terra em pé] in Emakhuwa.

[319] Moore & Sanders et al. (2001) ask to what extent globalization and modernity contribute to the rise of witchcraft, arguing that, while witchcraft is always present, it is augmented by increasing inequalities, high death rates due to epidemics or warfare, and increasing economic insecurity.

[320] In Guinea Bissau, a minister whose family lived in an isolated village (in Boé) could not return to his village because, accused of witchcraft, he would have been threatened by poisoning. I heard a similar story in Nampula, North Mozambique, where a healer who received too many presents from a film team died, presumably from 'poisoning', in this case perhaps even material poisoning. Bongmba (2001a) characterizes this aspect of witchcraft as totalitarian.

[321] Ciekawy 2001:168-169; Geschiere (1995, 1997).

[322] Geschiere 1995, 1997; Bayart ([1989] 2006); MacGaffey 2000.

[323] In Maputo, I was myself seen as a 'witch' while coordinating several research teams involving eight provinces. I must have been 'eating' from others. Jealousy did not come from our numerous local informants but from colleagues (academicians and those in the involved NGOs). The resulting envy led to end of the applied research.

[324] Ciekawy (2001) observed that the Mijikenda cannot imagine someone completing university, without having taken something from student colleagues.

[325] Ciekawy sees a fundamental ethical dilemma in the Mijikenda understanding: *usai* addresses tensions in competition for resources. It deals with and criticizes exploitation associated with the slave trade, greedy politicians and business people. "[*U*]*sai* therefore can be used unselfishly to benefit others and can contribute toward social reproduction" (2001:174), as much as it can just be used to benefit oneself.

[326] Mudimbe (1982:144-155), a Congolese philosopher, critiques Buakasa's (1980) study of the ambiguous implications of *kindoki*. He suggests incorrectly that Buakasa 'admires' and 'loves' *kindoki*. However, Mudimbe acknowledges that Buakasa's explanations of *kindoki* [witchcraft in Kikongo] show how this paradigm makes sense of the world in an original way. Mudimbe is ambivalent; when he speaks of a culture other than his own Congolese one, he recognizes and validates ambiguity (e.g., in his description of voodoo in Haiti), arguing that "Order and disorder, bad and good, death and life find a grounding and are integrated in a field of sense" (1982:159).

[327] Ciekawy discusses this need for separation; I question, however, when arguments grounded in daytime reality (Christian morality, capitalist values of competition) are used, since they can neither reach nor impede nighttime realities (*usai* or any other notion of leveling witchcraft expressing envy).

[328] «La vrai fonction de la pensée totalisante ne consiste pas à regarder l'être, mais à le déterminer en l'organisant." (Lévinas 1995:64)

[329] Such individualism, referred to as witchcraft "capacity" (i.e., knowledge) is expected in chiefs and initiated diviners and healers.

[330] Devisch 1996a, 2000, 2005.

[331] My own research, together with Lapika and researchers of CERDAS (UNIKIN) in 2011/2012.

[332] Kotanyi 2003a West 2005, 2007; Bagnol 2007; Mariano 2007; Meneses 2010; Israel, 2011.

[333] See Geschiere (1995, 2013); Bongmba 2001a, 2001b.

[334] Ashforth 2005; Niehaus 2001, 2007; Wreford 2008, 2009.

[335] Bongmba (2001:54-55) interprets *tfu* in terms of discourses on power and personal ambition, on gender; on the acquisition and distribution of wealth; and in Christian and theological terms.

[336] In Mozambique and DR Congo, the decision-makers are, to a great extent, part of the elite, more influenced by Christian dualism. Members of the Mozambican elite, referencing a socialist morality, rejected for a long time any religion as backward 'obscurantism' (see Honwana, 2002). Elites often practice a dualism similar to that found in Christian religious frames, publicly reducing witchcraft to 'evil', but privately using occult forces in order to protect themselves (e.g., in wartime), or in order to obtain special powers or strength (Matsinhe, 2006, argues that all Mozambicans use the services of diviners and healers).

[337] E.g. Marwick 1965; Middleton and Winter 1963; Turner 1954.

[338] Latour (1991) argues that modernity is characterized by its tendency to 'purify' by neglecting hybridity in favour of 'pure' science free from irrationality.

[339] The pertinence of Latour's (1991) criticism has been amply demonstrated (since 2008) in financial policies and in the crises of so-called "rational" economic systems. See *Minding the markets. An Emotional Finance View of Financial Instability*, David Tuckett (2011), Palgrave Macmillan, New

York. Or *Thinking fast and slow*, Daniel Kahneman (2011), Penguin, London. Both show the role of psychology and the unconscious in economic and financial decision-making.

340 See also Meyer and Pels (2003) on notions of 'magical cognition'.

341 The moral power at stake, however, is not to be confused with an "allocation of responsibility" (Glückman 1972 and Laidlaw 2014), which may easily lead to an interpretation of "witchcraft" accusations in Africa in terms not corresponding to the social kind of morality involved. I discuss such interpretations in the current *ethical turn*, after the descriptions and analyses in Chapter Six of the ways that are used in living law to neutralize harmfulness in *kindoki* [witchcraft] accusations.

342 Csordas (2013: 525) asks: Does it make a difference to distinguish ontological, cultural, discursive, or personal understandings of evil in relation to morality? He questions whether a critically refined concept of evil is necessary to understanding morality (2013:526) and if evil should be elaborated as a moral or existential category.

343 See e.g. Honwana 2002; Igreja 2003, 2008; Stroken 2010. And see Meyer's 1998 and Behrend's 1997, 2011 demonstrations of how in Ghana and Uganda Christianity transformed – e.g., through translations of the Bible – local notions of "spirits" into evil, which had not been unilaterally the case in local pre-colonial approaches.

344 The aim in bewitchment is always to reach a living person, even if it may sometimes involve the use of 'spirits' to achieve states of bewitchment among some living persons.

345 Devisch 2001, 2002, 2003; Geschiere 1997, 2006; Behrend 1997; Moore and Sanders et al. 2001; Bond and Ciekawy et al. 2001; Stroeken 2012; Igreja 2013.

346 Augé & Herzlich 1984; Devisch 1979, 1981, 1993, 1996.

347 Geschiere 1995, 1997; Comaroff & Comaroff at al 1999; Stroeken 2012.

348 Sahlins 1972; Ciekawy 2001; Geschiere 2006b.

349 Devisch 1981, 1983, 1993; Augé & Herzlich 1984; Vincent-Thomas 2000; Geschiere 1995.

350 *Deterriorization* means in this context, e.g., a lost of sense of belonging on certain territory and mixtures of different linguist groups e.g. in urban context.

351 Behrend (1997, 2009, 2011); Tonda (2002, 2008); Niehaus (2001); Martinelli, Boujou (2012).

352 Behrend 1997, 2009; Devisch 2000, 2003b, 2004, 2011; Pfeiffer 2005; de Boeck 2012.

353 See, among many other authors, Comaroff et al. 1993; Comaroff 1999; Moore & Sanders 2001; Geschiere 1995; 2006, 2013; Niehaus 2005; Ashforth 2005; West 2005; Rödlach 2006; Behrend 2009; Quantara 2010; Israel 2011; Meneses 2008; Igreja 2014.

354 See Sanders 2001, 2002. Quantara (2010) claims that witchcraft "emerges as a moral discourse that points the finger against a body politic that accumulates wealth and power through its social exclusion." (2010:188-189). He agrees with Ronald Frankenberg (1992: xviii) that "the incarnate body (in contrast to the merely biological) is the living site of a contested hegemony of power." (Quantara 2010:189).

355 Meyer 1999; Behrend 1997, 2011; Shaw 2001; Langwick 2011.

356 See Geschiere 2005; Tonda 2009; West 2005; Meneses 2008; Israel 2011; Igreja 2014.

357 Given increasing inequalities, Mozambican and Congolese elites have very ambivalent relationships to the paradigm of witchcraft: they are the first to be accused of witchcraft, of accumulating at the cost of others, when not redistributing enough or not at all. The last may be due to the fact that elites are very often people living in the urban areas with high expenses, becoming unable to support their poorer relatives in the measure those expect it. While, the agriculture practicing rural relatives might claim not to receive enough reciprocity for their agricultural support of urban life. Even more, the urbanized family members often turn to their relatives in the rural areas in order becoming food from the agricultural production. Finally, elites are often factually 'eating' the richness of the country, not sharing its fruits with the majority of the population.

358 See Fisiy & Geschiere 1990 ; Bayart 2006; Niehaus 2001; West 2003, 2005a; Geschiere 1995, 1997, 1998; Comaroff & Comaroff 2003; Asforth 2005; Rödlach 2006; Israel 2011; Igreja 2014.

359 Geschiere 1997, 2006, 2013; Comaroff & Comaroff 1993a, 1993b, 1999; Moore and Sanders 2001; Devisch 1993a, 1996a, 2003c, 2005b; de Boeck 2001, 2004; Tonda 2008; 2009 Fancello 2008; Martinelli and Boujou et al. 2012; Stroeken 2004, 2008, 2010.

360 I pointed out earlier the similarly violent phantasms of young European children that Melanie Klein analyzed and described: children in England may dream about "eating the mother's breast."

Notes of Chapter Five

[1] The way the health ministries or the involved national and international organizations approach the AIV/AIDS epidemic influences the efficiency of interventions, which is also weakened through the extreme under-valuation of positive potentialities of mobilization implied in the social and cultural approaches.

[2] Research realized partially with CERDAS, supported by CARITAS, GTZ Health, and Health Focus.

[3] In DR Congo, I showed a film documenting local ('traditional') health practices in Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003a); healers and chiefs in Kwango and Kinshasa argued (just as in Uganda, Senegal, Rwanda, and Guinea-Bissau) that "we do it in the same way." Although this might seem to merely express politeness, this not the case, as demonstrate Janzen (1989, 1992, 2000); Jacobson-Widding & v. Beeck et al. (1990, 1991); Van Dijk, Reis & Spierenburg et al. (2000). Beyond specific, differently framed practices, different spirits and approaches, traditional medicine in the sub-Saharan Bantu-speaking context is grounded in some commonly shared basic paradigms (described in this study) with which healers and diviners deal in ways involving some differences but applying the same paradigms and, most often, also very similar framings.

[4] See Appendixes 5.2, 5.3. and 5.4., Green 1994, 1999, 2003, 2011; Ingstadt at al. 1997; Gausset 2001; Wolf 2001; Ashorth 2005; Rödlach 2006; Niehaus 2007; Wreford 2008, 2009; Quantara 2010.

[5] http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/country/documents/MOZ_narrative_report_2014.pdf

[6] Mozambique had in 2008 approximately 1.8 million people infected with HIV and approximately 800,000 AIDS orphans, some of whom live in child-headed families without any adults (MONASO, June 2008) and UNAIDS (verbal presentation at the first AIDS conference in Mozambique.)

[7] In Mozambique, people living with HIV/AIDS report of their sequential consultations either of *ngaanga*, *nymosoro, mukhulukana* [healers/diviners] for divination, and for cleansing ritual treatments, or of Christian (Zionist, Pentecostal, etc.), Islamic, or other kinds of religious healing. Often the biomedical services are consulted only after 'resolving' the issues framed as "belonging to the family". When patients first consult the hospital but remain ill, they make later consultations with traditional or religious healers. People seek responses to the misfortune through disease, illness, or what Langwick (2011) calls 'maladies'. Janzen, 1978, describes for West Congo the complementary use of several kinds of medical services provided by, the most diverging kind of medical agencies.

[8] "A country requires at least 2.5 workers in health for each 100 inhabitants." (Arnaldo & Muanamoha, 2011: 46). **Arnaldo, C. and Muanamoha, R.,** 2011. „Comportamento Demográfico e desafios de Desenvolvimento sócio-económico em Moçambique", *Revista de Estudos Démograficos* 49, Pp. 37-52.

[9] 2nd Workshop in central Mozambique of the "DIALOGO" research (MONASO & CVM), unpublished study (five days workshop in July 2006) with 29 rural and 4 urban key informants: traditional authorities, initiation rite counselors, healers and diviners of three provinces of central Mozambique covering four Bantu-speaking cultures (facilitated by several anthropologists, sociologists and linguists (Mariano, Chuva, Mabasso, Lafon, Constantino and Followara), coordinated by Bagnol and Kotanyi.

[10] A **Elomwe/Emakhuwa-speaking** semi-urban healers defines health as *ekumi* [life] or *murettele* or murecele [wellbeing]: "I know that life [*ekumi*] is to prevent [*wicacala*], to not do what is wrong for your body, to be well and to eat well." For an urban male Elomwe healer, *ekumi* is to not get ill, to be able at least to eat during the day. But also to have financial conditions to live happily, while for a rural female Elomwe healer and initiation rites counselors, health, *murettele* [wellbeing] implies not having disputes with one's husband and being well with the children and all family members. Women insist that wellbeing requires the children passing through youth initiation. **For Cisena-speaking rural women**, *ugumi* [life] as wellbeing implies to be in peace with the spirits, allowing the body to accept food and get fatter and well. Also, the lack of worries allows happiness and wellbeing. *Ugumi* also connotes "to have a free heart," which for an older woman means living without anger and in spiritual peace. A group of Cisena-speaking men refer to *ugumi* as "to have good blood" [good vital energy] with the will to eat well, while Cisena-speaking women say that *ugumi*

depends on not having any anger or wishes for vengeance against anybody else. **For a Cindau healer in Cindau,** *ugumi* requires first consulting a diviner before going to the hospital in order to avoid 'bad' spirits or *uloyi* [witchcraft] jumping to one's own child or wife. Not treating such prior dangers would incur the risk that "your 'flesh' [physical body] remains heavy. You will just lose 'blood' [vital force], but the remedy (through injections) will not enter and not help your body." **For Cishona-speaking women**, health (*uthongo* [life]) implies living well in the community without envy that causes one to lose *uthongo*. Beyond not being ill, *uthongo* necessary to clean clothes and house, produce in the fields, sell the produce and have money to buy what is needed. **For Cishona-speaking men**, *uthongo* is: "To become old with white hair. To take care of your life: to take care not to have a lot of sexual partners."

[11] In Emakhuwa or Elomwe (North Mozambique).

[12] In Cisena and Cindau (Central Mozambique).

[13] In Cishona (Central Mozambique).

[14] These are extracts from 33 participants in a research workshop with diviners, healers, initiation rites counselors of both genders, chiefs, and notables selected in accordance with their high recognition by their community members (from three provinces), speaking four diverging Mozambican Bantu languages, some patrilineal, others matrilineal.

[15] See section C in chapter three concerning the hot/coolness humoral approach. See Carol R. Ember, Melvin Ember. 2003. "Encyclopedia of Medical Anthropology", N.Y.: Springer Science+Media, Inc.

[16] The observation that biomedical definitions and approaches are mechanistic and reductionist applies in most parts of the world and is not specific to Africa (see Gordon 1988; Young 1982; Forster 1976). However, biomedicine does not practice the same kind of medicine everywhere in the world. For example, after a cancer operation in advanced hospitals in Germany, patients are offered the choice between several types of psychotherapy, as this is said by doctors to account for 50% of their healing chances.

[17] Markus and Kitayama (1991:227).

[18] Di Giacomo summarized in a concluding statement: "Biomedicine (…) tends to approach disease as an individual problem to be treated on an individual basis. (…) Such an approach will never serve to help to contain the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Sub-Sahara Africa." (Medicus Mundi Cataluny 2006)

[19] See H. Himmich, president of the Moroccan association combating AIDS, and V. Pelletier, director of Coalition PLUS (in Le Monde, 2 Décembre 2015, supplément Science & Médecine, p.8).

[20] E.g., pictures on posters of prevention campaigns would not show couples alone, but in their community and extended family, addressing these contexts; they would show the strong relationships of the persons and activate a sense of respect for others in terms of protecting others and oneself from the epidemic.

[21] An example which illustrates diverging *selves*, or simply diverging behavior of the same person in the context of HIV/AIDS of activists who can, as a private person, not want to use condoms, although he regularly teaches their use to HIV-prevention volunteers. Or that an HIV/AIDS-prevention promoter may not want to take an HIV test, and is not disposed to accept his own HIV-positive stage with all its social and family consequences. See Bagnol, 2006. Both examples could also apply in social and cultural context which emphasizes independent personhood.

[22] Like the notion of witchcraft [w*uloyi, okhwiri, nipako* or *kindoki*].

[23] *Mwuloyi* (Xichangana), *nokhwiri* (Emakhuwa, Elomwe), *ndoki* (Kikongo), *buloki* (Kiyaka).

[24] A friend in the capital, Maputo, once ensured that his daughter's doctor (who was best able to successfully treat her) really gave her all the required constant attention after that he informed the doctor's social surroundings that he was treating his deathly ill daughter. All of the doctor's social surroundings put pressure on him by securing social control with regard to his required constant support. Interdependence facilitates social control, which may lead to greater efficiency in HIV prevention.

[25] To call a spirit means a ceremony of evocation like a *kuphahla* or *mhamba*, in which the living family members remember him, communicating with him in an offering-ritual (see description chapter one).

[26] The healer refers to spirit of a dead person persecuting a family member who has symptoms which are, in this case, identified as being caused by an unsatisfied "home spirit", demands regular attention which will allow him to be satisfied and join the other ancestors, no longer persecuting but instead newly protecting, the affected family members.

[27] *Svikuwembu* ['spirits' of all kinds] are the *moya* [air/breath] of the living surviving after the death and becoming either ancestors or "bad" spirits seeking revenge.

[28] Xichangana healer, from South Mozambique (1st workshop "DIALOGO", 2006).

[29] See Mahumana et al. (2007:31); Honwana 2002; Igreja 2003; Ganjo 2008; Meneses 2000, 2004a, 2004b; Bagnol (2006), Fialho Feliciano (1998), Martinez (1989); West (2005); Kotanyi (2003a, 2003b, 2005) showing the importance of the spiritual world for the wellbeing of the living in Mozambique.

[30] Responsibility is called *a tifanelo* in Xirhonga*,* Xichangana and in Zulu.

[31] Mahumana et al. 2007:54-56; Dauphin-Tinturier, 2003:194; Richards, 1956:85. Dieckman, 2007.

[32] Richards 1956; Tempels 1969; Mbiti 1969; Himua 2003; Dauphin-Tinturier 2003; Mahumana et al. 2007; Salomonsen 2008; Knox 2008; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009; Arnfred 2011; Bangol 2011.

[33] In an African country like Mozambique, which is among the poorest in the world, social isolation is not only a psychological issue but a question of material survival. Poverty and the environment require a high level of group solidarity and cooperative reciprocity in order to be able to survive.

[34] As described in chapter three, "wrong" behavior in sexuality is, in this cultural framework, related to transgressions of prohibitions [*svayila* (in Xichangana) or *mwiikho* (in Emakhuwa/Elomwe)] provoking social disorder that is perceived as caused by "*pollution"* (as 'social' contamination).

[35] As suggested in HIV campaigns in the first years of the prevention campaigns against the epidemic.

[36] The cultural necessity of dying in your place of origin, or at least being buried there, motivates migrants to ensure that they come back home. Not dying at the place of your origins brings a high risk of becoming an errant spirit and not a well settled protective ancestor that is at peace. It is one of the reasons why HIV-infected migrants in South Africa who have developed full-blown AIDS tend to return home to Mozambique as late as possible.

[37] It was reported by women (during training to introduce initiation counselors to teaching girls during initiation rites to respect HIV/AIDS prevention (in Sofala, 2005). See Bagnol and Mariano 2008 and 2007.

[38] This implies experiencing emotions which affirm the interdependency, maintaining a connection to others as a primary necessity of interdependent persons for whom inner individual feelings may be less important in determining one's actions.

[39] See Dewisch 1993, 1996a), or in Zimbabwe (Rödlach 2006), in South Africa (Comaroff at al 1999; Ashforth 2005; Niehaus 2008), in Tanzania (Beidelman 1993; Sanders 2001, 2003; Moore & Sanders et al. 2001; Stroeken 2010) or in Cameroon (Geschiere 1995, 1997, 2006b).

[40] Honwana 2002; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008; Bagnol 2006 show all the strong power of revenge of the so-called 'bad' spirits seeking compensation over generations because of their 'bad' death.

[41] In a verbal presentation.

[42] The motivation to want to know about one's own state of infection concerns the need to have oneself tested for the diagnosis of the health 'disorder' and secure effective prevention practices, assuming (social) responsibility in securing prevention for others and oneself. Corbett et al. (2007), Matovu et al. (2003), Cremin et al. (2010) show that there are significant changes of behavior among persons who have HIV-positive test results. They also show that there are few behavior changes, if any behavioral gains, among those who test HIV-negative. See also Green, 2011:139/159.

[43] See Mauss [(1922) 1990]; Lévi-Strauss, [(1950) 1987]; Sahlins 1972.

[44] See Chapter Four, and Wreford 2008, 2009.

[45] We had these experiences in 2003 in workshops organized by ACTION AID Mozambique and CIDAC (Portugal), supported by the EU Commission, and in 2006-2007 in several workshops organized by the Red Cross of Mozambique with the support of MONASO and CNCS (national council combating AIDS) in Mozambique. I had similar experiences in Bissau (in 2005), Rwanda (in

2004), and Kinshasa (in 2010) in a workshop conducted together with Bruno Lapika with several AIDS counselors and educators.

[46] Witchcraft is easily activated where inequalities are more visible, which occurs more in cities.

[47] Devisch 1985, 1990. See Chapter Two.

[48] Limited social control has the consequence of the constitution of large sexual networks is identified as one cause for the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS in a modern African context like in Uganda or South Africa (Thornton 2008). Rapidly changing sexual partnership constitutes large sexual networks and is a significant factor for the dimension of the HIV epidemic in African countries (Green, 2003, 2011) and is common in Mozambican cities according to the study of N'weti (Magaia 2008), as it is also the case in rural and semi-rural areas close to main roads, industrial centers, mines, and so on (Mahumana et al. 2007: 46-50).

[49] Since 1992 the number of new churches has continually risen in the cities in Mozambique.

[50] According to Triandis, the potential of behavior control from "in-groups" depends on the sanctioning of transgressions by the "in-group" members. The question arises: Why has HIV transmission diminished so little in Mozambique in the context of growing participation in religious "in-groups"? How strong are "in-group" sanctions in the context of these groups or churches?

[51] Since Portuguese colonial times, the Catholic Church was stronger in Central/North Mozambique.

[52] N'weti study (Magaia 2008).

[53] This tendency to fear being informed about one's own state of infection is specific neither to Mozambique nor specific to HIV or AIDS (see Sonntag, 1978, on cancer in USA).

[54] Medical doctors working in the area of HIV maintain that once a person has HIV, they will always have the virus in their blood and so will be able to transmit it to others. But people in Mozambique with a negative HIV test result can rarely accept that argument; when getting a negative test result after years of treatment, they think they are healed. Even in urban contexts, they ask themselves whether the biomedical diagnosis was right, or whether the healers might perhaps have been addressing the "real" cause of the disease after all (meaning the reference to some transgressed taboos). After taking ARV for a long period, the level of CD4 cells may become so normal that the HIV test might not appear as positive anymore. This can lead people to assume that the HIV virus has disappeared forever from the blood.

[55] According to UNAIDS (2000b, 2002), WHO (2001), 80% of the people use traditional medicine in sub-Saharan Africa.

[56] The history of the fight against the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Mozambique since 1986 is well documented by Matsinhe (2006), who analyzes the involvement of the state and NGOs.

[57] Even if access to health services might have improved, they will not reach more than 50% of the population, given poor access to transportation for the rural population.

[58] Bagnol and Mariano realized between 2005-2007 such deep studies about sexuality perceptions and practices in the Tete province in Mozambique (2008).

[59] Pisani (2008) and Mema kwa Vijana (2008). See two long term studies in Tanzania demonstrate that cognitive information does not promote HIV prevention among youth, in Policy Briefing Paper: No.10, November 2008 and Technical Briefing Paper: No.7, November 2008 at: www.memakwavijana.org

[60] With a general literacy level of 50.4% (INE 2007).

[61] « Estratégia de Alfabetização e Educação de adultos em Moçambique (2010-2015)", Republica de Moçambique, Conselho de Ministros, 1. Marco 2011:7.

[62] In Botswana (25.5% to 23%), in South Africa (18.1% to 17.3%), in Zimbabwe (18.4% to 14.9%), Namibia (157% to 13.4%), Zambia (15.7% to 13.4%), Malawi (12.1% to 10%), Tanzania (6.2% to 5.8%). (Nakabonge, 2013:32, based on World Bank statistics).

[63] Bidaurratzaga-Aurre and Colom-Jean 2012:235; Nakabonge 2013:4.

[64] PEN III, INSIDA 2009, UNAIDS fact sheet 2012.

[65] Including Botswana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Mozambique has the highest percentage of external resources for Health among eleven African countries between 2000 and 2011 (Nakabonge, 2013:4.).

[66] Debate December 14, 2005 at the "Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade (FDC) about "HIV & COMUNICAÇÃO: IMPLICAÇÕES DOS ACTUAIS MODELOS DE COMUNICAÇÃO NA

PREVENÇÃO E TRATAMENTO DO HIV/SIDA EM MOÇAMBIQUE" "Moçambique online" https://br.groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/mocambiqueonline/conversations/topics/4387?var=1 (March 10, 2014).

[67] Several NGOs in central (ANDA Manica, ADC in Sofala) and North Mozambique (UATAF, EHALE) working in HIV prevention, education and health tried to mobilize funding in 2009 in order to implement such approaches between 2009 and 2013 – without success.

[68] Healers who are volunteers of the Red Cross of Mozambique report that they are not allowed using their healer skills.

[69] "Matriz Plano Operacional da Estratégia de Comunicação do PEN III (2012)", Maputo: CNCS.

[70] "DIÁLOGO: Projecto de Luta contra o HIV/SIDA pelo Diálogo entre Praticantes de medicina moderna e praticantes de medicina tradicional" of the Red Cross of Mozambique (CVM) and MONASO financed by CNCS (National Council combating HIV/SIDA in Mozambique, funded by the World Bank (2006-2007).

[71] Junod 1996; Turner 1968; Beattie & Middleton 1969; Corin & Bideau 1975; WHO 1976, 1978; Chavunduka at al 1978; Janzen 1978, 1987, 1985, 1989, 1992, 2001; Ademuwagun, et al., 1979; Kleinman, 1980; Bideau et al., 1979, 1980; Kapapa, 1980; de Rosney, 1981, 1996; Mahaniah 1982; Yoder 1981, 1982; Msonthi 1983; Gelfand et al. 1985; MacLean & Fyfe (eds), 1986; Hours 1986; Adam & Gomes 1987; Dozon 1987; Good 1987; Van der Geest & Reynolds-Whyte 1988. Boddy 1989; Jacobson-Widding & Westerlund (eds) 1989; Das 1990; Kirchner 1990; WHO 1990; de Boeck 1991; Taylor C. 1992; Devisch 1993a/b, 1996b, 2001, 2002; Good 1994, 2001; Sindiga, et al. 1995; Ventevogel 1996. Reynolds 1996; Pigg 1997; van Geest 1997; Forster 1998; Toit 1998; Willis & Chisanga 1999; Kajombo 1999; Craveiro 2000; Waite 2000; Waldram 2000; Chakanza 2000; Sitholi 2001; Ruether 2002; Hoppers et al. 2002; Honwana 2002; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008; LeBeau 2003; Helman 2004; Bateman 2004; Kotanyi 2003a/c; West 2005; Luedke and West at al 2006; Langwick 2008, 2011.

[72] Ingstad 1989, 1990, 1997; King 1994; Green 1994, 1999a/b; THETA 1998; Gune 2001; UNAIDS 2000, 2001; Bukali 2002; Leclerc-Madlala 2000b; Homsy et al. 2004; Mahumana 2004; Kotanyi 2005; Prometra 2005; Asforth 2005; Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007; Kotanyi & Macaringue et al. 2008; Taylor T.N. 2005, 2008, 2009; Wolf 2001, 2007, 2008; Wreford 2008a/b, 2009; Green et al. 2009; Green & Ruark, 2011.

[73] PEN II, 2006-2010, of the CNCS, Maputo.

[74] There are exceptions confirming the rule, like some nurses with deep cultural knowledge, who mediate wonderfully between the diverse paradigms.

[75] Ingstad 1990; Gausset and Morgensen (since 1992); Ingstad, Bruun and Tlou (1997); Green (1999a) made early (since 1992) assertions of the necessity of bridging local and biomedical understanding in order to achieve more efficiency in the approach to HIV and AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa.

[76] The German responsible for HIV/AIDS in the central office of the German Cooperation told the director of a German consulting agency (around 2011) that a socio-cultural approach to HIV/AIDS was not necessary in Africa. Africans should just follow their advice, which is sufficient for combating the epidemic in Africa. The reality shows the contrary; the many years of institutional support that GiZ gave to the CNCS coordinating AIDS combat in Mozambique neither helped diminish HIV prevalence nor led to a more democratic distribution of the enormous external resources.

[77] Mozambican NGOs started to develop only since 1992 and have still limited experiences. First, NGOs were engaged in "democratization", post-war humanitarian "reintegration", and "war traumatization" management, and then became involved in economic reconstruction and development. The creativity of many NGOs is limited through their nearly complete dependency of external financial supports.

[78] Exceptions are PROMETRA working with healers, AMODEFA (in Maputo), former SALAMA, currently EHALE (NGOs in Nampula) or WIWANANA created by Swiss SolidarMed in Cabo Delgado.

[79] See film by Gaspar (2007) of the Ministry of Health, or Gaspar (2011). The biomedical doctor emphasizes the negative aspects of traditional practices, without showing the positive elements of cultural practices that could support prevention and failing to meet the people "where they are" (Freire 1970a, 1970b, 1975, 1978, 1985, 1993).

[80] This is the case in the health program of WIWANA in Cabo Delgabo province, or of EHALE in Nampula province, which both work with 'traditional' agencies, but only in order to teach them biomedical approaches. Also, the department of traditional medicine and HIV/AIDS of the Health Ministry developed a program of ten days' training for healers, teaching biomedically oriented knowledge. They now teach healers to promote condoms, without using their strong educative potential for behavior change (see Devisch and Crossmann 2002). Nurses and medical doctors are inclined to teach healers unilaterally, without seeking reciprocal learning; this is a general tendency that I also observed in 2001 in THETA in Uganda, who were the first to cooperate very seriously with healers to fight the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

[81] Matsinhe (2006) shows the diverse stages of inadequate HIV/AIDS prevention messages over the years (focused on prostitution, etc.) and presents the widespread skepticism in Mozambique with regard to condom promotion as the main means of prevention (see Green & Ruark 2011). "Social marketing" is the technical term used to speak about the promotion of "objects" (latex "bags"), which are supposed to be applied in the most intimate interpersonal sexual and emotional relationships. While they prevent HIV transmission, condoms also hinder life transmission, which is seen as constitutive for the wellbeing of any person, giving meaning to life (Mariano and Paulo 2009). "Social marketing" describes the marketing of an object (the condom) as if this object has social implications, yet in reality it is promoted purely in terms of individual use. The promotion of condoms is massively financed through western aid.

[82] Bagnol & Mariano 2008; Mariano et al. 2011.

[83] See Chapter Three, Matsinhe 2006; Mariano and Paulo 2009; Mariano 2014.

[84] Global Funds, USAID, PEPFAR, GIZ, World Bank, and other international donors.

[85] Inconsistent use of condoms includes questions of whether condoms are used in each sexual intercourse (in vaginal, anal, and oral sex), or whether the condom is used throughout sex, from start to finish, etc. It also concerns the practice of holding the tip of the condom and unrolling it onto the erect penis, leaving space at the tip of the condom, yet ensuring that no air is trapped in it. And it depends on adequate lubrication to prevent condom breakage, and on whether the condom is past its expiration date or the manufacturing date indicates that the condom is too old. See http://aids.about.com/od/condominformation/a/Propercondom.htm.

[86] E.g., Harvard University medical anthropologist E. C. Green (1999, 2003, 2011) fought at the international level, working for WHO and UNAIDS defending the above-described necessities, but his advocacy found little echo; "the show goes on" in the sense of non-inclusive promotion of HIV prevention.

[87] During the DIALOGO research, Mariano heard from healers that a pregnant woman should often have coitus, which is assumed to help the baby grow (personal communication of Esmeralda Mariano).

[88] The common interruption of ARV treatment, with the consequent spread of resistant viruses, is a taboo issue, which affects several interests, not least those of the pharmaceutical industry.

[89] Narciso Mahumana, the director of ISEDEL Mozambican University claims that NGOs and governments should look for sustainable ways by which to promote ownership) and focus more on promoting behavior change by mobilizing local agencies (Nakabonge 2013:41).

[90] It even seems not to need to have much success in combating the epidemic (for certain people involved), but more in maintaining the income prospects of those working in this business (Pisani 2003; Green and Ruark 2011). Such remarks by healers in South Mozambique may sound cynical, but they unfortunately just reflect ongoing realities. I experienced that academicians seeking more income destroyed complex applied research implemented in several provinces, attempting to profit more from the limited available money and preventing an efficient contribution to combatting the epidemic.

[91] In DR Congo, official institutions were interested in applying a culturally sensitive approach to HIV prevention, but their sources of (external) funding ended in 2011.

[92] In Uganda, nurses of the NGO "THETA" have systematically and continuously taught healers since 1998, while in Mozambique such programs are rare or interrupted, without allowing time to finish the planned program (like the program in which Green participated (1992-1994) or the "DIALOGUE" project of the Red Cross of Mozambique with MONASO, which was interrupted after the first successful year (Kotanyi at al 2007). PROMETRA, working with healers, have difficulties getting support in Mozambique. International cooperation accepts supporting rare short trainings (e.g.,

of women counseling in female initiation rites) without providing continuity or extending the successful approaches, which are, however, highly appreciated locally (Kotanyi, Krings-Ney 2009; Prometra 2007). Also the Swiss cooperation supported the health program of SorlidarMed with WIWANA that teaches healers in Cabo Delgado.

[93] It is also claimed by the President of Mozambique, Guebuza (2005). The national Council against AIDS noted earlier, but has since forgotten: "As campanhas de IEC não se têm traduzido em mudança de comportamento. Um dos principais argumentos para a falta de eficácia das campanhas tem sido a natureza das mensagens difundidas, cujo conteúdo é muitas vezes culturalmente inadequado, não produzindo, por isso, a desejada mudança de comportamento. Hoje ninguém contesta que o HIV/SIDA além de ser uma questão médica e epidemiológica é também um fenómeno com marcada dimensão cultural." (CNCS 2004: 3). See among others Green 1999b; Matsinhe 2006; Bagnol 2007; Mariano 2007; Mahumana et al 2005; 2007, Kotanyi and Macaringe et al. 2008; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009.

[94] "But to solve the problem of AIDS, we need to go into our communities, take into consideration our rites, our customs, such as when a child grows up, those initiation rites. We think we can make a difference by making this fight against AIDS part of our cultural practices" (Guebuza 2005, - in my own translation).

[95] In 2006-2007, the research project "DIALOGO" identified and studied, in eight provinces of Mozambique, with more than one thousand key informants, central elements of social, cultural, emotional, and spiritual approaches to HIV and AIDS; however, the results have not been used in the extend as it should have been. The CNCS, which financed the research, did not put the results on its website; until today, the generally applied mainstream approach of HIV and AIDS in Mozambique take very little develop an inclusive dialogue with the locally grounded social and cultural values, norms and practices.

[96] WHO 1990; Lapika Dominfu 1996; Ingstad et al. 1997; Lewertowski & Nathan 1998; Green 1999a/b; Weiss at al. 2000; Unesco-UNAIDS 2000; Muyinda at al 2001; Sithole 2001; World Bank 2001a/b; Wolf 2001, 2003; Benn 2002; Himua 2003; Maluleke 2003; Onjoro 2003; Soma & Kessler Bodiang 2003; Richter 2003; Homsy, Kinga, Balabaa & Kabatesia 2004; Airhihenbuwa & De Witt 2004; Offe 2004, 2010; Ashforth 2005; Kotanyi 2005; Matsinhe 2006; Rödlach 2006; Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007; Krings-Ney 2007; Bailey, Moses, Parker, et al., 2007; Taylor T. 2005, 2007, 2008; Kotanyi et al., 2008; Knox 2008; Bwira Kaboru et al. 2008; Halpering & Bailey 1999; Wreford 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Salomonsen 2008; Kotanyi & Krings-Ney 2009; Green & Dlamini, Duby et al. 2009; Becker & Geissler, et al. 2009; Leclerc-Madlala 2009; Bingenheimer 2010; Green & Ruark 2011; Prometra 2007; UNAIDS 2000, 20001; UNESCO 1999, 2002, 2002, 2003; WHO/UNAIDS 2007; Zigon 2009.

[97] The mother/child services in hospitals in DR Congo and Mozambique observe that mothers are more motivated (as men) to know about their state of infection; they want to protect their child, securing their healthy life.

[98] See Douglas 1990, 1994; Ingstad 1990; Green 1999a/b; Gausset 2001; Wolf 2001; Kotanyi 2005; Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007; Kotanyi & Krings Ney 2009.

[99] Kövecses [(2000) 2007] analyzes the emotional power of metaphors. Lakoff & Johnson [(1983) 2003]; Fernandez (1972, 1974; 1982) show that metaphors shape perception and actions.

[100] Finnegan 1992; Calvet 1984; Correia de O. 2006; Nhaombe 2002; Manjate 2000; Martins 2005.

[101] On the one hand, the largest part of the rural Mozambican population does not speak the official Portuguese language and speaks one of the Bantu languages. On the other hand, several terms that are used in the HIV/AIDS prevention discourses do not exist in the local Bantu languages.

[102] The Tanzanian long-term study was realized over a period of ten years by "Mema kwa Vijana" (in www.memakwvijana.org, Policy Briefing Paper Nr.10. Nov.2008).

[103] See Chapters Three, Four, and 5.1. and 5.2.Appendixes of this study.

[104] Reported especially in semi-rural and rural areas (provinces Nampula, Sofala, in 2005, 2006, 2007).

[105] Mozambican organization promoting community theatre that follows August Boal's approach.

[106] The promotion of the use of Communitarian Theater for HIV prevention is often an initiative of urbanized theater people with good intentions. As the trainers or facilitators are often personally

involved in the Christianized religious, or political non-religious context, few of them have deep knowledge of the local cultures, which they do not necessarily recognize as valuable, and often seen as backward-oriented. The well-intentioned Community Theater groups reflect in their activities the ongoing war of epistemology.

[107] Amos Pinga (healer in the South) explained to me (in 2008) that *a tifanelo* [responsibility in Xirhonga] connotes respect for oneself with respect for others, as in all the studied cultures. Jacobson-Widding (2000:3539) shows that in the absence of a term in Cishona to address the notion of 'responsibility,' some use the term '*basa,'* which also means work.

[108] *Inzimba* in Zulu (Berglund: 1976:84).

[109] Berglund, 1976:86 and Coleso, J.W., "Ten Weeks in Nathal" (Cambridge, 1855).

[110] See Part III in this chapter.

[111] *Wisuwekeke* in Emakhuwa and Elomwe, *a tifanelo* in Xichangana. The Cindau-speaking healer Mazinge addresses responsibility in the terms of supporting *kuchidjikira*, just like the Cindau diviner woman Hakwa calls responsibility *mutemo kuchidjikira* [securing]. *Mulimire wapanhumba* in Cisena. Xirhonga healer speaks from *mulaveleli,* for taking care of your home.

[112] For the diviner Hakwa, *kutenderwa* [responsibility] addresses an interaction between two persons; for instance the *kutenderwa* of a woman towards the parents-in-law. In the Mozambican patrilineal societies of South and Center, a woman's respect for her parents-in-law – doing what they ask of her, as the wife of their son – is her greatest obligation.

[113] Green shows (1999, 2003, 2011) that each year of delay of the start of sexual intercourse may significantly limit HIV infections in very young girls, who are specifically vulnerable for vaginal injuries in cases of sexual intercourse with older men, given that their sexual organs are not yet sufficiently developed.

[114] Universal rights claim that each individual must be respected, but should the respect of individual interest occur at the cost of others? Such questioning is easily misunderstood as a disrespect of human rights.

[115] Female initiation counselors in central Mozambique show that initiation teaching restraint is more about women's empowerment than about women's oppression (see part IV below).

[116] *Munhu* (in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa), *munthu* (in Cindau) in Mozambique; *muutu* (in Kiyaka in South-West DR Congo, Devisch, 2003).

[117] Person as a whole is *luunga* in Kiyaka in South-West DR Congo (Devisch, 1993a:132).

[118] In Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitzwa, which is erooho (in Emakhuwa, Elomwe), *mudzimu* (in Cishona) *maxiaia* (in Cindau), *nzimo* or midzimu (in Cisena, or Xigorongozi) in Mozambique. Called *m-mooyi* in Kiyaka in South-West DR Congo; Devisch (2003c) connotes it with intermediary vital force, uterine vital flow transmitting life.

[119] Following Mahumana 2013 for South Mozambique, in Xichangane and Xirhonga.

[120] *Muzimbha* (in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitzwa), *muviri* (in Cindau), *manungi* or *ntupi* (in Cisena, or Xigorongozi), *muiri* (in Cishona), *erutthu/mwili* (in Emakhuwa, Elomwe) in Mozambique.

[121] *Xinzhuti, ndzhuti* (in Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitzwa), *vuri* (in Cindau), *eruku* (in Emakhuwa, Elomwe) in Mozambique. Called *yiniinga* (in Kiyaka in South-West DR Congo (Devisch 2003c).

[122] We saw in Chapter Two that, in another conceptualization for South Mozambique, Mahumana (2013: 153) regards, for the Xichangana/Xirhonga context, the physical body as the first instance, combined with *xiviri* ['spirit/soul'] and *ngati* [blood]. Mahumana argues (2013:152) that according to the local knowledge of his research subjects, *ngati* blood "works to balance, to vitalize, to run or flow through the body and protect it from sickness." However, he does not state that *ngati* implies the notion of vital force, and does not show the intermediary function of the *ngati* vital force, which is central according to my numerous research subjects, and corresponds with my observations of the practices in health and lived-law. The conceptualization of this issue, as presented by Mahumana and his research subjects, shows stronger influences of biomedical concepts that are less prevalent in North Mozambique (Nampula province). These different conceptualizations reflect the different ways of dealing publicly with the paradigm of *wuloyi, okhwiri* or similar notions of 'witchcraft,' reflecting the differences between patrilineal and matrilineal societies.

[123] In a Christian context, angels are assumed to protect the living; in order to explain the role of ancestors to me, healers often say that they protect like angels, with the difference that ancestors are near the living, in the earth, rivers and trees, while angels are near the creator God in the sky.

[124] Result of my research (for MONASO) in July 2007 in several districts of Nampula, conducted jointly with the linguist Carlos Mucamisa.

[125] See Ngubane 1977. According to Mariano, a midwife in Inhambane province argues that *nyakwari* [vermins in Xitshwa] lives in the stomach and stops diseases (2007:19-20), while several informants agree that *nyoka* [in Xichangana/Xirhonga] also is involved in fertility issues.

[126] She is in her region a well-known *nyamusoro* [healer], who heals with spirits and divines.

[127] The term *moya* has different significations in several different Bantu languages, including in Mozambique. Whereas during the DIALOGO research the research subjects/participants used *moya* to address "breath/air," connoting it with "spirit," Mahumana uses *moya* as "temporary sicknesses (2013:152) or as "environmental and social 'pollution' (2013:160) which can provoke illness." This illustrates the heterogeneity at work in the studied context, in spite of several other strong similarities.

[128] Joana Calonga, in Mariano, 2007:19-20.

[129] *Erooho* is, according to Salimo, placed in the middle of the chest.

[130] 'Shade' is here an all-comprehensive notion including all the extensions of the physical body with all its secretions listed above (Devisch 2002a, 2002b).

[131] This is what Green (1999, 1999b) refers to as local notions of germs.

[132] In Xitshwa, Xichangana; *nyakwadi* in Cindau in South and Central Mozambique (identified in the DIALOGO research, 2006-2007).

[133] In Xirhonga, Xichangana and Xitzwa in South Mozambique (idem).

[134] In Xirhonga and Xichangana in South Mozambique (Mahaumana 2013:164).

[135] In Cisena in Central Mozambique (idem).

[136] In Cishona in Central Mozambique (idem).

[137] The diviner and healer Mazingue, in 2008.

[138] See Fernandez (1972) about the notion of topography in the context of the use of metaphors.

[139] Morgensen and Gausset 1996; Ingstad 1997; Green 1999a/b; Wolf 2001; Kotanyi 2005, Mariano 2007; Bagnol 2007; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009.

[140] According to a verbal comm. of a regional UNAIDS representative during the AIDS conference of the civil society of Mozambique in 2008, Mozambique has the least rate of HIV-testing in southern Africa.

[141] Several medical anthropologists (e.g., Janzen, 1998, 2001, Schluessler 2001) differentiate, like Green (1999), between natural and supernatural categories of social and cultural etiologies in sub-Saharan Africa.

[142] See Appendixes 5.1, 5.2. and 5.3.

[143] Kotanyi 2010; Kotanyi and Lapika 2011.

[144] Farmer 1996; Asforth 2005; Rödlach 2006; Wreford 2008a, 2008b.

[145] Comaroff and Comaroff (1993, 1999) observe that the rising belief in occult forces in Africa is related to the dramatic rise of global neo-liberal capitalism and of exclusions, to the breakdown of the public sphere, to increasing poverty, to illicit accumulation and to inequalities. The authors interpret the rising of witchcraft as protest. Moore and Sanders (2001) question this increase of occult beliefs, even though many people in Africa do have this perception. For Sanders (2001:62), the Structural Adjustment Program of the IMF and World Bank leads to a marketing of the occult on the 'free' market. Geschiere (1995, 1997) and Fisiy (1996, 2001) describe the modernity of witchcraft in Cameroon used in the field of politic and moral versus capitalist economy, which would create new inequalities and 'new' versions of witchcraft framings. See Chapter Four and Six.

[146] Behrend (1997, 2009, 2011) shows how the rise of religious witch-hunting movements and the rising pressure to confess evil/satanic 'sins' result in a proliferation of cannibal discourses.

[147] A thirty-two years old widow in South Mozambique, 2008.

[148] The infection might have happened due to an unsafe blood transfusion, unclean syringe or other instruments during biomedical treatment. Healers might also infect people by using unclean razor blades.

[149] Fifty years old woman: born in Bas-Congo, living in Kinshasa, 2010.

[150] Whyte 1997; Farmer 2001; Ashfroth 2005; Cross 2005; Rödlach 2006; Niehaus 2005, 2007; Wreford 2008; Quantara 2006, 2010; Kotanyi 2005; Kotanyi & Krings-Ney 2009.

[151] Like the majority of the more than 500 interviewed diviners, healers, initiation rites counselors and chiefs between 2006 and 2008 in South and central Mozambique in the DIALOGO research (MONASO, supported by Red Cross Mozambique and CNCS).

[152] A medical doctor in Paris specialized in a hospital to treat people with chronic diseases.

[153] From such statements by healers/diviners it is obvious that the healers understand that neither cleansing nor sending back the bewitchment really helps a patient affected by HIV. Some famous healers developed complex treatments, combining several treatments to 'cover' all possible frames: first treating digestion with plants; second, treating sexuality with other plants; third, applying plants having natural anti-retroviral effects; and fourth giving plants to strengthen the vital forces.

[154] Changes in the physical state can be provoked by rumors in the surrounding social world, and one's own imagination – a process of influences which can be explained through the notion of the psychosomatic

[155] Thanks for this information given in 2005 by Dr. Isabel Garcia Almeida in Bissau, from the NGO ALTERNAG in Guinea Bissau (West-Africa) based on her observations of HIV patients.

[156] Healers in South Mozambique argue that they have plants with anti-retroviral effects which seem less disturbing (than the "heavy" ARV medicines) for patients with limited access to food. Patients who use such plants often try to regularly verify their state of HIV infection at the hospital (without informing the hospital about which medicine they really use, because the hospital would not accept it).

[157] Just incest cannot be cleansed.

[158] Behrends 2001; Becker & Geissler 2009; Dilger and Luig 2010; Devisch 1996.

[159] Farmer 1992; Rödlach 2006; Niehaus 2007; Quantara 2010.

[160] Like *wuloyi, uroyi, ufite, okhwiri*, in Mozambique, or *kindoki, buloki* in DR Congo.

[161] Wolf 2000; Dilger and Luig 2010.

[162] Verbal communication of the representative of UNAIDS (first National Conference of the Civil Society on AIDS in Maputo, July 2008).

[163] Geschiere (2006) insists on witchcraft as based on rumors; it is assumed to fall back on those activating it. This versatile characteristic of witchcraft is one reason why some people might fear to use it in
prevention campaigns; however, it is a strong mean to address morality in a way that people may understand
the weight if the issue.

[164] Prevention campaigns and education centered to transmit just cognitive information about biological ways of HIV transmission might even hinder the people to listen; many tend to close their ears so as not to be polluted by vocalization of words such as "sex", "blood" or "death" through radio and so on, as healers and chiefs of both genders explained in North Mozambique. See chapter three discussing the thermal frame in the Mozambican Bantu culture.

[165] Green and Ruark, 2011 show with comparative statistics that HIV testing in Africa motivate infect4ed people to assume more preventive behavior (especially by married couples), but that to know the own negative state does not lead to augment preventive behavior (prevention being at weakest by unmarried men). I still suggest that reduction of infection through responsible behavior of infected and informed persons is a useful objective in prevention education.

[166] Those applying an inclusive approach in Mozambique are threatened with disciplinary procedures by their superiors. In DR Congo, where the ideological barriers are smaller, there is the problem of the poor payment of the overburdened biomedical staff, which discourages them from assuming more (badly paid or unpaid) work.

[167] It is because of the strong potential of healers living in the communities, that THETA, a Uganda NGO of biomedical trained nurses and doctors started since 1998 to cooperate very systematically with healers all kind, providing them a good training with an extended follow-up during one year, with encounters each mounts. The strong input made by THETA in training time allowed building a network of healers cooperating with the biomedical services. THEA shows that cooperation is possible and useful for the patients and also for the efficiency of the biomedical services. Homsy et al. 2004 present results of THETA cooperating with healers by ARV treatments and prevention of transversal transmission of HIV. See also "Best practices of UNAIDS", 2000 and 2002, reporting

experiences of positive cooperation with healers concerning HIV and AIDS in several countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

[168] Homsy 2004; Bwira Kaboru et al. 2008; T. Taylor, 2005, 2007, 2009; Wreford 2008, 2009.

[169] THETA is an NGO constituted by biomedical doctors and nurses, who train in a one year program healers to support the diagnostic, treatment, care and education to prevention of HIV/AIDS.

[170] The government declared the recognition of traditional healing since 1992 and formulated a strategy toward traditional medicine, creating AMETRAM, a national organization of healer founded by FRELIMO members in order to control the healers of Mozambique. The issues related to traditional medicine involves highly controversial political issues in the recent history of Mozambique, which Honwana (2002, 2003) and Igreja (2003, 2006, 2008) discuss with the required involvement as Mozambican and scientific authors, showings that the controversies between the FRELIMO official policy prohibiting any tradition after independence, and RENAMO supporter defending traditional practices since the civil war (1980-1992). Both authors show that beyond the politicized controversies, adherents of FRELIMO are involved with the power of spirits and witchcraft, even when they publicly neglecting it.

[171] See also Faxelid 2008 for Zambia; Homsy, Kinga, Balabaa and Kabatesia 2004 for Uganda; Langwick 2008; Wreford 2008.

[172] Xichangana/Xirhonga/Zulu healer build in Mozambique or South Africa specific families of initiated healers [*b'andla*], which are similarly organized as a normal kinship structure (see Mahumana et al. 2007:33).

[173] See Honwana 2002 and descriptions of initiated anthropologists like Wreford 2008; Stroeken 2010.

[174] Green conducted applied research with healers in Mozambique from 1992 to 1995, which was interrupted by the Ministry of Health (Green 1999b).

[175] In DR Congo in 2010 the district hospitals in Kwango (largest district, 200km from Kinshasa) had no capacity to keep remedies in the required uninterrupted cool conditions, and could not ensure uninterrupted ARV treatment for their patients.

[176] Nakabonge (2013:21) notes that the Ministry of Health and CNCS (PENIII) recognize that most AIDS patients prefer traditional remedies to biomedicine.

[177] See UNAIDS, 2000, 2002.

[178] The largest hospitals in Berlin (Germany) treating any cancer, doctors counsel their patients after an operation to choose one of the several available psychotherapies, which would provide 50% of the healing. Why should these recommendations not concern diseases related to the weakened immune system?

[179] *Ntima* [heart in Cisena and Kikongo].

[180] The support of healers in motivating people to undergo HIV testing, their complementary treatments, their contribution to the limitation of stigma, together with the motivation of securing greater practice of HIV prevention, are potential contributions of diviners and healers. See Green & Ruark 2011, recommendations.

[181] According to the WHO, it is practiced in 28 countries in western, eastern, and North-eastern Africa, in parts of Asia and the Middle East. "*Eliminating Female Genital Mutilation*", World Health Organization, 2008, pp. 4, 22–28. See p. 4, and Annex 2, p. 24, for the basic classification into Types I, II, III, and IV. See Annex 1, p. 22, for the adoption of the term "female genital mutilation". See Annex 2, p. 23–28, for a more detailed discussion of the classification. See Annex 2, p. 24, for a discussion of Type IV.

[182] See the descriptions by Arnfred (2011) corresponding mostly to my own observations in a central district in the province of Nampula (Muecate), while Arnfred's observation happened mostly in Ribaue.

[183] See Richards (1956) 1982; Gluckman 1962; Turner 1967; Krige 1968, Dias 1970; Himua 2003; Dauphin-Tinturier 2003, 2008; Ravalec Mallendi, Paicheler 2004; de Mathieu (1985) 2009; Medeiros 2007; Lembe Masiala 2008; Beidelman 1997; Melo 2005.

[184] Bukali 2002; Maluleke 2003; Dauphin-Tinturier 2005; Krings-Ney 2007; Dieckmann 2007; Kotanyi and Krigns-Ney 2009; Salomonsen 2008.

[185] For the revival of communitarian parts of the male initiation in Zambezia, see Himua, 2003.

[186] Junod (1996:85-86) refers to the disappearance of male initiation among Xirhonga speakers at the time before the invasion of Manukuse; The chief Chaka stopped with this rite among the Zulu because the permanent need of the youth for war did not allow a three months reclusion time in the bush for initiation.

[187] In Nampula the research was realized with the linguist Carlos Mucamisa., supported by MONASO

[188] Instituto Nacional de Estatística [INE] 2007.

[189] Martinez1989; Cipire 1992; Kotanyi 2003b; Cafuquiza 2004; Dias1970; Himua 2003; Junod 1996; Kotanyi 2003b; Medeiro 2007; Dieckmann 2007; Kotanyi & Krings-Ney 2009; Arnfred 2011; Bagnol 2011.

[190] See Medeiros (2007) extended bibliography of initiation rites.

[191] In North-west Zambia at the border to Congo and Angola.

[192] Initiated women in Muecate district (Nampula), on the way with the novice girls to that three, sing that they are searching for the 'elephant'. It corresponds to the song of Zigua and Ngula women of East Tanzania, on the way with initiation novices to search for the 'leopard'. Elephants and leopards stand for male potency and sexuality in which girls are introduced along the rite.

[193] These frames common for several Bantu-speaking cultures are described in chapter three.

[194] While male rites concentrate on one stage around the circumcision.

[195] The practice of *labia minora* elongation is no longer categorized by the WHO as organ mutilation. Esmeralda Mariano, a Mozambican anthropologist researching on fertility told me that she heard of a small incision made on the clitoris in case of certain diseases or by infertility. Between 1999 and 2008, I did not hear from any genital mutilation either in Sofala, nor in Nampula; due to the high valuation of female and male sexuality as an interdependent issue, genital mutilation would totally contradict the spirit of female (an male) initiation, which testimonies the valuation of pleasure by man and by woman.

[196] Accepted as an older woman, I could discuss it openly with female healers and Godmothers.

[197] See description by Tamale 2005; Bagnol and Mariano 2008; Arnfred 2011.

[198] The whole ceremony works by chance, similarly to the several techniques of divination; It is a ritual issue, which is treated ritually; it is not framed as 'sin', but it might imply shame for the involved girl. However there is no verification of the color of the vagina, as it happens in Sofala, where a red vagina is interpreted as sign for sexual activities (according Krings Ney personal communication).

[199] This observation is also confirmed by Arnfred's (2011) descriptions.

[200] *Nkulu uwama pnungu* (in Cisena) and *mulipa olaka* ou *namalaka* (in Emakhuwa).

[201] *Npungu* in Cisena and *namuku* in Emakhuwa/Elomwe, called *madrinha* ('godmother' in Portuguese), which must be an initiated woman, who is still menstruating (see Arnfred 2011:178)

[202] Called *ntombo* in Cisena.

[203] Called *nkasi nkulu* in Cisena.

[204] Prohibitions of initiation at this date of 1972 before independence was in Sofala much due to the influence of the Catholic Church, supported by the colonial power, both influencing the devaluation of the communitarian part of the rites, which in the other provinces of the North was much more influenced later by prohibiting campaigns of the socialist regime after the independence. Meanwhile, the Catholic Church developed own 'initiation rites' making competition to the endogenous rites, which however, only few girls will not follow; these rites are even highly valuated (in 2005) in the urban setting of the second biggest city of Mozambique, in Beira.

[205] Arnfred (2011) shows in differentiated ways the complex emotional power of female initiation in the Makhuwa context, also for women belonging to FRELIMO – the party that prohibited such initiation.

[206] The ritual principle of transformation through the inversion of the established social norms is described by Turner 1968; Devisch 1981, 1995, 1998a. Berglund (1976: 363-382) describes inversions at funerals, concerning shade, and at puberty rites. These correspond to inversions occurring in dreams.

[207] Initiation rituals often include performances in which behavior usually connoted to a certain gender is inverted (in burial rituals it is the behavior of the living which is inverted (Berglund, 1976: 370-379).

[208] Power and Watt (1997) argue that "gender as origin is inseparable from ritual power and from ontological ambiguity – humans metamorphose into non-humans, females into males." (1997:104). The authors report on Kohoisan female initiation in South Africa, in which the neophyte during her seclusion performs hunting, holding bows and arrows, which women normally should never touch. Khoisan's representations of supernatural potency are embodied through paradoxical unities of opposites performed by women possessing both vulva and penis (Power and Watt 1997:110), which is similar to the performed inversion during female initiation in North Mozambique.

[209] Inversions are not signs of rebellion towards the usual order, but means allowing their confirmation through a cathartic stage of chaos. This holds also for inversions performed in any *thwasana* [graduation of healers] or in the seclusion during initiation in the secret society of *eyootho* unsettled spirits [*maciini*] in north Mozambique.

[210] In Martinez (1989:145). This coincides with Sanders (2008) explanations about how transformations are achieved in rituals (fertility and rain-making) among Tanzanian Bantu-speakers.

[211] In contrary to Emakhuwa's practices in Nampula, the Cisena/Cindau speaking women in Sofala have no specialized counselors for the initiation of the girls; it is the families, which designate the *npungu* [counselor, a 'godmother'] of their daughter. While in Nampula, each community has one main master [*namuku, namalaka, namungo, nalombo, mankosi* in Emakhuwa] of counseling, who has a few master assistants; it is this group of counselors who gives the counseling along the initiation. The *namuku* [individual counselor] chosen by the family is in Nampula just giving support and supplementary counseling to the *mwali* [neophyte], but the main counselors are the common masters of the community, and as such central personalities responsible for the education of the youth (female and male) (See Arnfred 2011:178-179). This difference between both provinces underlines the fact that the communitarian parts of the female initiation did disappear in the provinces of Sofala, Manica during many years, secluding the youth initiation on the level of the family, which privacy protected and preserved the practices of female initiation. In Sofala it is a well accepted elder woman or healer who will verify as an external *npungu* [counselor], if the given counseling is correct and complete.

[212] Labia elongation and circumcision constitute a 'cultural' differentiation; initiated Makhuwa people see uncircumcised men and women without prolonged labia minor as 'uncompleted' and less cultivated persons.

[213] In the context of Elomwe- and Emakhuwa-speaking initiates, it is counseled that the man offers a *capulana* [lain cloth in Portuguese] the day after sexual intercourse.

[214] While the ritual task division differs between the matrilinal and patrilineal contexts, in both it is the man who is supposed to manage the outside contacts and deal with conflicts and politics. The latter is compensated in the matrilineal context by the strong ritual position of the women (Geffray 1990a), which, according to my own observations (Kotanyi 2003b) and Arizcurinaga Zeballos (2008), also has much more political influence than is apparent, due to the most recognized woman [*apwiamwne*], which each head of communities or head of families requires.

[215] In the South, where initiation is not practiced, most of the counsels are also given at the first menstruation, before the traditional marriage (*lovolo* [bride price ceremony and offering]) and before the birth of the first child. However, it does not imply the elongation of the labia and the counselling in relation to sexual intercourse; there are no teaching through dances or rituals. These elements build a 'capital' of the initiated woman, which is appreciated by non-initiated men from the South. Nevertheless, the moral weight of the taboos is thought similarly in all studied Bantu-speaking cultures.

[216] Csordas (2002) speaks of *somatic modes of attention* as "culturally elaborated ways of attending to and with one's body in surroundings that include the embodied presence of others." (Csordas 2002:244).

[217] In all the Bantu cultures studied, healers put emphasis on thinking with the heart (see Chapter Two). Makhuwa healers on the north coast of Mozambique identify a second heart, a "spiritual heart" [*erooho*], which they see as a component of the physical body that defends a person; I found this idea only among Emakhuwa speakers in the North, not in South and Central Mozambique (see Chapter Six). The entire person, including the physical body, is in Makhuwa/Lomwe thought and practices "protected" by the ancestors alone; the physical body is unable to protect itself.

[218] In Nampula, a non-initiated person cannot see the dead; it is a heavy taboo requiring cleansing in order not to affect the others (Kotanyi 2003a).

[219] In cities like Nacala Porto or Nampula, the communitarian ceremonies happen in the court of a house, e.g. that of the 'queen' or one of the '*madrinha*' [godmothers in Portuguese], the individual *namuku* [counselor in Emakhuwa] of a initiated girl.

[220] My studies on female initiation rites started among the Makhuwa in the Muecate and Mecuburi districts of Nampula Province (lasting from 1999 to 2003). The Makhuwa comprise 33% of the Mozambican population and most live in five northern provinces.

[221] In 2014 I implemented the same approach with UATAF in Ribaue (in the Makhuwa matrilineal context in the Nampula province) with the required cultural, regional and linguistic adjustments.

[222] Realized in 2005, supported by AGEG & Health Focus, funded by the German cooperation (GTZ).

[223] Edited from 90 hours of filmed interviews & healing practices in northern/southern Mozambique; 95 hours of film about traditional forms of conflict resolution in Nampula from 1999 to 2002 including filming from several female initiation rites stages, which were not published as they involve female "secrets".

[224] The HIV-education approach used in the workshops was based on research over several years and applied Paulo Freire's (1970) dialogical pedagogy.

[225] The approach in the form of dialogical education (Freire 1970) applied to promote HIV/AIDS education, also followed Devereux's (1972) concept of complementarity. According to Devereux, human social life functions on two parallel, and equally relevant, complementary levels; culture is spatially specific, while there are human universals levels. Combined, the results of analyses of both levels give a complete — complementary — picture of human beings.

[226] The choice of three women participating for each community in the training should imply one individual counselor, who should be a well-accepted woman of her community, and who is accepted by the other women to teach them. They were identified in each community with a large participation of the women; the second participating woman should be a healer treating STDs who deals with the cleansing of transgressed taboos. The third woman should be the spouse of the chief, securing a wide dissemination of the new approach and facilitating the negotiation of adjustments of some of the local practices (e.g., widow/widower cleansing after death involving sexual intercourse).

[227] The introduction workshops were given by myself as an anthropologist in applied research, combining research with teaching the *npungu* [individual counselors in Cisena] how to include HIV-prevention education in their counseling of the girls (Kotanyi 2005a). Later, gynecologists working in the region made follow-up visits in the communities between October 2005 and July 2007 (Krings-Ney 2007; Kotanyi & Krings-Ney 2009).

[228] *Funhe* [small vermin] is the term used in Cisena in order to address microbes or similar germs.

[229] In Sofala, the Cindau participants argued that in their communities, people only cleanse with plants, not using coitus, while in the majority of the Cisena-speaking communities, coitus is also used.

[230] A metaphor identified by PROMETRA Mozambique (Mahumana 2013:190).

[231] The steps in the teaching in this context are described in Appendixes 6.1. and 6.2.

[232] Mozambican nurses confirmed Green's (1999a/b) idea that notions of social transmission (pollution) through taboo transgressions and the biological germ-transmission concepts need not be in a conflict

[233] The trained counselors later trained other counselors in their community and resumed practice of the communitarian parts of the girl's initiation; empowered through the new counsel learned in the training with the nurse, the *npungu* [counselors in Cisena] acquired a greater weight in their community and are regarded with the recognition given to people assuming social responsibilities. The most active were healers and women committed in Christian churches; they felt reinforced in their identity by practicing an education of their youth that follows their own way, not forsaking education only to state or religious institutions.

[234] Also abortion (a taboo) is hot and connoted with killing and as such seen as witchcraft.

[235] See the video documents of girls' initiation in Kotanyi 2003b. At the time that I finalized this film document for the INDER, (a research institute integrated in the Ministry of Agriculture), the person responsible at INDER disapproved of the fact that I added to the film '*VIVER DE NOVO: Nao se decide sozinho'* some scenes of the female initiation rites. I did this because they constitute an important part of the Makhuwa culture and were part of the post-war reconstruction; the members of

the filmed communities wanted to show their importance (of what the regime of FRELIMO prohibited between 1978 and 1992, contributing, among other things, to the prolonged civil war). But, at the first official showing of the film in Maputo, the Minister of Agriculture (in 2003), who was originally from Zambezia, where these rites play a central role, as in Nampula, congratulated me on the documentation of this central practice of youth initiation, regretting that it is so briefly documented in the film. However, up to today, the national authorities in South Mozambique tend to devaluate the youth initiation; the official attitude is still influenced by the campaigns against them organized by the Frelimo party in the 1980s.

[236] Medeiros (2007) shows that circumcision in male initiation is related to women's menstruation.

[237] However, girls being taught to never refuse sexual intercourse with their husband, it requires negotiation with initiation counselors for a wife to impose her own protection when her husband practices multiple sexual partnerships. Statistics show that men/women in married couples (given the epidemic) accept respect for fidelity more than unmarried men/women in Africa (Green and Ruark 2011:205-206).

[238] According to the statistics of the Mozambican Ministry of Education (INE 2012).

[239] We had positive experiences with UATAF in 2014 in the rural district of Ribaue in negotiations with such local multiplicators concerning the necessity of delaying the start of male initiation, which currently tends to begin at too early an age, thus hindering the transmission of important counsels concerning sexuality and STD & HIV prevention. The chiefs and healers accorded to delay the age of male initiation.

[240] Differences between female rites in Mozambique currently and Zambia are, e.g., the calendar of the events of *Chisungu* initiation in Zambia for 1956; the second stage of the rites takes considerably fewer days and several framings are applied differently from the way initiation is practiced today in Central and North Mozambique in rural and in urban areas (which in Mozambique diverge strongly from each other).

[241] Mariano and Paulo 2009, Mariano 2014.

[242] See also, among others, Jacobson-Widding and van Beek et al. 1990a.

[243] Richards' descriptions (1933-1956), like Krige's (1943), are fundamental showing that a full initiation is only achieved through participation in several initiations (at least six) and bearing a child (Dauphin-Tinturier (2003) describes that it must be at least three children.

[244] Islam as practiced most of all in North Mozambique does in general not compete with youth initiation. But the Christian churches (all kinds) criticized maturity rites since the colonial time, as did, and still does, the institution of the official school education, which feels threatened by the required seclusion times of the initiation coinciding with the formal schooling times. Feminist movements engaged in the general struggle against female sexual mutilation in Africa and for the liberation of women also criticize and mistrust any type of culturally grounded youth maturation rites in sub-Saharan Africa generally, and in Mozambique in particular.

[245] Richards 1956; V. Turner 1965, 1967, 1968; Grohs 1980; Dauphin-Tinturier 2003; Himua 2003; Salomonsen 2008; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009; Arnfred 2011.

[246] Moore, Sanders and Kaare et al. (1999); Adamuko Ampofo (2004).

[247] See the official statistic from the Mozambican Ministry of Education, covering the time between 2008 and 201.The missing of girls in schooling is, according to available statistics, more related to domestic work, to illness, or early pregnancy.

[248] Similar critiques have appeared in trials in Germany, in which judges argue against religiously motivated circumcision; they reflect more an ideological war than a real concern with the health and wellbeing of the involved.

[249] Leclerc-Madlala (2000a) criticized cultural practices, which are not inherent to women's initiation but are often connoted with them, like the virginity test (in South Africa); they are currently used by mothers desperate not to lose their daughters to HIV infection. The critiques argue that the negative outcome of such testing will dishonor the girl, placing the burden of early sexuality only on women. In and through such rituals, men are not involved in the social critique. Additionally, some males misuse virginity-test festivities as an opportunity to rape virgin girls.

[250] Mass media report as 'traditional' the non-ancestral practice of men infected with HIV in South Africa or Zimbabwe, who argue that healers propose cleansing through sexual intercourse with

a virgin girl, whose undoubtedly 'cool' nature could have the power to 'cleanse' males who are HIV-positive. Most traditional healers condemn such practices. In Bantu *ntumbuluku* [tradition], it is not an ancestral 'traditional' way of cleansing, but belongs to the *anti-societas* practices of witchcraft. The rape of virgin girls purportedly for purposes of cleansing misuses traditional logics, pretending to cleanse through 'witchcraft', which is not part of the described local traditions. The internal logic of raping virgin girls would be that the excess of 'hotness' of HIV infection would be 'cleansed' through an extreme of heat of such a strong transgression.

[251] In research realized for the Ministry of Education of Mozambique.

[252] Education given in maturity rites can also be taken advantage of to counsel girls to get schooling, allowing especially women to participate more actively in the 'modern' world (and in economic growth); this just implies negotiating respectfully with the rites counselors, motivating them to advocate in this direction in their counseling.

[253] Since colonial times and, in Mozambique, also after independence, a massive condemnation of male circumcision was advanced in the name of progress, of biomedical 'sciences' and hygiene (condemning also female initiation, even when performed without any sexual mutilation). However, male initiation with circumcision is practiced in Tete, Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Nampula and in parts of Zambezia (concerning the largest part of the population of Mozambique). These are all provinces where HIV prevalence significantly lower than in the south/central provinces where circumcision and male initiation is not practiced anymore. Revival did not happen in central Mozambique, while in northern Zambezia in the Lomwe context it has been happening since 1992 (Himua 2003). Men did not have the power to bring about the revival of these rites on their own. They argue that they need the support of NGOs, which cannot happen without funding, while in north Zambezia the Elomwe-speaking people insist that a man must be initiated, receiving the respective counseling and also becoming circumcised.

[254] With the disappearance of the counseling through the eldest through circumcision in early years, the gap between the generations is growing instead of diminishing. Not learning to respect the eldest, the youth learn neither to respect the others nor to respect themselves. It reminds me of a community leader in North Mozambique reporting to other eldest a debate he had with young men: "They think that democracy means to be allowed to do everything. I told them that this is not democracy" (in Kotanyi 2003b).

[255] Chiefs or healers in Central and North Mozambique see positive perspectives in such an approach of education. In DR Congo (in Kwango) chiefs and circumcisers declared in 2010 they were open to reactivating counseling and including new counsel in the male initiation.

[256] Turner (1967) describes the youth initiation.

[257] See the descriptions of Mangalheas Constantino (2007), an Emakhuwa-speaking educator living in the South, who was my and Bagnol's research assistant for central/north Mozambique (in Bagnol 2007).

[258] Devisch's central phenomenological views on the rituals correspond to Beidelman's analyses of initiation rite efficiency among the Kaguru in Tanzania (Beidelman 1993:6).

[259] Counselors and chiefs in Ribaue argue that circumcision should not be performed before the 12th year, allowing the boys to understand the given counsel at an age near that of their first sexual activity.

[260] Similarly, it was a long struggle until WHO recognized that *labia majora* elongation is not to be categorized as mutilation (See Bagnol & Mariano 2008; Mariano et al. 2011).

[261] Halpering and Bailey 1999; Weiss, Quigle and Hayes, 2000; Auvert, Taljaard and Lagarde et al. 2005; Bailey, Moses and Parker et al. 2007; Gray, Kigozi and Serwadda, et al. 2007.

[262] WHO/UNAIDS "Consultoria Técnica sobre Circuncisão Masculina e Prevenção do HIV: Implicações para a Pesquisa em Política e Programação Montreux, 6 – 8 Março 2007". Recommendations of WHO and UNAIDS based on the Regional Conference on Male Circumcision and HIV Prevention (Nairobi, 20-21 Nov. 2006. See the Conference on Male Circumcision in Geneva (Geneva, 5-6 Dec. 2006). And "Perspectives of Social Sciences and Male Circumcision for HIV Prevention in Durban" (18-19 Jan. 2006). See UNAIDS/WHO AIDS. Epidemic Update: Dec. 2006, or Global HIV Prevention Working Group *New approaches to HIV prevention: Accelerating research and ensuring future access*. Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation & Henry. J. Kaiser Family Foundation

2006. Weiss, Quigley and Hayes 2000; Auvert, Taljaard and Lagarde et al. 2005; Bailey, Moses, Parker et al. 2007; Gray, Kigozi and Serwadda et al. 2007.

[263] The national authorities, together with support from international organizations, promote a politics of disempowerment instead of mobilizing the population itself to assume a sustainable education for safe behavior. The epistemological "war" goes on (see Behrend 1997; Honwana 2002; Igreja 2003, 2006, 2008, 2012; Devisch 2001, 2003; Devisch and Crossman 2002); education for HIV prevention is one of the fields of this "war". In Mozambique, the disempowerment of the communities has several origins. (First) it is related to colonial and Christian education, which most often devalued local practices as backward and 'primitive', denying that they include any knowledge. (Second), the socialist policy after independence argued in the name of progress (like in the colonial times), but on a secular basis, advancing concerns with hygiene and biological safety. However, it is strange that Africa is so populated although circumcision is an old and widespread practice; obviously people have capacities to save lives. (Third), and a much more complex issue, is the fear of reinforcing ethnicity; the construction of the national state, based on the artificial borders designed in Berlin by the colonial powers, implies a struggle to unite in one nation the most diverging people. Beidelman (1997) and Melo (2005) insist that initiation reinforces the cohesion of the ethnic groups; however, the social cohesion at play is the cohesion between the genders and the generations, which is necessary for any healthy society living in peace.

[264] The implications of masculinity are currently being discussed in the National Counsel combating AIDS in Mozambique (CNCS), but mostly from an urbanized point of view, not addressing rural men. The currently (internationally supported) promotion of an approach to circumcision devaluates the communitarian potentials. The current HIV strategy of CNCS also fails to recognize the potentials of the activation of social pressure (as it is induced in youth initiation).

[265] Green (2003) shows that the early behavior-change education in Uganda demonstrated more success than purely "technical" interventions (e.g., condom promotion) or, currently, circumcision without ritual counseling.

[266] Green, Dlamini & Duby, et al. (2009) suggest that the means of social control should be used more, in order to improve the efficiency of HIV prevention.

[267] "To respect" recalls the brief advice of the president of Uganda claiming all over the country "Stop it!" –referring to 'promiscuity'– during the early years of the HIV epidemic. According to Green (2003), this had more preventive effects than the later and currently implemented technical "mainstreaming programs" that do not invest much anymore in promoting behavior changes, limiting this to the promotion of condom use, which, however, is not at all prevalent.

Notes for Chapter Six

[1] Kongo proverb; it justifies matrilineality.

[2] Examining when and how local approaches succeed in mediating conflicts allows an understanding of the spiritual and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1979) influencing the behavior in the studied cultures through *habitus* (Bourdieu 1972).

[3] Le Roy observes that the African practices show original solutions to original problems (2004:121).

[4] After heated debates around 1970, especially between Bohannan (1969) and Gluckman (1969), questioning the salience of the use in anthropology of western judicial categories for the understanding of non-western law, many legal anthropologists seem to agree on the use of 'law' in a broad sense as common terminology. Others, such as Roberts, argue against cross-cultural definition and criticize the term 'law' as an imposition of a Western and Eurocentric concept of law, distorting other peoples' normative ideas and forcing them into Western categories (Roberts 1998).

[5] See Ehrlich (2013); D. Nelken, ‚Eugen Ehrlich, Living Law, and Plural Legalities', *Theoretical Inquiries in Law*, 9 (2008), p.444 19, and M. Hertogh, 'From Men of Files to Men of the Senses': A Brief Characterization Of Eugen Ehrlich´s Sociology of Law' in M. Hertogh (ed.), *Living Law – Reconsidering Eugen Ehrlich* (Oxford and Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing, 2009), p.15. And Dzietzic L. (n.n.) https://www.academia.edu/7862980/A_Living_Law_Critique_of_the_United_Nations_Post-Conflict_Rule_of_Law_Promotion_Approach.

[6] It is the same argument that motivated the development of the Gacacas in Rwanda in order to deal with the genocide in a way that allows people to remain living in the same community. The Gacacas combined practices usual in Rwanda in traditional palavers with rules taken from written (Western) justice. See Ingelaere 2009, 2010, 2012; http://www.bertingelaere.net/articles.html

[7] The inquiry of Lapika and Mayengo and Wade 2011; Lapika and Kotanyi, 2011; Kotanyi and Lapika 2012; Kotanyi and Lapika at al. 2014.

[8] Anthropologist, director of the CERDAS, at the University of Kinshasa (UNIKIN).

[9] The preliminary study of CERDAS (2011) involved in total 37 chiefs and 49 notables from four districts of Bas-Congo. The interviewed chiefs were mostly "*grouping chiefs*" ruling over a group of villages numbering from six (as in the case of the female Chief Fatuma Niongo Makaya in the district Bas-Fleuve) to 67 (as in the case of Chief Casimir Lugangu in the Catarates).

[10] In Lubumbashi: Rubbers & Gallez 2012, 2015. In Bandundu: Matangila 2000; Nzundu 2012.

[11] Legally slavery is abolished, but the memory of endogenous slavery has not disappeared. The designation of 'slave', as defined locally, limits inheritance rights or access to land. It is an issue that demonstrates the limits of respecting ancestral modes; the resilience of social structures involving slavery contradicts basic human rights and the constitution in DR Congo.

[12] In Kongo tradition, *kindoki* [witchcraft] appears in the kin group, or between members of different clans in the same community (neighbors or colleagues at work), and is treated by chiefs and notables in the presence of the involved and interested population (see Chapter Four).

[13] During the first research workshop of 2011 conducted with CERDAS and RCN; description of the working group of Cataractes, facilitated by Mayengo. Lapika and Kotanyi, « Rapport du 1[er] atelier recherche, CERDAS & PFI» for RCN, (2011:15).

[14] It is of fundamental importance that a palaver is held in the mother tongue of the majority of the participating members of the community. The involved conflicted family members participate actively in the palaver; their approval or disapproval of events are basic, required testimonies. The reactions of the non-involved community members play also a significant role.

[15] The advantage of the oral mode is its flexibility, allowing mediation and seeking an accord between the parties in conflict. It is useful to put in writing the results of the palaver, but attempts to document in writing all of the palaver itself lead to the destruction of its strongest mediating potentials based on verbal interventions reinforced by gestures and other acoustic means. Taken together, these are meant to persuade and convince the conflicting parties to reconcile by a fluid approach, avoiding impositions through rigid modes. See also Matingula 2000 for palaver in the Mbala context.

[16] *Ngaanga ngoombu* [diviners in Kiyaka/Kikongo] are supported by ancestors or other spirits.

[17] *Mmbikudi* [revealers] work with Christian agencies, like the Holy Spirit, prophets, or God.

[18] There is no system in DRC for the verification of the qualification of healers or diviners of any kind. A person's identity card certifies the profession that its bearer declared at the time the card was issued. But it does not imply any kind of professional verification, standardization or examination.

[19] The state recognizes the right of use of land by the members of the community living on it, and the supervision of the distribution of this land by local chiefs (regulated in the law 73-021 of 1973). Article 388 defines the land concerned by customary right: «*Les terres occupées par les communautés locales sont celles que ces communautés habitent, cultivent ou exploitent d'une manière quelconque -individuelle ou collective- conformément aux coutumes et usages locaux.*». See http://www.memoireonline.com/12/09/2983/Une-gestion-des-terres-conflictuelle-du-monopole-foncier-de-letat--la-gestion-locale-des-Mong.html, consulted Oct. 31, 2012

In article 193 (Law 1973.), the state recognizes the validity of the communitarian customary rights of the use, of cultivating, hunting, fishing, collecting and so on.

[20] Lapika, Mayengo & Wade 2011; Kotanyi & Lapika 2011, 2012; Kotanyi 2012; Nzundu 2012.

[21] The study of Pohu for "RCN Justice & Démocratie", which demonstrates that 73% of the population of Bas-Congo prefers local ways of doing justice in the form of mediation: either traditional *kinzonzi* [palaver] or other kinds of mediation (by the police, military, or NGOs).

[22] Kotanyi and Lapika (2013 unpublished) summarizing the interviews with chiefs and notables realized in Bas-Congo by CERDAS (2011) (unpublished documentation).

[23] Video documentation realized with the support of the lawyer Richard Lumbika (Kotanyi, 2012). Only three of the five filmed cases are discussed in detail in this study. Not discussed here are (1) a palaver treating a conflict related to the division of power in a clan, and (2) a palaver treating discord in a clan concerning access to land (a forest). Both are not presented and analyzed in this study, but are only evoked partially.

[24] In my analyses of the means used in palavers, I include the observations made in the two other filmed palavers treating conflicts related to, respectively, distribution of ritual power in a clan and access to land. Without analyzing both cases, I take into account the manner in which these palavers were conducted, in order to show basic rules applied in palavers.

[25] *Grouping chiefs* were instated during colonialism and are still instated – see section B.

[26] Many Churches use revelation as a means to gain followers: besides the Congolese Kimbangu Church, there is a large number of all kinds of Christian evangelical churches (often financed by American churches) and prophetic charismatic leaders of independent Christian movements.

[27] «*Sianu yoyo, eh, yoyo tsimunu mbi!»* (in Kinkongo Mayengo).

[28] «*Kuenda mankuenda, kuiza mankuiza*», (in Kinkongo Mayengo)

[29] «*Budu va lutengo kiau tueka nludika*», (in Kinkongo Mayengo).

[30] «*Mabedi kuandi yono mau beka zimbala*», (in Kinkongo Mayengo).

[31] «*Bedi kakamba lambila makangu vayi ko sianga viangala bimalu*», (in Kinkongo Mayengo)

[32] « *Mabanza kuama» «Tomba muana, muana me zimbala*» , (in Kinkongo Mayengo).

[33] «*Budu va lutengo kiau tueka nludika*», (in Kinkongo Mayengo).

[34] «*Badi kuna bankuenda lala, betu tuyenda lala ko.»* , (in Kinkongo Mayengo).

[35] Receiving food in dreams that was interpreted as abnormal *ndoki*-food (see Chapter Four).

[36] See Chapters Three and Four.

[37] See similar tendencies in other African countries in Geschiere 2006.

[38] "Revelation" is a syncretism of ancestral and Christian modes, combining ancestral paradigms of identification by chance, which, however, is not related to ancestors but to God or to the Holy Spirit (in Pentecostal wakening churches or in a number of prophetic movements).

[39] The conflicting parties must accept the consulted practitioners; this preliminary step in the process of the mediation leads to initial agreements; the parties agree on the choice of diviners or revealers whom they trust.

[40] The consulted diviner or revealer "experts" should be located far apart from each other geographically and have no previous knowledge of the situation of the persons involved in the conflict, which is assumed to ensure their impartiality. The consultation of two or three diviners or revealers can in some cases take several months. This involves costs (transportation and monetary compensation for the diviners or revealers) for which some people need time to gather the required money. Also, the procedure by which all involved parties must agree on the 'experts' to be consulted is a complex one, and can take time.

[41] In the second case, the involved family (of the "victim") consulted more than three *mimmbikudi* (pl. of *mmbikudi*)

[42] According to Matangila (2000: 299) the punitive damages in palavers are low and symbolic.

[43] Bas-Congo is the province where the colonial powers first settled in Congo, in the 15th cent., imposing first Portuguese and later Belgian power. Colonial external influences were combined with the influence of the Christian Portuguese, Italian, and Belgian Catholic and later evangelical churches.

[44] Sigrist (1978, 28-31) defines segmented societies in correspondence with Durkheim's social theories, as societies structured in segments constituted by clans which split to build new settlements (villages) ruled by their respective chief. See Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1978:155.

[45] This matrineal rule applies to Emakhuwa/Elomwe speakers in Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003b).

[46] Snyder demonstrates how the colonial power was introduced through interpreters, who spoke in French of Western notions of private and individual property. This was necessary initially for slavery, trade, and crop agriculture, and later for the introduction of capitalist exploitation.

[47] It remains difficult to implement the vertical needs of the state in North Mozambique, given that a '*mwene*' [head of clan or community in Emakhwua] is not supposed to decide alone in the horizontally organized matrilineal societies, although this is expected by the state (Kotanyi 2003b).

[48] «BaKongo» is the name used in Kikongo to designate the people living in the region of Bas-Congo (French), Lower Congo (English).

[49] In 2011, in communities where I observed local forms of conflict mediation based on local traditions, the notables counseling the chief usually had a strong weight, often being wiser than the chief, who obviously followed their advice. Also, female *mfumu* [chiefs in Kikongo] in villages had a significant local social weight. Among Emakhuwa and Elomwe speakers, besides the importance of the local notables counseling the *mwene* [head of the community], the *piyamwene* [most respected woman] has a central ritual task in communicating with the ancestors.

[50] It is noteworthy that the attempt of the socialist regime in postcolonial Mozambique to instate other ruling structures as 'traditional' chiefs did not succeed (Geffray 1991; Honwana 2002). Makhuwa chieftaincies are (like those of the Bas-Congo) grounded in horizontal rule involving the several *mwene* [clan's eldest or 'big men'] of the community. This structure allowed resistance to socialist prohibition. After trying to weaken chiefs since 1987, the state finally legally recognized chieftaincies as of 2000 as a useful structure of local rule. As in colonial times, they are currently paid positions in Mozambique, and as such fall under the control of the state. To what extent *mwene* [community chiefs] allow them-selves to be controlled by the state may differ from case to case.

[51] In *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen: Grundrisse der Soziale Ökonomie, 1947. 4th ed. See Caleman 1997:31, "Authority, Power, Leadership: Sociological Understanding" pp. 31-44, in: *New Theological Review*, (1997), Vol 10, no 3. http://newtheologyreview.com/index.php/ntr/article/view/563

[52] Chiefs in DR Congo or Mozambique belong to the category of traditional *legitimate authority*. Following Weber (1968:202-301), this type of authority grounds its legitimacy by referencing to its connection to the past and justifies its actions by claiming that they conform to precedents. M. Weber, *Economy and Society,* G. Roth/C. Wittich, eds. (NY: Bedminster Press, 1968) vol.1.

[53] See Buaguo Mosabi and Fufulafu Zaniwe, 2012; Indeka Nkoso 2001, 2003, 2012; The constitution of RDC 2006; Lissendja Bolimbo 1996; Loi organique N°08/16 du 07 Octobre 2008; Makambo Eso Bina 1977; Ndaywel è Nziem 1998; Nkasa Tekilazaya Yelengi 2005.

[54] Verbal communication of Honorable Honoré Bavula, provincial deputy in Bas-Congo.

[55] MacGaffey (2000:33) argues that cosmology in a Yiyaka-speaking context is very similar to that in the BaKongo context, and he suggests that the recognition of the ambivalent power of chiefs (given their necessary *kindoki* [witchcraft] power) is the line of demarcation between the two approaches. However, the chiefs that CERDAS and I interviewed in Bas-Congo (2011-2012) recognized the necessity of a chief's being initiated into that ambivalent power, as are the Yaka village chiefs in the neighboring Kwango (according to interviews that I conducted there in 2010).

[56] Benin, Bostwana, Burkina FASO; Cameroon; Chad, Ghana, Lesotho, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Togo, and Zimbabwe,

[57] In accordance with the constitution of February 18, 2006, article 2007.

[58] The Bas-Congo province is the smallest in DR Congo, with an area of 53,000 sq. km., covering 2.3% of the national territory. Of its population of 2,833,168, 64% live in rural areas in ten territories divided into three districts, with 36% residing in two cities (Pohu 2009).

[59] See in Chapter Four analyses of the ambiguity of *kindoki* or *okhwiri* [witchcraft]

[60] Ordinance-law nr.78-005 (from March 29, 1978) created the *Peace Tribunals* by giving them all the competencies that since colonialism had belonged to chiefs under 'customary law'.

[61] In Bas-Congo, as in Mozambique, the chief, being per definition the reincarnation of the first occupant of the land, should be the 'lord of the land' (which is not the case when chiefs were instated by the state). The chief has the right to pass to other living people the right of access to, and supervision of, land on his territory. In sub-Saharan Africa, a chief should be per definition a descendent of the first clan to have settled in the territory he lives in. However, according to MacGaffey (2000:67), in Bas-Congo, the first occupiers were Pygmies, who are often neglected in the oral 'tradition' (of founding stories) of the current main Bantu-speaking groups, who later immigrated to and occupied the territory. MacGaffey also notes that, through the rising commerce in colonial times, a rich man could 'buy' a chieftaincy even on a territory other than that of his own origins (a still-practiced deviation from the custom that a *mfumu* [chief] should represent the first settled clan).

[62] Several chiefs in Bas-Congo, and some of the 27 chiefs that I interviewed in 2010 in the neighboring district Kwango, lived in the city for up to twenty years, often in the capital Kinshasa, working as teachers, or somewhere else in the administration, or in the military, or in the biomedical health services of the state.

[63] A Manyanga-Kikongo speaking Grouping Chief, who was formerly a state administrator in another region, described his enthronization as a totally unexpected 'call' (after the decision of the eldest of his clan), a call, which he had to follow (such a frame corresponds to the call of *ngaanga* [healers]). This chief has in his home a wooden statue of a leopard as 'ancestral' symbol of power (widespread in Bantu-speaking cultures, see MacGaffey 2000). Devisch 1996a describes in details the enthronization of paramount chiefs in Kwango, where according to MacGaffey, the frames are similar to those that are usual in Bas-Congo. MacGaffey (2000) notes the complexity of the power of chiefs in Bas-Congo, who are not only seen as subjects but as powerful "objects" [*nkisi*] initiated in *kindoki* [witchcraft] in order to be able to protect the community/territory. Chiefs are reincarnations of the first chief of that place, which is for MacGaffey embedded in a mythological view that is newly constructed (created) in the case of 'grouping chiefs' applying ancestral frames of chieftaincies.

[64] The kinship type (matrilineal, patrilinial, or bilineal) determines issues such as heredity, access to land, transmission of the power of the clan, and the treatment of all kinds of conflict in the family/clan (involving *kindoki* happening mostly in the framework of the kin).

[65] Similarly to matrilineal Emakhuwa's principles (in North Mozambique).

[66] "*Le safoutier est à planter dans le village de ta mère, pas dans le village de ton père*". (The safoutier tree is planted in the village of your mother, not in the village of your father), meaning the father remains mainly a foreigner in the matrilineal village of his wife, being there only as a passenger.

[67] This is valid for Mozambique and for DRC; the village chief takes the name of the leader of the first settled clan, whom he is a reincarnation of. In Mozambique, the chief is usually called by the name of the territory that he assumes the chieftaincy of, while in DR Congo, chiefs use the names of those who they are reincarnations of (the first settled *mfumu* [chiefs]).

[68] In Mozambique, as in several Congolese Bantu cultures, many chief investitures may require an act of incest, which contributes to confirming the exceptional status of the chief. (MacGaffey 2000:138; de Heusch 1982). Such transgression of the most sensitive taboo might at this point be performed in metaphorical ritual actions. The metaphorical analogical frames that are used follow similar logics in Mozambique and DR Congo, like "to step on the mat or step over the legs of the wife of the king" (both action implying sexual intercourse), which is related by testimonies dating from 1930 in Bas Congo (MacGafey 2000:138, de Heusch 1982). Such 'symbolic' ritual means are used currently in South Mozambique as 'alternative' way to cleanse a widow or widower in order to avoid biological contamination through cleansing by sexual intercourse.

[69] Dewisch (1996a :179, 1988) describes the structure as a rite of passage of the enthronization of a Yaka chief. Not only the structure of rite of passage, but also certain frames used by the Lunda/Yaka investiture of the chief, are similar to the frames that I observed in the initiation into the cult of Eyootto *maciini* [spirit] in the matrilineal Makhuwa context of North Mozambique. Both rituals

are grounded in the same notions of the source of life described by Devisch 1993, 1996a). Both activate the framing of fermentation (of ritual beer or palm wine) in order to achieve the desired transformation; the chief becoming 'pregnant' with his own identity (1996a: 182-184), associated with 'fermenting' (of palm wine). In Mozambique fermentation is also central (e.g. for the production of beer used in rituals); cereals germinate for days under the woman's bed, on which she lies in seclusion during the *Eyootto* initiation, which is performed to induce fertility in initiated women in an ritual procedure. Other similar frame is that the Lunda/Yaka chief is painted in red in an intermediary stage by his initiation. The Lunda/Yaka chief's enthronization also includes the ritual of the renewal of the domestic fire of each family in the community (Devisch 1996a: 169), a ritual practiced similarly in the Emakhuwa context in North Mozambique in order to cleanse the land after a war (see the film "Viver de Novo" Kotanyi 2003b). Such correspondences of ritual frames show the widely shared cultural community of Bantu-speaking cultures (Obenga 1985; Janzen, 2001; MacGaffey 2000).

[70] In both studied countries, people argued that only the chief is obliged to assume social responsibility; this corresponds to the discussion by Matangila (2000) about the missing of individual responsibility concerning the misdeeds among the Mbala. The social responsibility of chiefs becomes obvious in the ritual of their investiture (MacGaffey 2000:67, 134-136; Devisch 1996a), which is a significant break in the life of a chief; upon his investiture the chief loses his former identity.

[71] Such positions make an abstraction of the fact that the first occupiers were not necessarily Bantu speakers, but may have belonged to other linguistic groups like, e.g., the pigmies.

[72] In matrilineal cultures like the Emakhuwa-speakers (Mozambique) or the Kikongo-speakers (DR Congo), communication with ancestors requires the support of a specific woman. In the Makhuwa/Lomwe context, it is the *piyamwene* [most respected woman] who has to support the chief in the *makeya* [evocation of ancestors]. In the Kongo context, it is the *mandona* [woman from Portugiese 'dona'], the first of the three 'symbolic' powers of the clan as three levels of power: (1) *mandona*, (2) the stone and (3) the sword. The support of *mandona* [woman in red representing matriliny] is required for the ancestral communication, like the *piyamwene* is necessary in the Makhua context.

[73] Land, in accordance with the Kongo *kikhuulu ubuntu bumuntu* [ancestral tradition related to persons], in most Bantu-speaking cultures should not be sold, as it is seen as a person (according to chiefs in Bas-Congo (2012) and the old peasant Vanteke in Mozambique (Kotanyi 2003b).

[74] Each village in Bas-Congo has not only a male *mfumu* [chief], but also a female *mfumu*. This does not interfere with political power being in the hands of the male chief, who should not decide alone, but is expected to consult his notables, the chiefs of the several villages belonging to his 'grouping'.

[75] Such kind of division of power does generally not exist in Mozambique.

[76] However, in DR Congo the "ancestral" right of the first occupier was often not respected by the immigrated Bantu-speakers disrespecting these rights towards the Pigmies; Bantu-speakers acted often as if Bantu-speakers were first the occupiers; e.g. in the Kwango district neighbor of Bas-Congo.

[77] The position of "first occupier" is not grounded on "landownership" (see Snyder 1981) but is an "ancestrally" legitimated right to decide who may use the land, forest and natural resources. I did show above that "landlord" is a position, which was created in colonial times, and was connoted either with the "rain-priests" or similar ritual positions, which, according to my findings in both countries, were in general in the hand of the first established clan. Colonial influences put chiefs in the position of "landlords", regulating the conflicts on access to land –which is especially questionable in a matrilineal context, which has normally no centralized power but an horizontally organized, segmented social structure (of the clans).

[78] See about the relation to land and its changes in sub-Saharan Africa, among others; Verdier 1965, 1968; Mélone 1968; Nguema 1972; Shipton 1989, 2009; Le Bris E., Le Roy E. and Matheiu P. et al. 1991; Le Roy et al. 2003; Moore 1986, 2006; Geissler & Prince 2010.

[79] Buakasa (1980); MacGaffey (2000) and my own sources in Bas-Congo.

[80] Chiefs argue that they have to respect many prohibitions (concerning food, sexual relationships etc.) in order acting efficiently. Many chiefs in DRC combine the 'modern' and 'traditional' worlds.

[81] See De Husch, 1982. A former minister in Guinea-Conakry told me that during his period in office in the 1980s he could only eat the food cooked by his wife or his mother (fearing poisoning).

[82] In similarity to "*djambe/evu*" [witchcraft] in Cameroon (in Geschiere 1996: 313-314).

[83] As visible signs of this legitimacy, the chief wears a especial hat/bonnet and most often carries a sculpted wooden stick (when not using a fly-whisk) or a sword demonstrating the legitimacy of his function, showing his power and wisdom protected by the ancestors (Matangila 2000:301-2; MacGaffey 2000: 181, grounded in testimonies between 1840 and 1915 by Laman 1953-1968).

[84] Chiefs in DR Congo are organized (in large measure) in their own association of chiefs ANCT[84], which has only existed since 1999.

[85] Chiefs' possibilities for intervention are actually limited when the conflicts involve external actors; these can be members of the government, politicians, foreign enterprises, or private interests of all kinds of wealthy people, as well as of the military or the state. There are claims that 'grouping chiefs' in DR Congo tend to collaborate with the strongest power (from outside), betraying the interests of the majority of the local population that they should defend. The disrespect of the interests of the population is more frequent among 'grouping chiefs' ruling over several villages than among village chiefs living in their territory.

[86] French lawyers define the custom as "a general use that is renewed over time without interruption and is held to be obligatory […] these practices are laid down essentially by the group and for its regulation." (Le Roy 2004:92). Anglo-Saxon sociological definitions relate custom more to beliefs and to culturally specific day-to-day practices (Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., 1998:139).

[87] Alliot (1989) and Le Roy (2004:93) argue that custom in animist societies has the function of producing interaction between its members in ensuring the reproduction of the group. Le Roy (2004), like Snyder (1988), argues that the 'customary law' is a colonial construction and a falsification of custom in a transitory process of subjugation to Western models of power, economy, state, and capitalist markets (Le Roy, 2004:112).

[88] Colonial power used the above-described 'traditional' chieftaincies, partially newly created through manipulation, in most parts of sub-Saharan Africa (Chanock 1976, 1985 for Malawi; Colson 1971 for Zambia; Snyder 1981 for Senegal).

[89] Merry (1988:876) argues that *customary law* was an "ideology of colonial domination, reinterpreting African legal forms in European legal categories" by subordinating African law to European law. The "imposed law" (written Western law) stands beside "living-law", which the invented 'customary law' "manipulated and adjusted to serve colonial political and economic requirements."

[90] See Le Roy 1983, 1995, 2003 ; LAJP (2002); Geissler and Prince (2013:332).

[91] Customary 'tribunals' became competent to judge not only customary infractions, but also issues which are infractions following the written laws (as long as sanctions did not exceed one or two months of penal service and a limited fine). The integration of 'customary law' into the written law practices implied the prohibition of customary practices of mediation (palaver), but I doubt that such prohibitions were respected locally, much as similar current prohibitions are not respected.

[92] The juridical interpretation of *kindoki* (in Roman-Germanic law) classified the *kindoki*-related conflicts as witchcraft in the reduced, malign sense (as in the view of the Roman Catholic Church. See the persecution of so-called witch-women during the Christian inquisition (see Chapter Four).

[93] See Kasongo Muidinge Maluilo (2008: 344-363).

[94] According to most interviewed chiefs and notables in Bas-Congo (Lapika, Mayengo and Wade 2011; Kotanyi 2010, 2012; Kotanyi and Lapika 2012; Lapika and Kotanyi 2011).

[95] When the eldest are not able to mediate in the family, the case might be presented to the chief of the community, who is supported by his notables.

[96] According to matrilineal horizontal ancestral norms, a chief should not conduct a palaver alone, but with the participation of notables to achieve reconciliation between the conflicting parties. Like in the Emakhuwa context in Mozambique. See Kotanyi, 2003b, 2003d; Ivala, 1999, 2003 and 6.3. Appendix 6.3. of this study.

[97] Rouveroy van Nieuwaal (1996:49), Fisiy and Geschiere (1990); Fisiy (1995); Geschiere (1997), and Dewisch (1996a) all note that chiefs do not only neutralize the malefic potential of "witches" in their society. Chiefs consider themselves to need to have *kindoki* knowledge (and to be *ndoki* [witches]; see the 2nd case study in this chapter). As Buakasa (1980) describes, and according to

my informants in Bas-Congo, chiefs must be initiated as *ndoki* in order to become able to protect their community members (see Chapter Four).

[98] In several cases that I observed over the years in both countries, when a chief disrespects that, he constantly generates new conflicts and is confronted with the resistance (silent or active) of community members, whom he is supposed to support, not "command." I observed several cases in the province of Nampula (North Mozambique, Emakhuwa speakers) and in BaCongo (Kikongo speakers in West DR Congo) in which political, personal or economic interests of the chief brought him into great conflict with the people that he is supposed to help to live in peace and prosperity, not following his personal interests (this is why he loses his personal "identity" when he is initiated as a "*mfumu*") but the interests of the majority of the people living on the territory that he is charge of.

[99] This applies in a Makhuwa context of North Mozambique also when chiefs do not assume their cosmological and "ancestral" tasks.

[100] All chiefs know that it is the ancestral rules which give them local legitimacy, and which should provide ethical and moral orientation (to the extent that they do not contradict the constitution or national laws). This means that the definition of ancestral approaches is a central issue from the local perspective.

[101] In similarity to Bas-Congo, Ray and van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal (1996:7) argue that chiefs in Africa have a double base of power (their sacred power and that of the state), giving them great room to maneuver. However, chiefs claim a reduction in their ability to maneuver in Cameroon (Fisiy 1995). Bayart (1983) and Rouveroy (1996:49) argue that chiefs are the spokesmen of the "counter-forces in society" and would embody the 'popular mode of political action.' This may apply for chiefs defending the interests of the population against those of the state, which might more often occur in the case of village chiefs. However, chiefs are interested in remaining in power, which depends on Grouping chiefs from the state. From colonial time right up to today, chiefs also demonstrate the organizational weakness of the state (von Trotha 1996).

[102] There is a tendency in Bas-Congo (as in neighboring Kwango) to install as chief a member of the ruling clan who knows the city, presuming that he might more easily negotiate the complex administrative frames.

[103] People taking care of orphans are often targets of envy from members of the community, because it is assumed that they receive support from the state or from nongovernmental organizations, which is often the case. Taking care of orphan children can be a source of income.

[104] The *mfumu* [chief] of village A2 is a man; Ms. Sylvie is the female *mfumu,* also required in any clan and any village in the matrilineal context of Bas-Congo.

[105] To tie a person (metaphor addressing witchcraft), implies that the 'imprisonment' stated by the child is not an imprisonment of the physical body but of the shade of Ms. Nkuekise. This 'imprisonment' is assumed to weaken her vital force and to 'kill' her shade slowly (which is presumed to possibly lead to her eventual physical death).

[106] Chiefs and diviners must be initiated as *ndoki* [witch] in order to be able to discover other *ndoki* and neutralize their harmfulness, when this is at play.

[107] See Chapter Three on the 'cool' versus 'hot' thermal frames.

[108] See my discussion of the treatment of *ndoki*-children by Mother Elalie in Chapter Four.

[109] The Kimbanguist Church is recognized as an evangelical church. It has been a member of the Ecumenist Council of Churches since 1969 (Diangiuenda Kuntima 1984: 256).

[110] Only witches are assumed to need secrecy; people who are not *ndoki* act in the view of all.

[111] Creativity is the strength of any diviner or revealer; however, their performance must follow basic accepted frames. In Bas-Congo, a revealer will perform publicly (anybody can assist), whether it happens in or outside of a Church, without involving special effects like artificial fire.

[112] Note that this practitioner did not know Mother Elalie and did not speak with her. Normally, when several diviners or revealers state the same diagnosis, people take this as proof that it is the truth. But this case was dominated by the disrespectful attitude of the grouping chief Kiefu toward the frames locally considered as normal in dealing with cases involving *kindoki*.

[113] Chief Kiefu, who has been Grouping Chief of both villages for only a year, took the place of a chief who lived in one of both villages and who was well accepted by the local population.

[114] In conflicts framed as witchcraft, if the mediation fails, it may lead to the necessity that the locally weakest party has to leave the village. Chief Kiefu came back one and a half years after his failure to mediate in this conflict; he remained the grouping chief of that area.

[115] Such an intervention constitutes a violation within endogenous law; that intervention against contingency and spirit guidance is a key element preventing the oracle from becoming an efficient ritual. Thanks to Stroeken for this personal communication out of his experience with such practices.

[116] Chief Ambroise was deeply ashamed about the manner in which the case was conducted. He came expecting to show how it is usual to separate involved *ndoki* [witches] (through a ritual performed with a pig). In the absence of mediation, the ritual could not be carried out.

[117] Such a procedure corresponds to the use of a psychologist/psychiatrist in official written law.

[118] Kongo people have lived in Bas-Congo for much longer than five generations, which is a short time in the ancestral framework. When a chief says proudly that he is a '*chef médaillé'*, [chief medal-holder] (received in the colonial period), it is proof that he is a recent chief based on colonial intervention, not grounded in the ancestral Kongo tradition and legitimacy..

[119] Simon Kimbangu (1889-1951) was a Christian martyr who referred to himself as a prophet and a healer. His followers constitute the Kimbanguist Church and see him as (a Congolese) follower of Jesus Christ in a protestant approach combining Christianity with African framings, which made the colonial regime fear his enormous popularity. He has a large number of followers in this region and all over DR Congo. Simon Kimbangu was born in the Bas-Congo province; the community involved in this palaver recognizes him involves a large number of followers all over DR Congo and far beyond.

[120] A *ngaanga ngoombu* [diviner] in the neighboring district of Kwango would make indirect insinuations without directly giving any name (Devisch 1986, 2012; Devisch and Dumon 1991). Since colonial times and currently, direct incrimination of a person through divination could be condemned as defamation in case of involvement of written law.

[121] The involved sides later gave the chief three chickens, a measure of palm wine, and a small amount of money as compensation for him and his notables. Chief Bungalo explained that the custom does not oblige the people to pay anything to the chief; only those with sufficient means should give such compensation.

[122] Which kinds of hybridism do not impede the application of a Bantu ancestral approach is a complex question. Some legal anthropologists emphasize the weight of globalization and that it is not possible to differentiate between ancestral and other frames. I argue that such a differentiation is possible, suggesting that the most basic main frames must be respected in order that the applied approach achieves any mediation.

[123] The nightmares of the child are seen as a weakening of her vital force. The relevance of the vital force of the group (Tempels 1969; Shalukoma, 2004; Akele Adau 2008a:154-155; Devisch 2003) implies the valuation of the solidarity based on mutual dependencies of all kinds, which are as much affective issues (Devisch 1993a/b, 2003; Akele Adau 2008a:155) as they are economical and social requirements for the majority of the rural as well as urban population.

[124] Janzen (1978) and Raynal (1994:24, 29-30) show for Bas-Congo and Central Africa, respectively, as do my studies of traditional healing in Mozambique (Kotanyi, 2003a), that the disease of a member of the family is perceived as a sign of problems touching the whole family.

[125] Geschiere (2006) presents similar arguments in his description of the effect of official judgments related to witchcraft in Cameroon and South Africa.

[126] Idem.

[127] The sacrificing an animal by all parties involved in the *kindoki* conflict and letting its blood flow on the ancestral soil and eating it; together breaking a plate and burying its shards in the earth) and by providing means of protection using barbed wire and blood.

[128] Raynal (1994: 24) describes similarly to BaKongo (for the neighboring bantu-speaker in Central Africa) that the eldest counselors are seen as "the mouth of the dead" and as authorities, who ensure that the chief does not abuse his power (1994:46).

[129] Raynal (1994) introduces the notion of 'traditional criminology' based on responsibility for the group, as opposed to individual responsibility as framed in written law (1994:29-32), which in my view is a confusing conceptualization. 'Criminology' implies direct material causality while material prove in the case of witchcraft don't exist. In addition, people use all kinds of similar prepared objects as means to protect themselves against witchcraft; it is difficult to differentiate whether a prepared

object is intended to protect, or to induce harmfulness. It makes no sense to pretend to frame these in terms of 'spiritual criminality.

[130] Terms like 'spiritual criminology' introduced by Raynal (1994) for Central African Republic express a questionable and inappropriate excessive hybrid approach. It is a terminology, which intends to combine notions of aggressions of 'night-time' with notions of 'daytime' criminology in response to voices in sub-Saharan Africa who claim that witchcraft should be controlled by the state and official law. Although such claims also arise in DRC, chiefs claim in Bas-Congo that the condemnation by written law of any person making witchcraft accusations without presenting material evidence would further the spread of witchcraft. *Kindoki* grows when the implied conflicts are not treated, while mediations allow treatment of the disturbed social body. The pretense that witchcraft is an issue of (spiritual) criminology provokes the misunderstanding that personal guilt (implied in criminology) is in play in *kindoki*, which impedes the neutralizing of malefic *kindoki*, requiring the involvement of the implied social field and the use of indirect, fluid, and specific ritual modes (see Chapter Four).

[131] Kikongo proverbs can have several interpretations; translations should differentiate between literal translations, their meaning and their interpretations. The collection of proverbs from Bas-Congo used in palavers of Nsumbu Kabu (2010) shows how judges currently use proverbs in their jurisdiction. But Nsumbu Kabu translations lack the required interpretations. See the collection of juridical proverbs of Bas-Congo of Ryckmans and Mewlanzambi Bakwa, (1993), which differentiate between translation and interpretations.

[132] «Les faits que nous avons étudiés sont tous, qu'on nous permette l'expression, des faits sociaux totaux ou, si l'on veut — mais nous aimons moins le mot —, généraux : c'est-à-dire qu'ils mettent en branle dans certains cas la totalité de la société et de ses institutions (potlatch, clans affrontés, tribus se visitant, etc.) et dans d'autres cas seulement un très grand nombre d'institutions, en particulier lorsque ces échanges et ces contrats concernent plutôt des individus.» (Mauss 1973:103)

[133] I.e., For Kant justice requires "punishment" of guilt, and implies the idea of 'sin'.

[134] Pires argues that for Kant, the right to punish is grounded in "a sort of oral obligation," which the hierarchical authority would have in order to reestablish order through the imposition of suffering on the culprit (see Pires, 1998:28).

[135] Verdoolaege, A., 2010. *Reconciliation Discourse: The case of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture),* Amsterdam: J.Benjamins Publishing Company.

[136] See Tempels 1969; Mbiti [(1969) 1995]; Jahn 1990. See also Chapter Two.

[137] See in Chapter Seven a summary of some of the recognizable elements of the frames relevant for efficacy of the practices that my observations and my informants relate to the "ancestral ways" as specific frames (which Stroeken 2008, 2010, following Bourdieu, refers to in terms of "structure").

[138] Max Weber (1934) shows that Protestantism facilitates the development of capitalism, supporting individual accumulation of wealth that the ancestral values based on moral economy (see Sahlin 1972) does not.

[139] According to the statements of several chiefs and notables in 2011 and 2012.

[140] A sale of land that happened without the acceptance of the other lineages of the clan, and without the uncle having shared any fruits of this sale with them.

[141] In his discussion of the most basic commonly shared values among Bantu-speaking cultures, Shalukoma Ntahuligana reports of the *hantu* vital force (that each *muntu* [person] requires) to the place of 'Being' as vital space (2004:207-2011). See also Jahn 1990.

[142] The branch of the clan that won the case (in official tribunal earlier and ones again in this palaver) was richer as those who lived in the village working on their land, and had members who resided in the city and were able to use the official courts of written law. Chiefs and notables of other Bas-Congo communities, who commented later on this case that we filmed, argued that the branch of the clan which sold the land should be expelled from the territory.

[143] What is decisive, according to Devereux, is that each paradigm (e.g. the cultural or the psychological) should be followed and respected in accordance with its own logic, which ensures the required minimal coherence. Devereux borrows his methodological definition from the definition of complementarities of Bohr in quantum physics based on the principle of non-determination of Heisenberg, which states that it is impossible to measure simultaneously and with the same precision the position and the moment of an electron (Devereux 1972:15). In similarity, the discourses of

ethnology and psychology cannot be held simultaneously, but the results of the respective analyses applied in parallel in the different approaches can be complementary.

[144] In such a context, the reference to God, or to the state administration, or to the written official law all imply using perhaps other means, which might be based on other principles and paradigms, and may imply pursuing other aims than the ancestral mediation. Re-invented traditions may e.g. facilitate the restoration of social peace, as long as they respect the inherent logics, and content of the local approaches in a coherent way. I observed several Grouping Chiefs (some of whom lived in Kinshasa for 30 years, working as teachers) who seriously applied the ancestral principles in palavers. Since becoming chiefs, they have live on the territory of their chieftaincy and have listened to the eldest notables who know well the local Kongo traditions.

[145] Stroeken (2010) shows that killing by witch-hunting is limited among the Sukuma in Tanzania; an assumption of its limitation in a large part of sub-Saharan Africa concerning so-called "witchcraft" applies also to the Bantu-speaking contexts that I described.

[146] See e.g. Geschiere 1995; Tonda 2009; Igreja 2014.

[147] Christianity was brought to Africa beginning with colonialism, and is still growing in worlds full of rising inequality and poverty. Meyer (1998), Behrend (1997, 2011) and Langwick (2011), among others, demonstrated the stigmatizing connotations of Christian approaches, which reinforce individualization instead of working on its dilution, which the 'ancestral' approaches imply.

[148] In giving priority in my writing to the point of view of the majority of the population (to a large extent rural in this study), I do not undervalue the views of several other relevant parts of the studied societies, which are in the minority but dominate economic and political decision making through an assimilated westernized education as provided by DR Congo's schools and universities.

[149] Pierre Akele Adau, was the Director of the Department of Penal Law and Criminology of the Law Faculty of the University of Kinshasa and was member of the permanent Commission of the Juridical Reform of Congo, which he coordinated for many years, is the president of the technical committee for the redaction of the penal code.

[150] As documented in interviews in Bas-Congo by CERDAS (2011) in our joint research program with Bruno Lapika and his CERDAS team, in a study realized in 2011-2012 with the support of RCN, Justice & Démocratie, and the Japanese Cooperation. See also Nzundu, 2012.

[151] E.g., the military justice system has its own structures, with three military tribunals and one military court.

[152] Law nr. 78/05 in March 1978, following the law 68-248 of 1968 instated the Peace Tribunals, which replaced the so-called 'Customary Justice' as it had been practiced since 1926 with official recognition by the colonial and post-colonial state.

[153] Public decency implies the notion of social morals. Cornu notes that the constitution does not require applying the custom in conformity with the law; the applicability of the custom imposes just to respect the public order and public decency.

[154] Traditional practices of mediation through palavers are in fact recognized officially in most of the other territories of DRC (where peace tribunals are yet not instated) as practices resolving local conflicts. The pilot experience in Bas-Congo influences the justice reform for all of DR Congo.

[155] This observation corresponds to the critical views collected in 2011/2012 through the study of Prof. Bruno Lapika, Mayengo and Wade (CERDAS) and Kotanyi (PFI & Justice et Démocratie) with chiefs, notables, assessor and regular judges from the three districts in Bas-Congo. It also corresponds to the analysis of the "Commission Permanente de Réforme du Droit Congolais" (CPRDC) and the "Comité Technique pour la Réforme du Code Pénal" (CTCP).

[156] Only 30% speak French (mostly in urban areas).

[157] 48% of Pohu's mostly urban informants believed that the functioning of formal justice was "fairly good", 33% saw it as good, and only 10% as excellent, while 7% thought it was bad and 2% very bad. And 73% have difficulties with French as the spoken language of law, which occurs most often together with Lingala, which is used in the capital Kinshasa, but not in Bas-Congo.

[158] Pohu notes that her questionnaires were in French and that several interviewees hardly understood them. Interviewees had many questions and required explanations, which influenced the answers. In addition, research based on directive questionnaires only allows treatment of issues addressed in the questionnaires, while local practices and principles in 'living law' follow frames reaching far beyond the framework of written approaches.

[159] Of Pohu's mostly urban interviewees, 36% preferred 'customary justice' because it is nearer to the population, 31% because it is cheap, 16% because it is quick, and 15% because it achieves mediated solutions. In Bas-Congo, 44.6% of the population lives in urban areas, while 70% lives in rural areas.

[160] For 15%, it is too subjective, depending too much on the mood of the chief, while 10% miss the written form, and 5% argue that 'customary justice' may provoke new conflicts (Pohu 2009:28).

[161] A significant difference between our findings and Pohu's study is that we focused mainly on the rural population (but many of the chiefs and assessor judges that we interviewed had lived in urban areas for a long time), against 44.6% urban citizens interviewed by Pohu; yet the criticism toward written justice is exactly the same in both studies. Pohu's study also yields a critical view of customary law, but this is difficult to compare with our mostly qualitative, and more limited quantitative, results.

[162] Pohu, a western-trained lawyer, has extensive experience in African countries (Rwanda, Burundi). In general, a lawyer does not have training providing instruments adequate for the complexity involved with the paradigm of *kindoki* [witchcraft], which is related to psychology, sociology, kinship, religion, and the local *habitus*, which is only in part framed in what written law since colonial times calls 'custom'.

[163] Chiefs Mbuma Landa (Wade 2011:10), Niongo Makaya (Wade 2011:16), Pioka Pwati (in Wade, 2011:32), Lungangu (in Lapika and Mayengo 2011: 17) from several districts in Bas-Congo. All state that interrogating people in Lingala or French in court, they do not understand the answers of the people, who do not understand the questions, all of which leads to serious misunderstandings.

[164] Urbanized people seem to use the written law slightly more as rural people and have easier access to official law and lawyers, who work more in cities. Yet Pohu's study shows that urban people, too, use the mediation of quarter chiefs to a significant extent, thus showing a clear preference for mediations (not only by chiefs, but also other agencies) as opposed to judgments based on written law. This urban preference corresponds with findings by Rubbers and Gallez (2012) in Lubumbashi urban areas, showing that written law is used most by justiciables having a certain level of academic education in French.

[165] The CPRDC (The "Permanent Commission for the Reform" of the DR Congolese law) discusses new judicial measures to fight the widespread corruption in the Congolese state's organs.

[166] Lapika and Mayengo, (2011: 67-68) in Bas-Congo.

[167] In a workshop with 14 judges of Bas-Congo (2012), most of the participants stated that they respected the matrilineal rules of kinship in their judgments. However, chiefs and notables still complain that judgments made in the written law do not respect matrilineal rules, or that the judges are not able to apply them well.

[168] See Lapika and Mayengo (2011: 12, 2011: 41).

[169] Chief Makana Makitaya (in Lapika and Mayengo 2011: 29).

[170] In addition to conflicts involving *kindoki*, this concerns primarily family law (divorces, heredity), which requires good knowledge of the matrilineal kinship in its application in Bas-Congo. Most judges, according to the experience of chiefs and notables, do not have mastery of all of its relevant aspects.

[171] In Lapika and Mayengo 2011: 17.

[172] Akele Adau, 2008 (Tome I, II, III).

[173] Pohu (2009) shows that not all assessor judges come from Bas-Congo (some come from other provinces), and those instated in this position often do not know the local 'customs' well enough.

[174] The assessor judges argued in our research workshop (2011) that the official judge would not let them intervene in the judgments. Judges would decide alone, neither asking, nor listening to the advice of, the assessor judges, who should know the custom. This means that the knowledge of the 'custom' of the assessor judges is insufficient, or that it is not valued in written law judgments.

[175] Assessor judges pretend, for instance, that they can perfectly resolve conflicts related to witchcraft. In practice, however, they do this mostly outside of the Peace Tribunal, given that there is no written law, which allows an adequate approach to such conflicts.

[176] It is difficult to organize such communication; the 11 Peace Tribunals are set in urban areas, while the concerned villages might be geographically very distant, and assessor judges do not have the necessary financial means. Official judges also lack the means to have direct views of local realities in the field (especially imperative in conflicts of access to land).

[177] About invented traditions, see Mudimbe 1988 or Behrend 1997, 2011.

[178] Assessor Judge Mampasi Nsoki in Lapika and Mayengo 2011: 52-53.

[179] The assessor judge explains that people can turn to the department of 'Culture and Arts', which might hear 'a problem of the family' (meaning *kindoki* [witchcraft]) in the framework of the Peace Tribunal.

[180] The ethnopsychiatry therapy developed and practiced in France by psychotherapists like Nathan and Moro treat conflicts framed as witchcraft in a special setting involving as many members of the afflicted family as possible, together with several therapists and assistants who together form a group (recalling a typical therapy group in sub-Saharan Africa, Janzen, 1978) which replaces the community of those involved in the production of witchcraft rumors. Nathan (1994) argues that in cases of witchcraft, therapy settings including only one therapist and the patient should be avoided because they lack the minimum social control necessary to 'untie' the malefic witchcraft effects.

[181] According to the several interviewed chiefs and notables, the intervention of written law in cases of *kindoki* would currently only facilitate the proliferation of witches. Chiefs and notables argue that it would be fundamental not to automatically condemn (as a criminal act) the person making a *kindoki* accusation, as written law tends to do in DR Congo. This corresponds to the tendencies of the written law in other African countries (Geschiere 1996), and is based on the argumentation that an oracle of a diviner or of a revealer cannot be recognized either as expert or as proof. Indeed, there are no material proof in issue concerning nightmares, bad intentions, negative feelings, jealousy, envy, and so on. However, in western societies a tribunal in written law will consult psychologists as experts. While written law in DR Congo does not recognize diviners or revealers as experts, given their impossibility to differentiate a charlatan from an acceptable diviner/revealer. This leads to make *kindoki* more prevalent, to such a broad extent that it is currently becoming difficult to control.

[182] Chief Makana Makitaya in Lapika and Mayengo 2011 : 27.

[183] Most people do not possess maps of the land that their ancestors occupied and used for generations, or any document confirming their orally and locally known ancestral rights. In Bas-Fleuve, the people claim that the colonial entities took the maps after independence. From colonial times until today, the 'landlords' – the descendants of the first occupiers, the '*ayant-droit'* [the first settled, those "having the right"] – have received no reasonable compensation for the land they lost. Some chiefs received and still receive irregular compensation of a symbolic nature, which corresponds neither to the value of the land nor to the benefit that the industrial users gain from it. A justice system dominated by the interests of the rich has a long history in Congo.

[184] There are multiple elites (intellectual, academic, economic, political, military, administrative, artistic, religious) that all pursue different interests. Most have a western literate education, while the 'traditional' elites often also include literate people who combine either an academic or religious education (or both) with ancestral values and practices. Between 2010 and 2012 in Kwango or Bas-Congo, I observed that a number of chiefs are chosen because of their knowledge of the 'modern' world. In Mozambique I did not meet any chiefs not living on their territories.

[185] Presented by Akele Adau, during his seminar at the Sorbonne in Paris (November 2012). See also the documentation of the *Permanent Commission for Juridical Reform* (Akele Adau 2008a).

[186] See interviews with assessor judges in Bas-Congo by Lapika and Mayengo, 2011.

[187] "Formerly, when somebody was accused of being *ndoki* [witch] and did not accept it, we sent both parties to consult at least three *mimmbikudi* [revealers], in order to establish truth. We took the decision in function of the reports of the three *mimmbikudi*. When someone accepted the *kindoki* accusation [confirmed by at least three *mimmbikudi*], we asked him to repair the caused damaged by having the victim treated by the healers." (Chiefs Mbala Malela and Lukaya). In Lapika and Mayengo 2011:56. Informants who fear admitting directly that they still apply practices that are officially not recognized often report 'past' practices that they actually still follow.

[188] As described in Chapter Four, in Bas-Congo, which was the first place Christianized in DR Congo, the people consult to a large extent *mimmbikudi* [revealers] instead of *ngaanga ngoombu* [diviners following ancestral ways], as is usual in the neighbouring district Kwango, where the currently applied ancestral practices are, in general, very similar to those usual in Bas-Congo.

[189] Some treat them in, and others outside, the tribunal: "*Kindoki* can be treated in the Peace Tribunals by the assessor judges. These are cases related to spellbound children, to bad spells cast on people, to fetishes, and so on." (Mbala Malela and Lukaya)· In Lapika and Mayengo 2011

[190] The same kind of pressure of the population, toward the juridical authorities, of claims that the state should judge in written law more witchcraft-related conflicts, which is reported by Mozambican authors (Honwana 2006; Igreja 2014, 2015) and anthropologists (West 2005; Israel 2001). In Mozambique, through the official devaluation (after independence) of any traditional practice, including the way that traditional authorities (and healers) neutralize conflicts involved with witchcraft, using palavers and ritual means, the people lacked authorities able to deal in an adequate appropriate and efficient way with the social and emotional harassments implied with by the activation of witchcraft (avoiding stigma and allowing to close the case to be closed). In Mozambique, most cases involving witchcraft are treated with the support of chiefs, or, in cities like Maputo, they are discussed in the official communal house of the quarters, once a week with the support of healers of AMETRAMO (national organization of healers).

[191] Chief Masamba describes the ritual of neutralizing *kindoki*: "In case of *kindoki,* we call the members of the families in conflict; we kill a goat. The meat of the goat is shared with all involved, and at the same time a tree called *musandra* is planted by throwing palm wine and cola nuts on the floor. When one of the involved again dares to use his *kindoki*, penetrating in the other family, they will have swollen bellies and will die." in Lapika and Mayengo, 2011:57. Such ritual approaches show (1st) that if harmfulness is involved by *kindoki*, it can and must be neutralized, and (2nd) an example of the kind of means that are required to treat *kindoki* and which are considered to be specifically appropriate in neutralizing its harmful effects.

[192] In Lapika and Mayengo 2011:59.

[193] In this way, the assessor judges take the decisive position of community chiefs, but without their generally recognized ancestral legitimacy; ancestors of the chief are assumed to protect him and those living on his territory, influencing the correct ethical and moral attitude and the smooth running of the mediation of the conflict. Some assessor judges evoke their own ancestors in order to secure this social and ritual legitimacy.

[194] In Lapika & Mayengo 2011:68. See case study two and section I in this chapter.

[195] Lukanu treats as assessor judges cases of spellbinding, of transmission of *kindoki*, casting bad luck, diseases, or death. But chief Lusalangolo N'lendango notes: "The issues related to land and to *kindoki* cannot be easily treated by tribunals because the judges don't know the origins of all our lands, and they do not have any control of *kindoki* [witchcraft]." (in Lapika 2011)

[196] For instance, many but not all assessor judges claim that written law should recognize the existence of *kindoki* [witchcraft] and regulate it, not being aware that a regulation in accordance with western norms can only complicate and prevent the resolution of the emotional and social conflicts at play (Geschiere, 1996b, 2006). The assessor judges, who share the social and cultural approaches of the justiciables, when requested to mediate a case of *kindoki*, fear *kindoki* persecution by dissatisfied parties if they do not respect the traditional rules.

[197] Bayard 1989; Geschiere 1995, 1997, 2013; Comaroff and Comaroff 1999; Moore and Sanders 2001; Niehaus 2001; West 2005; Asforth 2005; Rödlach 2006; Igreja 2014.

[198] It is rare that people use the term "symbolic," which reflects a strongly Westernized education, or as in this case, a strong alignment to arguments of academically educated persons such as judges.

[199] Penalizing *kindoki* should be avoided given that it addresses common human desires and feelings such as jealousy, envy or disgust for economic and other inequalities, which are emotions that written law can hardly penalize. It concerns more the therapeutic than the penal field.

[200] Kasongo Muidinge (2008:345-363) analyzes the danger of harmful manipulation through the "Wakening Churches" and he complains about the large number of street children in the cities (without showing the connection between the two phenomena, which have proliferated very much in parallel for the last twenty years). The author shows simultaneously that, according to statistics from the Netherlands from 1913, the criminality of non-believers was lower than that of Catholic and Protestant believers (2008:350), arguing that several authors conclude that religion has little influence on criminality. Kasongo Muidinge suggests that, through the manipulation of conscience, self-declared religious leaders use religion to make a lot of money.

[201] See Chapter Four in this study. Lapika and Kotanyi 2011; Kotanyi and Lapika; Kotanyi 2012.

[202] "Magic" is a term that my local informants do not use, either in Bas-Congo or among Yaka, Suku, Pendele, or Kongo people in Kwango, the neighboring district.

[203] The ideas of “white”, “black magic” address “good” or “evil”, being probably influenced by Christian approaches that is do not deepen here. It is not clear what the author means by “red” magic.

[204] See Fisyi and Geschiere (1990:153) showing for Cameroon the contradiction in which judges get mixed up when they use healers (called “witch doctors”) as experts in order to identify “witches” that the judges always regard as negative, although the “witch doctor” starts his expertise by claiming “I am a witch”. When judges accept such an expertise, it implies that they recognize the ambiguities in the paradigm of “witchcraft”, which is contradictory to its reduction to “evil” that judges verbally often do. The work with judges in Bas-Congo (in 2012) demonstrated that there is a similar confusion in DRC if cases involving *kindoki* are treated in a written law context.

[205] The failure (and impossibility) to recognize in a written law any protective *kindoki* (which characterizes the constitutively dialectic frames of *kindoki*) corresponds to similar impossibilities in Christian approaches. The basic dualism usual in written law and Christianity, and the idea of “punishment”, do not provide means able to deal with the ambiguities of *kindoki* (see Chapter Four).

[206] See in Chapter Four the large scale of emotions and most diverging issues related to *kindoki* or to similar notions, transmitted at birth or in many cases (but not only) through dreams.

[207] Communitarian Tribunals were instated by the post-independent state first as *Popular Tribunals,* and transformed in “Communitarian Tribunals”, are conducted by communitarian “judges”.

[208] The main national organization of healers in Mozambique, founded by FRELIMO.

[209] In North Mozambique, the colonial implementation combined with reinforced Christianization began much later than in South Mozambique, and both later than in Congo.

[210] In contrast to orthodoxy, implying some degree of external control, these means of local jurisdiction are local *doxa* that, according to Bourdieu, are socially legitimized belief, which implies “the immediate agreement elicited by that which appears self-evident, transparently normal” (Terdiman 1987:812).

[211] Article 153, aliéna 4 of the Congolese (CDR) constitution: “The courts and the civil tribunals – and military – apply the international treaties duly ratified, the laws, the regulatory acts…as well as the custom as far as it is not contrary to the public order or the public decency.”

[212] Vanderlinden (1996) insists that the gesture characterizes the custom, which dies when it is fixed in written form. This ‘Customary Justice’ was an “acculturated traditional justice” codified according to colonial interests (Kasongo Muidinge 2008:167) guided by domination and exploitation. The author argues that locally practiced mediations became marginalized; the ‘Customary Justice’ reduced to interventions involving ‘just’ the ‘custom’ (idem 2008:171), although Akele Adau (2008a) argues that the colonial codification also brought positive rights influencing the customary practices.

[213] The same argument was advanced for the internationally valuated hybrid African experiences of traditional mediation combined with western law, like the Gacaca dealing with the genocide in Rwanda, or the “Truth and Reconciliation Commission” in South Africa. Both are based on mediations and inspired by ancestral modes combined with other paradigms (written Law or Christian approaches); they have helped deal with recent or historical extreme violence, treating the requirement of public recognition of the occurred criminal acts, seeking reconciliation (when possible).

[214] See the debates of the Permanent Commission of Judicial Reform of DRC (Akele Adau 2008).

[215] It would limit the diverging codified customs to what the questioned were able to remember at the moment of the collection of the ‘customs’ (which are multiple and fluid).

[216] Such a codification of local Congolese oral traditions would lead to new inventions of traditions (Mudimbe 1988; Behrend 1997), as the examples of colonial codification demonstrate.

[217] Kasongo Muidinge, in Akele Adau 2008a: 161-163.

[218] Currently in DR Congo, issues of secession or concerning family law might require treatment by official tribunal in cases in which people want to have written documents; in conflicts related to access to land, people want to secure written confirmation of their rights through the official law system (which might, however, produce ‘proof’ contradicting the local Law framed as “custom”).

[219] Chiefs and notables call for the official reestablishment of the formerly existing ‘customary justice’, forgetting that this ‘customary justice’ was a colonial construction based on manipulating codifications, not necessarily transporting ancestral basic values (like the prohibition of selling land), but including as customs only those frames that the colonial power was willing to accept (Le Roy, 2004) and that fit into western values and requirements. However, the demand of chiefs and notables for recognition of the plural reality of law in DR Congo (e.g. in Bas-Congo) by the official laws

confirms the basic rule in written law, which states that Law should reflect reality rather than reality adapting to the Law (Habermas 1997).

[220] The third case study involving *kinkoki* discussed in section E in part I of this Chapter Six.

[221] The use of a sacrificed chicken in such a ritual, can be seen as '*object of transition'*, which is a concept of Winnicott (1971) who defines 'transition' as an intermediate developmental stage between the internal psychic and the external reality. The 'transitional space' implies the possibility of using *transitional objects*. From the perspective of the acting chief, the blood of the chicken flowing onto the earth activates the protective relationship of the ancestors of the persons practicing the ritual.

[222] The tensions are social, emotional and mental. However, 'mental' is an adjective that the involved people do not use; it is a category usual in western frames.

[223] A healer explains: "In a case of *uloyi* ["witchcraft" in Cishona], we are only concerned with the bewitched person" (Rupia, Central Mozambique, 2006, in Bagnol 2007)

[224] Anthropologists and psycho-therapist analyzed the influence of the social and the cultural framework on psychic issues (Devereux 1972; Nathan 1993, 2001, 2004; Moro 1994) describe the ethno-psychiatric consultations of African families in France showing the necessity, in culturally highly loaded cases, of treatments including the rituals appropriate to the culture of the involved persons, because the conflicts affecting the children are often socially and culturally determined (see also Kotanyi 1999a, 1999b).

[225] This kind of cultural (and political) oppression has happened since colonial times in many African countries, and continued in post-colonial socialist times in countries like Mozambique.

[226] In a quantitative study in Mozambique, the CEPAJI (2012) showed that 57% of communitarian informants considered the practice of *kucinga ndzahaka* [ritual cleansing of the widow/widower] as favorable for human rights (promoting social peace), while official law considers such ritual practices to be unfavorable for human rights.

[227] This argument is based on, e.g., high rates of domestic violence in South and central Mozambique; in this context, I question whether the structural violence due to permanent economic crises, migrations of men, and lacking local economic prospects is not perhaps decisive factors determining domestic violence. Many feminists in Mozambique live in cities and do rarely share the cultural notions of belonging of the majority of Bantu -speaker population.

[228] Mozambican feminists also add ritual youth initiation to their list of negative cultural practices, while such communitarian education induces ethical behavior and mutual respect, which currently is missing in the growing HIV epidemic. See Chapter Four.

[229] See Kotanyi 2003b, Kotanyi 2012a.

[230] Comaroff J.& J. 1985; Nader and Todd (1978) describe this imagination of the "real" as illustrations of African resistance.

[231] See Chapter Seven.

Notes for Chapter Seven

[1] See Himua 2003; Arnfred 2011; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009; Bagnol 2010/2011. See also CEPAJI/Marques de Santos (2012) showing that, to a large extent, Mozambicans consider initiation rites favorable for social peace and human rights.

[2] Positive connotations of "progress" are, for most people, e.g., more access to markets, schooling, biomedical health, electricity, water, transport, communication and commodities.

[3] Honwana 2002; Himua 2003; Igreja 203, 1006, 2014; Meneses 2008; Arnfred 2011, CEPAJI 2012; Jacobson-Widding 1979, 1990b/c, 1991; Devisch (most of his writting); McGaffey 2000.

[4] The more or less lively relations with ancestors are not shared publicly; reserve is needed given social pressures from either Christianity or Islam or the sciences (e.g., biomedicine), or the official law claiming to apply universal approaches. Public restraint may also be politically motivated.

[5] I showed in Chapter Three that states of 'in-between' seen as an "excess of hotness" allow transformations from one state to another through rites of passage (at birth, puberty, marriage,) or in cleansing (of transgressed taboos or of death) or in ritual treatments. Even without awareness of why certain practices (like cleansing) must be carried out in specific ways (that healers and chiefs explain), many people may accept them as "part of our culture". The HIV/AIDS epidemic nonetheless leads many to seek and accept adjustments to these practices. However, some hybrid approaches may hinder achievement of the main aims of 'ancestral' practices; e.g., cleansing with condoms does not cleanse the 'pollution' at stake, not achieving the intended aims of cooling down the exess of 'heat'. Certain basic frames are required in order to allow the achievement of certain aims.

[6] Especially in the Kikongo-, Kiyaka-, Emakhuwa/Elomwe- and Cishona-speaking groups.

[7] I argued that the problem of excessive mixes is not of a lack of purity or authenticity, but of which frames must be respected in achieving the expected aims.

[8] The current economic development in Mozambique and DR Congo corresponds more to a "wild" capitalism in which a small minortiy tends to accumulate wealth at any cost, which benefits a small minority and increases inequalities similarly in Mozambique and DR Congo.

[9] Tradition in Mozambique and DR Congo is connoted with 'ancestors'; many people connote Christianity with 'modernity' as it was introduced after colonial occupation, while in Europe, Christianity is connoted with tradition. People with Christian ancestors, or those newly converted, may practice a strong mix of what they connote with 'ancestral' approaches, combining precolonial and Christian approaches in a syncretism. In African countries, 'ancestral' ways are connoted with practices rooted in precolonialism (see Gyekye 1995).

[10] The growing poverty and inequality for the majority exacerbates pandemics like HIV/AIDS (Farmer [1992] 1996, 2001); it reinforces the increased interest in new Christian movements and sects (Pfeiffer 2002; Devisch 1996b, 1996c, 1999b, 2000; Dilger 2005, 2009, 2010; Becker and Geissler et al 2009; Van Dijk 2009; Behrend 2009), which provide space for some communitarian solidarity with some social and emotional aid.

[11] See Geissler and Prince 2010; Offe 2010.

[12] P'Bitek states that African people participate in Christian churches as "a necessary ladder to power and material gain…Power, status and wealth were the main attractions of the Christian missionary…" (1986:66-67), which also applies at present in Mozambique and DR Congo in the rise of several new churches and religious movements.

[13] In Mozambique, the socialist postcolonial power combated ancestors, while Mobutu used the ancestral paradigms in Zaire (now DR Congo) as a means of reinforcing his dictatorial power – with the contradictory consequences that Mozambique presently allows complementary practices in living-law, which the state intended to eradicate (without success) in DR Congo.

[14] In both countries, "modernity" includes Christianity (see Devisch 1996b, 1996c, 2000, 2010).

[15] Weber's (1934) analyses of Protestantism promoting accumulation of weath and capitalist expansion more strongly than does Catholicism also applies to Africa, where diverse evangelical, Protestant and Pentecostal churches are growing, supported by American and international churches, which promote strongly individual accumulation.

[16] See also De Boeck 2000, 2012; Devisch 1996b, 1996c, 2000, 2003b, 2004; Meyer 1998, 1999, 2002; Kroubo Dagnini 2008; Tonda 2002.

[17] I.a., written laws serve the national elites and international interests, allowing the sale of land.

[18] See, e.g., Honwana (2006), Igreja (2006, 2010, 2014), Himua (2005), Arnfred (2011) in Mozambique and Colson (2006), Asforth (2005), Knox (2008) for neighboring countries.

[19] Viveiros de Castro (2013:481) argues that "culture" is the word anthropologists use to talk about relational variation. Those in Mozambique arguing that the respect of ancestral practices is about 'culture' are living as strongly relational persons (see Chapter Two).

[20] Akele Adau questions whether those in power should continue to only defend their own interests, or if they could tolerate space for plurality (allowing greater efficiency).

[21] Fassin (2006:365-366) reduces cultural approaches to essentialism; he focuses his critique on the "African Renaissance," which he reduces to a romantic traditionalism of intellectuals referring to *ubuntu* (Bantu ethic of relational persons). He reduces the search of Africanity to the exploitation of African people by South African politicians using 'ancestral' ways for political aims. Mbeki indeed misused the values of *ubuntu* for his politics in South Africa, but I question a generalizing negation of the relevance of paradigms that transport values (of ancestors) that are relevant for many people.

[22] Such a so-called "critical anthropologist" is Pfeiffer (2002); in implementing biomedical health services in Mozambique, he argues that the Pentecostal churches have the greatest relevance for women in central Mozambique in their pursuit of health and solidarity. But he overlooks the simultaneous worlds in which the same Cisena-, Cishona-, Ndau-speaking women that his services treated also conduct initiation rites, which some combine with Christian values, adjusting these to the ancestral requirements, which are not thrown away, as Pfeiffer implicitly suggests (Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009; Arnfred 2011).

[23] I.e., Kant's definition of "justice" requiring "punishment" of guilt reflects the idea of 'sin' that requires individual confession (see Foucault 1975).

[24] Beidelman explained this fittingly for Tanzanian matrilineal Bantu-speakers in correspondance with the Mozambican matrilieal people: "Kaguru [*people*] hold certain values and beliefs resembling those held by many other matrilineal peoples of East and Central Africa. Yet many of their notions, such as those about the dead, God, rainmaking, witchcraft, joking relation, and naming, represent cultural traits shared by other Bantu language speakers regardless of their form of organization." (1993:11)

[25] The African philosopher Gyeke (1994:6, 41, 201) speaks of "paranormal cognition", using a term grounded in materialist and dualist 'sciences', which pretend to establish a notion of universal 'normality', although the norms are specific to certain perspectives, ideologies and "beliefs".

[26] Apter 1992 sees in African gnosis and especially in rituals the use of "revolutionarly" means. Given the experiences with socialism in the Mozambican post-colonial history (1975-1992), the qualification as "revolutionary" of ancestral ways and knowledge would not be stated by Mozambican healers and chiefs, who experienced violent prohibitions of "ancestral" practices through the socialist state and the former unique party Frelimo, which reduced them to backward approaches. I agree with Apter that rituals have a strong transformative and even critical potential; nevertheless they are ambivalent and imply also strong conservative tendencies. The latter cannot contradict the fact that rituals are constantly adjusted to the requirements of the time, —like currently to the necessities of ajustment of youth initiation in order to secure HIV prevention, which initiation rites counselors perfectly accept and do (Chapter Five).

[27] See in Chapter Six the problem of 'ancestral' references concerning chieftaincies; 'ancestral' in this context stands for horizontal, non-dualist concepts of power according to which (1st) no one should decide alone and (2nd) individual interests should not be imposed at the cost of others. When chiefs decide alone, their actions are easily not grounded in such 'ancestral' ways, which their elder counselors should help them to respect. In addition, the notion of 'ancestors' is often used in a mythical dimension, which may facilitate misuses.

[28] See Evens (2008) about *mythical rationality* grounded in Weber's (1922) category of "mythical rationality". Evens argues that 'mythic rationality' is very much concerned with seeking effective action, without defining 'effectivity' in terms of instrumental success alone: the means are used "for their

intrinsic connection to the ends. That is to say, they are assessed for their power not to yield the ends as products but to embody them in practice as works." (2008:164)

[29] 'Knowledge' is in ancestral frames not necessarily connoted in first instance with literate and academic cognition but also with ways of knowing like experiences in dreams, trance, possession or initiation; 'work' is not only connoted with materiality, as in agriculture, handwork or economic frameworks, but applies to rituals, treatments of all kinds, initiations, palavers and so on.

[30] See about the recognition of locally grounded knowledge, among others, Hountondji 1977, 1995, 1997; Gyeke 1994; Brokensha, Waren and Werner et al. 1980; Nandy et al. 1988; Geerts 1983; Hobart et al. 1993; Davis and Ebbe et al. 1993; Mudimbe, Buakasa and Bibeau 1996; Rabinow 1996; Vasvanathan 1997; Sillitoe 1998; Crossmann and Devisch (2002), Odora Hoppers et al. 2002; Fatnowna and Pickett 2002; Ellis 2005; Mahumana 2013.

[31] Sax notes that all knowledge is indigenous and local at the point of application by the way it is "done" in the respective networks, even when it claims to be universal. Referring to Latour (1991), Mol (2002), Hacking (2004) and Shapin (2010), Sax (2015) argues that knowledge is always particular, historical and contextual.

[32] Not all 'sciences' are necessarily dualist; e.g. quantum physics is not grounded in dualism.

[33] Holbraad argues: "alterity proper must be construed in ontological rather than epistemological terms. The questions that *alterity* poses to us anthropologists pertain *to what exists* rather than what can be known" (2009:81). The italics are my own emphasis. The establishment of "what exists" implies often a preferential valuation of certain (e.g. cognitive) sources of knowledge rooted in material proof (as valued in written law and Western "sciences"). The latter question cultures that also valuate other ways of knowing through experiences, dreams, trance, divination, in intuition rooted in a "thinking with the heart", or in rituals. The latter can more easily be approaches through differential ontology (Viveiro de Castro 2009).

[34] Diviners and healers in both studied countries argue that their epistemology may reach beyond the cognitive rationality that stands at the center of 'Western' epistemology. Spinoza (1677), the first to develop a secular thinking in Western philosophy (Deleuze 1968a, 1981), questioned the primacy of cognitive rationality, showing the role of emotions (Damasio 2003). Spinoza held that intuition allows as high a level of knowing as cognitive rationality does.

[35] See Bourdieu 1972; Karp and Bird 1980; Said 1978, 1993; Arens and Karp 1989, Latour 1991; Stengers 1995, 1997, 2001; Megill et al. 1994; Descombes 2001.

[36] It is on such ground that philosophers like Spinoza, Nietzsche, Bergson, Lévinas, Deleuze, Latour, Stengers and also anthropologists in the "ontological turn" question the primacy of cognition, which in philosophy was, in the broadest sense, connoted with ontology until Spinoza, Humes and Deleuze, who all argue that philosophy is not about knowledge. Deleuze (1967), inspired by anthropology, argues with Humes that, more than knowledge, philosophy is about everyday life.Spinoza agrees with this, also emphasizing the primacy of intuition, in contrast to Descartes and Kant, who see knowledge as thinking.

[37] Thanks to Stroeken for this suggestion in a personal communication.

[38] See the ideas of "various continua" by Fernandez 1972, 1974 discussed in Chapter Three.

[39] New versions of Christianity combine ideas of the 'endogenous' paradigms with "Western" frames; some use the ancestral terms/framings in order to apply other paradigms and values. Some use the same terms but change the paradigm (content) and the frames through which the paradigms are dealt with. This transforms the core elements, as is the case with the stigmatizing ways, when Christianity deals with 'witchcraft', connoting it with an individual "guilt" or "sin". The later characterizes also interpretations usual in Protestant, Calvinist or Pentecostal approaches.

[40] A. Gramschi, 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks,* transl. & ed. by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith.

[41] Gaonkar notes that in Greek philosophy: "The care of the self as the practice of freedom also involves complex relationships with others. Abuse of power is characteristic of one who is not in possession of himself" (1999:11). E.g, in case of members of decision-making elites negating the relevance of endogenous values that many people respect in the studied African countries; this can

weaken the sense of belonging, which Foucault (1984) calls "possession of oneself". In such African contexts, the loss of "oneself" implies the weakening of the value of the relation with others which fracture families and communities.

42 We saw in Chapter Two and Four that how individualism is allowed is a very sensitive issue in Mozambique and DR Congo. People seeking to achieve a personal career, e.g., by completing academic studies, as Ciekawy (2001) describes, always risk being accused by their poorer or less successful relatives of having "stolen" from them their vital force in order to achieve individual development or wealth (using 'witchcraft'). People valuing 'ancestral' ways argue that an excess of individualism may lead to weakening the necessities not only of reciprocity, but also of sharing, that are inherent to relational living. Such social pressures are experienced and criticized as problematic sides of the 'ancestral' traditions (Bongmba 2001a/b), especially for those who want to participate actively in new challenges using their individual skills and opportunities (Ciekawy 2001), or who want to be able to accumulate wealth.

43 See Arnfred 2011; Kotanyi & Ney-Kings 2009; Bagnol 2010 and Chapter Five.

44 See among other, Comaroff et al.1999; Moore et al. 2001, Bond et al. 2001; Devisch 1996b, 199c, 1999b, 200b, 2004, 2011 and Chapter Six.

45 Deleuze (1967, 1977) suggests concepts of an ontology of differences in becoming that are inspiring for the African context that I described (see Appendix 7.1.). Given that these concepts have not yet been discussed in African philosophy, I keep them in the annex, avoiding a projection of concepts from outside in my position as a European anthropologist.

46 Violent impositions of colonial and Christian missionaries, tearing numerous children away from their families in the former Belgian Congo, cut them off radically from their mother tongue, family, communities and cultural roots (Van Reybrouck, 2010). Christianity claims to support unity in terms of a universal humanity praying to a unique God, standing for the singular truth. It unifies, but at the cost of the exclusion of differences and multiplicity.

47 See Chapter Four; Ciekawy 2001; Devisch 2003a, 2003c; Geschiere 1995, 2013; Tonda 2009.

48 Mozambique could have internal peace only through official respect for the values and practices, which involve the actualized "ancestral" traditions, e.g., in healing practices involving diagnostics through 'divination', or possession and all kinds of rituals. It also implies recognizing the chiefs and their ways of mediating conflicts locally (through palavers) and recognizing a factual plurality in law practices.

49 In this context, Gaonkar (2001) suggests the notion of "alternative modernities" which show the possible disjuncture between "social" and "cultural" processes of modernity.

50 Debray (2016) shows in a relevant clarification that secularization dos not have to imply the whole society (which is totalitarian), but should apply to the state.

51 See in Chapter Five the definition of "life" in terms of wellbeing including health.

52 Sax (2009) quotes similar statements made as a matter of self-representation in India declaring: "I am educated, modern and secular."

53 See also, among others, Bhabha 1990, 1994; Said 1993; Taylor 1994, 2007a; Merry 2006.

54 To the extent that initiations (e.g., of the youth) are declining (disappearing in South Mozambique since the end of the 19th cent. or in Southwest DR Congo currently), this not only results in a reduction of the transmission of knowledge, but also weakens the application of 'ancestral' ways, which, however, are still strongly promoted in everyday life through the "ordinary morals" (Lambeck 2010) transmitted in the family, communities, and through the practices in the seeking of wellbeing and peace.

55 Authors like Pfeiffer (2002), who directs an American NGO implementing biomedical services in central Mozambique, argue that inclusive approaches of HIV/AIDS emphasizing the cultural aspects overlook the dominance of the religious (Christian) and economic influences in the life of the people in times of globalization. For Pfeiffer, poverty and inequity is the main problem influencing the growing epidemic of HIV. I showed how the "ancestral" paradigms, values and practices retain present relevance in a life characterized by "as-well-as" approaches that allow and bear ambiguities; the people use them to deal with inequity, or with jealousy, envy or other emotions.

56 I suggested in Chapter Six that the recognition of the relevance of endogenous values and practices also implies the necessity of localization of human rights responding to the aspirations and the cultural, social, emotional and moral requirements of the people grounded in their culture (Wiredu 1996; Merry 2006; de Feyter 2006; Englund 2006; CEPAJI, 2012), and with respect for sensitive values and knowledge, which, following Hountondji (1994), I qualified as 'endogenous' and which Wiredu calls "particular" perspectives. To recognize the high relevance of human rights implies questioning the unilateral projection of Western values as the single valid perspective. The recognition of multiculturalism implies, according to Taylor (1994) and Barry (2001), policies respecting the rights and values of minorities not only as individual but also as group rights for the majority of Mozambicans or Congolese people. Concentrating on the majority (Bantu-speakers), I did not discuss minorities (Pygmies in DR Congo).

57 E.g., Bantu languages predominate for the majority in both studied countries, but the official vehicular language is the former colonial one, which is taught in schools, although the majority of adults cannot understand it.

58 I.a., Tourneaux at al. 2008; Dauphin-Tinturier and Derive 2005.

59 In early socialist post-independent Mozambique, the reasons were strongly ideological.

60 See Gyekye's discussion of tradition and modernity in Africa (1997:273).

61 Some question the increase in individuals concerned only with their own wealth and freedom (connoted with 'modernity'); to what extent is this achieved at the cost of others? The unilateral priority given to the respect of individual rights at the expense of group rights is a complex and contested issue (Galzer 1995; Hartney 1995); it stands in contrast to life-worlds in which the freedom of individuals should not be achieved at the cost of the group members.

62 It is an issue that Lévinas questions in his philosophy centered on the respect of the Other; his suggestions speak to some Christian-oriented academics like Bongmba (2001a/b); Ciekawy (2001).

63 Summarizing the critique of the philosopher Okot p'Bitek (Uganda, 1931-1982), Imbo (2006-365) shows that the word "religion" is missing in African languages, illustrating the lack of a special, separate compartment for religion, which is part of day-to-day participation in the life process.

64 *Rhizome*: "As a model for culture, the rhizome resists the organizational structure of the root-tree system which charts causality along chronological lines and looks for the originary source of "things" and looks towards the pinnacle or conclusion of those "things." "A rhizome, on the other hand, "ceaselessly established connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles" (Deleuze &Guatarri, 1980: 7). Rather than narrativize history and culture, the rhizome presents history and culture as a map or wide array of attractions and influences with no specific origin or genesis, for a "rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo" (idem, 1980:25). The planar movement of the rhizome resists chronology and organization, instead favoring a nomadic system of growth and propagation." (http://www.rhizomes.net/issue5/poke/glossary.html).

65 The current usual lack of communication between the involved agencies (diviners/doctors; healers/nurses) can hinder the efficiency of some treatments. However, the people need their strategies as long as the hospital refuses to communicate with the healers, pretending to prohibit traditional treatment of HIV infection, threatening to interrupt follow-up hospital treatment of infected persons. Nonetheless, these diverging health approaches are followed side by side, with partially good results, especially when adjusted through reciprocal communication of healers and nurses.

66 A high Islamic authority in Nampula city let his wife cultivate certain 'ancestral' practices that he cannot perform in his religious position; given the matrilineal context, this strategy is especially helpful, as women have a central position in communicating with ancestors, while in Islam, it is the man who communicates with Allah.

67 See Fanon (1969) and Bhabha: "The splitting of two contradictory and independent attitudes that inhabit the same place, one taking account of reality, the other under the influence of instincts which detach the ego from reality, results in the production of multiple and contradictory beliefs." (1990:211)

68 Bhabha refers to Derrida (1981) while Dürr argues that in quantum physics "Yes-or-no logic is not the logic of nature. Quantum physics describes nature better, because the quantum world is ruled by a

value-added logic, which is also not only yes/no, but both, and an in-between. The non-graspable, the undecided." This is neither metaphysics nor religion, but just inherent to any life.

69 Many people seek in Christianity or Islam an escape from the ambiguities—especially concerning 'witchcraft' that dilute clear notions of 'bad' and 'good'—which are inherent to the 'ancestral' ways. Christianity or Islam, in the ways practiced in the countries studied, include, to some extent, paradoxes but exclude multiplicity, tending to purify the ambiguities to achieve a clear dualism. All of these dualistic approaches claim a unique truth, which provokes tensions and conflicts with the 'ancestral' non-dualism.

70 Most encyclopedias do not state Deleuze's differential concept of ontology, but rather reduce their definition to fundamental ontology. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/429409/ontology#ref993450

71 For Parmenides of Elea (515-460 BCE), thinking and being is the same, which for Ricoeur makes vain and null the quarrel of realism and idealism" („Ontology", *Encyclopædia Universalis* 2014, online). According to Aristotle (384-322 BC), "the science of being as Being" is the main part of metaphysics as the 'first philosophy' (Aristotle 1953). Aristotle's notion of "analogy" was a theory of the multiplicity of the sense of being, to which Lévinas later refers in his negation of the totality of Heidegger's concept of Being measured through oneself (as sameness). Ontology was discussed in Western philosophy in terms of the "being" of God proving its existence (De Clusa 1450; Derrida 1967b: 223). Ontology dominated philosophical debates until Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* and Nietzsche's proclamation of God's disappearance since science's grounding in empirical proof. Much later, the German philosopher, Lorhard (1606), coined the term *ontology* as a synonym for metaphysics. (8th ed. 2014, http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/academie8/ontologie), "Metaphysic" as part of (Western) philosophy since Greek antiquity, treats the knowledge of the absolute Being discussed in identifying whether God exists or not. The use of the term "ontology" was promoted later by Wolff (1730). See Universalis Encyclopedy, 2014, http://www.universalis.fr/dictionnaire/metaphysique/

72 The way of systematization of the collected dates, embedding them in Christian thoughts and values, does not necessarily correspond to the approach of grassroots thinkers and practitioners like diviners/healers who are often those carrying local traditions along the centuries and which are seen in Africa as carrying the memory of their cultures. Hountondji (1977) refuses to recognize such agencies as philosophers; the latter are for him only those thinkers grounded in an academic practice of written philosophy, whereas in Africa, for centuries, the thinking has been grounded in an oral mode as it was the case in Greek pre-Socratic times. Hountondjy question in so-called *ethnophilosophy* the equating of philosophy with oral knowledge of "sages".

73 Honwana 2002, Igreja 2008a/b, 2012b, 2014.

74 See also the critiques of "subaltern" studies of the ethnocentrism in postcolonial thinking, with the critiques of Derrida (1978, 1981) and Spivak (1996a) both claiming the decolonization of thought.

75 See the analyses of Eboussi-Boulaga 2011 and Houtondji 1977, 2013.

76 "For the Bantu, the force (…) is the essence of the being in itself (…). The being is the force, the force is the being." (Tempels 1959:35).

77 Gyekye argues that "sets of basic ideas can be said to be shared by most people in a society, even though this will not lead to unanimimis as such" (1995:xxi).

78 The linguistic root *ntu* cannot be used alone; it must be used in connection with a certain category such as e.g. humans, non-humans, places and time or quantity (Oluoch Imbo 1998:16).

79 Mulago and Mbiti stating also ontological theories where both theologians.

80 In addition, the verb "having" does not exist in Bantu languages, which speak about "being with" (e.g., in Cishona used in Mozambique, see Fortune, 1950; or in Mbala in RDC, see Marangila, 2000), which confirm the centrality of relations (see Chapter Two).

81 Western thinkers like Spinoza, Whitehead, Deleuze or Latour do not stipulate ontological cleavage between the material and immaterial.

82 That evil is unavoidably involved in the good, as Wiredu notes, explains in part the versatility that my informants describe concerning the paradigm of *kindoki, okwhiri* or *uloii* ('witchcraft').

[83] Many lawyers have often difficulties to analize the differences between ancestral ways and the Christian ones, projecting easily the latter on their interpretations of the ancestral ways that they wish to match with the Christian values (see Kotanyi 2012; Kotanyi & Lapika 2012; and my Chapter Six).

[84] Many dictionnaries of Bantu languages, which Kagame used for his comparative linguistic study, were established by missionnaries who were committed to introduce certain Christian values (notion of God, emphacizing a dualism and notions of evil) etc. For instance, the first extensive comparative list of terms in his comparative study, concerns the term used for "God" (Kagame 1976:75). This terms are not always so clear as he pretends; "Mulungu" used in Tanzania, is e.g. often used in North Mozambique in order to address the "white people".

[85] Mudimbe (1988) shows the invention of Africa, and its reduction to colonial and postcolonial views/values, and Bhabha argues that respect of differences in diversity is easily contradicted by theories expressed through "the elite language of the socially and culturally privileged" (1994:19).

[86] Hacking (2002:21) recalls that ideas have memories: "Those who do not understand the history of their own central organizing ideas (…) may be trapped in the same frame as those who embrace the ideologies that they oppose." (2002:8-9).

[87] Heidegger's definition of ontology is grounded in the critique of Husserl's (1913) notion of return to 'the things themselves' that are for Heidegger granted as items of everyday use (see Harman, 2009:18).

[88] Zarka summarizes Foucault's view of identity: "The subject is thus neither a substance, which can be thought of as being identical to itself, nor a permanent form. The subject is mobile, diverse and multiple." (2002:259). Based on a conversation with Foucault in 1984 in Foucault, 1994.

[89] Trawny (2015), Heidegger's publisher, has come to denounce Heidegger's "onto-historical" anti-Semitism. Danatella Di Cesar (2014) of the Heidegger Society sees a "metaphysical anti-Semitism." See the international philosophy conference, January 22-25, 2015, in Paris, in the BnF; "*Heidegger et 'les Juifs'*," reported by Marianne Dautrey in "Le Monde des livres," Jan. 30, 2015, p. 9. Dautrey argues that the world coming out of Heidegger's texts shows "the history of a destruction fomented with notions used by Heidegger like 'international Jewishness' of people 'without land', 'uprooted' used for exclusion from the history of Being" (2014:9).

[90] The Senegalese philosopher Guyé (1998) recalls the horrors to which isolationism of identity asignations may lead to.

[91] It was Lévinas who introduced the phenomenological and the ontological philosophy of Heidegger in France. Heidegger inspired Lévinas so significantly that it took him years to overcome Heidegger's ontology in his critiques; Derrida (1967) criticized Lévinas's continued conveyance of these ontological implications in his critical wording.

[92] Lévinas was introduced to Jewish religious tradition in Latvia; in early 1917, he settled in France, where he was student of Husserl and Heidegger.

[93] The self as main measure of being-in-the-world is also constitutive for phenomenology according to Husserl, who, according to Derrida, "sees in the *cogito* [*I think, I am* of Descartes] a subjectivity without any support outside of oneself, [constituting] the idea of endless oneself, which is its own object" (Derrida 1967:157).

[94] This thought corresponds to Deleuze, 1969: 354-361.

[95] Lévinas (1961) states a preoccupation with the death of others, before any preoccupation with oneself (an answer to Heidegger's stressing the reality of dying alone).

[96] See Bongmba 2001a/b; Ciekawy 2001; Bond 2001; Same Kolle, 2013.

[97] Lévinas addresses in his critique of Heidegger an individualist notion of subjectivity. However, subjectivity can also be framed as a relational inter-subjectivity (see Jackson 1998), which is not the case with Heidegger.

[98] See the thesis and article of Luis de Cavalho, "Le sens de la différence chez Gilles Deleuze et Marcel Proust", Université UFRPE (unpublished) on the web since 2014: http://www.researchgate.net/publication/248400452_Le_sens_de_la_Difference_chez_Gilles_Deleuze_et_Emanuel_Levinas

[99] See Wenzel (1994:184).

[100] "The understanding of Heidegger meets with the great tradition of Western philosophy. To understand specific Being is already to put oneself beyond the specific – to understand implies to relate to

the specific, which exists alone through knowledge, which is always universal." (Levinas, 1951:n.n.). Such definitions of knowledge lead many anthropologists to question the centrality of knowledge, and to show that knowledge is neither universal nor related to oneself (one), but multiple.

[101] Lévinas defines alterity as the face-to-face encounter with the Other seen as an endless alterity.

[102] To bear oppositions implies being open to the "in-between", which is not "either/or". It implies what Bhabha (1994) calls a "third space" grounded in suggestions of Derrida's (1972: 219-226, 258-267) discussing the "in-between". I show in Chapter Three and Four that spaces of "in-between" are productive spaces allowing transformation. They include to bear, or to be able to deal with, and imply ambivalences that, according to Latour (1991), "modernity" tends to "purify".

[103] Evens (2008) shows the complexity of ethics involved in the recognition of ambiguities.

[104] In contrast, Deleuze's reversed concept of ontology in terms of a *differential ontology* which locates any notion of ontology only in differences, and in virtual becoming.

[105] The concept of *differential ontology* formulated by Deleuze in terms of a "virtual ontology of becoming" does not reduce ontology of becoming in a singular identity (see Appendix 7.2). However, the *differential ontology* of Deleuze is often misunderstood and confused with fundamental ontology.

[106] See Chapter One and Five of this study.

[107] See i.a. Lescourret 1994:210; Evens 2008; Wyschogrod (2006: 284-286 and 388-404).

[108] Deleuze 1968:117; Delanda 2002: 42-43.

[109] This leads to a reciprocal 'contamination' of these two philosophers, each influencing the other. See the great comparative study of Petrosino, 2012**.**

[110] In Africa, the missionaries' seeking of a local term to address the unique God as creator of all,- a notion that did not exist locally: in Uganda, among the Acholi, this seeking led to an absurd translation of God as *Rubanga,* meaning a "Hunchback Spirit" (see P'Bitek 1971a:85; Wiredu 1998).

[111] In response to Derrida, Lévinas (1974, 1976) adjusted his language, cleaning it as far as possible of the adhering ontological implications that Derrida had aptly criticized.

[112] See Evens 2008; Ingold 2011; Scott 2013, 2014, and implicitly Appiah 1992; Gyekye 1997.

[113] Beyond Lévinas's language, Derrida also criticizes the totality in Lévinas's qualification of the alterity of the Other as endlessness (infinity). Complementing Lévinas and Dérrida (1967) discusses the priority of difference, however, Derrida argues further in critical solidarity with Lévinas: "...by making out of the relation to the *endless Other* the origin of language, of the sense and of difference, without relation to the same, Lévinas comes to betray his intention in his philosophical discourse" (1967:224). Derrida sees that the notion of "endless Other" transports totalitarianism in the idea of "endless". Lévinas shows that alterity applies also to ego, and he insists on the primacy of the relation to the other avoiding indifference, which grounds his critique of ontology.

[114] While Heidegger repositioned philosophy by leading the interiority in philosophy to the externality of the world, establishing "what exists" in terms of "being" from the perspective of the ego, Lévinas's philosophy stands for a metaphysic of alterity in a radical separation, and of an externality that Derrida approves of.

[115] We saw that an ontology establishing "what is" insists on sameness and fixes identity in one, which to Lévinas and Derrida means both, violence and totalitarianism. However, where Lévinas claims *endless* respect of the Other as other, Derrida questions the totalitarian tendencies of Lévinas's notion of the *infinity* of the Other (Lévinas 1961, 1980, 1982).

[116] Devisch (1993a) regards his descriptions of Yaka practices in South-West DRC as "being-in-the-world". Devisch's phenomenological approach is centered on the body as the axis of perceptions and of the world; he describes the experiences that frame the practices and paradigms at stake.

[117] See Chapter Three and Four of this study.

[118] Holbraad is not very clear in his ontological ascriptions; sometimes he uses fundamental ontology, whereas when he claims to be establishing "what is" (e.g., in Henare et al.2007) in other writtings, he uses differential ontology, although the two approaches are incompatible (see the critiques of Laidlaw2012).

[119] "Differential ontology" is a term based on concepts of Deleuze (1967); however, it is not used by Deleuze, but by Cisney 2014 and Rae 2014.

[120] There are other conceptual approaches of ontology, like those of Hacking (2002), Moll (2002), stating multiplicity; the question would be to verify to what extent they imply ascriptions and fixing of identities; do they establish "what is" or do they allow discussion of differences in virtual becoming?

[121] Eboussi Boulaga (2011:105-106) calls several postmodern French thinkers like Lacan, Bourdieu, Deleuze, Derrida and Foucault "divinities," to whose quotations he reacts against strongly, disqualifying them given that they are easily used in terms of doxa of the preponderant Western postmodern philosophy, in which their writings determine a certain philosophical codex that he obviously rejects as a whole in his polemical critiques of Bidima (1995). In contrast, Kodjo-Grandvaux (2013) quotes Deleuze, though not concerning his critiques of assignation of identity in terms of one (Deleuze, 1967). Less discussed in Anglo-Saxon academic contexts, authors like Wiredu, Mosolo, or Gyekye don't quote Deleuze. In his discussion of African philosophy, Hountondji (2013) discusses the relevance of Derrida's (1967a) "Grammatology" for the decolonization of the mind, but Deleuze's analyses of differences are not involved in his strong critiques of "Bantu Ontology," which he relates mostly to the critiques of colonialism, without connecting it to the general critiques of Lévinas, Derrida and Deleuze of any kind of fundamental ontological ascriptions.

[122] Deleuze (1962, 1968a) draws the idea of eternal return in his notion of repetition: "return is the being of that which becomes. Return is the being of becoming itself, the being which is affirmed as becoming."(1983:24) For his notion of *univocity*, Deleuze (1967, 1969, 1980, 1981) takes from Spinoza's concepts of *univocality* and from Nietzsche's the idea of "eternal return" that Deleuze (1962, 1965, 1967, 1980, 1981) actualizes in terms as "ontology of becoming" concerned with "difference itself". Deleuze (1966, 1967, 1980, 1981, 1991) grounds multiplicity and virtuality in Bergson's thought and combines these concepts with sciences as biology or quantum physics. Deleuze (1962, 1968a) draws the idea of eternal return in his concept of repetition: "return is the being of that which becomes. Return is (…) the being which is affirmed as becoming."(1983:24). See Appendix 7.

[123] In his study of cultural universals and particulars, Wiredu (1996) argues that neither of the two dimensions is an alternative, but that they require a combination. Wiredu sees this as possible only through decolonizing the African mind, which he demonstrates discussing human communciation, custom and morality, concepts of truth and the specific (Akan) perspective on Human Rights. The application of the latter are difficult in societies in which the valuation of the interdependence of persons—person that you have to become and are not born with—prevail against their independence.

[124] See in Samb 2010:94.

[125] Diagne S.B. (1985), who reflects Islamism in Senegal, rejects an essentialist concept of identity that becomes synonym with tradition which is continually recreated through and by history.

[126] Same Kolle notes that "The African intelligencia did not engage in a dynamic of decentering, of alterity and necessary dialogue between the civilizations". He argues that the search for the identity of the self and of African systems of thought in terms of "negritude" is translated into philosophical essence. This implies "discourses exclusively centered on the self, non relational without preocuppation of observation and study of the other, preocupied with a return to the *terroir* [land], a will to authenticity and to the 'return to the origins"' (2013:143)

[127] "Identity-refuge" is evidently the danger in any reclusion in specific ethnicity.

[128] For the African context, see Towa 2011; Same Kolle 2013; Kodjo-Grandvaux (2013:25-80).

[129] I showed in this study some predominating tendencies of apparently "eternal return," which Deleuze frames in terms of *univocity* of certain paradigms that are constantly subject to adjustments to historical, political, economic, religious and social circumstances, involving multiplicity and changes.

[130] Ngugi (1986/2005) questioned the politics of language in African literature, claming the decolonization of the mind that Achebe (1989), Wiredu (1998), (Tourneux et al. 2008) also claim.

[131] This corresponds to Deleuze's thought (1968) and also to quantum physics (Dürr, 2007). Dürr notes that in quantum physics: "Yes-or-no logic is simply not the logic of nature. (…) In the quantum world, multi-valued logic prevails, thus not only 'yes and no', but also 'both and also' and 'in between'. That is, the non-sizable, the undecided." (2007, interview) Deleuze (1980), with his open-ended labyrinthine ways in philosophy, bridges the dualism of religion/sciences, creating a third and transformative position (in becoming) that accommodates and addresses uncertainty.

[132] Jackson and Karp 1990; Strathern 1995; Devisch 1996a, 2002; Ingold 2011; Scott 2013.

[133] Grounded in Lévinas, Derrida and Deleuze's critiques of *fundamental ontology*, I suggest clarifying which notion of 'ontology' is used. If ontological attributions are made, it seems most appropriate to address the ontological in terms of differences and always in virtual becoming. This implies avoiding establishing "what is," not fixing in ontological ascriptions the characteristics of what we describe, but rather keeping it open to changes and to multiplicity. If the recognition of that which is described is required, it seems appropriate to frame it in open ways, as, e.g., *differential ontology* suggests.

[134] Some ontology-oriented anthropologists are oriented toward the production of differences seen as "alterity as such" (Holbraad et al. 2013:7).

[135] This corresponds to Sax's (2014c: 19) idea that the multiple worlds that he describes are created by practices; anthropological fieldwork seeks to understand how particular practices produce multiple worlds. Mol (2002) argues, like Fabian ((2014) 1983), that the worlds observed by anthropologists do not exist in an 'other' space and time from our own, which leads Sax to insist on Mol's motto that the multiplicity at stake is "more than one but less than many.

Tables

Table 0.1a. List of the linguistic framework of the study in Mozambique

	%	([1],[2],[3])	Area
Emakhuwa	26,3	(2)	North : Nampula province
Elomwe	7,9	(2)	North of Centre: Zambezia province
Cindau	7,7	(3)	Centre (Sofala); South (Inhambane province)
Cishona	6,5	(3)	Centre: Manica province
Cisena	6,8 -9,3	(3)	Centre: Sofala and Zambesia provinces
Xichangana	11,4	(2)	South : Maputo, Gaza provinces
Xirhonga	3,5	(3)	South : Maputo, Gaza provinces
Xitshwa	3	(3)	North of South: Inhambane province
Zulu	0,02	(1)	South at the border to South Africa (Maputo prov.)

Table 0.1b. The languages in the involved Mozambican provinces

Provinces in Mozambique		Bantu languages involved in the study	
1. **Maputo province**	Xirhonga, Xichangana, Zulu;	2. **Maputo city**	Xirhonga, Xichangana, Zulu,
3. **Gaza**	Xichangana, Xirhonga	4. **Inhambane**	Bitonga, Cindau, Xitshwa
5. **Manica**	Cishona, Cindau;	6. **Sofala**	Cisena, Cigorongosi; Cindau
7. **Zambezia**	Cisena, Elomwe	8. **Nampula**	Emakhuwa

Table 0.1c. The languages involved in the Congolese provinces

Provinces in DR Congo	**Bantu languages involved** in the study
1. **Kwango province**	Kiyaka, Kisuku, Kipendele and Kikongo
2. **Kinshasa city**	Many Bantu languages of all the country and mainly Lingala
3. **Bas-Congo**	Kikongo (4 different types)

[1] *Inquérito Nacional aos Agregados Familiares sobre Condições de Vida, Resultados Gerais*, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Maputo, 1998.

[2] Instituto Nacional de Estatística de Moçambique: the languages most spoken in Mozambique, according to the Censo of 1997.

[3] Censo 2007 of Mozambique.

Table 0.2. List of my studies in Mozambique and Congo DR

	Period	Geographic Area	Language	Title of the program	Area
1a	1999 - 2003	**Mozambique**	**Portuguese And**	**SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT OF TRADITIONAL HEALING**	**Health**
		South & Maputo	Xichangana	The reintegration of children/women traumatized by civil-war	
		South	Bitonga (Gitonga)	In the province of Inhambane, Gaza and of Maputo & in 5 districts in province of Nampula	
	1999-2001	North	Emakhuwa	Research & Film production **" ESPIRITBODY"**	
1b	2003	**North & South**		**10 trainings with workers of NGO's and several Ministries**	**Health**
				Bridging between biomedical and traditional approach of medicine.	**Education**
2a	1998/1999/	**Mozambique**	**Portuguese and**	**LOCAL WAYS OF TRANSFORMATION OF CONFLICTS IN PEACE TIME**	**Justice**
	1999/2001	North		Documentation of local manners resolving conflicts in two rural communities in central of the province Nampula, both neighboring	**Education**
			Emakhuwa		
				and belonging to controversial parties during the civil war.	
	1999-2003			Research, Film production and its use in adult education: **"VIVING AT NEW: NO DECISION IS TAKEN ALONE "**	
2b	2003	North & South		2 Trainings with decision makers/workers in Ministry of Administration using the film above	**Education**
		In cities		Bridging between vertical official ruling and horizontal matrilineal ways of power.	
3	2001	**Uganda**		**TRADITIONAL HEALING & HIV PREVENTION (1)**	**Health**
		Campala city		Research with PROMETRA and THEATA about bridging biomedical	HIV prevention
		West-Province		and local notions and practices around HIV/AIDS prevention.	
4	2004	**Rwanda**		**PSYCHOSOCIAL CONTEXT OF TRAUMA TREATMENT**	**Health**
		5 Rural districts		Research with tradipractitioners and biomedical psychotherapist	Healing
		2 Urban areas		Organization of a ethnopsychiatry training of 28 psychotherapist	Psychiatry
				Training: the cultural context of HIV/AIDS for NGO's workers/decision makers	HIV prevention
5	2005	**Guinea Bissau**		**TRADITIONAL HEALING & HIV PREVENTION (2)**	**Health**
		Bissau city		Research with PROMETRA about the bridging of biomedical	HIV prevention
				Training concerning an inclusive approach in the social and cultural context of HIV/AIDS for NGO's workers/decision makers	
6	2005-2007	**Mozambique**		**INTRODUCTION OF EDUCATION TO HIV-PREVENTION IN FEMALE RITES (1/2) in Central Mozambique**	**Education**
		3 rural & semi-		Conception and training of regional multiplicators (nurses/healers):	HIV prevention
		urban districts		Training of 53 rites godmothers, female healers and wife of chiefs	

7	2006-2007	**Mozambique**		**BRIDGING BIOMEDICAL & TRADITIONAL PRACTITIONERS on APPROACH of HIV and AIDS (3)**	
		South + cities	8 bantu tongues	Conception, Coordination, Research in 8 provinces;	**Health**
		Centre + cities		Identification of all participants in 8 provinces;	HIV prevention
		North + cities		Application in 10 trainings of NGO's, Ministries and teams in 6 prov.	**Education**
8	2008	**Mozambique**		**RESEARCH ON SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF HIV/AIDS (4) in Mozambique**	**Health**
		South	4 bantu tongues	Research on 'bewitchment' and HIV with healers and chiefs	HIV prevention
		Maputo prov./ city	Inhambane/ Gaza	Research with people living with HIV and AIDS	HIV Treatment
9	2010	**DR CONGO**		**RESEARCH ON SOCIO-CULTURAL APPROACH OF HIV/AIDS in South-West DR Congo (5)**	**Health**
	2011	Kinshasa	4 bantu tongues	Research with healers, people with HIV in Kinshasa (2010) and with fabric workers:	HIV prevention
			6 bantu tongues	Training of multiplicators of all provinces on the socio-cultural approach of HIV/AIDS	
10	2010	**DR CONGO**		**RESEARCH ON SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF HIV/AIDS in South-West DR Congo (6)**	**Health**
		Kwango	3 Bantu tongues	Research in five health regions with tradipractitioners, chiefs	HIV prevention
		Rural		And bridging with biomedical workers on the approach of HIV and AIDS	HIV Treatment
				(prevention and treatment)	**Education**
11	2011-2012	**DR CONGO**		**RESEARCH ON PALAVER, TRADITIONAL & OFFICIAL JUSTICE in BAS-CONGO - South-West DR Congo – (1)**	**Justice**
		Bas-Congo	Kikongo:	Research in 4 districts with chiefs and notables	
		Rural	4 types of Kikongo	Film documenting five palavers: **" LA PALAVRE QUI TRANCHE"** - Witchcraft, clan land conflicts.	
			French and Kikongo	Training of official Judges and jurist in Bas-Congo.	**Justice**
12	2014	**Mozambique**		**RESEARCH ON INCLUSION OF HIV/AIDS EDUCATION IN YOUTH INITIATION (3)**	**Health Education**
		Nampula	Emakhuwa	Research in 1 districts with initiation counselors both gender, Chiefs, chief's spouses, *piyamwene* and healers in gender separated groups of multiplicators learning to involve HIV prevention in youth initiation.	
				Training of trainers from an ONG	
		Ribaue	Rural	Emakhuwa of inside parts of Nampula Province (not the coast)	HIV prevention

Table 3.1. Thermal and humeral framings in the Thonga Life-cycle

Life-cycle	***Thermal & Humeral state***	***Transformations***
(a) Babies	(a) Heat at birth	(a) Become cool after the first teeth
(b) The children	(b) The children are cool until the girl's first menstruation or the boy's circumcision;	
(c) A boy during circumcision	c) Is extremely hot	(1) After the cleansing bath closing passage ritual, he becomes cool.
(c1) The adult man	(c1) Is hot/dry	(c1) When in war, in prison or hunting, he is very hot.
(c2) The adult woman	(c2) Cool/wet	(c2) When menstruating, or after birth of a child, or an abortion, she is very hot.
(d) The old people	(d) Are cool.	(d) A woman should have no sex after menopause.
(e) The dead	(e) Are hot until their transformation into ancestors	(e) The death's heat is cooled down through the several rituals; the burial, a month later, 6 months or a year later;
(f) The ancestors (female and male)	(f) Are cool and require the white color as sign of respect and remembering.	(f) The dead must be brought 'back at home' in south/central Mozambique in order to protect the living of the clan;
(g) **The not properly buried dead** (female or male)	(g) Become wandering 'bad' spirits (female or male) and remain hot;	(g) Can be connoted with the red or black colors (seen as dark red).

Table 3.2. Taboos in Cisena –Types - Involved persons –Central Mozambique

Mukhó **(taboos) involving 'too hot' blood, sexual coitus and/or death in the Cisena-speaking culture in Mozambique**			
Situations requiring cleansing	*Person affected*	*Cleansing term in Cisena*	*Physical signs*
Sex after birth (father/mother)	Newborn baby	*Pita mabzwadhe/nzande*	Difficulties breathing, swelling
Sex too early (girl)	Girl	*Pita chicuna*	Weakness, lost of weight
Sex with menstruating woman	Man	*Pita phudzi*	The man gets hernia
Sex after adultery	Man or woman	(no name)	
Sex after abortion	Man's or woman's parents	*Pita mpempo Pringanisso*	As *'ngozi'*, fever or back pains
Sex after giving bath to the death	The one bathing the death	*Nharumbe*	Cough, TB
Sex after death of a spouse	All Family of the deceased	*Pita kufa* or *Tsanganiko*	Weakness, lost of weight or/and hairs
Sex after a violent death	All family members	*Pita kufa , Ngozi*	Weakness, pains of articulations

Table 3.3. Taboos Terms in Emakhuwa -Physical signs of transgressions

Taboos related to blood, coitus and death and their symptoms ([4])

Iphuko is the generative term in Emakhuwa for the transgression of a *mwiikho* taboo		
Taboo (mwiikho)* *Related to sex, blood & death:	***Person affected with signs:***	***Term for this taboo in Emakhuwa***
1) Sex after birth (father/ mother): *wumaala* (to respect) – 1) *wakuleliwa:* cleansing of the new-born allowing the child leaving its reclusion 2) *okatthiwa:* ritual with remedies for the child allowing the mother to have sex with the father of the child.	**Newborn babies** have *mavuko* (illness, may die)	In case of *Ohumaala* (not to respect): *Ephuko* (transgression)
Sex before the umbilical cord falls:	**"To jump the baby"**	*Omutupha* –regarded as *okhwiri*
Sex without performing the ***ometiwa*** = cleansing (cut the hair of the baby).	*Witita*, illness of the child	*Ephuko* (sing.- not used) *Iphuko* (pl.)
Sex during the first 45 days after birth	The woman's belly remains swollen; the man 'drank' the blood of the woman. The husband must wait 6 months for restarting sexual intercourse	*Ephuko* (sing.) *Iphuko* (pl.)
Sex before having put a protective cord around the hips of the child		*Ephuko* (sing.) *Iphuko* (pl.)
2a. Sex too early with a girl before her menses	**2a-The girl** has a torn-up vagina.	*Wuula*
2b. Sex between a boy and older woman	**2b-The boy:** wounds, swollen belly, may die	*Ohikona ni mwaana*
2c. Sex between girl and older man, is *mwiikho*: bad mix of too „different bloods"	**2c-Girl** gets a weak blood; at pregnancy, the child may die, the girl too	*Ompwexera mwaana* (breaking the child);
Possible consequences:	*Eyootto* (ugly thing) or *Makhurumela* ('dirth')	
3. Sex with a menstruating woman	**Man**: hernia (*ikhunuunyu*) Man: blood in urine Man: leprosy (*maretta*)	*Ohuumaala* (not respecting)
(Allowed to put salt after having had 2x coitus with the husband - *the conserving quality of salt keeps the dangers active*)		*Wookhweliya* (on the coast) *wookheliwa* (inside of Nampula)
4. Sex through adultery *mararuwo* (the transgression of adultery): *mavuka* (husband having sex 'outside' after the birth of a child).	*'Omutupha*': 'to jump the child', who becomes ill, weak, dying. Provokes hernia – by **both involved.**	*Mavuka* (Ribaue) *Namatakhaliya* (Nacala); *namutakhaliwa* = can provoke bad luck.

[4] Dates collected together with Carlo Mucamisa (linguist) in 2007, with 101 informants around Ribaue (inner parts of Nampula province) and at the coast (in, and near to the city Nacala Porto). Research supported by MONASO, the national network of all non-governmental organizations fighting against AIDS in Mozambique.

Taboo (mwiikho) related to sex, blood & death:	Person affected with signs:	Term for this taboo in Emakhuwa
5. Sex after abortion without cleansing *mukwesi*. Not a taboo but a counsel: wait 6 months for sex (coitus).	**The woman** will not give birth to a living child; she may die.	*Mpila mukwesi*
6. Death	*Widow/widower or the children may die after birth (It is not an illness in the family of the dead as in Centre/South Moz.)*	*Iphuko/ Ephuko*
After death of a child, cleansing (*ovululasiwa*) of parents (bath) before sex/coitus (in Nacala city).	The parents	*Iphuko/ Ephuko*
No sex after death of wife/husband without cleansing (wait 3 months – usual on the coast).	The widow/widower has to make *onleva nankweli* or *omuleva namukhweli* to ask pardon from the deceased, to free the widow	*Wookhweliya (on the coast); wookheliwa (at the interior Nampula) or Orapiha* (both use it)
The widow/widower cleansing through sexual intercourse after 3 or 6 months: *ekela mpa* (at the coast) *okela mpa* (interior)	*Mukela mpa:* The person cleansing through sex and remaining with the widow/widower	*Iphuko/ Ephuko*
Mwiikho, putting salt *weeleela* (it is *okhweliwa = misfortune*) in the food during the 40 days of mourning, before the cleansing of widow.	Weakness of all kinds of those eating this food	*Iphuko/ Ephuko*
Un-initiated child may not see death	The child and those in touch with this child	Tabu: *otalikhiya* (coast) *Purification; orapihiwa;* (interrior of Nampula)
6b- No sex after a violent/accidental death in the family before cleansing.	*All family/community members may become ill / have misfortune.*	**Purification:** *Okatthiwa*
To not "bring the dead home" or to die after violent death or death due to *nipako* (willing witchcraft): lead to misfortunes that may be transmitted to all the family members.		**Tabu:** *mararuwo* **Purification:** (as 6b)
omuhuluxa nookhwa (avoid many deaths in the family)		
7. Incest *worupa ni mwaana/* (= sex with a child) = a huge taboo It has no cleansing way! It is the most horrible transgression; it is connoted with the worst witchcraft.	Both involved persons: - *khonkhala saana khunkhala saana* (to not feel well; no moral)	*It is:* *iphuko/ephuko* Without any cleansing

Table 4.1. Bantu Witchcraft Terminology in Mozambique and DR Congo

Bantu Term		PATRILINEAL	Country/Region
vukoyi, wuloyi	Witchcraft	Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa	South Mozambique
uloyi	Witchcraft	Bitonga (Gitonga)	South Mozambique
muloyi	Witch	Cindau	Central Mozambique
Ufite	Witchcraft	Cishona, Cisena, Cindau	Central Mozambique
uloyi	Witchcraft	Cisena, Xigorongozi	Central Mozambique
Uroyi	Witchcraft	Cishona	Central Mozambique
Olowa	Witchcraft	Xigorongozi, Cisena	North-Central Mozambique
		MATRILINEAL	
Okhwiri	Witchcraft (mostly unwilling) – generic term involving envy	Emakhuwa, Elomwe	North Mozambique
Nipako	Witchcraft (willing)	Emakhuwa, Elomwe	North Mozambique
okhwiri wa phaama	Protective witchcraft or giving wealth/luck	Emakhuwa, Elomwe	North Mozambique
Okhwiri woolowa	Witchcraft to bewitch in the night	Emakhuwa, Elomwe	North Mozambique
olaywa/olowa	Bewitchment through sucking the vital force (“blood”)	Emakhuwa, Elomwe	North Mozambique
Olapha	Witchcraft of the spoken word	Emakhuwa, Elomwe	North Mozambique
Olipelela	Protective witchcraft	Emakhuwa, Elomwe	North Mozambique
Olowa	Witchcraft sucking blood during the night	Emakhuwa, Elomwe	North Mozambique
Opahuliwa	Witchcraft related to vengeance of the bewitched person	Emakhuwa, Elomwe	North Mozambique
kindoki	Witchcraft	Kikongo	S/W D.R. Congo
ndoki	Witch	Kikongo	S/W D.R. Congo
	PATRILINEAL	**and MATRILINEAL**	
buloki	Witchcraft	Kiyaka	S/W D.R. Congo
nloki	Witch	Kiyaka	S/W D.R. Congo
buloki	Witch	Kiyaka	S/W D.R. Congo
n-kisi	Protective wood-figurine with ancestral spirit (‘fetish’), charm, drug, or remedy	Kiyaka	S/W D.R. Congo
yeteki	Protective figurine	Kiyaka	S/W D.R. Congo
Ngaanga	Healer or ‘diviner’	Kiyaka, Kisuku, Kikongo	S/W D.R. Congo
Ngaanga ngoombu	‘Diviner’ who identifies and neutralizes *buloki*	Kiyaka, Kisuku	S/W D.R. Congo

Table 4.2.1. Witchcraft in patrilineal societies in Mozambique

Bantu Terms	Bantu Language	Type of Witchcraft
		INHERITED (UNWILLING) AT NIGHT – CAN BE NEUTRALIZED
Ulowi	Cisena;	**Envy**
Uloyi	Xigorongozi	**Envy, or competition** associated with inequalities
Muloyi	Cindau	**Envy, jealousy, animosity** often involves members of the same family
Ulowi	Cisena	**Acquired at birth; envy**
uloi wa kupaswa	Cishona, Cisena, Cindau	**Acquired at birth**
muloyi wa kapassikwa	Cisena/ Xigorongozi/Xirhonga	**Inherited**: transmitted via mother/father or grandmother/grandfather
Wuloyi/vuloyi la kuthaka	Xitshwa	**Inherited**
wuloyi la "ntumbuluku"	Xichangana/Xirhonga	**Witchcraft inherited**
wuloyi la mapsaliwa na lona	Xichangana/Xirhonga	**Inherited** within the family
Kudlisiwa	Xichangana/Xirhonga	**Bewitched through eating in dreams** meat or fish
kudainza nuloyi	Cindau	**Shadow called at night**
Ufite	Cishona	**Dreaming about eating meat** all studied cultures have this type
Kudysuwa	Cindau	**Eating at night;** associated with cemeteries, corpses
Ufite	Cisena/Xigorongozi	**Dreaming** about being bitten by a dog
Ufite	Cishona	**Dreaming** about sex, nightmares, being/eating in a cemetery
Ufite, uloyi, ulowi	In all Bantu tongues Central Mozambique	**Dreaming** carrying baggage, waking up with neck pains
		BOUGHT (WILLING): DAY and NIGHT TIME - CAN BE NEUTRALIZED
Mitit za kutenga	Cindau	**Bought through 'drugs', roots** used to become wealthy
Ufite wa kakamba	Cishona	**Bought charms or fetishes**
Ufite	Cishona	**Poisoning or polluting with 'drugs',** during the day
Uroio	Cishona/Cisena	**Bought to defend property**
Ulowi	Cisena	**Bought 'drugs'**
oloi wakutcheguerwa	Cisena/ Xigorongozi	**Drugs conveyed through food**
Mugajo (bewitched)	Xichangana/Xirhonga	**Bought 'drugs'** associated with footprints
muloi wa muzimu	Cisena/ Xigorongozi	**Witches flying, disinterring corpses**
Muhliwa	Xichangana/Xirhonga	**Avenging witchcraft**
Nvuli	Cishona	**Spirit assisted y ancestors entering a person by being eaten**: can be sent back
ufite wa mudzimo	Cishona	**Ancestors sending dreams** the dreamer wakes up ill
oloi wa mudzimu	Cisena/Xigorongozi	**Ancestors who became witches while alive**

Table 4.2.2. Witchcraft in patrilineal societies in Mozambique

Bantu Terms	Bantu Language	Type of Witchcraft	Implications
INHERITED	**(UNWILLING)**	AT NIGHT, CAN	BE NEUTRALIZED
Uloyi	Cisena;	**Envy**	Acquired at birth
Uloi	Xigorongozi	**Envy, or competition**	Associated with inequalities
Muloyi	Cindau	**Witch by envy, jealousy, animosity**	Members of the same family
Uloi wa kupaswa	Cishona, Cisena,	**Inherited**	Acquired at birth
Muloi wa kapassikwa	Cisena/ Xirhonga	**Witch – Inherited**	Transmitted via mother/father
wuloyi, vuloyi la kuthaka	Xitshwa	**Witchcraft Inherited**	Transmitted via grandmother/grandfather
Wuloyoi la "ntumbuluku"	Xichangana	**Witchcraft inherited**	According to the "tradition"
Wuloyi la mapsaliwa na lona	Xichangana	**Witchcraft Inherited**	Within the family
Kudlisiwa	Xichangana	**<u>Bewitched through</u>: dreams eating…**	... meat or fish in DREAMS
Kudainza nuloyi	Cindau	**shadow called...**	... at night
Ufite	Cishona	**dreaming about eating meat**	**All studied cultures have this type**
Kudysuwa	Cindau	**eating at night;**	associated with cemeteries, corpses
Ufite	Cisena/Xigorongozi	**dreaming…**	… about being bitten by a dog
Ufite	Cishona	**dreaming…**	… about sex, nightmares, being or eating in a cemetery
Ufite, uloyi, ulowi	Cisena/ Cishona	**dreaming...**	… carrying baggage, waking up with neck pains
BOUGHT	**(WILLING)**:	DAY/NIGHT TIME - CAN	BE NEUTRALIZED
mitit ya kutenga	Cindau	**Bought through 'drugs', roots**	Used to become wealthy
ufite wa kakamba	Cishona, Cisena	**Bought charms or fetishes**	
Ufite	Cishona	**Poisoning or polluting**	With 'drugs' *(during the day)*
Uroyio	Cishona/Cisena	**Bought**	To defend property
Ulowi	Cisena	**Bought 'drugs'**	
uloyi wa kukamba	Cisena/Xigorongozi	**Bought witchcraft**	
uloyi wa kutcheguerwa	Cisena/Xigorongozi	**Drugs conveyed**	Through food
Mugajo	Xichangana/Xirhonga	**Bought 'drugs'**	Bewitched through footprints
muloyi wa muzimu	Cisena/ Xigorongozi	**Witches flying,**	Disinterring corpses
muhliwa	Xichangana/Xirhonga	**Avenging witchcraft**	
nvuli spirit	Cishona	**Spirit entering a person by being eaten**	Can be sent back
ufite wa muzimo	Cishona	**Ancestors sending dreams**	The dreamer wakes up ill
oloi wa muzimu	Cisena/Xigorongozi	**Ancestors**	Who became witches while alive

Table 4.3. Types of Witchcraft – Matrilineal Emakhuwe/Elomwé

In matrilineal Emakhuwa and Elomwe Societies (North)

Okhwiri	**Inherited (unwilling)** Occurs at night:	Can be neutralizes
Okhwiri	*Transmitted before or at birth* ([5])	
Okhwiri	**Weakening the shadow** by sharing 'meat'**;**	'Kills' the vital force
Okhwiri	**Childhood diseases:** swollen belly, no grow,	Colic, not crying, diarrhea
Okhwiri	**'Drying the head'** = to have courage;	Transmitted in the family
Okhwiri	**Envy** makes people suffer, become ill.	Causes death
Esukwi	**Envy** makes suffering, to become ill, destroys homes; does not kill	Damaged harvest, illness
Opahula	**Bought (willing)** Occurs day/night:	Can be neutralized
Opahula	**Causing misfortune, vengeance, "stealing"**	Learned or bought
		Destroys others with objects, footprints, nails...
Opahuliwa	**Vengeance, stealing, offences, provocation**	
Opahuliwa	**Bewitched person through willing ways,**	Discussions & debts
	like "stealing", bewitched object/footprints…	
Opakiwa	**Use of drugs from roots to bewitch**	Learned or bought
Murette (sing.) *mirette* (pl.)	**Witchcraft (bought), 'Drugs' (to bewitch)**	Not inherited but willing;
Mirece (sing.) *murece* (pl.)	**- Idem but in Elomwe -**	learned, makes badness
Nipako	**Envy, retaliation**	Learned or bought
Olowa	**Retaliation by provocation; like *nipako***	Learned or bought
Opahuliwa (subst.), *opahula* (verb)	**Vengeance as willing witchcraft/sorcery**	Makes the bewitched ill
Orihela wa nokhwiri	**Send 'drugs' to destroy people**	Attacking others
Opakiwa	**Using 'drugs' or roots to bewitch**	Done, made with will
Waawa	**Using personal items of the bewitched to bewitch**	Or putting drugs in footsteps
Mutthu owaawa (Emakhuwa) Muchu owaawa (Lowme)	**Person stealing food, harvests** with witchcraft	Taking from neighbors
Esukwi	**Thrown witchcraft** using object, plants, animal	Causes swollen legs
Orihela	**Bewitching a person using *esikwi***	
Orihela wa havara	***Okhwiri* of leopards/lions**; by	Kills with violence;
	immediate death; accident, hanging, by car	
Olapha	**Witchcraft through speaking**	What is spoken occurs
Olipelela	**Protective/constructive**	
Olipelela	***Okhwiri* to protect family members;**	Brings health
	leads to wellbeing, prosperity and wealth	
Okhwiri woolipelela/	**To protect people; brings luck**	Good *okhwiri;* protects
Okwhiri woolipelela vaate	***Okhwiri* to protect:** prevents witches from	entering in the house
walipelela anamwane a vaate	***Okwhiri* to protect children**	
	Witchcraft that cannot be treated	
	Causes taboo violation through incest	No use of 'drugs'
	Causes illness/misfortune	

[5] Through the anus of the baby in the first days or months after birth; can also occur during day.

Table 4.4. Categories of persons involved in witchcraft or sorcery

In matrilineal Emakhuwa and Elomwe Societies (North)

Bantu term	Person Involved	Notes / Comments
Yolaiwa	**Bewitched person**	
Mulipa okwhiri *Mulipa ompenuxa okhwiri*	**Person with okwhiri** **Person who can remove *okwhiri***	General term
Nanipako, namirette/ namirece	**Witch using 'drugs'**	Like a bat, which is in the belly of the witch
Olowa, mulowi, olaiwa	**Witch sucking 'blood' at night**	Emptying the vital force of a person, provoking misfortune in the family
Namaphula	**Witch using 'drugs'**	Against 'done/bought' witchcraft using drugs= sorcery (willingly)
nanipako, namirette/ namirece	**Healer treating bewitched with drugs**	
mukhulukana	**Healer treating against bewitchment**	Sending back, protecting,...

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Appendix 0.1.: Details on methodology of the different studies

In the first study: More than 98 hours of filmed interviews and participating observations in three Bantu languages were translated, some several times, condensing the material in a audio-visual support used in adult education. The film ESPIRITOCORPO [EspiritBody][1] delivers materials for a deeper analysis of traditional healing practices in Mozambique. The film was filmed in two main stages, one in 1999 in several districts of Nampula (matrilineal, Emakhuwa speaking, in the North); a second shooting in 2001 in the patrilineal South, in Bitonga and Xichangana languages in two provinces. The fully edited version of the film documents the general practices in traditional healing in Mozambique, through the practices in the socio-cultural reintegration processes in post-civil war communities: it was produced and used as support for adult education in several other African countries all over the years.[2] It is based on individual and on focus-group interviews with more than 350 healers and diviners of all kinds, and on field participative observations in three provinces.[3]

In the second study: Simultaneously, 95 hours of filmed interviews and participative observation based on long-term observation collected along two and half years (from 1999 until end 2001) provided material on the functioning of traditional authorities and emic ways, in peace times, treating, mediating and transforming local conflicts in order to instate social peace in the everyday life of the community members. The result is summarized in a film production[4] '*VIVER DE NOVO: não se decide sozinho*" [Newly alive: No one decides alone] on local, rural, traditional forms of social and political conflict transformation through the so-called customary local justice (carried out with ICS for INDER[5], with the support of history Professor Ivala[6]). This long-term documentation shows the life-world of two families in two neighboring communities in the district Muecate centre of the Nampula province, both communities staying on opposite sides during the civil war. Documenting three sessions of '*mihatto'* ['problems' meaning 'palavers'], and one ritual treating conflicts framed as witchcraft, the film gives insights in local ways of mediating conflicts of communities' members of one same community, or between neighboring communities. Finalized end 2002, it was used in South and North Mozambique in 2003 as support for trainings of members of state multiplicators, managers and

[1] "ESPIRITOCORPO" (Spirit-Body) (Kotanyi 2003a) produced by COOPIMAGEM (Mozambique).

[2] In Uganda, Senegal, Guinea Bissau and Rwanda.

[3] From 1997-2003 the first research and application phase was financed by the European Union (human rights) and implemented by CIDAC, a Portuguese NGO and the Mozambican ACTIONAID, with the support of NOVIB (a non-governmental organization of Nederland's, today part of Oxfam), the Swiss Cooperation and the Mozambican producer Camilo de Sousa from COOPIMAGEM. One end- product of these studies, the training film "ESPIRITOCORPO" (Kotanyi 2003a), is used to promote the communication between practitioners of diverse medical systems in an African cultural context. It was used in several provinces of Mozambique in the training and exchanges of and with either of NGOs or of state members of several ministries.

[4] „VIVER de NOVO: Não se decide sozinho" (1999-2003) –Kotanyi 2003b– produced by ICS, the (national) Institute of Social Communication for the INDER (a national research institute affiliated to the Ministry of Agriculture of Mozambique).

[5] INDER: was at the start an investigation centre of the state that was integrated into the Ministry of Agriculture during the study and that is today integrated into the "Ministério de Administração Estatal" (State Administration Ministry) that coordinates national and regional development issues.

[6] Prof. Dr. Ivala was the director of the „Universidade Pedagógica" of Nampula.

trainers of the *Ministry of Administration* regulating the democratisation process of the new recognition by the State structure of the traditional authorities (community chiefs) of Mozambique. The anthropological trainings using the film showing the practices of chiefs and their notables in the Makhuwa societies were intended to help trainers from the Ministry to prepare the members of their administration to better apply the new law 2000/1 recognizing traditional authorities. The aim of the dialogical trainings was a better understanding of the internal logics of the horizontal decision-making structure in matriliny (in which no-one is supposed to decide alone), which is current in the regular palavers of transformation of conflicts among matrilineal Makhuwa communities, in contrast to the vertical (hierarchical) ruling and law-making of the state. Much later in 2011, this film document was used in **the eleventh study** with chiefs, notables and assessor judges in Bas-Congo in DR Congo.

The third, fourth and fifth short studies: A short research involving visits in communities, meeting with healers and with biomedical THETA members, introduced me in the problematic of the cooperation of biomedical staff (THETA) with traditional Healers (PROMETRA) on AIDS in Uganda (2002). The analysis of parts of the videos in working groups in several workshops was a specific methodology used in the study along the years with diverging types of participants in Guinea Bissau (2005) and in Rwanda (2004), allowed me to verify how far the paradigms observed in Mozambique also exist and how they are applied in several different versions in other cultural contexts. An application in Paris (2008) with an Christian association working with African migrants on AIDS gave an insight into the relevance of the issues that I discuss, showing potential of the application of a complementary HIV/AIDS approach among migrants in Paris originated from different sub-Saharan African socio-cultural contexts; for most of such African migrants living with HIV/AIDS the same social and cultural aetiologies are valid as those that I discuss in Chapter Six.

In the sixth study: The collection of research material on female initiation rites was started in Nampula (1999-2001, 2007) [7] and was carried out mainly through the introduction of HIV/AIDS prevention into the context of female initiation rites in Sofala (2005). Two dialogical workshops with 53 key female community multiplicators from 21 communities in three Sofala districts provided findings about female initiation rites in central Mozambique.[8] I observed a few years before these rites in the neighboring northern province Nampula (Kotanyi, 2003b). Showing to female participants of the province Sofala (during the two applied research workshops) some not edited audiovisual materials of “secret” sequences of female initiation in Nampula, I could accelerate the research in Sofala by proving them that I “knew’. After that, the women treated me nearly as an initiated woman, sharing without difficulties their ‘secret’ knowledge. The quality of our exchange was much based on

[7] Research studies in 1999-2001 in Nampula with some visual anthropological results in “VIVER de NOVO” (Kotanyi 2003b), coordinated by ACTION AID and CIDAC. In 2007, the study for MONASO involved healers, chiefs and initiation rites counsellors both genders at the coast side of Nampula province (who are Islamized) and in the inner side (following more ‘ancestral’ ways).

[8] The first experience of introducing HIV/AIDS prevention in initiation rites for girls was realized in Sofala (central province) between 2005-2007 with AGEG/Health Focus[8]. Funds provided by the national German Cooperation (GTZ). The medical Dr. B. Ney-Krings did the follow-up (2005-2007) of this approach that I introduced with a local team: this first training sessions were implemented with the local trainers Veronica A. Salada and M. Baute Cunha in the local languages of Cisena and Cindau.

physically embodied demonstrations, and less through verbal explanations, which however also occurred. Thus, although we were in a workshop, the situation implied the use of participative observation of the embodied education given by women in the initiation to adulthood, which they demonstrated. It allowed me collecting data based on the observation of the verbal and embodied counseling given by the female counselors during youth initiation, which however, I did observe a few years before in 1999 in a rural community of Muecate (North Mozambique). Also the fact that the research participants were invited to participate to this workshop outside of their own communities, joining in two separated workshops several key informants for each both workshops involving members from eleven communities, helped the women opening to me much easier as if it would have been in their own community, where the social control may had perhaps limited their openness. Making the workshops in a certain geographical distance from the communities of the participants helped the research participants to acquire the minimal necessary distance in relation to the own practices, allowing showing them more easily. The applied aspect of the research was achieved through a dialogical exchange on witch which the research was based: first the participants shared their own knowledge and showed us (*team*) their own practices, to me and to my counterparts, who were a healer woman (literate, former teacher) and two nurses leading with me the workshop. In a second part of the workshop, the main nurse, a trainer of trainers, explained the participating women from the communities, the biomedical views how the 'hospital' sees HIV and AIDS. In a third part, we discussed and trained, all together and in small working groups, how the women could include this new information's in the framework of their own way of educating through youth's initiation. This 'discussion' happened through embodied role-play simulations performed by the participants in working groups, in which each group showed their own version of how would be the best way to integrate the required HIV-prevention messages in their own 'traditional' way of counseling the girls. Such dialogical and embodied methodologies allowed developing the specific applied study about the inclusion of HIV prevention in female initiation (in central Mozambique, between 2005 and 2007) including individual and focus group interviews of 153 spouses of chiefs, initiation counselors, and female healers. A German gynecologist living in the province realized after both workshops several follow-up visits in some of the involved communities until end 2007 (Krings-Ney 2007). These materials[9] were later completed with individuals and focus-group interviews that I conducted together with female counselors in Nampula (supported by the Makhuwa linguist Carlos Mucamisa and a female translator) with initiation leaders and counselors in Mozambique (Kotanyi 2007). And later with Taty Kuketuka in DR Congo among Kiyaka and Kisuku-speaking healers, initiation rites counselors, circumcisers and community chiefs in Kwango (2010).[10]

[9] Kotanyi 2003b; Kotanyi 2005a; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009; Krings-Ney & Kotanyi 2010.
[10] Kotanyi 2011a.

In the seventh study: The 'DIALOGO'[11] research (in 2006-2007) that I conducted with several teams in the southern and central provinces examined the cultural interferences with HIV and AIDS, collecting socio-linguistic materials in order to develop appropriate prevention discourses, which would be culturally sensitive, being able to effectively promote the prevention of STDs and HIV/AIDS in seven Bantu languages, using local analogies, metaphors, proverbs and expressions to connect local concepts with biologically based prevention counseling.[12] While I conceived and coordinated as anthropologist this research, it involved two multidisciplinary teams of the anthropologists E. Mariano, B. Bagnol, and the linguists H. Nhaombe, M. Lafon, E, Mabasso, with a research area involving nine Bantu languages (Zulu, Xichangana/Xirhonga/ Xitshwa; Cindau, Cishona, Cisena, Elomwe/Emakhuwa), and the co-researchers M. Constantino, V. Antonio Salada, D.A. Himua and J. Cafuquiza. I selected the involved communities (in most of the researched areas) and most of the key informants: diviners and healers all types, chiefs and initiation rites counselors of both genders. For the identification of the most famous traditional practitioners of the respective areas, I combined my own experiences with the criteria developed by THETA (NGO of biomedical practitioners in Uganda training healers on HIV and AIDS).[13]

The selected key informants participated to an introduction in the research in two workshops, one in the South, another workshop of the central provinces[14] by researching in several languages in each workshop. The research happened in gender separated working groups constituted by the participants of each language, working in parallel, sharing in plenary their results on each specific theme. The working groups worked in the mother language of the participants, with a linguist or translator and an anthropologist or member of our team prepared to promote dialogue between healers and hospitals. The working groups and the plenary discussions were partially documented on video, providing a rich

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[11] «DIALOGO» is the short title of the project: "*Projeto de Luta contra o HIV/SIDA pelo Diálogo entre a medicina moderna e a medicina tradicional*", an applied research intending to promote the dialogue and the cooperation between traditional and biomedical practitioners for a more efficient approach of HIV and AIDS. The research was realized by the MONASO and the CVM, Red Cross of Mozambique, with a financial support of the World Bank through the national council combating AIDS in Mozambique (CNCS).

[12] In eight workshops in five provinces with 220 multiplicators (trainers, HIV/AIDS program managers and HIV counsellors) working in the HIV/AIDS field, together with Dr. Isabel Parada Marques, the simultaneous application of the research issues allowed the development of proposals for a "*Culturally inclusive communication approach of HIV/AIDS*".

[13] This involved asking the responsible regional state and the chiefs respectively, who and where the most famous diviners and healers were, and asking in the respective communities who the best diviners and healers were. Meeting all those named in their communities, after asking each participant how they became healers and which disorders they treated, we questioned them about main issues of the research, finding out which healers provided the most information. Those selected became the main research participants. This selection was prepared though a team with specific terms (asking local and regional diverging key informants) allowing the identification of the most famous diviners and healers of the selected areas. These traditional healers are those having in general more efficiency, according to the population using their services. The suggestions of the healer organizations (AMETRAMO, HERVENARIO) complement these data, together with the information of the administration, of the health centers and of the local chiefs.

[14] The 1st workshop in Maputo, including participants from several districts of two provinces in the south: Inhambane, the province of Maputo including Zulu, Xichangana, Xirhonga, Xitshwa and Cindau speakers. The 2nd workshop in Manica, included participants from the province Sofala, Manica & Alto-Molocwe in Zambezia from central and north Mozambique with Cisena, Xigorongozi, Cindau, Cishona and Elomwe-Emakhuwa speakers. Both workshops allowed collecting materials, which were later deepened in the communities of the participants.

research material demonstrating the openness and the pride of the so-called 'traditional' participants sharing their knowledge of their culture.[15] The extended translations and transcriptions of the video allowed verification of the exact terms used by the participants and a deepening of their explanations about each issue discussed through several translations, when necessary. The pictures in the video documentations allow identifying many cases in which the translations are not exact and inadequate.

After both introduction workshops, the research teams,[16] built by a female anthropologist and a male linguist, visited the involved key informants in their own communities, deepening the research with individual and focus-group interviews (involving other local healers and notables of both genders) combined with field observation. A team of three senior academic professors from Mondlane University from the field of social medicine (Dr. Palha de Sousa), of applied socio-linguistic (Dr. Nhaombe) and of anthropology (Dr. da Conceição) supported the research preparation and the analysis afterwards of the results of the first year of the research (realized in 21 months).

At the end of the firt year of the 'DIALOGO' research, I made a research with the linguist Carlos Mucamisa for MONASO in the inner region of Nampula province in the district Ribaue and at the coast in Nacala Porto, involving 124 healers and diviners, initiation rites counselors and *mwene* [male head of community] and *piyamwene* [female *mwene*] and rainha [queen], with the objective of deepening later the researches in Nampula (which did not occur with MONASO). This research of 2007 deepened my findings among the Emakhuwa-speakers collected between 1998 and 2003, those of 2006-2007 among the Elomwe (two close Bantu-languages), allowing clarification of some of the questions that appeared during research by Bagnol (2007) in the Lomwe context, especially concerning the connotation of AIDS with taboos and whether cleansing rituals after death were realized involving coitus – which both seemed different in this matrilineal context than in the patrilineal southern and central Mozambique.

In the first, second and seventh studies: The research and analysis were completed with the application of preliminary research results in several workshops for HIV/AIDS counselors, program managers, HIV-trainers from Mozambican N.G.O.[17] and of the *Ministry of Health*, the *Ministry for Social Issues and Women* in six provinces of the country in 2003, 2006 and 2007. During the DIALOGO research, these applications were realized mainly in urban areas in parallel to the field research during two years (2006-2007), which was conducted mostly in rural or semi-urban areas. This

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[15] Western educated Mozambicans often pretend that it would be difficult to do research with healers or diviners. My experience shows that when they are addressed with respect, they openly share their knowledge.

[16] I scientifically coordinated the research and pilot activities in sensitization; the research was supervised by three senior professors from Mondlane University: Prof. Palha de Sousa (social medicine), Prof. Nhaombe (applied linguistics) and Prof. da Conceição (anthropology). The pilot program for sensitization of the Red Cross of Mozambique (CVM) involved four regional teams, and took place parallel to the research. Additionally, the CVM organized a large number of workshops that allowed the introduction of workers and responsible officials of ministries and NGOs into the *socio-culturally inclusive approach to HIV/AIDS*.

[17] This includes the training of six teams of "dialogue" promoters in five Provinces of Mozambique (two teams in 2003 with ACTIONAID; four teams in 2006/2007 with CVM- Red Cross of Mozambique), promoting communication about HIV/AIDS between practitioners of the biomedical & traditional medicine.

application happened through four teams (working in four provinces) of the Red Cross of Mozambique, using the results of the several researches, applying the communication strategy on HIV and AIDS that we developed together with the child psychiatrist Dr. I. Parade Marques and a large number of activists in the field of HIV/AIDS through nine workshops in South and North Mozambique in 2003, and that we applied and deepened together through several workshops in 2006 and 2007 completing it with results of the ongoing research in 2006-2007 realized with MONASO. All the in total 21 workshops (involving ca. 520 multiplicators of all kinds from the civil society and several ministries) contributed to the search of a best communication strategy on HIV and AIDS, its relation to the transgression of taboos, and on the level of the impact of the socio-cultural etiology of 'witchcraft' clarifying its relationship with HIV and AIDS and how to communicate in order to bridge the diverging biomedical and socio-cultural paradigms at work. In most workshops, there were participants, who were counselors of people living with HIV and two healers, confirming always the relevance of this etiology. All participants, as members of institutions or organizations belonging to the so-called 'modern' world, were mostly also somehow informed or even participating to the so-called 'traditional' world, through at least the ancestral ceremonies of all kinds realized in their own families, or through their own consulting of diviners and healers for the diagnosis of their personal misfortune, or for treatments. However, this last level remains their very privacy. We working through in workshops with them the background and the potentiality of dialogue and cooperation between both worlds, the biomedical called 'modern,' and the so-called 'traditional' life-world involving, to a large extent, their own social and religious worlds. It demonstrated that all were fully aware of the socio-cultural relation of HIV to the socio-cultural etiology of taboo transgressions or of 'witchcraft', but missed often analytical instruments allowing to combine, or at least to bridge the diverging worlds at play. This level of the research, with all the ambivalences[18] identified by the participants of the workshops (often western educated and urbanized people), complemented substantially the results of the fieldwork realized with the community chiefs, their notables, healers, diviners and youth initiation counselors, who were the key informants of the researches realized by the teams of anthropologists and linguists in rural communities. However, the exchange of the results from the two research levels (collection of data in the communities and sensitization with promotion of dialogues among the civil society and with several health centers and ministries), mostly realized by different teams with my scientific coordination in both areas, was difficult, especially due to time and funding limitations.[19]

[18] The workshops participants being informed through the biomedical understanding of HIV/AIDS had often a skeptical relationship to the 'traditional' medicine. This was influenced in part by the strong criticism that the ruling FRELIMO party addressed to it since independence, relating any 'traditional' ways to obscurantism. At the same time, most participants perfectly knew and recognized the relevance of the anthropological issues for the majority of the people, and were thankful for the opportunity to clarify their approach.

[19] While AIDS activists invest a lot of time without being paid, professional teams may seem to have more limited availability given the high costs of research in the field; however, the consultants of the professional researchers were obliged to invest a lot of unpaid time in order to formulate the research reports, payment for which is and was very limited in this case.

The second and third planned years of this research were not realized in the previous framework. The main reasons were: (1st) International HIV/AIDS support for HIV prevention was reduced at that time in favor of ARV treatment. (2nd) The senior professors wished to coordinate the research alone; it was a study that I had designed, prepared through years of planning, budgeting, searching for the partners, financial support and appropriate researchers, and that I scientifically coordinated during the first year for both NGOs involved, in part with the support of the three professors. However, the NGOs involved had no money to pay for the meetings of the three professors for preparations of the kind that I had previously undertaken for years without payment.

The interruption of this huge applied research endeavor (in seven provinces), which had mobilized many qualified healers, chiefs and rites counselors of both genders, was not due to critiques of the quality of the research. It was related in part to the lacking funding at that time by the main funder, CNCS (with whom, however, a second year was combined and would have been possible), and, to a large extent, to a power struggle due to the "AIDS business" (Pisani 2008). (3rd) The study involved the payment of consultants, which led to jealousy. Additional competition and power struggles further contributed to the interruption of the project. Some of the people participating in the project in non-research roles were not aware of the weeks and months that the research consultants had to invest in order to deliver their research reports while being paid only for a few days of work. Also academic responsible wished to earn more money with this applied research. (4th) Given this context, it was not possible to continue this research, which had some idealistic characteristics that went against the international mainstream in the area of HIV/AIDS: It was combined with complex and extended applied activities, which participants in the several workshops and dialogue activities in health centers responded to positively. (5th) Last but not least, the interruption of the DIALOGO applied research was also caused by the desire of the Ministry of Health to control all activities concerning relations between biomedical and traditional healers.[20] As a result, the targeted proposals to improve prevention discourses, formulating and using metaphors and expressions in the Bantu languages (planned for the 2nd research year) could not be developed. The national strategy of the struggle against AIDS continues to omit the necessary dialogue and cooperation with traditional healers, that 80% of the people consult; healers initiation rites counsellors and chiefs receive almost no mention in the several national strategy plans, although we demonstrated that they are highly relevant agencies.

In the eighth study, I realized additional research involving further anthropological interviews with people living with HIV in 2008 in Maputo city and Maputo province (and later in 2010 in Kinshasa city). It allowed me to diversify the "informants'" background, deepening especially the relationship of the endogenous etiology of 'bewitchment' in case of HIV infection or AIDS, and to collect data concerning the notion of the person in South Mozambique. Alone, I finalized (in the South) the research concerning the socio-cultural etiological content related to HIV and AIDS. I financed this research myself, with support from EBANO and some of the most dedicated interpreters and research

[20] E.C. Green related to me verbally similar problems he had in his earlier cooperation and research realized on similar issues with the Ministry of Health (see Green 1999a, 1999b).

assistants of South/Central Mozambique. Finally, I systematized the data collected in the South on my own, while I was able to use a part of the systematization of that from the Center/North, which was realized by the assistant Constantino for much of the DIALOGO data (not including that from our last study in 2007 with C. Mucamissa in Nampula).

In the ninth studies: The findings of Mozambique were completed through the ninth (9a & 9b) study in Kinshasa and tenth study Kwango. (9a) In 2010 I conducted several interviews of different kinds of healers ('ancestral' or religious) in Kinshasa with the support of CERDAS and Taty Kuketuka. The study (9b) in 2011 was a short study[21] conducted with Taty Kuketuka and two translators from CERDAS, with 18 women and 16 men speaking Lingala, Tshiluba, Suhaeli, Kikongo, Lokele, Kitela, Atetela, Kimongo, Musoko, Lokonda, Ngombe working in 16 industrial enterprises of the beer industry in Kinshasa. On that occasion, I identified in semi-directed interviews that both cultural etiologies (taboos and 'witchcraft'), which interfere with HIV and AIDS in Kwango[22] (identified in 2010), are also relevant for education to HIV prevention and the approach of AIDS for their peers working in the beer industry in Kinshasa. Later, with the same peer-educators representing seven Bantu-languages, we discussed and adjusted (in 2012) an informative detailed flyer addressing the cultural issues relevant to achieve a more efficient education in the prevention of HIV, combining them with basic biomedical information. These methods confirmed the validity in the Congolese urban area of Kinshasa, of the paradigms/framing identified in relation to HIV/AIDS in the rural areas in South-West DR Congo and in Mozambique.

In the tenth study: In 2010, using focus-groups, individual interviews and participative observation of treatments in five health areas in the widely expended district of Kwango, this research involved four Bantu-languages of Congo DR (Kiyaka, Kisuku, Kipendele and Kikongo). This applied research realized for CARITAS, together with the German cooperation (GTZ, currently GiZ) and Health Focus, completed the material on the social and cultural contextualization of health and AIDS, introducing the dialogical approach in the five studied rural areas. Beside the recording and the detailed translation of the interviews, the complementary 12 hours filmed documents in Kwango, provided materials for deepened analyses (Kotanyi 2011b), allowing comparing them with the data from Mozambique. The final formulated socio-culturally grounded communication ways[23] about HIV and AIDS (see below and Appendixes 5.1, 5.2. & 5.3) compiles the main findings from Mozambique and from Congo DR, applying them to Yaka, Suku, Pendele and Kongo, partly different but very similar cultural contexts. The deepening and application of the findings in Kinshasa and Kwango (DRC) finalized the research on the social and cultural contextualization of HIV and AIDS in the studied Bantu contexts.

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[21] A study supported by GTZ and the Bralima breweries, and realized with Health Focus (Potsdam).

[22] The district of Kwango (ca. 250 km from Kinshasa) is in the Bandundu province in South-West DRC.

[23] The application of the culturally inclusive communication strategy on HIV/AIDS, with the adjustments in and for DR Congo of the results of Mozambique, allowed verifying the interfering socio-cultural paradigms. Intense discussions with Prof. Renée Devisch brought fundamental corrections to the developed of the applied inclusive approach, –which appears to be just as valid and applicable to a large extent among the Bantu-speaking cultures in DR Congo as it is the case in Mozambique, and also in Rwanda, Uganda and Guinea Bissau.

In the eleventh study: This applied research in the area of law was coordinated by RCN, Justice & Démocratie, with the support of the jurist Richard Lumbika and in cooperation with the anthropologist Prof. Bruno Lapika, (CERDAS, University Kinshasa) and the judge Aimé Luzimbu Mayengo and the researcher Wade. The methodologies applied by this research with chiefs, their notables and assessor judges in Bas-Congo were similar to the other researches, with some slight differences. The CERDAS realized first a ten days research with two teams of anthropologists and a jurist, in the three districts. Using a directive interview model (which I normally do not use), applied in individual and focus group interviews, the results allowed the selection of twenty chiefs and notables, and ten assessor judges participating in a five days research workshop. In following, I documented five *kinzonzi* [palavers] together with a film team and Richard Lumbika, in three districts. The 36 hours of film showing the local ways of mediating conflicts in rural communities in Bas-Congo (2011) were translated several times to ensure the accurate reflection of what people express (in songs/metaphors) in the palavers or rituals, and how. This resulted in the editing of five mediations, in three pedagogical films, as support for applied anthropological training of official judges and jurists. They were analyzed in a training of official judges and academic jurists in Bas-Congo (2012). Theoretical input was added to the results of the discussion of the experiences and difficulties of official justice with customary issues in law, or of chiefs/notables with official written law (in 2011/2012). It allowed the identification and analysis of some socio-cultural requirements of the population reaching far beyond the juridical instruments of the written law, leading the chiefs, notables, assessor judges and official judges to formulate recommendations for judicial reform.

In the twelfth study: This applied research in Nampula was realized with UATAF[24]. It concerned the introduction of education in HIV/AIDS prevention in youth initiation rites, involving initiation rites counsellors of both genders, healers and chiefs and their wives from seven rural communities in the district of Ribaue[25]. The training of the community multipliers involved the development of new educational tools that responded to the need for the illiterate participants to memorize 18 new "counsels" which they were to add to their usual counselling, and to teach to the youth and to all individual and group youth initiation counsellors in their communities. I gave the trainer of the district multipliers a previous short training with the support of nurses from another association (EHALE) specialized in health and HIV/AIDS education in accordance with biomedicine. The experience demonstrated that nurses trained in conventional biomedical HIV prevention approaches have great difficulties addressing health education to non-literate persons, provoking shame in the adults who cannot read the advice that the instructor writes on the board. The trainers require a lot of time to become able to apply a teaching that includes the local knowledge in consistent ways, and which is carried out entirely in the languages spoken locally. Three days of training of trainers is not enough.

[24] UATAF is a regional association, which trains teachers in functional alphabetization.

[25] The chiefs of the involved communities and their spouses participated, together with the main initiation counsellors (with genders separated) and a healer, and a person promoting literacy among adults who supported the process of inclusion of HIV/AIDS education in the youth initiation.

Appendix 0.2.: The diverging contexts of the involved applied research

The twelve studies had each their specific and diverging own financial and institutional supports related to the diverging issues of applications in health, education or law. Funds were given, among others, by the Human Right sector of the EC, the World Bank through the National council of AIDS (CNCS) in Mozambique, the Red Cross of Mozambique (CVM), the network of all NGO fighting against AIDS (MONASO) in Mozambique, several NGO (CIDAC, Kinderpostzegels, Associação das Crianças, Actionaid Mozambique, Swiss Cooperation, Novib, Pico Film, Coopimagem, Ebano GTZ Saúde in Mozambique, Health Focus and GTZ Santé in DR Congo, CARITAS International and CARITAS from DRC, RCN Justice & Démocratie and the Japanese Cooperation (JCIA). Common to all the researches was the seeking of bridging local notions and practices with the official, mostly westernized approaches of medicine, prevention (especially of post-war trauma and HIV), education or law.

I conducted myself all the studies, excepted the DIALOGO studies between 2006 and 2007 in central and southern Mozambique realized on the field by two teams of anthropologists and linguists[26], and the preparation in 2011 in Bas-Congo, which were not only carried out directly by myself alone in the field. I conceived all the discussed studies. In a preparatory research of DIALOGO, in most of the involved communities, I identified most of the research participants in the six involved provinces (the key informants; diviners, healers, initiation rites counselors, chiefs and notables of both gender). After two main research workshops with the selected key informants, the fieldwork of the DIALOGO research was conducted by two multidisciplinary research teams covered studies about local etiology perceptions in the context of HIV/AIDS. This was combined with a linguistic study, collecting local terminologies and expressions on health issues in seven Bantu languages. The whole study involved approximately 500 key diviners, healers, chiefs and initiation rite counselors of both gender from five provinces in southern and central Mozambique.[27] In addition, I researched in 2007 in inner and at the coast of Nampula province the same issues together with a linguist involving 124 healers, diviners, initiation rites counselors, male and female 'chiefs'. My first research (between 1997 and 2002) involved ca. 350 diviners and healers of all kinds of Nampula, Inhambane and the province of Maputo.

The impervious interruption of the eighth study 'DIALOGO' (at the end of 2007) lead me to continue on my own with a two and a half month study in 2008 that I conducted in the capital Maputo and in

[26] After realizing two special research workshops with all involved participants and teams that I coordinated in DIALOGO (see above about the **seventh study).** DIALOGO (2006-2007) combined an anthropological and linguistic research with an applied study in the area of sensitization. I conducted the latter personally, along with Dr. Parade Marques and in part with E. Mariano in the South. Several workshops in six provinces involved members of many NGOs and ministries, introducing them to an inclusive approach to HIV and AIDS. It also involved four teams from the Red Cross of Mozambique who were trained to apply a dialogical approach in education on HIV/AIDS prevention, promoting socio-culturally inclusive and dialogical communication on HIV/AIDS, with regular work between healers and nurses in hospitals in four main cities (Maputo, Manica, Beira and Nampula) and two rural health centers in Mozambique (in the Maputo and Inhambane provinces) over one and a half years.

[27] In 2007 the linguist Carlos Mucamisa and I started a socio-cultural study for MONASO in the northern province of Nampula (this study was never finalized due to the changes of the direction of MONASO).

semi-urban and rural contexts in three provinces in southern Mozambique[28]. The interruption of the DIALOGO research in Mozambique brought me to start working in DR Congo. All these studies show how difficult it is to conduct such applied research with continuity; all the studies had to be realized with different partners and organizations, for a long time having to seek the necessary funds on a freelance basis. The latter took somewhat longer than the effective research time in the communities.

Based on René Devisch's extended research over 30 years among the Yaka people in Kwango district, in the province of Bandundu in South-West DR Congo, I was able to research in this district (2010) thanks to his extensive publications and his verbal explanations, which introduced me to the subject quickly and efficiently, allowing me, under his friendly supervision and in part thanks to his contacts, to join the Congo studies with my experience from Mozambique, preventing too many errors. It is rare that an experienced professor and anthropologist shares his knowledge with such generosity. I started the applied study in DR Congo first with the Paulo Freire Institute (PFI) together with anthropologist Prof. Bruno Lapika and his team from CERDAS (University Kinshasa) verifying the adequacy of the socio-cultural approach to HIV and AIDS developed in Mozambique, complementing the approach and adjusting it to the respective linguistic context. The applied program was carried out in 2010 with the support of MEMISA Belgium, and GTZ-Santé involving medical doctors of CARITAS RDC and a group of twenty trainers from a network of Congolese NGO's, "RDC Compétence SIDA", based in Kinshasa with members of several local NGO's conducting training programs on communitarian approaches to HIV and AIDS in several larger cities of DR Congo, in all the provinces. The study in the same year in Kwango (South-west RDC) allowed deepening the socio-culturally inclusive approach of health and HIV and AIDS.[29] The developed "*Culturally inclusive communication strategy on HIV and AIDS*" uses the experiences of 12 year applied researches in Mozambique complemented through the studies of Bruno Lapika; it is the fruits of a multidisciplinary cooperation with colleagues from several disciplines: healers, diviners, chiefs, female chiefs, counselors of rites (female/male) and anthropologists, linguists, sociologists, pedagogues, biomedical doctors and nurses, psychotherapists and adult educators as well as collaborators of non-governmental organizations and from several ministries are active in the field of HIV and AIDS in both studied countries. The proposal oscillates between theories born out of experience from the socio-cultural practice, and its validity was verified in the field with practitioners, educators and counselors of all kinds.

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[28] In Moamba, Boane, Maputo city and in three communities of the district Nova Mambone (Province Inhabane). With the linguistic support of Teresa Florinda (CULTURAM), research with healers, traditional authorities, HIV/AIDS counsellors and people living with HIV for EBANO were conducted, examining the local and cultural concept of the *person* and of the Bantu ethical understanding of *respect*. The psychosocial motivation of the use of the witchcraft aetiology was examined with people living with HIV and AIDS. At the same time interviews were held with leaders from two out of three of the active NGOs in the field of HIV/AIDS based in Maputo, about their way of dealing with cultural interferences in their programs in the HIV/AIDS field.

[29] This research war financed by GTZ santé (German governmental bilateral and technical cooperation in health); it was implemented through Health Focus (consulting office in health) of Potsdam, Germany).

Appendix 0.3.: The concept of the 'DIALOGO' applied research – Mozambique 2006–2007

The main concept of the DIALOGO applied research in Mozambique[30] was to achieve an intensive exchange with local agencies, who know best the local and 'ancestral' traditions and their practices, and who are able and willing to explain them. The idea was to deepen the understanding of the most central local endogenous cultural paradigms influencing the efficiency of the approach of HIV or AIDS (at all levels of diagnostic, prevention, treatment and education), and also to research the most appropriate ways to speak about sexuality, prevention, contamination, 'spiritual' lack of 'purity' (pollution), STD, 'witchcraft', death, and so on, by identifying the cultural expressions, metaphors and proverbs that are useful (in Bantu languages) in addressing these 'hot' and sensitive issues indirectly. The objective was also to identify the culturally most adequate way of constructing HIV-prevention discourses for a more efficient communication and education in the studied Bantu languages. This is based on the fact that healing, or the education to adulthood given in the framework of initiation rites (as education given in the families or communities), as much as the local lived-law (mediations through palaver or treating ceremonies) do all happen by an intense use of metaphors and proverbs (verbally or embodied). The latter are necessary, given that too-sensitive ('hot') issues should not be addressed directly, and must be 'packed' in ways that allow them to be approached emotionally (or socially) without being loaded with dangerous and contaminating excessive 'heat'[31], which any direct naming of 'hot' issues may imply from a current Bantu-speaking 'ancestral' perspective.

From the originally planned three years of the applied research DIALOGO in Mozambique (the seventh research – Table 1), only one year was realized, and that stretched over 21 months. After five months of the project, an interruption of six months occurred before getting the second rate of funding; later a second interruption of five months interrupted again the research before getting the third rate to finalize the first official year of the DIALOGO applied study. As stated above, the planned second and

[30] The dialogue occurred in applied sensitization work developed parallel to the research with the chiefs, diviners, healers, notables and initiation rites counselors of both genders. The sensitization was realized by four teams from the Red Cross of Mozambique located in four provinces in the south, central and north provinces; the four teams promoted a dialogue and cooperation between the healers working around certain biomedical hospitals in Maputo province, Nampula and Manica cities and in Beira, in the biggest urban centers of Mozambique. The sensitization teams facilitated dialogues through communication between traditional and biomedical practitioners that were intended to lead to cooperation around the prevention of HIV (also motivating more HIV testing), improving the efficiency of education about HIV and AIDS and in order to achieve fewer interruptions ARV treatment. It followed the spirit of a complementary approach that I started to develop with Dr. I. Parada Marques in 2003 in south Mozambique and in Nampula, together with two teams from ACTION AID. This first experience of the application of a cultural approach to HIV and AIDS involved the realization of 12 training workshops in Maputo and Nampula, numerous workers from NGOs engaged in the struggle against the HIV epidemic, officials from several ministries (Health, Social Affairs and Education), medical doctors from the University of E. Mondlane and several religious organizations (activities supported by the Department of Human Rights of the EU and organized by ACTION AIDS & CIDAC).
During the numerous workshops that we gave during the DIALOGO project with the CVM in 2006-2007 in order to introduce several NGO and ministry members to the application of the inclusive approach, we went on developing our previous experiences from 2003, combining them with the results of the ongoing anthropological and linguistic multidisciplinary research of DIALOGO.

[31] See Chapter Three.

third years never happened. I experienced how much working on HIV and AIDS had become in Africa a matter of mainly financial interests.[32] Those directly and indirectly involved and also those not involved seek some personal, power-related or political profit, hindering the finalization of the applied study in the planned framework. In addition, the total erasing of any mentioning of the healers in the later versions of the national strategy about HIV/AIDS in Mozambique (PEN 2010-2014) demonstrates that ideological motivations also hindered and still hinder taking into account the social reality of the majority of Mozambicans. Simultaneously, the international funds were withdrawn from the HIV prevention activities (if not used for the promotion of condoms or distributed to faith organizations as long as Bush was in power in the USA); for years, most funds have been concentrated in ARV treatment and the improvement of the national health services in order to secure biomedical HIV testing and ARV treatment. Activities promoting health education and HIV prevention have been extremely limited in both countries since 2009. For several years, the official and institutional resistances against the development and application of a socially and culturally inclusive approach to HIV and AIDS did not hinder some regional activities involving the proposed dialogue between practitioners of several types of medicine (for instance, promoted by the Red Cross of Mozambique), giving locally and partially some continuity to the developed approach responding to the preoccupations of the people. However, the involved NGOs, MONASO and Red Cross of Mozambique, encountered serious institutional difficulties that paralyzed their activities in the field of HIV and AIDS prevention. In 2014, two officials from the CNCS in Maputo, the regional official from NPCS (provincial delegation of the national council combating AIDS) in Nampula, and an official of FDC (one of the biggest national NGOs active in the field of HIV/AIDS), all recognized that the social and cultural issues treated in DIALOGO remained extremely relevant and should be better approached in Mozambique in all provinces.

[32] AARG Anthropologists working in the field of HIV and AIDS had an intensive exchange about their experiences with this „AIDS business“ (2008, 2009, 2010).

PART I – CHAPTER THREE

Appendix 3.1.: Non-genital gendering – Fertility in the cosmological life-worlds

The thermal connotation of sexual fusion and the cosmology

In order to better understand the relation of the sexual and gendering framings with the thermal framing, we have to look more broadly at how the gendered life-world is related to the cosmological views. That the sexual fusion of man and woman is seen as being particularly 'hot' has several implications. According to Fialho F., "the sexual code has the power to substitute and to orient the dynamic of other processes" (1998:378) such as agriculture, human fertility, power, war, hunting or health. As we have seen above, it is the fusion of two persons, which produces sexual heat by producing the 'mixing of blood' as the mixing of sexual fluids is called. A Xichangana expression says *kutimekela hi ndzilo,* literally "to have the fire extinguished", meaning to become a widow (Nhaombe 2002:218). Healers and chiefs (participating to the 'modern' world e.g. using mobile phones), insist that the excess of 'heat' of a not 'cleansed' widow must be 'cooled down' by a ritual involving coitus [*kucinga*] in the South or [*pita kufa*] in the Centre, following the principle that an excess of 'heat' must be neutralized by ritual 'heat" following the "like-attracts-the-like logic" (Sanders 2008). For the same reason, a healer cannot have sexual intercourse while treating a "hot" disease or performing a 'hot' ritual.

Fialho Feliciano (1998) shows for the Thonga the narrow link of the thermal conjunctions of the West, North and South winds with production (land fertility). He describes what he calls 'magical' practices protecting animal production from 'hot' people (e.g. menstruating women). Women properly cleaned after an abortion will not 'block' the rainfall. If rain is missing, the chief is responsible for fertility issues on his territory; he will order a divination [*tinhlolo* in Xirhonga] and an offering ritual [*mhamba*] in order to identify and to satisfy the request of the ancestors. The notion of missing rain due to too much 'heat' is, according to Fialho F., narrowly connected with witchcraft, with bad intentions hindering crop production. Heald (1995) reports for the Gisu in Kenia on witchcraft hindering human fertility.

Ligtning, when falling on a tree, according to Fialho Feliciano, 'burns' the earth, blocks the rain and causes draught and death. In this case the chief is responsible, he must call on the healer to 'remove' the lightning by using a 'remedy' combining a black chicken or hen with parasite plants producing a lot of red[33] fruits (Fialho F. 1998:240-41) assumed to have a strong effect on fertility. This corresponds to the practices among the *Yaka*[34] using parasite plants to treat women fertility problems (Devisch 1993a). In South Mozambique, the *mapakama* parasite plant is perceived as very 'hot', as 'hot' as a pregnant woman, and the healer must be well prepared, remaining 'cool' by keeping sexual abstinence for a week or a month before picking it (Fialho F. 1998:242) from the nest of the

[33] See the section on the chromatic framing.
[34] In the province of Bandundun, district of Kwango in Congo DR.

mangodzwane [scopus umbretta] bird,[35] among several plants collected by the bird from far away and considered by the healers as being very powerful.[36] The healer must practice strict sexual abstinence, the same way the chief does for a rainmaking ritual, or a boy's parents do for his circumcision.

According to Fialho F. (1998), the thermal balance of hot and cold means for the Thonga that "rain requires the complementarities of hot and cold, of masculine and feminine, the junction of the hot sun and of the cold moon, of the hot north wind and the cold south wind, the same way agricultural production depends on the hot rain in the sowing season and on a cold harvest season" (1998:389). Fire (heat) and water (cold) combined produce fecundity, life transmission and other forms of production (iron, crop, food, circumcision as the birth of boys to adulthood): this combination is valid the same way for several Bantu-speaker cultures. In this logic, among the Yaka, as among several African people, it is the blacksmiths producing iron instruments such as knifes, who make the boy's circumcision *itapa* [cutting in Kiyaka].
Fialho Feliciano explains the thermal balance of the elements of nature (fire, water) combined with man/woman and fertility and sexual potency of both: field and gender. The author argues that fire cleans the forest and opens new fields, while the ashes fertilize the plantations. Fire produced by man complements water carried by woman is metaphorically referred to in rituals by Mozambique Bantu-speakers as also by the Kaguru in Tanzania (Beidelman 1993) to the fire of the man, and the moist of woman fertility (her blood and vagina). Fire and water are complementary for cooking and for all food needed for human life. Boys are 'reborn' as adult man through the fire (cutting) of initiation and through purifying the water of their ritual bath.[37] The complexity of the analogical grid described by Fialho Feliciano shows how the Thonga conceive human, animal or land production, and reproduction in an analogical relationship; it is expressed by the thermal, sexual, chromatic, thermal framings. These are expressed in the narrative of healers, chiefs and initiation counselors, combining the sexual, fertility and thermal framings inherited from the ancestors.[38]

To produce new fire: metaphor of sexual 'heat'- with or without coitus

Evidence on how an excess of heat can be cooled down is given in several rituals during burial and the treatment of fertility or other women's health disorders. In theses rituals, it is especially the fermentation processes that provide the transformative character of the thermal balance of 'heat' and 'coolness'. An example is the initiation in the semi-secrete society of the *Eyootto* spirit that I observed and filmed on the coast, in Nampula province among the matrilineal Makhuwa. New people affected

[35] The *mangodzwane* [plants from the nest of scopus umbretta birds] medicines are used to protect the land, the houses, the fields and the people. These plants are assumed to bring fertility, productivity, health and wellbeing.

[36] Fialho Feliciano, 1998:244-248, and at the end of the film "EspiritoCorpo" (Kotanyi, 2003a)

[37] Male initiations are practiced at present in Mozambique among the Emakhuwa In four provinces in north Mozambique, the Shimakonde-speakers in Cabo Delgado and in Tete, but male circumcisions are not practiced any more in central and south Mozambique, where HIV prevalence is much higher as in north Mozambique, where circumcision is practiced (Dias 1970; Bagnol 2011). In similarity to several parts of Congo DR or the male initiation described by Beidelman in the Malawi (Beidelman 1993, 1997).

[38] Green 1999a/b; Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b; Bagnol 2007; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney, 2009, 2010.

by the *Eyootto maciini* [a certain unsettled spirit in Emakhuwa] are initiated in a secret ritual.[39] The *Eyootto* spirits are, in accord to healers, among the most difficult to deal with. They cannot be treated in a biomedical centre, according to a hospital director, who acknowledged the efficacy of the *Eyootto* cult for the sick (mostly women) (Kotanyi 2003a). The treatment involves the initiation to a fertility cult, with the production of the *otheka* [traditional beer] through fermentation of sorghum cereals during seven days under the bed of the initiated woman under seclusion. Banana leaves are used to express fertility and the ritual culminates in the production of a fire, by a male member of the female kinship of the woman, on the 5th day of the initiation. The fire is used to cook a chicken and a hen as an offering to the ancestors. The male member of her kinship produces the fire by rubbing a wooden stick (penis) into a piece of wood (vagina).[40] In the ritual I witnessed, the man failed producing the fire and was help by a stronger woman. As Háksansson remarks (1990:192) the production of a fire using two wooden pieces 'symbolizes' reproduction, where female fertility is controlled by man, but, as Sanders (2008) adds, it still requires the combined action of both genders. In his analysis of the Inhanzu rainmaking ritual in Tanzania, Sanders (2002) question the notion of 'symbolization' arguing that anthropologist should take seriously what people explain. Rituals are means applied in order to achieve certain results (fertility, healing, obtain rain, and so on). Sander gives evidence for sexual framing in fertility issues. He observes that fire is an agent of transformation between men and women and is frequently used as a metaphor for sex. Linking human fertility with land fertility, the Inhanzu rainmaking ritual involves the production of a fire by the 'pure' (not yet sexually active) grandchildren, male and female, of the territory chief, by drilling together a long, thin stick into a small hearth. Sanders qualifies the drill as gendered: the stick stay for the penis, the hole for the vagina and the fire is the 'hot' product of the common action. The newborn are 'hot' in several Bantu-speaker cultures, often until their first teeth.[41] It is the "…ideal of sexual 'purity' that allows them (the sexually not active grandchildren) to 'play with fire'—that is, to play with themes of gender and sexuality—most freely and to the greatest effect." (Sanders 2002:10).[42]

According to Jacobson-Widding (1979), among the Shona people in Zimbabwe, in order to secure rain " (…) in November, a new fire will be lit 'in order to inspire the male ancestors in the sky to fertilize

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[39] The secret society character of this spiritual cult is documented in the *eynlo* [last burial ritual] of an *Eyootto* initiated person, one year after death, when securing the cooling down of the dead becoming a protective ancestor for the living. All the initiated members of the *Eyootto* treatment group repeat the main *Eyootto* initiation ritual steps, being the initiated women who bring the *otheka* [sorghum beer used in ancestral rituals] to the grave of the dead (in Muecate, in 2001).

[40] The strong the sexual connotation is for such a ritual (with the wood rubbing as male potency), was demonstrated by the despair of the man who tried in the ritual during more than an hour to produce fire by rubbing the two wood pieces without success. A woman had to help him, letting him finish the last moment, to save his face.

[41] Fialho Feliciano 1989; Jacobson-Widding 1979.

[42] Gendered rainmaking rituals often include a cleansing of the land, e.g. in Botswana (Shapera 1971). In similarity, in Mozambique, the purification of the land after a war implies extinguishing the "old fires" in the house of all members of the community, bringing the ashes outdoors to be taken away by the rain, and making a new fire (Kotanyi 2003b) distributed to all the families, because a war produced uncountable situations of excess of heat due to violent death, death without proper burials, and so on. It makes the land too "hot", putting in danger land fertility and also the wellbeing of the living (their health and fertility).

the female earth with rain (...). Two pieces of wood are used. One is called 'the man', the other 'the woman'. Their junction will light the fire that is supposed to inspire the ancestors to give rain." (1979:39) According to Sanders, the sexual and fertility connotation of rainmaking (of land and humans) is related to the local conception of reproduction. In a Bantu-speaking society such as the Gisu (Kenya), who do not practice any significant cult towards ancestor, the creative processes are associated with fermentation, in similarity to the *Eyootto* initiation described above, which embodies ritually *otheka* [traditional beer] fermentation in order to achieve fertility for a woman. "The model used by the Gisu to understand human fertility is not taken from analogy with seeds and vegetable fertility, but rather the process of fermentation. In procreation it is believed that the 'white blood' (semen) of a man mixes together with the 'red blood' (placenta) of a woman to form a child. The substance of the child is thus deemed to be equally formed from male and female fluids, and frequent intercourse during the first six months of pregnancy is though necessary to develop a healthy foetus." (Heald 1982: 30). Relating the example of the Gisu to the approach in the Makhuwa culture expressed in the initiation into *Eyootto* spirit, the fermentation (of beer production for the ancestors), pregnancy (also a fermentation) are, as generative processes, seen as signs of the presence of the ancestors, which Heald confirms even for the Gisu (1995:498),- as it is also the case among Mozambican Bantu-speakers. Considering the large spread of the sexual/fertility paradigm in Africa, Heald argues that sex accords in Africa a centrality to reproduction, giving sexuality "a cosmic power" (1995:497). The last is central in relation to the prevention of HIV, as I discuss later.

A complementary combination of the framing leads to fertility

Bagnol (2011, 2012) describes the notion of complementarities between men and women stressed in initiation rituals in Niassa (North Mozambique); such complementarities correspond to the complementarities of several framings. Fialho Feliciano analyses for the Thonga[43] the relationships between the various thermal, sexual and thermal framings in the cosmology: the hot sun (with the north winds and the white clouds) combines with the opposite the moon (with the south winds and black clouds) to produce rain. This thermal corresponding to the sexual framing, which link the masculine to the sun and the feminine to the moon, while their sexual combination produces babies (Fialho F. 1998; 3002-3003). The hot sun drying the land calls for the cool rain, and the heat of an abortion, if not "washed off", may dry-out and "burn" the fecundity of a woman (1998, 310-311). "The same association exists between babies and food production: babies are born from lochia[44] and water, and production is born from heat (the hot season) and water (rain)." (1998: 312). According to the author, the maize before cooking is called in Xirhonga *nymba*, the same term used for the fetus before birth. Corresponding to Fialho Feliciano's findings, Schapera (1971) reports the systematic sexual references to land fertility, which is combined with the same thermal framings in his description of rainmaking rituals from several Tswana Bantu-speakers from Botswana. These rituals

[43] In South Mozambique.
[44] *Lochia*: uterine discharge occurring after childbirth

include the participation of 'cool' (who had no coitus) boys and girls, the same way the Emakhuwa healer in Nampula[45] used 'cool' children to close the treatment of a woman having fertility problems or like by the rainmaking rituals, which involve grandchildren (Sanders 2002, 2008).[46] Schapera also reports that the Tswana tradition considers a widow, who had sexual intercourse without ritual cleansing, or a woman having sexual intercourse after a miscarriage or an abortion, as too 'hot' and thus hindering rain; it requires a specific ritual cleansing to restore rainfall (cold) and land fertility.

Several other Bantu-speakers follow a similar connection of dry and hot, so the Ihanzu (Tansania) linking the female body with wet ('moist' vaginas) and the male body with dry (with the dry penis). Sanders (2002) comments that wet is strongly associated with rain and fertility, as also Fialho-Feliciano (1989) demonstrates for the Thonga in South Mozambique. The internal logic of the Bantu framings is more that of balances and is not to be reduced to a hierarchy of bad versus good: it is a matter of the 'order of things'[47], which involves ambivalent states of in-between (Chapter Three and Four). Both characteristics (wet and dry) are required for fecundity (fertility), in the complementary relationship of genders that "possess the fertilizing fluids required in equal amounts to create a child" (Sanders 2002:5). This complementary concept of gender characteristics[48] among the matrilineal Bantu in Tanzania may also exist among matrilineal Makhuwa's (in the North) and among patrilineal societies such as the Xitshwa and the Cindau (in the northern part of South Mozambique): it is documented by the fact that a healer in Govuru keeps his *gona* [the strongest traditional medicines mixture] in two calabashes: one having a female symbol and the other a male symbol as fastener.
Sanders (2008) insists that the Ihanzu[49] use three different concepts of the gender relationship. While in everyday life the man is the strongest, for certain activities the superiority of the woman is recognized by both genders. But the rainmaking ritual requires a perfect complementarity's of both genders, harmonious and free of hierarchy. Also the use by healers of both female and male calabashes in a patrilinear society, one with a female and the other with a male top, indicates the necessity of gender complementarities regarding the efficiency of healing rituals. Without deepening the studies, it shows that also in a Mozambican patrilinear society, diverging gendering types are applied: Xitshwa and Cindau Bantu-speakers in Govuru apply a (patrilinear) unequal gender relating in daily life, where women assume heavy agriculture and household works without having equal decision rights (she may not decide, for instance, if she wants sexual intercourse - she always has to agree), while in the ritual context of indigenous healing, a male healer uses complementary female and male remedies. Such diverging gendering framings in the same society shows how Bantus-speaker cultures can follow in parallel several types of paradigms in a complementary way.

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45 Observed in a popular suburb of Nampula city in 1999, filmed with a team of the ICS of Nampula.

46 It is similar to the healer Horácio, at the end of a treatment to protect against witchcraft, counselling the patient, to give some money to children who should offer it for her ancestors. Children are 'cold' (often translated as 'pure') because not jet practicing sexual intercourse.

47 'The order of things' is referred by René Devisch verbal communication in 2010.

48 Sanders 2002, 2008; Beidelman 1993:43

49 A matrilineal Bantu society in Tanzania.

Analogy of human-land fertility: excurse on land as a person, not a thing

Human fertility is seen as analogical to land fertility. Valuating a good female human fertility, Xitshwa-speakers (in South) say: “The tree is giving fruits.” (Nhaombe 2007a) Cindau-speakers call female genital organs: “the fruits of the woman,” (Nhaombe 2007b) which are analogical expressions illustrating the narrow correlation between human and land fertility/reproduction. It corresponds to Fialho Feliciano’s (1998) demonstration related to Thongas, in the same way as Jacobson-Widding (1989) describes it for Cishona-speaking people from Zimbabwe. Reproduction and fertility are assumed to be the product of the fusion of male ancestors, who move the rain in the sky and fertilize the female earth.[50] The studied Bantu-speaking cultures hold in common that fertility cannot be achieved without the contribution of the ancestors, granting or refusing fertility. The ancestors are therefore the agency of the most immediate concern in sexuality,[51] which in Africa could be useful and central in relation to the dealing with the HIV epidemic.[52]

Human fertility is approached in analogy to the fertility of land. The Emakhuwa-speaking context involves a similar cultural logic but it goes further than the analogy. Vanteke, a Makhuwa farmer in the district of Muecate, explains the identity of human health and land in general, meaning also its fertility: “The cashew tree is a person, the field in front of the house is a person. When the organism is healthy, it is like the offering to *Muluku* [God] and to the *minepa* [ancestral spirits]. This is the way how we have our fields.” (Vanteke, in Kotanyi 2003b) Vanteke points out the centrality of the identity of being, which implies the land is a person. Such an approach influence issues concerning the land, for instance its eventual selling (in 2012, several Kikongo-speaking chiefs in Congo confirmed the same ancestral understanding). The land can be used, but it is not a “thing”, it is a person. Said in the terms of ANT Actor Network Theory (Latour 2005), ‘land’ is an actor as much as a ‘person’. ‘Land’ should not be sold: ‘land’ is subject as much as a person, ‘land’, like any other subject (living or living-dead), requires the necessity of respecting the rules of reciprocity. The living make offering to the land, which in response gives fertile production. By any use of the land, compensation must be given to the descendents of the first occupier of the land in order to inform their ancestors, who were the first occupying of this land. Selling your land, you sell your own ancestors, you sell your-self, you

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[50] The same analogical relation exists for other Bantu-speaker cultures like the Zulu in South Africa and in south Mozambique (see Berglund 1989:250-270), the Sukuma-Nyamwezi in western Tanzania (Brandström 1990:165-186), the Voltaic Kasena, Nuna and Moba in West Africa (Zwernemann 1990: 92-108). Expressions like “*Woman is a field cultivated by man*” (Brandström 1990:171) are similarly found among Mozambican Bantu-speakers

[51] See in Chapter One the description of a Makhuwa healing ritual to restore the fertility of a woman, through ritual steps restoring ancestral support.

[52] The ancestral connection with fertility can also be observed several thousands of kilometres further away in other sub-Saharan cultures, not all necessarily Bantu-speakers: Map 3 shows population and linguistic migrations in Africa along the centuries and the historical and geographical background to explain the common cultural ‘codes’. The thermal connotations and the tight connection between human and land fertility are common, as is the central role of the ancestors regarding the health of the living. This is an evidence of the existence of common main paradigms, while the framings may be applied in diverging manners, in the sense of variations on the same themes.

sell your identity, explained Kikongo-speaking chiefs of Bas-Congo,[53] arguing against the misuse of land by the state, or by urbanized citizen. While Congolese western educated judges and jurists argue that land selling conforms to tradition, the chiefs designate land selling as a deep contradiction to their ancestral custom. This ancestral norm exists, even if several chiefs don't respect this norm, accepting compensations for loosing any right concerning the use of the land on their territory. Currently, the (western) educated Congolese Bantu-speaking people living in cities invest in rural areas often disrespecting this customary rule. Land stealing and later selling have happened in Congo since colonial times: the colonial power took land with force without, or with ridicules compensations of those first occupiers, who, however, are locally recognized as those having the right to decide about its use. Today, many people remain without land, losing the ground for subsistence agriculture. The same happens currently in Mozambique, where just like in DR Congo the combination of international and national interests leads to systematic steeling of land. Behind the economic interests, there is a divergent notion of what is land: is it a thing, which can be sold, or is it a person?

I will not go deeper into the relation between agriculture and human fertility.[54] Albeit, the search for what determines the preservation of human life (also reproduction/fertility) is a fundamental issue in order to identify some of the positive elements in the Mozambican Bantu-speaker cultures that can be activated in order to achieve some useful adjustments on several levels of life (in health, education or justice). The diverging economical interests (of the first occupier of a land and of the rich urban citizen, politician, the interests of foreigners, or of all those combined) make evident why ancestral values like "land cannot be sold" are neglected because they don't fit the own economic interests. As Cabral (1975) idealistically claimed, an African politician should face the challenge having to commit suicide of his own interests (he spoke about own 'class' interests) in order to respect the values and the interests of the majority of the people. Today it appears as idealism: Amilcar Cabral was not killed by Portuguese colonial soldiers but by people of his own side in an internal power struggle. His suggestion that African politicians should commit suicide in their own interest was not practiced after the independence of Guinea Bissau.[55]

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[53] During a workshop for official judges in 2012, given in Matadi by CERDAS (University Kinshasa) and Paulo Freire Institut (at the Freie Universität Berlin) together with RCN , Justice & Démocratie.

[54] See Fialho Feliciano 1998; Devisch 1993a; Jacobson-Widding 1990a, 1991.

[55] Guinea Bissau is since 30 years a perfect example of a country in which the ancestral norms are very lively in the rural areas, being totally violated by the politically or militarily ruling forces. It leads to a situation in which nothing goes when the local ancestral ethic and morality is devaluated: the land felled in the hand of international criminal deals like the narcotic or other business,- on short term extremely lucrative for a few people on power, but going on the coast of the majority of the population.

Appendix 3.2.: Chromatic Frames in Bantu-speaking framework

The three colors white, red and black have major significance in all Mozambican Bantu cultures and elsewhere in several sub-Saharan Bantu cultures.[56] These colors are present i.e. in various combinations in initiation rites of youth and healers and in healing treatments. In the matrilineal North province Nampula, healers treating several types of diseases through spirit possession dress in combinations of white, red and black according to the possessing spirit. The characteristics of the spirit determine which colors are used. For instance, those possessed by the *Eyootto* spirit are dressed in a combination of red and white; one possessed by a *Nakuru* spirit uses black and white or black and red.[57] In patrilineal South Mozambique, spiritual healing takes different forms than in the North: other types of spirits possess the healers, following other cultural and chromatic codes; however, the centrality of the three colors remains. For instance, these colors also appear in the *mhamba* [offering for ancestors in Xirhonga] that a family makes to secure the treatment of one of their sick members. The uncle directing the ceremony performs with the participation of all the family members; the offering involves three pieces of cloth of white, red and black (see Kotanyi 2003a).

Traditional healing in Mozambique and in several Bantu-speaking cultures[58] involves the regular use of these three colors, which is a highly salient sign of a common paradigm. Turner established that "At the apex of the total symbolic system of the Ndembu is the color triad, white-red-black." (Turner 1967:57) Similarly, Janzen (1992) argues that shared signs and healing techniques in central and southern Africa indicate a shared, common discourse about health. Indeed, when *Spiritbody* (Kotanyi 2003a), a film documenting healing practices in Mozambique, was shown to healers in several sub-Saharan countries (Uganda, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, in Kinshasa and the Kwango district of Bandundu in the DR Congo, and Rwanda), all healers observed: "we do it the same way". As a sign of similar paradigms and framings, the three colors appear in diverse forms, but with some constants. White is the color for ancestors, coolness, well-being and balance; "the red of cam wood and certain dyes, or simply a red cloth, as transition and danger sometimes associated with shed blood; and charcoal black as the danger of human chaos as found in situations of anger and witchcraft (Janzen, 2001:62). Even Turner, whose interpretations are, in general, centered on symbols, observes that: "These substances are not so much symbols as tokens of three vital principals" (1967:57).

Connotations of white

Mozambican Bantu speakers employ white at graves; white implies a 'cool' state and stands for the ancestors. According to Janzen, "the use of white chalk or clay stands for purity and wholeness" (2001:62). A city in North Mozambique, Pemba, takes its name from the *pheemba* [white clay], which woman put on their faces in the north as a ritual purifier and beauty treatment. In South Mozambique,

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[56] Janzen 1992, 1998; Jacobson-Widding 1978, 1990, 1991.

[57] *Eyootto* is in general presumed to be a spirit coming from the sea, while a *Nakuru* spirit is presumed to come from the mountains. Both spirits are considered among the most dangerous types of among Emakhuwa speakers in Nampula. A traditional practitioner explains: "*Nakuru* can lead to death."

[58] Janzen 1992; Jacobson-Widding 1979, 1989, 1990, 1991; Turner 1967; Devisch 1993a.

healers or diviners often refer to the necessity of appeasing an angry ancestor with a white piece of cloth. The dead are buried in white cloth and, as a sign of respect, the Makhuwa bring a white cloth to the tomb of important people. A plant with white flowers is often put at the entrance or at the side of the house (in all provinces) for protection. The Makhuwa offer to their ancestors white flour in their communication ritual, the *makeya* [sorghum flour offering] covers the entire grave during the annual memorial ceremony as a huge offering (see Kotanyi 2003b). Fialho Feliciano (1998:419) reports, for the Thonga in South Mozambique, white is associated with life stages. A white cloth is offered to the ancestors when a child cries a lot. The child will have a white protective string around the hips. The circumcised boy is often painted with white argil, or wears a white cloth in order to cool down the heat of circumcision. Both in the South and the North, the dead are rolled in white cloth; white cloth is also put on top of the grave. Thonga and Cindau speakers offer their ancestors white cloth.

Similar to Mozambican Bantu speakers, Jacobson-Widding (1979:212), in her study of the significance of white, red and black, found that for the Kikongo in West Congo, the entire world of the dead is white, represented by white cloth, kaolin clay or chalk used in rituals. According to the author, white is cool like water. This corresponds to the use of white cloth for healing by the Emakhuwa healer Horacio, who heals with the help of his maternal ancestral spirits and with the spirits of sweet water (see Kotanyi 2003a, 2003b). According to Jacobson-Widding, in profane situations, white signifies right, righteousness and reason. White also represents social order. In the same way, a Yaka chief blesses a visitor with white kaolin clay [*pheemba* in Kiyaka], which is also the term used for kaolin clay in North Mozambique. Devisch (1993:67) reports that kaolin revivifies health and confers longevity. Kaolin, used to evoke ancestors, also ensures the abundance of game and unites members of the same homestead or lineage, as it does for Bantu speakers in Mozambique. Devisch shows for the Yaka (West DR Congo) that kaolin from the maternal uncle supports the transmission of life from its uterine source. In the same sense, white is used in fertility healing treatments in Nampula province, often combined with red; Bauman (1935) made similar observations in Angola as did Turner among the Ndembu in northwest Zambia (1967). White evokes the ancestors, whose favor ensures fertility. White combined with other colors (mainly red) is used for initiation in semi-secret societies, such as in the Makhuwa initiation into the *Eyootto* spirit or during any of its specific celebrations. As discussed above, *Eyootto* initiation activates fertility (embodied in the metaphor of cereal germination) and is directly connected to ancestral favor. In several Mozambican Bantu languages, people refer to semen as “white blood” (or “man’s milk”), which is analogous to the mother’s milk (V. Turner 1967). Turner associated whiteness with harmony, cohesion, continuity, freedom from misfortune, and political authority. It represents the “entire moral order”, as well as health, strength, fertility, the respect of ones’ fellows, and the blessing of one’s ancestors” (1967:57). Among Emakhuwa people, whiteness is associated with matriliny, as it is for the Ndembu (Turner 1967:58) and the Tallensi (Fortes 1949:344).

White is used by healers to treat the *maciini* [spirits] in Nampula, or the *svikwembu* [spirits in Xichangana] in South Mozambique in combination with another color, usually red, which is also the case in several parts of DR Congo. Jacobson-Widding (1979:214) reports that in the *n-kisi* [ancestors' spirit in a sculpture charged with their power] cult, white, when used alone, is connected with the heart and reason (referring to disorders that biomedicine calls 'mental diseases'). Similarly, the healer Elsa Elisa[59] in South Mozambique argues that, in treatments of *mental* illnesses (a category that Mozambican healers normally don't use), she has to use white and red during the treatment. Beyond the link to the protection of the dead and to some healing treatments, Jacobson-Widding (1979:188) mentions other uses of white, for example, in preparations for hunting and war and to represent justice. During my earlier research in Mozambique (1997) a diviner woman, at the Josina Machel Island, told me that I should always wear white clothes (I was wearing a white pullover): it would secure for me the protection of my deceased aunt, who would always accompany and protect me.

Connotations of red

Red is the color used in Mozambique for healing. The herbalist Elsa Elisa uses a red cloth when she treats a person. Most healers combine red with white or red with black. The significance of red as a color of healing is also expressed in the *twhasa* [ritual of graduation of healers], which ends the initiation years of a healer in South Mozambique. There are several ways to perform a *twhasa*, with some common characteristics, such as the goat offering: during the *twhasa* for the healer Marta in Inhambane, a goat was sacrificed; its blood was dropped on Marta's head and body while she was possessed. Marta, dressed in a white cloth, became red from the blood of the sacrificed goat; she was then purified with water. The red (hot) blood would reinforce Marta's capacity of healing. While in the province of Maputo, the bodies of healer novices are painted with red clay, without passing through a shower of blood. Use of blood or red in any *twhasa* gives the strength to deal with "hot" issues (diseases). In South Mozambique, the divining healer is usually possessed by a *Nguni* (with Zulu origins) spirit wearing a red wig.

Red is, for the Zulu diviner, associated with earth, the source of iron ore. For the smith, iron is "the blood" of the earth; it is red when it is hot and cool when it is black. "So iron and blood are the same" (Berglund 1989, 269–270). Extending the analogy, Zulu healers give iron as medicine to "give strength to the water (of men)" (Berglund, 1989:280); that is, to reinforce male potency. According to the same logic, the Yaka men are circumcised by a blacksmith, who produces the knives required for circumcision. (Devisch 1993a, 1996a; Kotanyi 2011)

Red plays a central role in a few moments during the secret parts of Makhuwa female initiation rites, when the "godmothers" in Muecate district (observed in 1999) go into the bush with the neophyte girls following menarche. Instruction involves verbal counseling for dealing with menstrual blood, as well as blood in metaphorical form during performances. One of these performances is the search for the "elephant," a phallic piece of wood that is freshly cut and bound with leaves. While the neophyte girls

[59] A herbalist healer in South Mozambique treating with plants, cleansing and ancestral invocations.

look down while sitting in a circle or a line, the older women sing and paint the "elephants" with the red sap of a special tree. The red sap evokes menstrual blood, and the appropriation of male fertility in the form of the phallus.[60] A similar, but less elaborate version of female initiation is still practiced in the southern Kwango district by the Yaka. In 2010, women who act as initiation counselors showed me pieces of the same type of tree with red sap that they use during the female initiation rites. These Yaka women also showed me a red mushroom used during the rites. The mushroom retains its red color, even when dry. Red is the color of transformation, of liminality. Turner (1967:41) reports that the powerful *mukula* tree represents the "blood of birth" among the matrilineal Ndembu. Speaking in general terms, Turner notes that in all the studied cultures "red things belong to two categories; they act both good and ill; [these] are combined" (1967:70), implying that red is associated with ambivalence. In the Kongo culture in West DR Congo, red is associated with mediation. According to Jacobson-Widding (1979), red is used in puberty and healer initiation rites; during the burial of chiefs or important persons; and the use of *n-kisi* [sculpture loaded with ancestral spirit's power], who help to heal several diseases.[61] We find similar uses of red among Mozambican Bantu speakers.

Red does not, however, have a single meaning. Red may signify weakness, for instance during the treatment of a disease or seclusion in initiation (in puberty rites, or in the cult of a specific 'spirit', such as *Eyootto)*. Red means force and power when used in the *twhasa* [graduation] ritual at the completion of a healer's training. Jacobson-Widding reports that red signifies vital force, a crucial issue for HIV immunization; she concludes that the qualities of red "are free of moral association. None of the qualities are designated as morally evil or as morally good. They all belong to a sphere beyond the judgment of what is right or what is wrong" (1979:179). According to Jacobson-Widding "red is a major symbol of the 'neither-nor feeling' in connection with the need for cognition of opposite categories" (Jacobson-Widding 1989:35). For Mozambican Bantu speakers, such feelings are associated with situations implying changes or transformations like death or birth, initiation, or return from prison, war or distant travel. For instance, the cleansing treatment of a man coming back from prison in South Mozambique occurs with grass on fire ("hot" and red). Here again is a case of the transformative process paradigm, which requires "heat." (Sanders 2008). However, crucial for Jacobson-Widding (1979: 370) is the generally neutral significance of red as mediating between white (right) and black (wrong) by transformative processes.

Connotations of black

Healers in South Mozambique use loincloths with all three colors: red, white and black. Sometimes they use only black to protect them from the worst dangers, as when a specialized healer collects the

[60] Male initiation among the Yaka in West Congo involves an inversion of this ritual. Using an egg, the men appropriate female fertility. Both ritual performances relate male/female complementarity to fertility. See also Sanders (1999, 2002, 2008) on rainmaking rituals.

[61] While the names of spirits differ from one region to the next, the common principle is that the spirits of the dead can help heal the living. The manner of the cure and which objects are used for the treatment vary from one region to the next. However, red mostly appears in treatments of the "spirit."

powerful healing plants of the *mangonzwane* bird.[62] In general, we have seen black used for spiritual healing, in combination with red or white singly or together.[63] Black appears in North Mozambique (among the Emakhuwa) in connection with the *Nakuru* spirit, which, together with *Eyootto* 'spirit' are those spirits causing most suffering, being the most feared spirits in Nampula province. Healers argue that the color black helps in the fight against danger of death. Black is also the loincloth color used by healers in South Mozambique possessed by a Zulu spirit in the form of a warrior with spears. In reference to a Zulu diviner, Berglund (1989:270) indicates that cool iron is similar to cool blood. In Mozambique, black rarely appears alone, which corresponds to Jacobson-Widding's (1979:181) observation. Black is associated with extreme chaos (Devisch 1993a), 'witchcraft/sorcery' and opposition to the social order. Jacobson-Widding (1979:182-187) notes that black denotes guilt or error, and is connected to evil. A *ndoki* ['witch' in Kikongo] may be convicted through an ordeal that ends in "black action." Her findings correspond to Turner's, who associates black with secrets, bodily impurities, death and negativity (V.Turner 1967:71)

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[62] All the plants constituting the nest of the *mangonzwane* bird are powerful healing plants. See the last section in the film *EspiritoCorpo* (Kotanyi 2003a)

[63] Some healers will wear only a red cloth during a treatment, like Elsa Elisa while treating women suffering from the consequences of severe taboo transgressions during the war. Wearing only white is used more frequently in cemeteries for offerings to ancestors. However, some healers personalize their practices, such as the healer Horacio in Muecate province, who follows ancestral traditions. However, after spending some years on the coast, where he picked up some elements from Islam, he wears mostly white cloth while healing or performing a ritual addressed to his ancestors.

CHAPTER FOUR

Appendix 4.1.:
My experiences with 'divination' in Mozambique, Kwango & Bas-Congo

In South Mozambique, I conducted participant observation of diagnosis through 'divination' as practiced by *tinyanga* and *nyamusoro* [healers and 'diviners']. They consider their practices endogenous and ancestral, which seem to be very resilient in both rural and urban Mozambique.[64] For example, near the capital Maputo, a female scientist interrupted her university studies in order to become a healer because chronic suffering 'obliged her' to follow the 'call' of the *svikwembu* [spirits]. Divination involves members of all levels of the society and is not restricted to those with limited resources. Matsinhe (2006) observed that traditional medicine was used by the entire Mozambican population probably refers to the extensive use of *nyamusoro* [healers using spirits] services.[65] Diviners deal with all kinds of misfortunes, disease, conflicts, desires and needs.[66] They use the most diverging means for their diagnoses, which give information about the past, the present and the future.

During my research, I asked several female and male *tinyanga*[67] [healers in Xirhonga] to conduct 'divination' of my own life situation involving my husband, daughter and parents, who were all far away in Europe. These experiences gave me insights into the complexity and the potentials of Mozambican 'divination', which in the South is often practiced with a set of objects, called 'bones' [*tinhlolo* in Xirhonga]. However, one of the strongest divining *nyanga* [healer], whom I met several times and who lives in an isolated rural area of Inhambane, worked differently. He did not 'read' the bones, but he did 'see' (even without them). He often made his pronouncements without looking at the bones that he threw. He saw pictures or situations from my life, which he had difficulty describing, as they were unfamiliar to him. I understood only later what the several diviners had told me, but their pronouncements often made sense. Sometimes they influenced my decisions.
The quality of a diviner is measured by his efficacy grounded in his 'capacity to see.' He must determine, with little or no information, the problems of the client. The confidence of the client is built up through the picture of the basic current situation of the client, which the diviner enounces at the beginning of the consultation. The client says very little at the beginning of a 'divination' consultation

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64 I observed, interviewed and requested the services of several *nyanga* and *nyamusoro* [healer in Xichangana/Xirhonga] in Maputo, in the provinces of Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane, Manica and Sofala, and of a few *mukhulukana* [diviners/healers in Emakhuwa] in Nampula. Divination practices in Maputo combine multiple influences, but seem to rely on ancestral approaches, using similar bones sets as observed and described by Junod (1996) at the beginning of the 20th century. In rural areas, endogenous frames dominated; on the coast, Islamic practices are combined with endogenous frames.

65 Meneses (2004) quotes a healer in Maputo, who provided services to government officials. The former scientist who became a diviner whom I interviewed in 1999 used to work for wealthy and powerful people.

66 Honwana 2002; Ganjo 2007; Meneses 2004; Luedke & West 2005; West 2005a; Igreja, 2015.

67 I studied the practices of *tinyanga* and *nyamusoro* [healers and diviners] in Maputo city and province, in Gaza and Inhambane provinces in rural and urban context between 1997 and 2008 among Xichangana, Xirhonga, Zulu, Bitonga/Gitonga, Cindau, Matshwa and Xitshwa speakers.

in Mozambique.[68] He or she spits on a coin and gives it to the practitioner, who concentrates and initiates communication with his or her spirits.[69] These spirits may be ancestors or/and other spirits. In the South, they are often, but not always, so-called 'foreign' Nguni[70] spirits, who are divination 'helpers.' In all the studied groups, the enunciations made through the voice of the medium practitioner during the divination procedure are assumed to come from a 'spirit' (either an ancestor or another spirit).

The act of 'divination' does often but not necessarily involve state of trance-possession. By *tinhlolo* [bones for] 'divination', the *nyanga* throws several times a set of bones of *tinhlolo*[71] including not only bones of several domestic and wild animals like crocodile scales, lions, chimpanzees, land turtles carapaces, gazelle, and also shells, cowries, coins, stones or shells of fruits of plants, seed of *canhu* wood studying them before making a pronouncement about the client. The elements composing a *tinhlolo* set used for divination are "things that represent things" (Ganjo 2011:8) and are classified in different categories (male, female) used in up and down sides and interpreted following the geographical positions (Mahumana 2013). The pronouncements are indirect, often metaphorical; therefore, they need interpretation. In their oracles about my relatives and myself, the diviner's enouncements corresponded to situations or emotions that I recognized in my life or in the lives of family members. These enouncements were sometimes quite pertinent, and even years later still make sense.

'Divination' procedures in Mozambique take many different forms.[72] In South and Central Mozambique, it involves sets of *tinhlolo* and/or spiritual possession of the healer by *svikwembu* [spirits]. Another mean used for diagnoses is the technique of *kufemba* [smelling out/sniffing]: *svikwembu* are extracted and speak through the *nyanga* during long sessions at night in dialogue with the client and family members – in sessions recalling family therapy. The multiple *svikwembu* [spirits] possessing the healer medium ask questions and make statements, mostly in accord with Bantu 'ancestral' moral and ethical principles. These statements are related to the social, emotional and economic conflicts afflicting the client and his extended family and clan. All the procedures used involve several generations of the client's family, and extend back a century or more.[73] Disorders due to spiritual influence are interpreted as vengeance for past events or actions of deceased family

[68] See descriptions in Ganjo 2007, 2011; not all diviners in Gaza and Inhambane follow the steps described by Ganjo. In Central Mozambique (Manica and Sofala), the major steps are the same (see Igreja 2015).

[69] Many diviners (not all) are women in patrilineal Bantu societies in Mozambique, while they are male in the matrilineal North.

[70] Nguni originated from "bad" dead Nguni warriors from South Africa who occupied Mozambican territories at the end of the 19th century (Junod 1996; Honwana 2002). Those who died violently and were not properly buried seek revenge on the living. During initiation, healers in South and Central Mozambique learn to domesticate them; at the end of their initiation, healers and diviners learned to "work" (divine and heal) with the help of these *svikwembu* [spirits] and make the necessary offerings.

[71] Sometimes using different kinds of sets, often three, as Ganjo (2007, 2011) describes in detail.

[72] Ganjo (2007, 2011) describes that in South Mozambique, sets of 'bones' as instruments of divination change through time to adapt to new situations. According my observations, the means of divination are highly flexible. Devisch (2012) notes the same for the Yaka in DRC and Stroeken (2012) for the Sukuma in Tanzania.

[73] See descriptions by Junod 1996; Honwana 2002, 2003; Igreja 2003, 2008, 2015; Mahumana 2013.

members.[74] When *kufemba* [extraction] and trance possession is used, the 'smelling out' of the physical body of the client permit to catch, identify and pull out the involved ('bad') *svikwembu* [spirit]. The *nyaanga* will then be possessed by these extracted *svikwembu* [spirits], one after the other, who tell the client what the problems are and what they require to solve them. The healer's diagnosis may employ one of several endogenous explanatory models, determining, for example, whether the client has violated some ancestral prohibition or whether some dissatisfied ancestor is causing the problem, which may then be 'repaired' through an offering or ritual evoking the ancestor's name. Or, some *svikwembu* may claim reparation for errors, robbery or the killing of members of the earlier generations of the kin of the client. The explanatory models might be applied successively by the same person and have no exclusive nature. The divination will show whether the patient should 'take care of' some 'foreign' *svikwembu* [spirits] by becoming a *nyanga* [healer] him- or herself. Alternatively, the problem may originate from some form of 'witchcraft/sorcery' or, in case of illness, it may come 'just like that' (or 'from God,'), including the issues that biomedicine treats.

Divination in Kwango

In the five health centers where I conducted research in Kwango in 2010, I was impressed that there were a number of young and old male and female *ngaanga ngoombu* ['diviners'], who were all well versed in actualized 'ancestral' modes of divination. Many were between 30 and 45 years old. Some practiced divination in their own hybrid ways, combining ancestral with Christian or Islamic frames, employing 'modern' terms and frames derived from experiences in the capital or during travel. People in both DR Congo and Mozambique said that the quality of a 'diviner' is better when he or she comes from far away (i.e., not subject to local influences) and when his or her knowledge derived from several sources. In spite of post-colonial and 'modern' influences, the *ngaanga ngoombu* whom I met in Kwango consider their practices to be 'traditional' (ancestral)[75], arguing that their basic principles correspond in large measure to ancestral ones.

Many 'diviners' work within a context of limited access to biomedical services and therefore constitute key providers of healing and diagnosis, like in Kwango, a region just 250 to 350 km from Kinshasa. *Ngaanga ngoombu* [diviners] are seen as the most powerful people in Kwango (similarly to the most appreciated *nyamusuro* or *mukulukhana* [healers] in Mozambique); they often live in isolated areas and people make long journeys—as much as 100 km—to use their services. The diviners themselves travel a lot and know the world far beyond their own regions, just as is also the case in Mozambique; their knowledge and practices are assumed to be "stronger", when they are rooted in diverse sources. In a mainly oral culture, diviners are living 'libraries'; they are the members of the

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[74] The involvement of *svikwembu* [spirits] produces a combination of diagnosis and treatment that recalls family therapy (Hellinger 2010), like that practiced currently in Europe, in accord with the theories of Watzlavick (1969, 1978, 1998). One major difference from European therapies is that in Mozambique, the spirits speak and address questions to the client, allowing for clarification of the diagnosis.

[75] The early colonial accounts of endogenous practices were written by missionaries; their impressions were often distorted by their Christian, Western and Eurocentric perspectives that Mudimbe (1988) calls 'invention' of Africa (see also Behrend 1993; Meyer 1999).

community who know the *ntumbuluku* (Bantu tradition in Xichangana/Xirhonga), are practicing local thinkers if not philosophers (see the debates in African philosophy about what qualifies as philosophy), and are accomplished psychologists who carry moral and ethical power, being legitimized by ancestors yet simultaneously also often adapted to modern realities.

Diagnoses through religious revelation in Bas-Congo

In the neighboring province of Bas-Congo, diagnosis is often conducted by healers, which are not *ngaanga ngoombu* [diviners following ancestral ways] as it is in Kwango or in Kinshasa among Kiyaka, Kisuku- or Kipendele-speaking people but mostly by *mimmbikudi* [revealers]. Portuguese Catholic missionaries introduced Christianity to the Bas-Congo region beginning at the end of the 15th century; the region is characterized by a strong Christian influence. In spite of that fact, the statements of chiefs and notables, as well as living-law practices, show that endogenous ancestral paradigms remain lively. Still, in Bas-Congo Christian influences (and those of the regional and central state administration) are much stronger than in neighboring Kwango; this is especially apparent in the field of 'divination', which is often performed either by Kimbanguist healers or those of other religious movements.

Protestant missionaries arrived at the end of the 19th century; their influence grew as a form of resistance against Belgian colonialism, which was supported by the Catholic Church. Protestant presence in Bas-Congo is currently represented by Kimbanguists or by followers of various Pentecostal, independent, and prophetic Christian religious movements. Members practice divination in the form of 'revelation', deriving their legitimacy in a large measure not from ancestral spirits, but from the Holy Spirit or prophets, such as Simon Kimbangu. During my study of conflict mediation through palavers, I observed several cases of *kindoki* [witchcraft] involving adults accused by so-called *ndoki* [witch]-children (see Chapter Four & Six). The accused people in this province went to 'revealers' in order to secure diagnoses.[76] Chiefs dealing with *kindoki* accusations through palavers indicated that the diagnoses should ideally come from at least three different diviners (or revealers). Most interviewed chiefs[77] considered 'divination' by revelator necessary to successful mediation. Due to the necessity of the procedures of divination in neutralizing harmful *kindoki,* I briefly describe divination based on my own experiences.

In Bas-Congo in 2011–2012, I heard reports of the results of revelations addressed to chiefs during several palavers that I observed. Revealers tended to directly identify certain people as *bandoki* ['witches']. Direct naming is not part of ancestral Kongo divinatory frames, which apply ritual means of sending back (Chapter Four). In some cases, when revealers employ specific ancestral frames (i.e., avoidance of public confession), their oracles may help to neutralize accusations of adults against *ndoki*-children (e.g. the third case-study in Chapter Six). Revelators thus, may help chiefs and notables

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76 In Bas-Congo, finding diviners seems to be more difficult than in Kwango, where there are several wellknown 'good' [*ngaanga ngoombu*] diviners. Bas-Congo is an economically crucial region that has been strongly influenced by Christianity. The people whom I met there generally rely on revelatory religious diviners and not on *ngaanga ngoombu* [in Kiyaka, Kisuku, Kipendele and Kikongo], as is usual in neighbouring Kwango.

77 Some chiefs conduct the 'divination' themselves, - in DR Congo and in Mozambique.

to de-escalate social conflict, although the naming of a *ndoki* [‘witch’] leads to escalate conflicts (see also Stroeken 2008). Direct naming is currently not appreciated in oracles of a *ngaanga ngoombu* [diviners] in the neighboring Kwango district (or Kinshasa)[78]; diviners tend to make indirect oracles, employing floating metaphors, analogies or proverbs. The practice of not naming a *ndoki* may be the result of colonial-era legal practices, which condemn anyone making ‘witchcraft’ accusations without providing material proof; proof don’t really exist in this realm of the invisible. Some accuser may present some objects as being “prepared” and e.g. let under the roof of their house to “kill them” (their vital force through sorcery); however, such kind of material proof is extremely questionable.

As discussed in Chapter Four/Six, Stroeken (2004) argues that divination sessions, which involve “identifying witches”, have therapeutic motivation and effects, in that they locate the problem outside of the suffering person. Indeed, the latter applies in all the studied contexts. However, the naming of a *ndoki, mwuloyi, nokhwiri* ‘witch’ is currently often and strongly questioned due to its unpredictable effects in times in which ambivalences are purified through reduction to a bad/good dualism, as is usual in Christian churches as well as in some political contexts and practices, or those of official law. They easily lead to stigma and persecution (see Tonda 2008, Behrend 2009, Israel 2011, Igreja 2014), which are not structurally necessary in the ‘ancestral’ ways of treatment that concentrate on the bewitched person, not seeking to identify any ‘witch,’ but just sending the bewitchment back to them, as I described in Chapter Four and Six.

PART II

CHAPTER FIVE: WELLBEING, HEALTH and HIV/AIDS

Appendix 5.1.: Dialogues about taboos, HIV and AIDS in Mozambique

First, the names (in the mother tongue) of the taboos interfering with the AIDS symptoms must be identified. They may differ from those in Mozambique, where up to seven of the taboos listed in Tables 3.1, 3.2. and 3.3. may interfere with AIDS. These include *sexual intercourse without cleansing* after "hot" transgressions: sex after a birth; sex before a girl has started menstruation; sex with a menstruating woman; sex between a young man and an older woman; sex after an abortion; sex after a death; sex after a violent death. In the case of south/central Mozambique, the interferences appear at two levels: (First) the 'signs' associated with these taboos correspond to those most common in AIDS, and (second) the cleansing through sexual intercourse with a new partner may lead to HIV infection.

In a second step, develop a dialogue in the light of the taboo perceptions. Biomedically trained HIV counselors, prevention promoters and volunteers have little success in convincing the people and the healers of the wrong association of taboo transgressions with AIDS symptoms. The idea of taboo transgression is too prevalent in south/central Mozambique. Only patients taking ARV and achieving an HIV-negative test after many years of treatment may begin to wonder if, after all, taboo transgression was not the "real" causation of the problem![79] In 2008 I met a person in Inhambane (south Mozambique) who had been taking ARV treatment for two years. When his CD 4 level sank so low that his HIV test was negative, he began to wonder if perhaps the healers were wrong to attribute his suffering to the transgression of a taboo [*svayila* in Xitshwa]. This shows the resilience of the traditional perceptions even during biomedical treatment; these can be reactivated at any time.

The similarities between the taboo perceptions connected with *sex*, *blood,* and *death,* on the one hand, and HIV/AIDS, on the other, are easy to accept pragmatically. Many people may accept a biomedical explanation that AIDS appears due to transmission of infected *sexual fluids*, *blood,* and breast milk ("*white blood*"), leading to an "early *death.*" Avoiding insisting that the people's thinking is "wrong," it might be more efficient to recognize that the two approaches are based on different concepts of contamination, and that a bridging is possible on these grounds. The taboo transgression approach is based on the notion of a "*social*" contamination or transmission. It is the newborn child that will be ill if his parents do not perform the ritual cleansing after the birth. It is the parents or the husband of an aborting woman who will be ill if she does not inform the family and does not perform the cleansing ritual. It is the family members of a deceased person who will be ill if the surviving partner has not been cleansed of the "shadow" of the dead. In contrast, HIV transmits through *biological contamination*. The dialogue must involve *both* types of 'contamination' (or 'transmission'): the physical/biological and the social. Only this will meet the demand of the patients, which is to take care of both aspects, to avoid the risks coming from both sides.

Third, the bridging between such "social transmission" and the biological notion of contamination can be accelerated through a parallel pragmatic approach. This means proposing a HIV test (*simultaneously* to traditional cleansing that are not at risk), which will allow the person with AIDS symptoms (culturally associated with taboo transgressions) to verify whether he might be *also* infected with the HIV "*Xipungwane* [vermin in Xichangana]". Early HIV diagnosis enables earlier HIV treatment and prevention.

Fourth, paying attention to the local treatment methods of taboo transgression (cleansing rituals) will allow the identification of risks of biological contamination (as in the case of sexual cleansing with a new partner). Not all the traditional cleansing methods through sexual intercourse bear this risk. The ritual intercourse of the father with the mother will carry no additional risk of infection. In the case of the Bantu-speaking cultures, the objective of the cleansing remains to restore a healthy "cool" state. Cleansing is perfectly possible without risking biological contamination while keeping to the logic of cleansing. The best approach to the necessary adjustments regarding the cleansing methods is to negotiate with the traditional mediators (chiefs, spouses, diviners and healers) (Offe 2004, 2010). Respectful negotiations will convince the mediators to seek, together with the community, acceptable adaptations of the cleansing rituals. People living with HIV in Maputo (2008) pointed to several ways of cleansing without the risk of biological contamination[80]. Taking care of the social and cultural necessities in addition to the biological risks allows restoring the psychological balance of the patient and the trust of his family and community, whose influence is indispensable, since the patient, too, never sees himself as just an individual, but as a fundamentally interdependent person.

Appendix 5.2.: Dialogue on ‘witchcraft’ motivating HIV prevention in Mozambique

Many people living with HIV in sub-Saharan Africa feel bewitched.[81] The five questions below address *mwuloyi*, *nokhwiri, ndoki* or similar notions of ‘witchcraft’ in order to motivate people to want to know about their state of HIV infection and to practice prevention. The following dialogue addresses the etiologies of ‘witchcraft’ and of HIV in an inclusive approach, which counselors in Mozambique have been applying, arguing that it helps especially **to motivate men** (who do not want to know their state of infection) **to want to know whether they are infected or not**, given that nobody wants to die as a “witch.” The process of making people conscious of the involved connotations activates the existing and broadly shared moral and ethical values.

(1st): “**-Is a *mwuloyi*[82] recognized as being able, after his death, to become a protective ancestor**?”
Some participants in the discussion, which should happen in a group, will probably answer:

“- No, a person dying as a *mwuloyi* [‘witch’] cannot become a protective ancestor.”
This typical answer is due to the widespread understanding among the studied Bantu cultures that, as a ‘spirit’, a living-dead behaves the same way as in life. A person dying as a ‘witch’ risks perturbing the kinship as a wandering spirit. The spirit of such a dead person is assumed to become an errant and ‘bad spirit’, who is not well settled and tends to disturb the well being of the living. No one likes such a prospect, which brings misfortune for a long time to come for the descendants of one’s own family.[83]

(2nd question): **“Do people like the idea of dying as a *mwuloyi* (or *nokhwiri,* or *ndoki)*?”**

I never heard anyone answer that they liked such a prospect. People, whether they ‘believe’ in witchcraft or not, rural or urban, educated or not, all answer:

“-Nobody likes the idea of dying as a *mwuloyi* (or *nokhwiri,* or *ndoki*) [‘witch’]!”

(3rd question) **“What is it called in your culture, when a living person gives to another living person something that would potentially lead to the premature death of this person?”**
Unless they answer “an outlaw,” most will answer: **“That is a *mwuloyi* [‘witch’]!”**

(4th question) **“Is it possible to behave as a *mwuloyi,* [‘witch’] without knowing it?”**

People belonging to cultures from the several Bantu languages answer (sometimes after some hesitation): **“Yes, a person can behave as a *mwuloyi* [‘witch’] without knowing it!”**[84]

(5th question) **“In this case, wouldn’t it be appropriate to know if you are infected by the HIV-*nyoka*[85]/[86] by undergoing HIV testing? To “know” the results would allow you to avoid behaving as *mwuloyi*[87] without knowing it, allowing you to prevent passing on your HIV-*nyoka* to others and perhaps causing their premature death (in case that they have a ‘weak *nyoka*’).”**

[82] Use the term known by the people with whom you are speaking.

[83] ‘Bad’ spirits take revenge by living for many generations (Honwana 2002; Bagnol 2006; Igreja 2008).

[84] This answer refers to “inherited” witchcraft that “jumped”, or that was transmitted through dreams, e.g., giving the bewitched ‘food’ making the dreamer become a ‘witch’ against his or her will.

[85] In Xichangana/Xirhonga; HIV-*xiungwane* in Xitshwa; HIV-*xivungwani* in Cindau, HIV-*funhe* in Cisena, etc.

[86] Local terms for “germs” (meaning *vermin* or *small snake*). Using such local terms for germs, which exist in all Bantu languages, allows one to speak about the rational agents of infection such as microbes or viruses (Green 1999a/b, Mariano 2007:21-23). The adequate term must be identified in the local languages.

[87] In Xichangana/Xirhonga; *muroi* in Ndau; *nokhwiri* in Emakhwa; *ndoki* in Kikongo.

This dialogue is based on the widespread idea that a chronic disease, which might lead to premature death, might be seen as related to "witchcraft", an etiology that makes sense of the misfortune and locates its "origin" outside of the patient. Lewertowki and Nathan (1998) claim that the etiology of 'witchcraft' leaves no third alternative to the simple duality of the positions of either 'victim' or 'witch', while I see with Devisch that the diviner or healer constitute a "third space" of an in-between allowing to neutralize the harmfulness at play. However, in such a context, the HIV infected person must avoid being accused of being a witch, and take care to be recognized by their surrounding world as a victim of witchcraft. Arguing against witchcraft, and insisting that this is 'just' an HIV infection, implies reducing the misfortune of the patient to 'just' a physical illness; it ignores the stigmata that people living with HIV experience. An inclusive approach preserves what I call a 'crutch' (being recognized as a victim of 'witchcraft') that people living with HIV need against stigma.[88] It implies taking into account the social requirements of the patient.[89] The dialogue above implies the idea that a person knowing about his/her own state of HIV infection and "offering" to other persons his/her HIV *nyoka*, acts as a *mwuloyi, nokwhiri,* or *ndoki* [witch].

The dialogue above shows an inclusive form of communication; it was applied in Mozambique and DR Congo. HIV/AIDS counselors using it observed that patients preferred their counseling to that of other counselors. Also, peer educators working in factories in Kinshasa City argue that such an approach facilitates HIV education, allowing the mobilization of men to 'want to know' about their own state of infection (through HIV testing), and to eventually also practice more prevention.

It is fundamental and useful in such approaches to use the metaphors that are common in the respective local language in order to address 'witchcraft' in an indirect way; speaking out the word is in itself seen as activating witchcraft. It is totally irrelevant whether the person addressing such dialogue 'believes' in witchcraft or not. What is relevant is that the persons to whom this dialogue is addressed are convinced that 'witchcraft' exists. As Wreford (2009:13) observes for HIV counselors or biomedical workers, it is not necessary that they accept such interpretations as 'true', but it is important to become aware that for many patients such explanations do carry weight and authority, and may have enormous influence on the process of prevention and of healing. I experienced that male counselors, educators and peer educators appreciate such a dialogue, which convince people that HIV testing is necessary, especially for persons practicing coitus with several partners without due protection.[90]

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[88] 'Witch' in Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitzwa. Use the term known by the people with whom you are speaking. It is called, e.g., *nokhwiri* (in Emakhuwa) or *ndoki* (in Kikongo).

[89] Lewertowki & Nathan 1998; Wreford 2008a; Kotanyi 2009.

[90] However, motivating the people 'to know' is a broader issue than just preventing sexual transmission; infection might happen in other ways. Kinshasa (like Mozambique) has many HIV-positive people who were not infected via sexual intercourse. Workers in the Ministry of Health (2010, DR Congo and 2006/2007, Mozambique) state unsafe blood transfusions as a source of infection of numerous persons in a specific geographical area. Also, the hospitals do not always have fresh or properly disinfected syringes at their disposal.

Appendix 5.3.: Steps for inclusion of HIV prevention in maturity rites

In Mozambique, female healers, spouses of chiefs or counselors/'godmothers' of initiation are most often illiterate women, which in their oral tradition implies strong capacities of memorization. This capacity can be activated for the assimilation of the several HIV-prevention instructions that should be included in the education that they provide to girls. The challenge is to use similar means of communication to those that women apply in female initiation rites, notably learning in groups by heart, using metaphors, counseling in pairs (counselor and neophyte), and using songs and dances (see Chapter Five). The basic steps presented below are useful in female and in male initiation, or in any other application of peer education, health education in workplaces, with emigrants, soldiers, etc.

The steps bridging of divergent paradigms in initiation rites counselling

1) Start communicating by mobilizing local knowledge: Together with counselors and healers, identify the known STI that are treated both by healers and hospitals. List separately the STI that are *not* treated by hospitals, in order to identify the STI connected with transgressions of taboos. Discuss the difference of STI treated by hospitals with presumed origins of *'just coming like that'* or those STI provoked by the transgression of taboos (which must be "cleansed"). Identify the symptoms of diseases related to taboo transgressions, verifying which ones have AIDS-similar symptoms.

2) The respect of the local notions of taboos is necessary and unavoidable in Mozambique or DR Congo: the reluctance to consider undergoing HIV testing, and healers' continuing references to the transgression of taboos when confronted with AIDS-similar symptoms, shows that the claim of cleansing (after transgressed taboos) persists, even when the existence of HI virus is accepted. Both approaches address sex, blood, and death, though they do so differently. **Instead of assuming that people's thinking is 'wrong,' it is crucial to understand that it is not only a lack of information, or the fear of death, but also divergent conceptions of contamination (biological or social) that may lead people to ignore HIV-prevention counseling, testing, and treatment.** Even in regions where people do not directly connote the main symptoms of HIV infection with the transgression of taboos connected with sex, blood, or death, research shows that the connection of AIDS with transgressed taboos often remains indirect. E.g., in Nampula, healers argue that AIDS symptoms may include swollen feet or legs, just as the same healers consider that the transgression of the *mwiikho* [taboo in Emakhuwa – use the local term] related to sex, blood, or death may lead to swollen feet or legs. Healers attribute symptoms similar to those appearing in AIDS (chronic cough, diarrhea, skin rash, loss of weight) to a large number of locally known diseases, which they often relate to ancestors, and to the transgression of taboos (or to witchcraft). It shows that in HIV/AIDS, the social etiology of transgressed taboos (related to sex, blood, and death) must be taken into account, in a direct or indirect way, in the context of most sub-Saharan African cultures. Bridging can be achieved.

3) Identify the local way of treating transgressions of taboos (cleansing), and check whether cleansing involves the risk of biological contamination. Not all traditional ways of sexual cleansing constitute a risk of HIV infection. Ritual sexual intercourse between parents of an affected child may not increase risk, but cleansing through sexual intercourse with another partner does.

4) Verify if there are other local practices implying risks of biological contamination, like the transgression of the taboo of adultery during the night of mourning of a death [*kula hita* in South-West Congo], or marriage to the sister/brother of the widower/widow, or to conceive a child with the sister of the wife when the wife cannot have children, or the 'closing' of the treatment of STI by "washing away" the disease at the end of a treatment. Such ritual cleansing may imply burying in a river the rest of the used curing plants and eventually having sexual intercourse with a "foreign" person.[91]
5) Negotiate with appropriate local traditional mediators (e.g., chiefs, their spouses, traditional practitioners) about the locally acceptable ways of adapting means of cleansing (or the other identified practices posing a risk) in order to avoid HIV infection. Cleansing can be done without biological contamination, while respecting traditional requirements of cleansing. Respectful negotiation with leaders can motivate them to identify the locally most acceptable adaptation of the cleansing rituals.

6) Explain how the HIV-*funhe* [worm], or *nyoka ndhinga*-HIV [two-headed snake] –or in DR Congo use, the metaphor of the angry snakes *nyoka kábu*-VIH in Kwango DRC or other locally grounded terms–, enters the body through infected *ngati* [blood], (meaning as much the sexual fluids as the 'red' blood or mother's milk), which permit to link HIV *biological transmission* to the local, well-known explanations — that is, to *funhe* [or other terms for germs]. And show the differences of *HIV-nyoka kábu* from the social transmission occurring through 'pollution' (of transgressed taboos).
7) Discussing the latency of HIV-related illness, explain that HIV-*funhe* "weaken the blood like hidden termites"; they may transmit the infection through sexual fluids, blood, or mother's milk (all seen as 'blood'), but not all who have HIV-*funhe* (or *nyoka kábu*-VIH) get AIDS, because they remain hidden for a long time. Show also that HIV is like *ndhinga* [snake with two heads – a metaphor]: if one head is cut off, the snake survives with the other head. Introduce also the metaphor of people with 'strong blood', who have more-slowly growing HIV-snakes, taking years until any signs of illness appear, while people with a 'weak blood' will tend to have quickly growing HIV-snakes, which will more quickly provoke signs of illness like chronic cough, skin problems, diarrhea, or thinning. These AIDS-related diseases are like *ngati lompfanyi* [chameleon blood][92]. Avoid metaphors of war, which might recall traumatic experiences; it contradicts the promotion of behavior securing life.
8) The cultural etiologies of 'witchcraft' should be addressed very indirectly, using indirect and metaphorical means in a participative dialogue. Discussing the requirement of knowing one's own state of infection through HIV-*funhe* (or *nyoka kábu*-HIV[angry-snake]) allows people not to behave and die as a witch without knowing it. The witchcraft etiology allows hope and provides protection against social stigma and discrimination. Addressing this 'etiology' allows people living with HIV to express their feeling of being a victim, motivating them to not behave as a *ndoki*, *nokhwiri* [witch], using protection in coitus,— and undergoing HIV testing on behalf of the other people.

[91] An usual traditional practice in the Emakhuwa or Elomwe-speaking context.
[92] In Xichangana/Xirhonga, in Mahumana 2013:164.

The translation between concepts, notions, and the local cultures

An inclusive approach to health in general, and HIV/AIDS in particular, implies taking into account the need to translate the medical terms into local words, in metaphors, analogies, or notions that the participants in the education understand. In doing this, there are still main difficulties. The first is that it must be found out whether the culture recognizes anything in the physical body that defends it, in order to help to explain notions like the immune system *in* the physical body, protecting this body. In the cultural logic based on Mozambican or Congolese Bantu-speakers' tradition, protection comes first of all (alone) from ancestors. This must be addressed in a dialogue that does not neglect such local values; against such an inclusive background it is easier to discuss the biomedical concept of the immune system in the body defending the body from diseases (in addition to 'protecting' ancestors).[93]

[93] There are psychological critiques of the forms of teaching of prevention of diseases leading to death that use fear as an educative means. The metaphorical education applied by healers/diviners in Mozambique or DR Congo, like in the initiation rites of the youth, might tend to create fear without providing a clear explanation of the source of danger. Initiation counselors introducing HIV education in their counseling often invent songs, repeating *'AIDS kills.'* The educative songs can introduce differentiated counseling into them, using locally common metaphors, analogies, and proverbs to include HIV-prevention messages (Dauphin-Tinturier 2005), which show the sources of biological infection. These means mobilize emotions and are the best way to activate a deeply grounded cognition, to support preventive behavior in emotionally loaded sexuality (see Chapter Five).

Appendix 5.4.: Impact on empowerment of HIV prevention included in rites

Based on the reports by the medical doctor Brigitte Krings-Ney[94] of the follow-ups, I comment from an anthropological point of view the results of inclusion HIV education in female rites in Sofala.[95]

The follow-ups to the results of the workshops teaching the counselors/godmothers to include HIV-prevention education in female rites show that the trained women included many of the new teachings, although most Christianized godmothers were reluctant to speak openly with girls about sex and sexuality, and about male genitalia. They did not talk about the details of sexual transmission of HIV or about condom use, as they feared that it might encourage promiscuity. In contrast, Makhuwa or Lomwe's godmothers use a wooden penis to instruct girls (in the provinces Zambesia and Nampula), addressing the required preventive issue more directly; however, the teaching occurs more in actions (demonstrations, dances, and songs) than in words. This fact did not hinder counseling godmothers in Sofala in memorizing quite exactly the content learned in the workshop, recalling all details about HIV transmission and prevention. They argue that they refuse to openly address sexuality with girls in order to not encourage sexual behavior too early. Godmothers remembered well the importance to treat STI, and that *pita kufa* [ritual cleansing of widows/widowers in Central Mozambique] should be adapted, with cleansing performed so as to avoid biologically contamination.[96]

During the initiation in Sofala, the counseled girls are told to abstain from having sex until six years after their first menstruation; not to dress or behave in a provocative way; and never to accept money or goods from a man. The godmothers agree that there is a lack of morals nowadays and they want to fill this gap by starting to teach girls and young women about social rules and morality early in their lives. Such teaching differs in an Emakhuwa-speaking framework, where boys are traditionally taught to give a new *capulana* [loincloth in Portuguese] after sexual intercourse (as a demonstration of respect and recognition), and where sexual intercourse before marriage is traditionally accepted. In spite of Christianity and Islam long having argued in favor of fidelity, the locally grounded, more permissive approach to sexuality remains resilient. The necessity to respect local cultures while at the same time discussing practices that contradict requirements of biological prevention imply addressing the issues openly, encouraging the adult counselors to adjust their teaching to the risky situation. Godmothers in Sofala discuss fidelity mainly in terms of the woman's responsibility to attract her husband so that he feels no desire for sex with anyone else. Since some of the godmothers are active members of Christian churches, they combine the promotion of various associated values and practices. Their discussion of condoms varied by community; some godmothers mentioned the importance of talking about condoms with married women as a contraceptive method after giving birth

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[94] Thanks to Brigitte Krings-Ney for her reports of the results of the follow-ups that I comment.

[95] Sixteen of the 21 communities involved were monitored for two years. The trained godmothers trained other women and formed groups of novice girls, initiating them together. After two years in the 16 communities, about 220 godmothers were involved (40 had received our training) and about 350 girls had undergone initiation in the first two years; the evaluations since the end of 2007 are of a qualitative, not a quantitative nature.

[96] They all knew about the risk of getting HIV through cuts from shared razor blades, recommending that each person should have its own blades to use for healers' treatments and for scarification of girls' legs.

(Dieckmann 2007). Most participants mentioned that condoms are necessary in extramarital relations. However, women argue most often that suggesting using condoms within their marriage would cause major problems with their husbands, which shows the difficulties of overcoming the unequal power relationships between the genders.

The multiplication potential of this sustainable approach is deeply embedded in the local practice of maturity initiation; eight years after the teaching workshops, in the involved communities the women teach HIV prevention during girls' initiation with continuity and sustainability, and they teach in groups to reinforce the social impact of the teaching. Initiation promotes empowerment of women with the development of social networks, and women receive the social recognition of their communities. A Mozambican male collaborator states:

> *'In a group these women are very powerful. Nobody can say anything against their objectives. Initiation in the community is now officially allowed and everybody is happy with this opportunity. Integrating HIV prevention is a must for every NGO and political party member. If men want to be socially accepted, they must accept also the female activity and this kind of new feminism. Their wives get more influential and they have to respect them more. It will not be so easy for them to punch their wives anymore because there is this functioning network'* (Krings-Ney 2007).

Mozambique has experienced an accelerated process of breakdown between generations. The inter-generational bonds being reinforced in initiation, girls and young women experience the authority of initiation counselors and godmothers by valuing their own power as women, learning through initiation the value placed on sexuality and sensuality in a context in which counseling for HIV prevention happens through emotionally grounded cognition.

Appendix 5.5.: Cross-generational female rites in Central & Southern Africa

The youth initiation rites continue to be practiced in a large number of Bantu-speaking cultures in Central, and Southern Africa: in several parts of Zimbabwe, Congo, Angola, and Mozambique (as reported by Richards [(1956) 1982] and Dauphin-Tinturier 2003, 2008; Melo 2005; Kotanyi and Krings-Ney 2009; Bagnol 2011; Arnfred 2011), as well as in Zambia, in Tanzania, as reported by Grohs (1980) and Beidelman (1997), in Rwanda, in parts of DR Congo, in Zimbabwe, and Malawi. In these countries, maturation rites for girls involving adult women are practiced without the highly criticized sexual mutilations[97]. Beyond the diversity of ritual performances, the basic structure and content of rites of passage with their central themes are similar. For all, the aim of the transformation of the girl into an adult woman happens in a process that is begun at the first menstruation and concluded with the birth of the first child. In some regions, the teaching of sexuality is introduced by the stretching of the external labia, and in all regions, several stages of counseling are involved over a period of years until the preparation for birth. In rural areas, the frames and the values of fertility are combined with the woman's central role in agriculture, which, even when not practiced in urban areas, still defines the approach to human, animal, and land fertility everywhere.[98] Often, initiation into adulthood is combined with the initiation into dealing with death; this all relates to the moral and ethical authority of ancestors, respect for whom implies respecting the eldest. Behavior of the living is taught in terms of an interrelated adult in a community who respects the prohibitions defined by ancestors as taboos, and avoids witchcraft.

Melo (2005) describes women's initiation among the Handa-speaking people in South Angola, where the elongation of the *labia majora* [outer folds of the vulva] is obviously not practiced, but the initiation follows the same described main paradigms applied in diverging frames. Melo (2005:200) emphasizes that initiation contributes to maintaining social cohesion, linking the generations and the genders and instating a specific means of communication. Beidelman insists that for the Taguru in Tanzania, the initiation into adulthood "represents an extraordinary time of solidarity within one gender and across generations, which I also observed among Emakhuwa-, Cisena-, and Cindau-speakers in Mozambique. It builds a strong and memorable sense of male and female unity" (1997:231). Melo (2005) and Beidelman (1997) describe the rich creativity of the metaphors, analogies, expressions, and proverbs used, which draw inspiration from the surrounding elements of the vegetal, animal, and landscape environment: "This diffuse interpenetration of meanings has a seductive staying power. It engenders memory" (1997:230). Beidelman's conclusions contradict feminist critics: "Kaguru initiation establishes a new sense of social empowerment for young Kaguru." And he explains the harassment imposed by the initiators: "Like Hamlet, they are being cruel in order to be kind" (1997:190). Beidelman shows the differing interpretation of some metaphorical teachings

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[97] Bagnol and Mariano (2008) argue that *labia* elongation as practiced in Mozambique is not mutilation.

[98] See Chapter Three, Appendix 3.1, and Jacobson-Wedding and van Beek et al. 1990b; Fialho Feliciano 1998; Moor and Sanders 1999.

like: “You cut the stubble in Itumba (a mountain), but in Musingisi (a valley) no one sees the stubble.” This initiation song evokes several issues at the same time; it addresses the fact that the initiated man is visible, while the female initiation leaves no visible marks.[99] He further argues about the complexity of the gender construction reinforced through these rites: “Men may speak of these songs as underscoring male superiority, but women sometimes observe that their fertility and their deep nurturant bonds with their children cannot be constrained by juridical rules: in this sense women are not fully subjected to the kinds of arrangements made by men who claim to control them (...). Women’s enduring strength with their vital power perpetuate matrilineages and nurture infants, a power that cannot be appropriated by men” (1997:192). This description perfectly fits the Emakhuwa women in neighboring Mozambique, with a view of the initiation of youth contrasting with the devaluation suggested by some critics. Beidelman suggests that initiation “provides young Kaguru with a striking new and stronger sense of personhood and even individuality” (1997:230). The latter would appear through the diverging interests of the participants, who deepen their knowledge and become highly respected and appreciated specialists, allowing individuality to a certain extent.

All these descriptions correspond to the initiation practices observed in Mozambique.

[99] This expression justifies the necessity of elongating the *labia minora* [inner folds of the vulva].

CHAPTER SIX: LIVED-LAW IN LEGAL PLURALISM

Appendix 6.1.: Historical Background of customary and official Law in RDC

The institution of written official law has been, since its installation in Belgium Congo in 1886, an instrument of submission and of domestication (Le Roy 20004:IX) of the African population to colonial power, in a dialectical policy of exclusion and inclusion as means of domination. The 1889 legislation defined the relation of official law to custom, recognizing "local repressive jurisdiction" by local chiefs in case of damages done by 'indigenes to indigenes' (Akele A. 2008a:149). This was added in 1891 in article 5 with the restriction: "The indigenous chiefs exert their authority in accordance with the customs and habits – provided that they are not contrary to the law and to the public order – in accordance with the laws of the state…" (Idem). Akele Adau notes that this policy implied a functionalization of customary power and that it was also "a true strategy of enslavement, of crushing, and of destruction of the customary juridical power for the benefit of the written criminal law." (Idem)[100]

This process implied the transformation and the destruction of the endogenous ruling structures through the appropriation of power by the colonial administration, reducing chieftaincies to so-called 'traditional authorities', functionalizing chiefs to intermediaries between the colonial state and the population. The Portuguese colonial power applied a similar procedure in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola, as did the French colonial power in several West African countries (Le Roy 2004:102). The utilization and binding of the chiefs in an administrative status was achieved by granting them a share in the benefits of colonial local taxes, which became an instrument of 'domestication' of the 'traditional' chiefs. At the same time, the colonial establishment of vertical hierarchies emphasizing the rule of the chiefs neglected the horizontal ways of dealing with conflicts, as I described (in Appendix 6.4.) for the Makhuwa society in North Mozambique, as well as for the Kongo society in Bas-Congo, RDC (in Chapter Six). According to MacGaffey (2000) the matrilineal society of the Kongo had no paramount chieftaincies in precolonial times. The villages' chieftaincies were perceived more as horizontal ruling positions (involving the chief's elder counselors in decisions).

Through the colonial regulation, the customary juridical practices in Congo passed through a process of transformation. At the beginning of colonization, the Belgian colonial jurisdiction perceived the custom in Congo as contrary to the law. From 1910, the colonial codification manipulated oral Law-making, reducing the "custom" to a written "Customary Law", which recognized as Law only printed juridical norms: the decrees of 1910 and 1913 substantially limited the rights of sanctioning in the framework of "Customary Law" (Akele Adau 2008a:150). Even if this process perhaps had the apparent advantage of systematizing parts of the custom (those that the colonial regime recognized as valuable), it implied a devaluation of the richness of the African fluid practices of mediation, which

[100] Akele Adau argues that "(…) une véritable stratégie d'enclavement, d'écrasement, et d'anéantissement du pouvoir pénal coutumier au profit du droit pénal écrit." (2008a :149-150)

are based on a complex body of proverbs, idioms, and metaphors, combined with gestures, songs, and dances that cannot be codified as "law" but which contribute to reconciliation just as strongly as the verbal rhetoric does. The richness of these embodied means was reduced to a limited juridical text. Since 1910, customary justice had, from a criminological point of view, a very limited repressive role; it was less repressive than the tribunals of the police, and indicates that it was placed at the lowest scale of the system of written jurisdiction. The author observes that this process led to such deterioration of the endogenous jurisdiction that a reform was necessary. The reform was applied beginning in 1926, fundamentally changing the relationship between both modes of justice. The "meeting of the written law and the customary law in a common work" (Royal decree of May 13, 1938) was combined with the obligation (from 1926) to organize 'Customary Law' in the form of written procedures. "Customary tribunals" became competent to "judge" not only customary infractions, but also infractions according to the written laws, as long as the sanctions did not exceed one or two months of penal service and a limited fine. The integration of 'Customary Law' into the official and written law system implied the prohibition of several customary practices of mediation – a prohibition which I doubt was truly respected at the local level, much as similar prohibitions are not respected currently. Akele Adau qualifies the written framework of 'Customary Law' as a useful support "allowing a first and important point of junction between both orders of law" (2008a:151). The author, one of the main law professors coordinating, over a period of many years, the process of the current reform of justice in RDC, notes that, from that time, 'Customary Law' was instituted as a coherent system, organized according to the rationalism of the written Law. Through reform, the marginalized local form of Law became rehabilitated, taking on the new dynamic of a "customary criminal law". Akele argues that the custom revealed in this process its 'fundamentally plastic and adaptive character' (2008a:151). According to the author, in losing its oral mode, the local so-called "customary jurisdiction" became a modern customary criminal code, discussed in written form in an 'indigenous juridical bulletin' and leading to studies about the 'Customary Law'. This process implied, however, in my anthropological understanding, the loss of fundamental contents: for instance, it undermined the deeply grounded prohibition against selling the land that constitutes local identity; and it was the start of a process tending to criminalize issues related to dreams and social emotions, such as *kindoki* [witchcraft], which should not be framed in a criminality based on material evidence.

Under the written "Customary Laws", charges in sorcery/witchcraft and also divination, which in the custom were perceived as positive rules, were turned into infractions (Akele 2008a:151). In this framework, such issues are criminalized through the application of a European understanding of witchcraft[101], and by interpreting *kindoki* ['witchcraft'] through Roman-Germanic juridical (material) means (strongly influenced by Christian views), qualifying the conflicts around the local *kindoki* notions of witchcraft as a disturbance of the public order – even though, *kindoki* addresses a large

[101] Witchcraft notions oriented on the persecution of so-called witch-women during the Christian inquisition. See Chapter Five.

number of emotions (fear of death, fear of the unknown, the inexplicable, desires, jealousy, envy etc.) and rising social realities, such as material inequalities and even inequalities of capacities and intelligences, which are, in part, nearly impossible to avoid. The reduction of *kindoki* to harmfulness is an ideologically (and religiously) motivated distortion of the local perceptions. It seems problematic to criminalize issues belonging to the condition of all human beings, which appear most of all in dreams and require identification through divination in order to be neutralized treated, allowing restoration of the disturbed emotional, spiritual, and social body.

This history left deep marks in the Congolese memory, leading to the current demands in the framework of the juridical reform to include in the new penal laws[102] means of prohibiting and punishing *kindoki* as criminality (involving the means of divination already subject to sanctions according to the existing written laws). Such demands reduce the complex notions of *kindoki* to merely negative versions of witchcraft, neglecting the *kindoki* of protection and the "constructive" *kindoki* that chiefs claim as absolutely necessary "knowledge" (Buakasa 1980; West 2005a). The law also reduces divination or the *ngaanga ngoombu* [diviners] of *mimmbikudi* [revealers] to charlatanry. While charlatans do exist, the people argue that oracles made by the diviner or revealers may help reestablish the social peace or at least to treat the conflicts at stake.[103] To reduce any divination to charlatanry implies a negation of social and emotional realities.

In summary, the interventions of the colonial power and administration, judged in the light of the observed current customary practices in Bas-Congo (in 2011), lead to the observation that 'Customary Law' seen as the recognized 'customary' law is different from the Kongo customs and should be seen most of all as a product of colonial transformations and distortions.[104] This historical process may also explain the current emphasis on the limited and low-level sanctions through mediations in palavers carried out under the current practices of "lived-Law", as described in Chapter Six. According to Akele Adau and Kasongo Muidinge (Akele 2008a), former Congolese endogenous practices involved brutal and arbitrary ways of sanctioning, which appear to have been mostly driven out over time by the colonial and the postcolonial administrations. In this context, the currently observed local forms of mediation through palavers, called "customary" or "traditional justice", must be seen as a construction, being the fruit of reinvented and reshaped practices, which confirms that culture is dynamic, being permanently reshaped. I argue throughout this study that, beyond the dynamic transformations, there is an obvious resilience of several constitutive elements of endogenous paradigms, frames, practices, and basic notions, demonstrating certain characteristics of specific African approaches in law in terms of mediating treatment of conflicts, which differ from western understandings of a punitive justice based on written laws.

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[102] Kasongo Muidinge Maluilo, in Akele Adau 2008a: 344-363

[103] According to most interviewed chiefs and notables in Bas-Congo. See Kotanyi 2010, 2012; Lapika and Kotanyi 2011; Kotanyi and Lapika 2012.

[104] See for other African countries, Snyder 1981; Chanock 1985; Moore 1996a.

Appendix 6.2.: The stages of a palaver in Bas-Congo and the used means

The stages in *kinzonzi* palavers

The palaver [*kinzonzi*] in rural areas of Bas-Congo encompasses the following stages. (1) The complaint: the head of the complaining family addresses the complaint to the community chief. (2) Preparation: the community chief requests the required witnesses, or in case of witchcraft, the chief sends the involved persons to consult three diviners or revealers. (3) The palaver is held in public, in the community of the involved persons, and in the language shared by the majority. (4) At the beginning, the chief invokes his ancestors, requesting their blessing, demonstrating his legitimacy in conducting the palaver under their eyes. Currently, a prayer to God or to a prophet might replace the invocation of the ancestors. (5) The chief and the complaining parties describe the case and present the complaint. (6) The accused party is heard. (7) The report of the witnesses of the expertise of several consulted diviners or revelators is presented. (8) The chief and his notables retire to closed deliberations. The involved parties might retire to hold internal consultations in their respective groups before answering to the chief's requests of compensation for their "tiredness." (9) The compensation of the notables and the chief is negotiated with both involved parties. (10) A notable proclaims the decision of their deliberations with the chief. (11) When required, additional palaver sessions will be held until the problems are resolved.

The basic means used in the palaver

In order for the palaver to achieve its intended mediatory outcome to re-establish social peace, specific means are required. I will discuss a few basic means that point out how the desired reconciliation can be achieved. These means are attributed to ancestors; they are assumed to have been used for centuries. However, as described above, they have been transformed over time[105]; relating them to practices of the ancestors implying a generally accepted common ethical and moral orientation. At the same time, the palaver as currently practiced follows procedures that are the result of many influences (colonial, former and current state administration, Christian religion, or official justice), which are combined with those means and approaches that their users relate to ancestral frames. The identification of the specific means used in palavers is discussed below.

(1) The invocation of the ancestors at the beginning of the palaver establishes the authority of the chief in conducting it. He invokes his own ancestors, and then those of both clans involved in the conflict.[106] At the same time, it invokes and thus, to a degree, calls into being the morality and the

[105] Verification shows whether the applied means correspond to basic ancestral logic or not. Yet, basic ancestral logic is most often grounded in a certain view of the life-world corresponding in large extent to what the people attribute to their ancestors. For instance, that the means of the palaver are used currently because they allow mediation, and in some cases reconciliation, to be achieved without seeking the punishment of "culprits."

[106] When the chieftaincy is built on several former chiefs in his clan, the ancestral legitimacy of this chief is given; when this is not the case, his referring to his ancestors is more a discourse which is used in order to establish a local legitimacy.

integrity with which the palaver must be conducted. The ancestral invocations[107] show that invisible beings (e.g. ancestors) are accepted as relevant actors in resolving conflicts between living beings.[108]

(2) **The collegial way to conduct a palaver** corresponds to the basic principle that a chief does not decide alone[109]; but with the involvement of several notables as counselors. The Grouping Chiefs must also respond to the vertical state administration (in a different way than is usual in matrilineal horizontal ruling in Bas-Congo), which might lead Grouping Chiefs to tend to decide alone.[110]

(3) The expertise of diviners or revealers: The participants of a palaver in Bas-Congo (as elsewhere in DRC) recognize the efficiency of means such as oracles through 'divination' or revealing. People argue in Bas-Congo (as well as in the neighboring Kwango district of DRC), that the independence of such agencies is best secured when the consulted 'expert' lives far away from the involved persons and does not know anything about the conflict. It is grounded in the recognition of the involvement of non-human actors in determining the divination or revelatory process. What seems to be 'chance' implies in the first instance the involvement of non-living entities (ancestors, other spirits, Holy Spirit); divination/revelation through implies that it is not the person doing divination/revelation who personally decides; he/she is just the medium who sees the invisible through the help of other, non-human entities which have the main agency. The latter are also those determining how divining bones or other means of divination "fall". The localization of the moral power outside of the acting agent (diviner or revealer) is the main characteristic of this procedure; it provides legitimacy to the procedure.[111]

Devisch (1993a, 1996a, 2016) suggests that the local approaches are open to the order of the world, which appears outside of actions resulting from human cognition. Especially with regard to witchcraft, diviners and healers suggest that they need to avoid any accusations of complicity in "witchcraft". This implies that diviners or revealers have to protect themselves against accusations of making false statements –e.g. concerning who might behave unwillingly as a *ndoki*– what could provoke "witchcraft" attacks against them. This grounds their ethical behavior. Further, in treating emotional

[107] The ancestral evocation connects the present with the past and the future, legitimating the decisions that are made. For such evocations the chief may use a cola nut that he breaks and spreads on the soil, or he may pour palm wine on the ground (ancestors being in the earth and in the rivers).

[108] Reynolds Whyte (1997:157) argues that in Uganda (similarly to DR Congo and Mozambique) "ancestors are by definition good and moral." The association of ancestors with morality and ethics is a widely shared frame among Bantu-speaking culture; it implies their sanctioning role when their rules are not respected. Fortes (1965) relates this to the "jural" function of ancestors. The verbal invocation remembers the ancestors by calling their names. The request of their blessing is made with or without small offerings (of cola nuts or palm wine to show 'respect'). See Chapter One.

[109] See Kotanyi 2003b and Ivala 2003 (in Kotanyi 2003d).

[110] Chiefs of villages tend to take care not to decide alone (especially when they live in the village, which is expected, but not always the case in DRC); a chief who does not respect horizontality will easily be accused of behaving as a malefic witch, and might become the victim of attacks that put his life in danger. If they do not respect the horizontal rules, grouping chiefs living far away from the villages that they rule may easily disconnect their decisions from the interest and understanding of the involved and concerned people (as described in the second case-study in section D in Chapter Six).

[111] The *ngaanga ngoombu* [diviner] makes an oracle in a state of possession through ancestors or other spirits (Devisch and Dumon 1991), while the revealer mediums use the agency of the Holy Spirit. See Devisch descriptions and analysis of divination in DRC (1997, 2000, 2000b, 2012a/b).

conflicts between interrelated persons, the necessity of using means of chance (like divination or revelation with unclear results) shows that the issue is not a tangible criminal one. In summary, the 'identification' of, and dealing with *kindoki* or similar notions of 'witchcraft' requires the involvement of non-living agencies. By consulting several diviners (at least two, or, optimally, three) living far away from the involved community, people assume that the divinations/revelations will tell the "truth" (not being influenced by local information) – truth in terms of "truth-on-balance" (Werbner 2001).

(4) The oral mode of the palaver ensures a participation of all involved persons, of their family members, and of all the interested members of the community. The use of the local language shared by the majority of the participants facilitates the participation of all. The oral mode guarantees flexibility in dealing with the conflicts. The verbal rhetoric is based on idioms and proverbs justifying the decision made by the chief and notables in a way that allows several interpretations; the fluidity of the means that are used reinforces the possibility of mediation. Fluidity may disguise misuse, but this is no less a danger in the justice system based on written laws, – at least in the studied regions of DRC.
The oral mode, which actors in the official written law system consider a weak point of the traditional approach, is indeed a necessary means in intangible issues like *kindoki* ['witchcraft'].[112] The use of songs, arguments based on proverbs, analogies and metaphors addressing the issues indirectly has the advantage of respecting what can be said and what should not be said. The use of metaphors and idioms allows the sensitive and emotional issues to be addressed indirectly, intending to facilitate the involved persons to cool down their emotions, and to avoid to activate *kindoki,* which should only be addressed through metaphors given that the spelling out of the word activates it.

(5) Means promoting active participation: Dialogical shouts are used from the start of the palaver. The dialogue is opened with shouts addressed to the public by the chief or the notable in the form of questions, requiring an answer from the participants, who respond in chorus. The involved person intervening with a shouted question (or through songs) provokes all participants to respond together. This allows verification of the agreement of the participants. Shouts call attention to the participants, who respond in short shouted dialogues.

Songs are fundamental means of promoting participation during the palaver through dialogical singing between the main singer and the responding participants. Songs transport essential content and mark the stage of the palaver. Songs may calm the emotions of the directly involved conflicting parties or the participants of the palaver by centering the synergies of the persons involved and reorienting the palaver. They indicate the ongoing or the next stage of the palaver; songs are like "hinges" between the several stages of the palaver and articulate the palaver, introducing a new stage[113]. Songs express

[112] See Chapter Four and Six.
[113] René Devisch in a personal communication. The several dances and songs of the eldest notable, from beginning until the end of this palaver, illustrate that dances and songs articulate a palaver, similarly to the articulation of the legs, body, arms, and hands of the dancing/singing notable. See the 1st study-case in the film "LA PALAVRE QUI TRANCHE" (Kotanyi 2012).

the emotions and the difficulties appearing at any given moment of the palaver. The metaphors in the songs show the discussed issues, the problems, and some solutions in a very concentrated way. The entertaining effect of the songs helps the involved conflicting parties to relax.

(6) The embodied and dialogical rhetoric applied in palavers: **the gestures** are in addition to the oral mode, very fundamental means which allow achieving the intended mediation (Vanderlinden 1996; Le Roy 2004). The shouts or songs might be punctuated by gestures or entertaining dance steps, without undermining the seriousness of the issues; they are intended to reduce tensions and keep the persons participating. **Gestures and dance** reinforce content and express intentions, for example designating through the articulation of the dancer's gestures reinforcing the mediation and suggesting who should take the required step towards the other.

(7) Metaphors, analogies, idioms, proverbs, and references to dreams are used by all the participants, and framed in the local *habitus*.

Appendix 6.3.: Written law and conflicts on access to land in Bas-Congo

In Bas-Congo, the chiefs most fear showing their palavers treating conflicts related to the access to land. The state attempts to prohibit their intervention in this field, although the constitution gives the chiefs the right to manage access to land in their own territory. Land is a central economic resource, and hence a major source of conflicts, which concerns basic means of survival for the people, but often also involves the interests of politicians and of the riches. I will discuss the commoditization of land through practices of selling land.

Many conflicts treated by official written justice involving the custom are related to the access to land: land conflicts often arise within a clan[114] or with outsiders, when the state takes possession without any compensation of the descendants of the first settled clan, who are the "ayant droits" [having the right].[115] The assessor judge Masamba argues that the conflicts are virulent "because of the love of money," and that assessor judges can be attacked by unsatisfied claimants using *kindoki* [witchcraft]. Masamba explains that, in order to protect himself as an assessor judge, he evokes his ancestors with the following song (literal translation): "*Witness on the earth, testimony in the sky; God knows what the ancestors said.*"[116] This signifies: "In all our acts, the ancestors observe us, like God in the sky observes us," meaning: "In all circumstances, ancestors are the main witnesses." This expression shows that, according to the Kongo tradition, it is the ancestors who are the decisive authority giving legitimacy in issues related to access to land.

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[114] In Lapika and Mayengo 2011:57 and 59.

[115] Customary approaches to the treatment of conflicts concerning access to land imply that they should only be treated locally. According to current state law, when not only the interests of the local clan members are concerned, in cases involving external entities (the state, rich urban citizens, or foreigners), the chief and his notables are not permitted to treat such land conflicts locally. The state has instated a commission to handle such cases.

[116] "*Va ntoto mbangi, ku zulu mbangi ma tuwa majulo nzambi zeyemo na bakulu*" in Kikongo.

Besides the local conflicts about borders between neighbors, many conflicts involve the selling of land rights as 'land property', as is usual in written justice in accordance with western valuation of individual property, which is contrary to Kongo custom recognizing only the right to use land, not to own and not to sell it. Yet the 2006 constitution of DRC recognizes the custom. For the Kongo people, the land is fundamental; it is the basis of identity. Chiefs and notables argue that ancestral land should not be sold[117]. Masamba[118], an old traditional notable and an assessor judge in Peace Tribunals, says that the custom requires being able to count ten generations in one's genealogy.[119] He says that a 'real' chief (legitimated by the ancestors) can do this, while a '*chef médaillé'* [medalled chief] (instated by the colonial power) cannot: indeed, the grouping chiefs can generally just count a maximum of five generations.[120]

The basic "Bantu" principle concerning land implies that "in a lawsuit over land problems, the endogenous traditional chief can come to testify, because he has the right. But chiefs who hold a 'medal' do not necessarily derive their legitimacy from the ancestors. The medal-holding chiefs might easily have difficulties with the autochthones."[121]/[122] The medal-holding chiefs were instated by the colonial or later political regimes (Chapter Six). Beyond this difficulty, when written documents are missing, which according to Chief Masamba is often the case, the main evidence related to land is the testimony of the neighbors showing where the borders are. Chiefs and notables insist that issues related to the land should be treated first of all in the community, where the neighbors know the borders, which the chiefs and notables can and should verify in the field. The Peace Tribunals held in urban centers often lack the necessary means of transport (Pohu 2009) for verification in the field, which also increases the costs of the case and produces great delay in the verdict. The rich – usually the side of the clan having members in the city who better know the written procedures and have more money – have better chances of winning the case in a court of official justice (following norms diverging of the custom), regardless of whether or not they are in the right.

The constitution recognizes the custom, including land regulation by the chief, whose legitimacy comes to bear especially in issues related to land, due primarily to his being (per definition) a descendant of the first settlers in the territory.[123] Such a 'traditional' legitimacy is, however, rarely

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[117] Lapika and Kotanyi 2011; Kotanyi and Lapika 2012.

[118] In Mayengo and Lapika 2011.

[119] Devisch argues that the neighboring Yaka people remember six generations by name, while notables and chiefs in Bas-Congo argued that the memory of tens generations is necessary. But most interviewed grouping chiefs (by CERDAS 2011) could recall a maximum of five generations.

[120] Since the colonial period, 'medaled chiefs', or those instated through the power of their money, might easily follow the law of the 'riches', of the written justice, or of the churches, and less the ancestral rules (even when seeming to follow them by using some of the ancestral framings).

[121] In Lapika and Mayengo 2011:56.

[122] I often observed similar difficulties in Mozambique, and the second case in Bas-Congo (in DRC) implying *kindoki* ['witchcraft'] in section I documents problems arising with this kind of a chief instated by the state, without any serious ancestral legitimacy (to have an uncle living in that village is not enough).

[123] Ancestors protect animals, persons' and land fertility and the wellbeing of those living on it. The ancestors buried in the earth are one with the earth and the rivers, where they will be invoked to activate their protection (see Chapter One).

given in the case of Grouping Chiefs. Nevertheless, most interviewed chiefs and notables in Bas-Congo insist that the land should not be sold: "The land is not a mercantile thing but a person."[124] Given that land founds the identity of the clan, selling the land means selling the ancestors and hence one's own identity.[125] Such a Kongo tradition stands in opposition to the personal interests of the rich Congolese, of private national or international enterprises, of the state administration, of politicians, and of religious institutions; all are interested in securing their property, i.e., land.[126]

Assessor judges argue that conflicts related to land should be treated by the 'Peace Tribunals' in accordance with the custom, but the official law often confirms the selling of land, fundamentally contradicting Kongo ancestral tradition.[127] Recognizing land selling, Peace Tribunals and assessor judges obviously invent a nonexistent Kongo tradition using the right of private property as a basic westernized right.[128] The decisions of the official-law courts concerning access to land are a matter of political and economic power, leading to a situation in which the custom, the truth, the constitution, and the ancestors are easily pushed aside.[129]/[130]

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[124] According to Kongo and Makhuwa research subjects, land is not 'like' a person, but is a person! A framing that a capitalist approach does not accept due to its priority of individual rights of property that reduces land to its materiality, to a mercantile issue by which private property becomes sacred. See also Shalukoma 2004

[125] Related by several chiefs and notables, in 2011 and 2012 (Kotanyi and Lapika 2011, 2012).

[126] The quick expansion of cities provokes many conflicts, but the selling of rural areas for private or state profit, without compensation of the population living on and from that land, leads to painful conflicts concerning the survival of a large number of families, due to the violation of basic rights.

[127] Chief Mbuma complains: "The Peace Tribunal doesn't know land is acquired in accordance with the custom, and pretends to regulate cases that are not in its competence" (Wade 2011:10). Chief Makana Makitaya argues: "Although I am the 'landlord', we are not called when conflicts over land must be settled. At least at the Tribunal of Peace there are assessor judges, but at the Highest Court they do not have any experts on the custom. Not being from here, not knowing the local languages, they ignore our realities." (Lapika & Mayengo 2011:29).

[128] In Wade 2011:10, in Bas-Fleuve.

[129] It reminds me of a (black) peasant in the Cape Verde Islands who (in 1976) commented on the way official courts treated a conflict between poor people and a rich (white) landlord: "We are like a bottle fighting against a stone" (meaning that a poor person has no chance of ever getting justice against a rich person).

[130] Only a popular mobilization on a large scale could bring change to such a power relationship. The findings show that the basic right of access to land belongs, in the several local Bantu "customs," to the descendants of the first clan to have settled on that land (in accordance with the locally valid rules of kinship and heritage). In the matrilineal system, it is the eldest nephew of the maternal uncle who inherits the land, who is the '*ayant droit'* [having the right]; in any (extraordinary) case of the selling of land, he should receive adequate compensation, which must be shared with all the lineages of the kinship.

Appendix 6.4.: The palaver among Makhuwa's & Hybrid Law Mozambique

The following three *mihatto* [problems/palavers] among matrilienal Emakhuwa-speaking people in North Mozambique show the way people resolve their conflicts in peace time in two rural neighboring communities in a central district in the province of Nampula, which I will call Inora and Namera (changed names). Both rural communities stood on opposites sides during the civil war (1988-1992) and had also internal conflicts in 1999, and also had ongoing conflicts with each other.

Vertical decision making in a horizontal matrilineal society

The chief of Inora constitutes a chieftaincy instated by the colonial regime in order to better control the territory by dividing the large territory of Namera, which in pre-colonial times constituted a single chieftaincy. In Mozambique (like DR Congo), since pre-colonial times, the (ancestral) principle giving legitimacy to a *mpewe* or *mwene* [community head/chief] holds that the first settled clan has the right (and the obligation) to secure the territory by assuming its chieftaincy. However, in both countries, the several ruling political regimes (colonial and postcolonial) interfered by installing some chiefs in accordance with their political interests. This led to a situation in which such chiefs often have no local (ancestral) legitimacy, provoking new conflicts, or are unable to mediate in local conflicts. The local acceptance of a chief as a central entity regulating several kinds of problems (supported by his notables) is fundamental, determining the effectiveness of his power. Concerning the success of the transformation of local conflicts[131], the qualities of the counselors of the chief are just as fundamental as also the question of whether the chief listens to his counselors. Chiefs instated by the political regime tend not to listen to the local eldest counselors, or not to choose adequate counselors[132], often deciding alone in an authoritarian, vertical way, which is especially problematic in matrilineal horizontal societies, in which per definition no one should decide about another person.

The latter is the case for the chief of Inora. The father of the current chief Inora[133] was a *cabo*[134] (notable instated by the colonial power with leading local functions) in a neighboring territory. He was

[131] There are many problems, which take generations to be resolved; the transformation of the conflicts provides positive treatments, allowing people to remain living together in the same community.

[132] This tendency that I observed in Mozambique and in Bas-Congo has a certain inherent logic: the more adequate notables maintain fidelity to the clan of the chief, who is legitimated through his ancestors (following matrilineal kinship rules). The notables that a non-legitimated chief uses (if any) are often not well integrated into the community. But in most of the observed cases, when a chief is imposed by the regional or national power, he tends to have little connection with the local notables, deciding mostly alone, which is a fundamental distortion of the endogenous, more vertical traditions. Even in patrilineal societies, chiefs should not decide alone but with their 'eldest'. However, the colonial and current political and religious influences lead some chiefs to disrespect this very basic ancestral rule.

[133] At his enthronization, a chief takes the name of the preceding chief, securing the continuity in that way. The chief almost never uses his own name anymore, and nobody would call him by his former name. This means that in assuming a chieftaincy, the person has to shift his personality, which is expected as he embraces all of the responsibilities involved in the position of a chief. It implies a complex procedure of transformation. It is induced during the complex ritual of enthronization, which has some similarities in Mozambique and DR Congo. In both countries, the Bantu-speaking chiefs have to undergo rituals activating the transgression of the strongest taboo [*mwikho* in Emakhuwa, *n-siku* in Kikongo/Kiyaka], which is incest. The activation can take place in very different ways, metaphorically or not; it remains, however, in the domain of secrecy (Devisch 1996a).

[134] *Cabo* were local leaders instated by the colonial regime as sub-chiefs.

Portuguese-speaking, and was installed for this reason by the colonial regime as a new chieftaincy from the zone of Inora. His nomination implied the division of the territory of Namera from the colonial time onward, angering the chief of Namera, who lost part of 'his' territory as a result. The current chief Inora grew up in a missionary school: every Sunday, he directs the mass of the Catholic Church in his community. As a supporter of the FRELIMO party, which has ruled since independence, the chief Inora. did not remain on his territory during the civil war[135]. This war divided the people of this community between the partisans of the ruing socialist FRELIMO and the supporters of the opposing movement, RENAMO, which occupied this region during the war. The majority of the people of this area supported RENAMO, mainly because the post-independence socialist regime instated centralized '*community villages'*.[136] The latter allowed better access to school, hospitals, and market facilities for all inhabitants than for those living traditionally in widespread compounds far from each other.[137] Many Makhuwa peasants did not agree to live in 'community villages', refusing to abandon the land "where our ancestors are buried" and where all their fruit trees were planted, which took a long time to provide their rare sources of cash crops.[138]

However, it was the prohibition of practicing any kind of tradition (especially the initiation of youth, or of healing or burial rituals) that brought the people to a point of despair[139]. In the Makhuwa culture, a person not passing through youth initiation (female or male) is perceived as remaining a child, never becoming a fully adult person. Not being introduced into the secrets of their own (matrilineal) *nihimo* [maternal clan] belonging, such a non-initiated person risks marrying a person belonging to the same clan, which is a *mwiikho* [taboo] nearly like incest (according to Makhuwa norms)[140]/[141]. The lack of education through youth initiation, the non practice of all central life-cycle rites, especially the cleansings necessary in any 'hot' situations, like after a birth, an abortion and after death[142], makes the society become 'crazy' given that the people lose the minimally required feeling of a secure ground. The life of the living is perceived as too vulnerable when people stay in a permanent state of

135 From 1988 until 1992.

136 The *aldeias comunais* were founded for similar reasons as the *ujamma* [collective villages] in Tanzania; their territorial concentration was intended to resolve fundamental problems like access to water, market, schools, and health care. However, because of authoritarian structures (imposed by the state), governed in vertical instead of the horizontal endogenous ways, and implying the loss of the territories where ancestors were buried and the fruits of the clan trees were planted, the well-intended approach of, however, forced villagization (of people living formerly on very extended territories) failed in both countries.

137 In former times, the colonial regime obliged people to live along the roads.

138 Another source of disturbance in the socialist period (from independence in 1975 until 1992), was the lack of official recognition of the local identity related to the horizontal matrilineality (Geffray 1991; Ivala 2003; Kotanyi, 2003b) – instead of the vertical patrilineality of the ruling leaders in the capital Maputo from the South – combined with the lack of respect from the ideologically atheist central national ruling party towards ancestors and any kind of religious practices seen as backward, non-progressive 'obscurantisms'.

139 Geffray 1991; Honwana 2002; Kotany 2003b, 2003c.

140 By not being initiated into the rules related to the Makhuwa *nihimo* [maternal clan], a person does not know which *nihimo* a person belongs to, and with whom one can or cannot marry (Geffray 1990).

141 A non-initiated Makhuwa 'child' (when not being initiated, independent of age) is not allowed to see death, because they have not been initiated into how to treat death. Initiation allows one to know how the living have to ensure that the dead may become protecting ancestors, instead of becoming persecuting or 'bad' spirits.

142 See the section about taboos in chapter three.

transgression and of 'hotness'; people are than in a deep dissonance between the living and the *minepa* [ancestors], who in such circumstances stop protecting the wellbeing of the living.

During the civil war, chief Inora was on the side of the ruling FRELIMO; he took refuge in the city as long as his territory was occupied by the RENAMO forces supported by the majority of the population in 'his' territory. After the civil war, the (FRELIMO) state reinstated chief Inora at the head of the community against the wish of the majority of the people of Inora, which were led during his absence by one of his younger 'brothers'[143] who stayed in the bush with them.[144] The persistent conflicts between chief Inora and 'his' people led to a situation in which chief Inora ruled without using the support of any notable, making decisions mostly alone (only discussing them with his wife). He conducts sessions of the *mulatto* [palaver in Emakhuwa] every Tuesday, discussing people's internal problems without letting any counselors' advice him, which would correspond to the horizontal ruling in which an Emakhuwa *mwene* [chief] should not decide alone. Chief Inora sits by the palaver, far away from the people coming to him for help with their problems, which he arbitrates as if he were a singular judge of the official court applying written law, - which he is not. He listens to both involved parties, writes the information in his notebook, and gives his 'sentence' in a way that does not correspond to the oral norms of a '*mulatto'* [palaver], which should include the debate and consultation with his counsellors (notables) as I observed in the neighboring community of Namera.

Horizontal decision making in '*mulatto'* palavers

In the Emakhuwa-speaking neighboring rural community of Namera, chief Namera was instated through his maternal aunt, following the decision of the group of the eldest descendants of the clan that first occupied this territory. Chief Namera, ruling over an extended territory, demonstrated repeatedly in each encounter that he does not take decisions alone: he consulted his notables and followed their advice. He lets the (villages) sub-chiefs regulate the local conflicts in their own respective sub-territories, otherwise the population would have to come to him from far away in order to treat and resolve conflicts of heritage, marriage, hunting, or access to land or forests, and so on. In the palaver sessions that I observed in one of the communities in the territory of Namera, the sub-chief directed a group of notables supporting him in the *mulatto* [palavers]. The sub-chief asked the participants to present their cases, while the notables put questions clarifying the context from all possible sides, hearing all involved by calling for, when necessary, further meetings until all of the involved persons expressed their point of view. The sub-chief publicly asked the opinion of his notables, who gave advice that the sub-chief summarized at the end as the final decision, which was to be respected. The palaver is punctuated by metaphors and idioms expressing the norms in concentrated, culturally codified way, framing them in accordance with the understanding shared by all the participants. An outsider would not understand everything, even if translated, without

[143] Makhuwa kinship does not have cousins, only brothers (or sisters) (Geffray 1990).

[144] The population of this region (occupied by RENAMO) refused to live in 'communitarian villages', and passed long years of suffering in a total isolation under hard conditions, lacking any material support from the cities (cloth, salt, hospitals, and so on).

‘decoding’ the metaphors and idioms used. The discussing group sits in a circle under the open roof of the palaver at the side of the house of the local chief: the chief sits in the circle at the same level as all the participants in accordance with the horizontal way of discussing “problems”. However, women do not sit at the same level as the participating men, who sit on chairs; the women sit on mats on the ground behind the group of men, or to the side.[145] It is the men who seem to decide in such palavers, but it is not clear how far women influence the decisions in the background (I suppose that elder women may have some influences but it is obviously not always the case).

Resolving conflicts between two chiefs – beyond non-respected rules

The flexibility applied by the involved notables in a palaver treating the conflicts between the neighboring chiefs Inora and chief Namera is significant. In 1999, there still was a lively memory of the violent war, which both chiefs had supported on opposite sides. At the same time, the old conflicts due to the colonial interventions, the division of the territory of Namera and granting of a part of it to the new chief Inora (to the father of the currently ruling chief Inora) remained in the background, influencing the perception of the current conflicts on both sides.

It was chief Inora (a follower of the ruling party) who showed me his strong verbal aggressiveness towards chief Namera (a follower of the opposition party), qualifying chief Namera as “just a criminal”. I asked chief Inora how he would have treated such conflicts with his neighbor in former times. Te answered that in former times, in conflicts, the chiefs used to sit down with their notables and discussed their problems together until resolving them. In a second question, I asked, “Why don’t you use this former way anymore?” After a short hesitation, he declared that, indeed, it would by now perhaps be possible to realize a palaver as in former times. Then, as he observed, the ruling administration had recently invited all the religious representatives to participate in the planning of the development of the district, showing that a real opening had happened.[146] In this new context, chief Inora decided (in 1999) to take a risk: he invited chief Namera to a palaver, in order to clear up the conflicts between their two neighboring communities.

I filmed this palaver with my team: we influenced the happening of this *mulatto* just through the presence of our film team, whose Mozambican members came from the city, being employees of the national “Institute of Social Communication” (related to the ruling FRELIMO). I presume that my presence and questions (before the meeting) influenced the fact that this *mulatto* could take place: I was perceived as a ‘neutral’, as an international witness who was officially requested by an institution

[145] *Mulatto* is directed by men, in a society in which matriliny implies that the children belong to the family of the woman; the land is transmitted to the next generation through the female maternal line. Also, ritual issues involving evocations of ancestors need the support of the most ‘respected women’ [*piyamwene*] for the family or the community chief. The woman has a strong weight in matriliny, but this should not be confounded with matriarchal power; she has neither juridical nor political power. The division of the tasks between the genders implies that all issues involving people from outside of the community and the treatment of conflicts requiring mediation are issues in the responsibility of men. However, I observed that, on complicated issues, the chief tends to consult his wife or a respected woman of the community.

[146] Religions became free after the peace accord in 1992, after 14 years of a civil war that no party won. At the first elections after independence, the FRELIMO was elected, remaining in power.

of the state to document in this region the local ways of treating conflicts. Without my questioning, and without our presence, this palaver [*mulatto*] treating the conflict between the two neighboring chiefs may not have happened. However, we did not influence it directly, either the way it was conducted, or what was discussed, or its results.[147]
This palaver demonstrates the high flexibility of the so-called 'traditional' means, which are often wrongly perceived as just 'conservative', fixed and not flexible. On the contrary, the eldest show their capacity of efficient adaptation in order to achieve agreements and reconciliation through the *mulatto* – even when a figure like chief Inora did not respect several of the basic 'traditional' rules.

It is significant that chief Namera (supporting the oppositional RENAMO) arrived with a group of his eldest notables assisting him in this *mulatto*, while chief Inora (supported by the state and FRELIMO) arrived nearly alone, without any notables of his community, appearing just with an older woman. She was the only woman participating in this palaver: she intervened actively, being respected by all the male participants of both sides. The dynamic of this *mulatto* was very strange. At the beginning, chief Inora started to speak, behaving as if he were the highest-ranking person directing the debate, which totally contradicted the ancestral horizontal rules of communication among matrilineal Emakhuwa people. All the participants knew that, in contrast to chief Namera who was the "ancestral" *mwene* [head of community/'chief'] of this whole territory, chief Inora was the son of a former sub-chief (who was a *cabo* instated by the colonial power) and had, just since colonial times, received this chieftaincy not based on any long-existing ancestral legitimacy. Chief Inora felt strong because of his support of the ruling party, FRELIMO. At first diplomatically, he declared that there were problems between both communities' chiefs, which chief Namera confirmed, declaring also diplomatically, however, that the problems were not between the two chiefs, but between their "children" (meaning their people).
Very quickly, the eldest and the most influential notables of chief Namera started to put chief Inora under pressure, asking repeatedly why he came to this palaver "alone", claiming that it was not the right way of conducting a *palaver*, which could not happen without the presence of his notables. Chief Inora argued weakly that he had invited his notables: it came out that he had invited them, - but he did that much too late, hindering their participation. With humor, the eldest notable asked chief Inora: "How can any chicken conceive without a rooster?" Chief Inora answered: "I am their rooster!" Whereupon the eldest notable responded: "But they are the chicken and they are missing!" After this exchange establishing that the basic required rules of a *mulatto* were not respected, chief Inora insisted that he did not come to decide but to listen, together with his colleague, chief Namera, to what their 'children' thought, by listening to their counsel. This declaration had the consequence that the large

[147] How far our presence and testimony influenced indirectly and unwillingly this palaver, is another question; what is clear is that the participants acted in accordance with their own way of dealing with such a situation, and felt 'protected' through my presence. But it was later difficult to obtain a correct translation of the filmed situation. I had to have the sound recording of this *mulatto* translated three times (by people working in the city) before receiving a translation corresponding more or less to that what was said (and how it was said). This demonstrates that what happened in this palaver was unusual for the translators (working at the national radio station), who delivered bad translations the first two times.

group of the notables of chief Namera did the work of counseling both chiefs, discussing, one after the other, all the conflictive issues between the two communities. This situation was, indeed, not totally in contradiction to the 'endogenous' logic in which the territory of Namera formerly (and traditionally) involved the territory of chief Inora, who indeed could be considered as a sort of sub-chief of chief Namera (this is my interpretation, which chief Inora certainly would not accept, as he behaved as if he were superior to chief Namera).

The central conflict discussed in this *mulatto* concerned the commercialization of cotton (a main cash crop). The company securing the commercialization of cotton was settled on the territory of chief Inora, with the consequence that all the cotton produced on the territory of the neighboring chief Namera had to be sold on the territory of chief Inora. Through this, the latter received the highest amount of taxes[148], allowing him to augment the amount of financial support that he received as chief from the state (which depends directly on the amount of taxes that a chief collects in his territory). It was chief Namera who had the most extended territory in which cotton was planted, but chief Inora received the greater benefit of the production of cotton on the territory of chief Namera, which the notables described, analyzed, and criticized. The problem was discussed by remembering several historical details; the participants arrived at an agreement to change the place of the commercialization of the cotton. They established more justice by gaining agreement from chief Inora that each person cultivating cotton could sell it to the cotton company in the territory where he grows it. The company would open a new purchasing center in the territory of chief Namera.

A second hot problem was the issue of the territory used for hunting: the population of chief Inora had no access to hunting territory, being obliged to obtain the permission of chief Namera to hunt in his territory. After each hunt, the hunters had to give a part of their take to the chief of the territory, which in this case always meant chief Namera, who, however, had to declare that the population of the territory of chief Inora could hunt in his territory. The problem was not discussed but just established as such, without going into greater detail. Finally, and probably in order to not lose face, at the end of the *mulatto* [palaver], chief Inora claimed that the population of Namera did not clean the roads well – an issue which the woman of Inora dismissed, declaring that it was never a problem for everyone to clean the road in front of their own house. However, the eldest of Namera acknowledged that the people of Namera did not do this regularly. This last admission of the side of Namera established a balance with the recognition of rights that chief Inora had to make in relation to the selling of the cotton. Neither side left with a feeling of having lost and reciprocity was achieved. Both are basic principles in any palaver.

At the end, chief Inora asked if they had come to an agreement, a question that chief Namera put to his notables, asking them openly: "Should I accept or not? May we trust him, or not?" The eldest counselor influencing most decisions in Namera proposed to trust chief Inora and to agree, saying that

[148] The support given to the chief by the state is calculated on the basis of the taxes that the state collects in his territory.

if chief Inora did not keep his word (concerning the new cotton purchasing center in Namera), they could still withdraw their trust. On this basis, chief Namera declared that he accepted the accord with chief Inora and both chiefs ceremonially shook hands to the acclamation of the notables. The discussion took less than two hours.
One and a half years later, I found the old way in which the two communities connected, which had been interrupted since the war, meanwhile to have been cleansed: both chiefs explained that, since this *mulatho* [palaver], their conflicts were resolved. In this *mulatto* it was significant that the notables imposed horizontality, mediating and resolving the conflicts by criticizing the wrongly behaving chief, but without him losing face. This palaver demonstrated that when one of the two involved chiefs strictly respects the inherent rules of the palaver, and when there is a group of notables able to lead the debates in accordance with these endogenous rules, they can together neutralize a disrespecting chief, allowing useful decisions to be reached, and resolve long-standing conflicts between two community chiefs. This example shows the capacity of adjustment of the 'traditional' community members (older notables, chiefs) using so-called 'traditional' means (of the palaver) in treating their conflicts independently from any involvement of the state, furthering the peace and well-being of the concerned population.
A liberal attitude of the state can allow this way of handling conflict to be applied more; even though it was prohibited for a long time, it may work again. As long as people remember and know how to apply the local rules, they can revive such means of conflict resolution (which were forbidden from independence (1975) until 2000, when traditional authorities were newly recognized by the state. This example shows that palavers following 'traditional' ways can be practiced with renewed effectiveness, with notables showing their capacities to correct chiefs who lack respect for some of the same so-called traditional rules. In contrast to the idea that traditional structures of chieftaincies function arbitrarily, lacking any democratic means (because they are not elected by all members of their community), this example shows the strength of horizontal counseling in matrilineal communities, which implies possibilities of control of the behavior of the chief through the counseling notables.

The capacity to overcome uncomfortable situations as in this palaver shows the pragmatism of the palavers. While their objective is to mediate, and to resolve the problems of the participants, this is achieved with great flexibility and a lot of humor (as in Bas-Congo). However, it also requires the will of all the involved parties, as well as the absence of fear of any governmental repression. In Mozambique, the former struggle of the ruling FRELIMO against any 'tradition', which led to the civil war and to a disturbed official relationship to the local traditions, prevented the free use of their potentials for many years. This implies that the state gives more signs showing their agreement that local communitarian authorities apply their own ways of conflict transformation, which in turn implies a substantial recognition of the factual state of judicial pluralism as Sousa Santos and Trindade et al. (2003) describe. The traditional authorities have been officially recognized since 2001, but their activities as local mediators are not systematically formalized, perhaps due to the fact that the national

budget does not include financial compensation for such activities that require a strong investment of time. Even without payments, notables and chief mediate conflicts locally, seeing this as their duty. Beyond the problematic lack of official recognition of this fact, there are advantages to a lack of formal regulations (e.g., through codifications of customs), in that it allows the local (traditional), flexible, and creative mode of conflict resolution to be kept alive.

The hybridism of 'Communitarian Tribunals' in Mozambique

Comparisons with Mozambique, where justice is characterized by the same kind of juridical and political preoccupations as in DR Congo, show that, since independence, official law policy has been conducted with the fear of ethnic divisions. After independence, priority was first given to the preservation of national unity. In Mozambique, these objectives led to the first prohibition by a socialist regime of any 'traditional' activity. Because of their former cooperation with the colonial regime[149], the authority of chiefs was not recognized. Instating in Mozambique alternative new local structures of the state, they were often not well recognized by the population, not being legitimized by their ancestral bonds determining the legitimacy of chiefs, who have per definition not only administrative but also strong ritual responsibilities affecting all people living in their territory. Some communities effected a requirement that the new local authorities must be members of the clan legitimized to rule the territory (by simultaneously keeping the 'right' person in background in reserve). And the eldest notables were partially still secretly influencing ancestral 'security' (meaning their spiritual and physical protection of the territory)[150]/[151]. After the end of the civil war in 1992, the Mozambican state recognized the traditional authorities with law 2000/1, leading to a situation similar to that of DR Congo, with the difference that, in Mozambique, there is no supervising structure of village chiefs through Grouping Chiefs, which have existed in Congo since colonial times.

In Mozambique currently, juridical plurality is factually recognized through the legal definition of the parameters of activities of the 'Community Tribunals', which, however, act without exact regulation. These 'Communitarian Tribunals' are connoted with the state, which recognizes their mediating activities on the basis of the respect for "ethnic and cultural diversity in Mozambican society,"[152] justifying the communitarian structures as "organs allowing the citizens to resolve their small contradictions in their communities, contributing to the harmonization of the diverse juridical practices

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[149] The opposite happened in the post-independent Zaire, where many chiefs instated by the colonial regime remained in power: after the smashing of any socialist perspective of Lumumba, the regime of Mobutu cooperated strongly with the chiefs, binding them to his regime and using them to establish his power. This recognition did not necessarily put the unity of the state in question, which is much more endangered currently through the aggressive neighboring forces of Uganda or Rwanda.

[150] I described over four chapters in part I of this study the complexity of the so-called 'spiritual' issues, which are assumed to influence the health and the mental, emotional, and physical well-being of the living as well as to secure the territory (addressing spiritual as much as physical security) and take care of the fertility of all (the living, animals, and land) in the territory. In the endogenous holistic approach, the life-world (terminology used by Devisch 1993a, 1996a) involves the most diverging kind of living (living-death, living, and so on) influencing together all domains of life.

[151] Such strategies of preservation were applied beginning in colonial times, as Emakhuwa-speaking chiefs and historians from the province Nampula explain.

[152] In the introduction of law no. 4/92.

and to the enrichment of the rules and customs, inducting a creative synthesis of the Mozambican law" (from the introduction to law no. 4/92).

The 'Communitarian Tribunals' currently generally meet at the same place where the former and diluted (socialist) 'Popular Tribunals' worked after independence. In cities, there are 'Communitarian Tribunals' in each quarter which provide mediation for the community members, treating issues related to conflicts in families, gender conflicts, small robberies, insults, abuses, adultery, and so on, and sometimes cases related to the 'custom', which however are mostly delegated to AMETRAMO[153] (in cities, especially in cases of witchcraft accusations), or to the chief[154] (in rural areas) considered to be the most qualified in mediating conflicts related to the custom.[155] The independence of the 'Communitarian Tribunals' is not granted, due to the fact that they often work in the same localities as the former 'Popular Tribunals', which are compromised with the former socialist regime and the current state, which is still ruled by the same party, FRELIMO (Santos Sousa et al. 2003). Most of all, the members of the current 'Communitarian Tribunals' are generally members of the diluted former 'Popular Tribunals'. Finally, the members of theses communitarian tribunals are not elected as envisaged in Law no. 4/92 (Gomes et al. 2003:191). The state influences significantly who may become a member of the 'Communitarian Tribunals', weakening their communitarian representation.

Despite such limitations, and even with little support and without any salary (the participation is per se voluntary), these minimally communitarian structures allow the treatment of conflicts locally. However, they are not the only local authority; the chiefs declared officially as 'traditional authorities' are also consulted to mediate conflicts with the support of their notables[156]. Without entering into the details of the complex plurality of justice in Mozambique[157] and the specific hybrid practice of the 'Communitarian Tribunal'[158], the reports (idem) of their sessions and judgments show that, with the same preoccupations as in DR Congo, the Mozambican solution allows, on the basis of the law, local mediation of conflicts (in rural and urban areas) mainly following customary rules with low sanctioning, based more on direct indemnity than on punishment; priority is given to mediations intended to achieve reconciliation. However, these 'tribunals' make a significant number of judgments, especially when mediation fails, in which case the matter may be transferred to the official courts[159]. The documentation of the 'judgments' of the 'Communitarian Tribunals' shows their hybrid character; the vocabulary and procedures used combine some ancestral rules with simplified written

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153 The national healer organization AMETRAMO was founded with the support of the party FRELIMO.

154 Chiefs actuate in witchcraft accusations in general with healers organized by AMETRAMO.

155 In complement to chiefs' mediating activities, I observed in 2008 in Maputo's quarters that members of AMETRAMO (the national healer organization) meet each Tuesday at the house of the official administration in order to treat conflicts of the population related to 'traditional' issues. The mediation performed by the healers and diviners of AMETRAM does not have the formality of the communitarian tribunals, and does not produce systematic written documentation of their mediations as the communitarian tribunals do. A secretary of the administration should participate, reporting.

156 See section I of this chapter.

157 See De Sousa Santos et al. 2003.

158 The functioning of the Communitarian Tribunals of Mozambique is very similar to the way that assessor judges approach the issues in the 'Peace Tribunals' in Bas-Congo.

159 Gomes et al. 2003:192-193.

justice framings.[160] The members of the 'Communitarian Tribunal' sit behind a table, always taking written records with a 'secretary'. They are similar to the 'assessor judges' of Bas-Congo (in DRC), who are assigned to the official 'Peace Tribunals', with the difference that the Mozambican 'Communitarian Tribunals' act alone, without any professional judge, with very limited (or no) training in official law, and not necessarily referring in their mediation to the written laws (but using them partially). The 'communitarian judges' do not relate their activity to the ethic based on ancestral 'rules', however, they know them; the ancestral paradigms and framings are subjacent and present in the cases and their treatments, but are not discussed as such. In contrast to the ancestral modes, women are also accepted as 'judges' and many women use this type of law, which obviously responds more adequately to their needs in case of marital conflicts, as traditional chiefs would do.

The 'customary' issues (like witchcraft) are transferred to 'customary' entities (to AMETRAMO, or to community chiefs treating them in palavers together with their notables). Due to the fact that the procedure implies written protocols of debates and decisions, the 'Community Tribunals' apply a mixture of written and customary mediations indeed closer to official Law than to customary mediations, but generally with a search for mediation. While chiefs open their mediations with ancestral evocation even in quarters in the urban periphery, like Chief Luis (Meneses 2003:362.) in Beira[161], the 'Communitarian Tribunals' do not do this, their legitimacy being given by the state.

The Mozambican example of officially recognized (but not exactly regulated) plural jurisdiction shows that it is possible in a sub-Saharan context to allow per official law the use of several kinds of juridical frameworks, and that this approach responds best to the diverging requirements, without codification of the custom, but allowing its flexible use. The Mozambican political and relative military stability of the last twenty years shows that such compromise that opens space for decentralized, multiple approaches of justice does not necessarily heighten the risk of national destabilization. On the contrary, it allows people to resolve their conflicts at the communitarian level, and the state to reinforce its recognition by a more satisfied population.

[160] The hybrid mixture of ancestral, administrative, and written juridical framings is similar in DR Congo and Mozambique, although the times of prohibition of religious practices in Mozambique might limit the mixture with Christian frames there, which easily happens in DR Congo.
[161] Beira is the second main city of Mozambique, in the center.

PART III

Appendix 7.: Differential ontology of virtual becoming of Deleuze

Since "Difference and Repetition", Deleuze (1967) has challenged philosophy and recently also anthropology with a notion of ontology radically opposite to any ontology establishing "what is". He claims with Guatarri the dissolution and a radical avoidance of the verb "being":

> "The tree imposes the verb 'being', but the rhizome has as its fabric the conjunction 'And…And…And...'. There is enough strength in this conjunction to shake and uproot the verb to be" (Deleuze and Guatarri, 1980:n.n.).

Deleuze's notion of multiplicity of differences in virtual becoming in "differential" ontology inverts Heidegger's ontology of being-in-the-world in relation to "oneself," weighting differences that neutralize identity (of one) against the sameness implied in the "oneself" – which is the main criterion of measurement in Heidegger's ontology. Deleuze's *differential* concept as virtual ontology is easily confused in anthropological writing using *fundamental ontology*, i.e., defining what exists. For Deleuze, ontology is about differences, and it is to think only in terms of virtuality, in becoming.

Deleuze's concept of 'virtual ontology of differences in becoming'

Deleuze (1969:309) questions any ontology that congeals being into identities[162], establishing what exists. This is also questioned especially by Derrida (1967) and Lévinas (1961), which Deleuze does not discuss. Their shared critiques point out that *fundamental ontology* teaches us what appears to us as natural, inevitable, which cannot be different, framing ontology as identity, creating limits in space, time and homogeneity, in contrast to the fluid, porous, ever-changing, heterogeneous character of life, of human living in diverging cultures, which implies inherent differences within each culture. However, instead of radically refuting ontology like Lévinas and Derrida do, Deleuze designs a concept of ontology that does not identify; he creates an ontology "that answers to the question of how one might live" (May 2005:17). Deleuze states that ontology is only formed by differences (not sameness), as opposed to a kind of ontology that articulates the nature or essence of what is, offering identity, transporting illusions of stability and not recognizing the endless chaos in life. According to Deleuze, we are left in chaos, which impedes the identity that denies the chaotic and shifting character of life. Against this "failure" in philosophy, and instead of abandoning "ontology," he suggests abandoning the search for conceptual stability, thinking of "ontology" in a new way, in terms of difference (multiplicity) rather than identity (sameness measured through "oneself"). "Difference is behind everything, but behind difference there is nothing" (Deleuze [1968] 1994:57). It is a thought that refuses to philosophize in terms of identities.

Deleuze sees philosophy as a pure invention of concepts, seeking to offer neither a coherent framework of reality nor any behavioral advice. For him, philosophy is not about discovery, whereas anthropology is very much involved in discovering. Deleuze's philosophy is not about what is, but

[162] See also Hussel (1901, 2nd vol., p.7)

about the creation of thought, which is to be differentiated from knowledge as the understanding of identities. Such conceptualization is contrary to many anthropologists' conceptualization of their descriptions as ontologies establishing what exists in accordance with *fundamental ontology*. Instead, Deleuze suggests that knowledge is like a "wonderful palpation" used by a doctor to detect a wound that he cannot see. It is in this sense that, for Deleuze, concepts "give voice" to the invisible wound. It is not about comprehension; Deleuze accepts the consequent lack of intellectual control; he desists from seeking truth or any conceptual stability or identity (May 2005:20), and argues that ontology is the study of what is unsettled. The philosophy of Deleuze (1968b, 1991) creates space and concepts for "difference in itself" in a thought that insists on not providing knowledge, and which is concerned with everyday life. Difference may actualize itself into specific identities, but even within those identities, difference remains. In his conceptualization, Deleuze takes from Spinoza concepts concerning *univocality* (Deleuze 1967, 1969, 1980, 1981) and from Nietzsche the idea of "eternal return" as ontology of becoming, which Deleuze embeds in differences (Deleuze 1962, 1965, 1967, 1980, 1981), grounding multiplicity and virtuality in Bergson's thought (Deleuze 1966, 1967, 1980, 1981, 1991) and combining them all with sciences such as biology or quantum physics.

Differences and repetitions and the notion of 'virtuality' of Deleuze

Nietzsche's idea of "eternal return," which Deleuze actualizes, may sound very religious; it is a concept that is difficult for the "sciences" that academic anthropologists practice. However, what may speak to anthropologists is that Deleuze (1967, 1980) actualizes the eternal return in terms of "difference itself". Some anthropologists use Deleuze in order to make acknowledgeable in Western sciences the "indigenous" practices (religious or not, but mostly influenced by religions) that they describe. Deleuze's actualization of quantum physics, stating that matter does not exist but only fluid energies (Dürr 2007), resonates with the spirits that inform diviners and healers. Dürr points out that the quantum physic demonstrates that matter does not exist: there are only fluid energies.[163] Deleuze (1962, 1968a) draws the idea of eternal return in his notion of repetition: "return is the being of that which becomes. Return is the being of becoming itself, the being which is affirmed as becoming." ([1962] 1983:24). It is this notion of "becoming" of being which grounds the "virtuality"[164] of being in

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163 "Indeed, there is no substance at all. (...) There is only a relational structure, constant change, and aliveness. (...) We could also call it Spirit. (...) According to Albert Einstein, substance is only a diluted form of energy (...) aliveness. We can compare it, for instance, with the software in a computer. (...) In the world of subatomic quantum, there are no articles, no subjects, and no nouns, thus things, which we can touch and understand. There are only movements, processes, connections and information. It moves, it runs off, it is connected with another, it knows from the other. (...) The reality in new physics is potentiality, a world of the can-possibilities of embodying itself in different kinds of material-energy." (Dürr, 2007, interview excerpts in my own translation).

164 May summarizes virtuality according to Deleuze: "Difference is immanent to the present, then each moment is suffused by a realm of difference that lies coiled within it, offering the possibility of disrupting any given identity. There is always more than presents itself, a surplus beyond what is directly experienced. That surplus is not another fixed identity, a "something else", but the virtuality of difference with no identity and all measure of potential" (2005:55).

the differential ontology of Deleuze (Deleuze and Parnet 1996:183-185). Bergen (2006:9) recalls that it implies a "virtual being" in any definition of what exists.
But what is virtuality to Deleuze? It is not the virtual reality of digital simulations; Deleuze addresses "a *real virtuality* forming a vital component of the objective world" (Delanda 2002:33). "The virtual is not opposed to the real but to the actual. *The virtual is fully real in so far as it is virtual*…We must avoid giving the elements and relations that form a structure an actuality which they do not have, and withdrawing from them a reality which they have." (Deleuze 1994:208-9). Such a concept of virtuality is derived from the extremely open perspective in quantum physics,[165] and resonates perfectly with what healers making diagnoses through 'divination' in Mozambique and Congo think and practice. Virtual multiplicity is contrary to any a priori grasp of essences in human thought. (Delanda 2002:78). Deleuze creates philosophical concepts in order to open out into new lands, which fascinates anthropologists like Latour, Ingold, Viveiros de Castro, Holbraad, and fascinates me. A differentiated deepening of Deleuze's complex concepts of virtuality exceeds the frame of this study; it is, however, fundamental to the notion of *relational living in becoming* that I contrasted to fixing notions of 'identity/ies,' as discussed throughout this study and especially in Chapter Seven. The concept of virtuality that Deleuze takes from Bergson's discussion of time duration is fundamental in the practices of divination, which are current in the studied Bantu-speaking context and play a basic role in dealing with so-called 'witchcraft.' I will just show some significant elements of application in relation to my study. First, virtuality is non-linear: it includes *multiple attractors* that display their virtuality in coexistence (Delanda 2002:66). In this study, attractors are the paradigms and values experienced in the described healing (Chapter Four), or in palavers (Chapter Five), or in ritual and initiation (Chapter Six) practices. Such "traditional" or "ancestral" attractors are actualized in a coexistence with other paradigms, values, knowledge(s) and practices constituting other attractors (e.g., biomedicine, written law, literate education, religions and political ideals); all are followed simultaneously in a non-linear chaotic coexistence of multiple differences.[166]

Second, the concept of multiple differences is grounded in *groups of 'operators'* "capable of performing rotations, translations, projections, folding and a variety of other transformations on that entity. (…) This operator (…) is defined not by its giving rise to multiplicities but by its capacity to affect them" (Deleuze 1990:94-5; Delanda 2002:76.). Agencies like diviners, healers, chiefs or initiation counselors are in this sense *operators* able to transform by identifying sources of disorders

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[165] Dürr explains: "The reality in new physics is potentiality, a world of 'can-possibilities' of embodiment in different kinds of material-energy. (...) The sponginess refers to the tangibility. (...) Quantum physics tells us not only that reality is a large mental connection, but also that the world and the future are open. It is full of possibilities." (Interview with Dürr 2007)

[166] For Deleuze, there are "zones of intensity", which applies for the issues in this study; e.g., the intensity of application of the 'ancestral' approaches. The emotionally loaded intensity that the 'ancestral' ways transport determines the power of their values; this intensity varies from one person to another in the context that I described.

and neutralizing them, achieving cleansing and healing, or mediating conflicts by reweaving the disturbed social and emotional relations, or transforming children into adults through initiation.

The third, and central concept that applies in my studied context is Deleuze's grounding of virtuality in time duration (Bergson [1934] 2011a) and in an "absolute simultaneity" of time. Delanda (2002:106) argues that for Deleuze "pure becoming without being" is characterized by a parallelism that involves both directions at once, of an "event which never actually occurs, but is *always forthcoming and already past"* (2002: 107). Such virtual space unfolds from virtual multiplicities as well as from the stretching of their singularities. Nevertheless, the idea of "*pure"* becoming is confusing in an anthropology that states a general hybridism of cultures, denying any "purity." However, for Deleuze, "pure becoming" is a philosophical concept of a temporality which always sidesteps the present: "Temporality is to be conceived as an *ordinal continuum unfolding into past and future*, a time where nothing ever occurs but where everything is endlessly becoming in both unlimited directions at once, always 'already happened' (in the past direction) and always 'about to happen' (in the future direction)," (Delanda 2002:107). In my mind, such a dimension of time seems at stake when Mozambican diviners and Congolese revealers operate with their "capacity to affect, acting in parallel with physical causality in the production of the virtual" (Delanda 2002:108). Some may pretend that Mozambicans and Congolese who consult diviners are more concerned with the present in relation to the past; however, divination is also concerned with showing relevant issues for the future, as elders in Bas-Congo argue (see Chapter Five and above). One might question the application of Deleuze's thought to the African context that I studied; yet Deleuze's radical understanding of positively defined differences fits my study perfectly. His weighting of "differences in virtual becoming" might be questioned given its apparently strong inclusion of the future in the notion of "becoming." Such an emphasis on the virtual that seems to address the future might appear more likely to follow Western tendencies that stress the necessity of development in the future (see Diagne and Kimmerle et al. 1998). However, Deleuze insists that the virtual is not given and that not everything can be given (see Zaurabichvili, 2003:89). Deleuze's concept of the virtual is founded in a multi-dimensional notion of time that appears clearly in his concept of *univocity* (see below).

In their reflection on time and development in Africa, Diagne and Kimmerle et al. (1998) and Samb (2010:183-187) address the controversial discussion of the notion of time in African philosophy. Mbiti (1969) discusses the relevance of "potential time" and argues that, in Africa, time is merely two dimensional, "with a long past, a present and virtually no future" (1969:16). Diagne (1998), too, insists on the weight of the past for the present. It is significant that none of the authors in Diagne and Kimmerle (1998) uses Deleuze's concepts of "differences in virtual becoming," while several quote Heidegger's concept of ontology. The only African philosopher I have found who quotes Deleuze is Kodjo-Grandveaux (2013), though not concerning "differences in virtual becoming."[167] However, I

[167] Appiah (1992:173-76) sees "identity" in making and constant reshaping (in becoming).

must observe that Deleuze's notion of virtuality is less oriented to the future, but more to thinking in terms of differences and multiplicity in possibilities, more in terms of a "virtual continuum" (Delanda 2002:75) oriented to time duration as discussed by Deleuze with regard to his notion of *univocity* (see below). The idea of "virtual continuum" appears in the practices of diviners and revealers that I discussed. In a complex debate about the notion of time, which I cannot elaborate on in the present framework, African authors like Alagoa (1998), Oruka (1990a) and Gyeke (1987), among others, show the relevance of the past for the short term and an undetermined future, similarly to my informants in Mozambique and Congo. Diviners in both studied countries weave multiplicities into a heterogeneous continuum of what one may call a "univocal" time duration, as discussed by Deleuze.

The concept of 'univocity' of Deleuze

Deleuze conceptualizes *univocity* as fusing in one voice all differences and multiplicity in time duration encompassing past, present and future. *Univocity* seems to recall universal assignations that anthropologists reject as a negation of differences. Deleuze, however, does not think in terms of universality but in terms of differences, and he is not interested in establishing "what exists." Deleuze conceives *univocity* in relation to being as the paradox of being, which is thought of (only) as the being of becoming (May 2005:60).[168] Being as multiplicity and difference is immanent, but this multiplicity is a Many, which is not opposed to a One (time duration); multiplicity is the affirmation of unity of all differences (of past, present and future) in becoming. May notes: "It is not merely a unity of past and present, as it might have seemed with Bergson. It is a unity of past, present, and future. As a unity, each dimension is woven into the others. The future, the present, the past are involved, each in the others" (2005:60-61). Such weaving of time corresponds to the notion of time in the Kikongo context of Bas-Congo, as described at present by diviners, some chiefs and their wisest counselors. For Deleuze, past, present and future are all multiplicity: "It comes to meet us without any pregiven identities, any persevering constants" (May 2005:61). However, such an idea resembles, yet in part also differs from, my informants' emphasis of the influence of ancestors who transport some constancy, which healers and diviners reframed in fluid actualizations including changes.

Deleuze's conceptualization implies Bergson's consequences "that the future is the return of virtual difference that characterizes the past. (…) What returns are not the identities that are actualized in the present. What returns is the virtuality that lies behind and within those identities. It is not being that returns but rather the returning itself that constitutes being insofar as it is affirmation of becoming and of that which passes" (May 2005:61). This formulation fits the practices and perspective of many Mozambican and Congolese diviners, healers, chiefs and initiation counselors, although some may argue that the high relevance of the present gets lost in an emphasis on becoming. It is only in a united notion of multiple times that being, for Deleuze, becomes virtual difference, multiplicity. For Deleuze, following Nietzsche's thought, the future is outside of one's control; it includes the affirmation of chance, that "the throw of the dice of future is pure multiplicity and chance" (May 2005:63). This is a

[168] *Univocity* is a concept grounded in the philosophy of Spinoza, Nietzsche and Bergson.

further notion highly relevant to the practices of Bantu-speaking healers', diviners', chiefs' and elders' practices, experiences and thought – just as near as to the Ifá diviners in Cuba described by Holbraad (2007, 2009b, 2012). It is not surprising that such concepts, which frame the rule of the possible and chance,[169] are attractive for Holbraad's analysis of Ifá divination processes, with their notions of truth that diverge from Western or Christian definitions, and for which Deleuze's differential ontology appears as "an ontology that does not seek to reduce being to the knowable but instead seeks to widen thought to palpate the unknowable" (May 2005:171). It is appealing to anthropologists who are confronted with, and who *palpate* the unknowable as a constitutive part of the cultural practices that they study, like Viveiro de Castro's (2009) study of the complex notion of cannibalism in the Amerindian context. But to what extent do ontologically inflected anthropologists address such a necessary virtuality in their ontological assignations? We have seen that some do, while many anthropological descriptions affirm through ontological assignations that what they describe exists[170], using an ontology which assigns identity; even when stated as multiple, it still implies the idea of establishing what exists, which Sartre, Foucault, Derrida, Lévinas and Deleuze question. The latter argues that establishing what is at present, or any construction of systems, must be jettisoned.

The use and misuses of the concepts of Deleuze in anthropology

For anthropologists, the use of the virtual differential concepts can seem difficult, especially Deleuze's concept of differences in virtual becoming.[171] Few anthropologists apply his concepts of ontology of differences in virtual becoming without claiming to establish "what is". Many ontologically inflected anthropologists follow the definitions available in encyclopedias (of fundamental ontology), applying an ontological concept that identifies what is. Some jump from the ontology of what is to the Deleuzian inverted one without considering their incompatibility, as Laidlaw (2012) criticizes in Pedersen (2011). Such incompatible use of Deleuze's thought implies what Bergen (2006:10[172]) calls a crushing of the thought of Deleuze.[173]

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[169] See in biology: "Chance and Necessity", Monaud 1973, which influenced Deleuze's concepts.

[170] E.g., Turner 1993; Bubandt 2008; Pedersen 2012; Ladwig 2012; Petersen 2011; Sax 2014.

[171] "For there is no being beyond becoming, nothing beyond multiplicity; neither multiplicity nor becoming are appearance or illusion (…) Multiplicity is the inseparable manifestation, essential transformation and constant symptom of unity. Multiplicity is the affirmation of unity; becoming is the affirmation of being." (Deleuze [1962]1983:23-4).This corresponds to quantum physics, as Dürr explains: "The cosmos is a whole, given that the quantum codes have no limits. There is only the One. (…) But this One is differentiated." (2007) This is what Deleuze addresses with *univocity* of the multiplicities into a heterogeneous continuum.

[172] Bergen shows the heart of Deleuze's ontological construction of as a reversal of an ontology emphasizing the "importance of taking the exact measurement of occurrences, where Deleuze plays the logic of the relations, of the 'and' (stated), against ontology. 'AND' as a slogan in a logic to reverse ontology, (…) falls under the operation of a machine of war which intends to radicalize the opposition between the partisans of connective alliances and those faithful to the verb 'being'. To the apostles of an ontology of the equivoque, where being speaks in several directions and confounds itself with a principle, a prejudicial transcendent identity, it is proper to oppose the fluidity of 'and', (…) in order to jump out of the representative inflection that carried the history of being that states the Same, the identical in an ontological direction'. It is the 'is' that the 'and' must dynamite; it is the equivocal Being, lying like a base which is to be dynamited." (Bergen 2006:5). *In my own translation.*

[173] Bergen argues: "In response to the theses of François Zourabichvili (…) one could talk about divergent modalities in the folding of the Deleuzian device, one folding that dismisses the relevance of the ontological

Which divergences are at work? Deleuze's central concept of "differences in becoming" implies avoiding creating any illusion of stable categories that subordinate difference to identity (sameness), while difference lies precisely in not being identical in terms of 'sameness' (Deleuze 1967). Deleuze states that difference does not capture the nature of being, but eludes such capture, projecting being always in a virtual becoming. With his experimental and paradoxical ontology, May points out that "The term 'difference' palpates what it cannot conceive; it gestures at what it cannot grasp" (2005:81-82). Such concepts speak to anthropologists who are constantly confronted with non-graspable dimensions, like, e.g., Devisch's analyses of divination among the Kiyaka-speakers or fetishes and 'witchcraft/sorecery'; or my descriptions of the paradoxes and ambivalences implied in *kindoki* and similar 'witchcraft'; or African divinatory procedures (Devish 2012, Werbner 2001; Chapter Four of this study); Ifás' divination in Cuba (Holbraad 2012); or Viveiros de Castro's analyses of Amerindians' complex cannibalistic practices.[174] In such contexts, Deleuze's concept of "being in virtual becoming" is very useful. However, many ontologically inflected anthropologists use ontology in terms of solutions to the problem, while Deleuze ([1967]1994:163) insists that "problems are inexhaustible, while solutions are a particular form of exhaustion" (May 2005:85). In short, confusing the actual with the virtual leads to confusing identities with being, and implies confusing solutions and problems in anthropological descriptions and analyses of particular ways of practicing, feeling, thinking and living. Ingold (2014:389) insists that "humans are not really beings at all but 'becomings'" (Ingold and Palsson 2013). Bergen shows the problem of the wrong application of Deleuze's concepts, when they are misunderstood as common acceptance of ontology in "a metaphysical discourse that would tell us what it is, ultimately, (…) of reality" (2006:6). Bergen shows that Deleuze's core proposition suggests "an ontology of the virtual, of becoming and of immanence" (Bergen 2006:6).

In anthropology, Viveiros de Castro (2009) applies systematically Deleuze's differential ontological theories, which does not fix identities. Thornton (2009, 2014) states an ontology concerning *sangoma* healers in South Africa, using *fundamental ontology*, establishing "what is".[175] And some anthropologists use both concepts simultaneously (e.g. Holbraad 2009b; Pedersen 2011), although

level, and another that casts the tricky bewitched line that holds together the dry stone wall constituting the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze." (2006:10). In contrast to Bergen, Viveiros de Castro (2009: 79, note 3) says that Zourabichvili summarizes the thought of Deleuze especially well.

174 The concept of "multiple virtual ontology of becoming" might also be especially useful for anthropologists dealing with nonhuman entities like "spirits" that are activated in disorders of well-being, in divination and healing (Igreja 2003, 2008; Honwana 2001, 2003; Ganjo 2007).

175 Thornton (2014) studies cultures that are similar and partially identical to those I describe, argues for the South African healing: "By ontology, I mean the sense of what is real and what is empirically knowable or given to the technologies of healing, including trance, dreams, divination, intuition, smell (meaning "smell out" techniques by divination), 'feeling', and direct empirical experiences, for instance, of colors, 'heats', 'coldness' and direct properties of physical substances. (…) For *sangomas* [healers using sprits possession], however, what is smelt, or dreamed, or encountered in trance is also real, and therefore empirically knowable. In this sense, they posses a different ontology." (2014:7, unpublished).

they are incompatible.[176] *Fundamental ontology* establishes what is/exists (fixing it in identities) as discussed in my excursion on ontology, while *differential* concepts of ontology[177] state "being" only in terms of differences and of virtual becoming, remaining ungraspable (see below). Ingold (2011[178]) combines both of these basic concepts of ontology with relational anthropology (Strathern 1995). Given the nebulous and incompatible mix of some authors applying Deleuze's *virtual differential ontology*, combined with simultaneous incoherent uses of *fundamental ontology* (see critiques of Kean 2003; Laidlaw 2012:4: 4-5; Pedersen 2012b; Scott 2014),[179] it might be useful to always clarify in which terms the author addresses ontology: as a "virtual ontology of becoming" in terms of *differential ontology* (Deleuze), or an *ontology* that identifies "what is", following *fundamental ontology*? The current use of ontological theories in the sciences shows how slippery this path is. Viveiro de Castro and Holbraad ground in Deleuze's concepts their ethnographies, which they frame as a virtual ontology; however, they have inspired ontological conceptualizations by many other anthropologists which remain nebulous, if not confusing.

Concerning the use and partial misuse of Deleuze's concepts, I recall his pragmatism that "to experiment is not necessarily to succeed" (May 2005:170); this applies also to the "ontological turn" in anthropology. Some former enthusiastic followers (Pedersen 2012b; Scott 2014) meanwhile suggest deflating the ontological balloon. For me, a strong concept of Deleuze, and one that is very useful in anthropology, is his notion of multiple differences in time and duration, which "is immanent to our present and returning to us from our future" (May 2005:171)[180]. It corresponds to the current actualizations of the studied Bantu-speakers' traditions, in terms of the present being grounded in the past, wrapping it, and framing the future. In the context studied, currently, time is not only grounded in the past (see Hountondji 2013 versus Mbiti 1969)[181]: the notions of time that I found in both countries, addresses commonly shared paradigms involving differences that the people adjust in the process of living in becoming.

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176 E.g. Holbraad (2012) applies them to his analyses of Cuban Ifa divination, but mixes it with an ontology establishing what exists (see Holbraad (2009:81).

177 "Differential ontology" is not a term used by Deleuze, but by Cisney 2014 and Rae 2014.

178 Meanwhile, Ingold (2011) seems to avoid the term ontology that he used in 2000, referring instead to the process of relational living, which establishes neither 'being' nor identities.

179 Viveiros de Castro applies Deleuze. Ingold (2000) partially follows Heidegger, not criticizing his notion of ontology, but criticizing only his reduction to humans without the inclusion of all organisms in being. Ingold (2011) no longer insists on analyzing ontology but insists on life as process, movement and knowledge, elegantly avoiding the ontological debate.

180 I disagree with the assertion of May (2005:171) that Deleuze rejects ontology because of the conformism it promotes. Not conformism but ethics is the problem, as Lévinas and Derrida both criticize in relation to any fundamental ontological ascription that establishes "what is" and thereby fixes in identity (or identities) the ungraspable, continuously ongoing process of differences in becoming, which is relevant to the relational Mozambican and Congolese lives that I described.

181 Mbiti (1969) argues that the African notion of time is mainly oriented to the past. This remains an ongoing debate in African philosophy. Also, the Nigerian philosopher Mekiti (2006:329) insists on the primary relevance of present and past time, the future remaining unknown, while my findings in Bas-Congo show, just like Hountondji (2013) argues, that Bantu traditions often root the present and the future in the past, in ways that frame becoming. See Diagne and Kimmerle et al. 1998.

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GLOSSARY BANTU TERMS

Bantu Terms:	**Meaning:**	**Bantu language:**
amadlozi/mudimu	Person	Cishona
amathongo	Ancestors	Zulu
amasohora	Semen, also blood, red fluid	Kinyarwanda (in Rwanda)
anakhulu	The eldest's (plural)	Emakhuwa/ Elomwe
amadlozi/mudimu	Person	Cishona
a nthchumi, (*ntrumi*)	Ancestors, 'Spirit' of the shade (invisible)	Zulu, Xirhonga
ansuti	Shade	Xichangana
ayeyeye	Bad spirits of death in bad conditions	Emakhuwa/ Elomwe
azimu	Guardian angels	Cisena, Xigorongozi
badimo	Ancestors	Zulu/Xhosa
b'andla	Enormous healer 'clans'	Xichangana/Xirhonga
basa	Responsibility or work	Cishona
buloki, buloyi	Witch	Kikongo, Kiyaka (RD Congo)
bantu	Persons (plural of *muntu*)	Kikongo/RDC
bunthu (plural of *munthu*)	Persons	Zulu/Xhosa
capulana (*kapulana* or *nguvu* (sing.) *tinguvu* (pl.)	Loincloth (also used for ancestral rituals)	Portuguese in Mozambique (in Xichangana)
chicazamentu	Gonorrhea	Cisena
chimanga	Syphilis	Cisena
chissumbadzi (sing........)	Prohibitions, taboo	Xichangana
churhi lakuvilisela	The mortar that makes a good flour (expression for a fertile woman)	Xichangana
chweka	Metaphoric name after a difficult birth	Xichangana
ciropa	Blood	Cisena, Xigorongozi
dhendekufa	State existence after death (= 'spirit')	Cishona
ehsembe	Ritual communication with ancestors	Cisena, Xigorongozi
ekama	Red earth	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
ekong	Witchcraft using zombies	Bantu tongues in Cameroon
ekumi	Life/stay healthy	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
embulu	The heart, good thinking part of the person	Zulu
emutthu or *mutthu*	Person, a human being	Emakhuwa
enama	Animal	Emakhuwa
enzuti	Breath, air, 'spirit'	Xitshwa
eparala	Luck	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
ephepa	Sorghum flour used to invoke ancestors	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
ephome	Blood	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
ephuko (pl.) *iphuko* (sing.)	Transgression(s) of taboos	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
erooho	'Spiritual heart' located at the solar plexus and in the shadow; involves the protecting ancestor, which the child has as first name	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
eruku	Shade or shadow, breath of a person	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
errutthu	Physical body	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
esaakha	Annual ritual of healers for ancestors	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
esatakha	Offering ritual	Emakhuwa
ehsembe	Ritual invocation of ancestors	Cisena
	Inherited witchcraft through envy; make suffering, destroys without killing.	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
esukwi	Drugs-related witchcraft that does not kill	
epheepa	White kaolin clay to welcome visitor	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
eynlo	Final burial ritual	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
eyootto	A 'spirit' (of the see or mountains)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe

eyoowa	Place for invocation of ancestors	Emakhuwa/ Elomwe
funhe (for HIV virus)	Term for micro-organisms	Cisena
geko	Danger of transmitting diseases	Cishona
gona	Strongest medicines mixture (of healers)	Xichangana, Xirhonga
hantu	Suffix used for vital or sacral place	Bantu languages East DRC
honhe (for VIH virus)	Terms used for micro-organisms	Cishona
ikano	Second and main stage in female initiation	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
ikhunuunyu	Hernia	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
imphilu yami / kuphila	Life, vital force, well-being	Zulu
inhlonipho	Respect	Zulu
iphukho (ephukho, pl.)	Illness of sex of non-cleansed widows	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
isibopho, igunya, ikuthwala icala	Responsibility	Zulu
isithunzi	Shade	Zulu
itapa	Cutting-knife for male circumcision	Kiyaka, DR Congo
ithuna	Stretching by elongating the labia	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
jinn/zayran	Capricious and ambivalent spirits:	Arab in Sudan
jinn/zayran	If white: benign, if black: malevolent,	Arab in Sudan
jinn/zayran	If red: human, thus both at times	Arab in Sudan
khasa	Plants make vomiting (for the identification of witches by certain ways of 'divination')	Kikongo, DR Congo
(*ma*)*khosazana* (pl.)	Ancestor group of aunt(s)	Xichangana
kianlundila kanda	Protecting witch	Kikongo/lower Congo
Kiini	Shade, shadow, mirror image	Kikongo, /lower Congo
kijimba	Human being	Baluba, DRC
kikhuulu	Kikongo tradition	Kikongo/lower Congo
kindoki	Generic term for witchcraft in Kikongo	Kikongo/lower Congo
kindoki kia fuasa	Destructive witchcraft	Kikongo/lower Congo
kindoki kia kinthuadi	Send back to the witch the bewitchment	Kikongo/lower Congo
kindoki kia lundila kanda	Witchcraft protecting the family	Kikongo/lower Congo
kindoki ntuadi	Witchcraft eating own family members	Kikongo/lower Congo
kindoki tadila kanda	Witchcraft protecting the family	Kikongo/lower Congo
kinzonzi	Palaver	Kikongo
kokwani wa bava	Husbands great grandfather	Xichangana
kokwani wa la kaya	Protective ancestor	Xichangana
kutinyika nkombo	Trying to influence luck	Xitshwa
kubasisa	Cleansing (for the whole family)	Xichangana
kubonga (*kub'onga*)	Status and dignity	Xirhonga (Xichangana/)
kubongiwa (*kub'ongiwa*)	Compliments for good actions	Xirhonga (Xixhangana)
kuchidjikira	Responsibility	Cindau
kubzireremedja	Self-respect	Cindau
kuchidjikira	Responsibility	Cindau
kucinga ndzahaka	Purification ritual of a widow involving sexual intercourse	Xichangana/Xirhonga, Xitshwa
kudainza	Evocation of ancestors	Cindau
kudainza nuloyi	To be called by a witch at night	Cindau
Kudlisiwa	Bewitched by dreams, to be "eaten"	Xichangana
kudyssua	Witchcraft through feeds in dreams	Cindau
kufemba	Extraction of 'spirits' including possession	South/Centre Mozambique
kufukwamela mandza yo bola	Hatching rotten egg (expression)	Xichangana
kuhlahluva	To divine ('diagnostic' through divination)	Xichangana/Xirhonga
kula hita	Night of mourning of a death	Kiyaka, DR Congo

kuja mbita yin'we	Eating in the same pot (= sharing a husband)	Xichangana
kukecha	Illness as result of sex of not yet initiated girl	Cindau
kuthenseka	Honour	Xichangana/Xirhonga
kulangua/kutunda	Respect	Cisena, Xigorongozi
mulupale	Eldest counsellor	Emakhuwa/Elombe
mukulukhana	Healer, diviner	Emakhuwa/Elombe
kunhereza	Direct connection of thinking	Cisena, Xigorongozi
kuhlahluva	To divine	Xichangana/Xirhonga
*kup**h**alha*	Communication ritual with ancestors	Xichangana/Xirhonga, Xitshwa
kupilikula	Retaliation by witchcraft	Maconde North Mozambique
kutenderwa	Responsibility in relation to duties	Cindau
kuthunda	Respectful, well-educated	Cisena, Xigorongozi
kutimekeliwa hi ndzilo	Having the fire extinguished	Xichangana
kutsema minala	Cleansing ritual after death of a life partner	Xishangane
kutshamiwa	Illness of consecutive loss of children	Xichangana/Xirhonga
kuvaremedza	To respect	Cindau
kuthwasa	Ritual of qualification of healers/graduation	South Mozambique
kuvuvala	Bewitched Person	Kikongo/lower Congo
kuxurhisa nyimba antombi / kunyimbisa ntombhi	To satiate a girl (= to make her pregnant)	Xichangana
kubzireremedja	Respect to oneself	Cindau
kutsimbisa	Prohibition (taboo)	Xichangana/Xirhonga
lantiria	Place for invocation of ancestors of the healer H. (in Nampula province)	An Emakhuwa healer
lendo	Power of domination	Kikongo/lower Congo, DRC
likusu kindoki	Initiation to destructive witchcraft	Kikongo/lower Congo, DRC
lipfukua	Bad spirits	Xitshwa
lovolo	Bride price or dowry and it's ceremony	Xichangana,Xirhonga, Xitshwa
lunzi	The self (essence) and the shade	Kikongo/lower Congo, DRC
luzitu	Curtesy, consideration	Kikongo/lower Congo, DRC
luunga	Person as "a whole"	Kiyaka in DRC
mabandla	Meetings of Xichangana families	Xichangana
maciini	Bad spirits: death not or badly buried	Emakhuwa/ Elomwe
mademalaula	Deceased	Cindau
madombazviyile	Cleansing of widower (husband)	Xitshwa
magonegonego	Separation from family at girls initiation	Emakhuwa
makhaari	Root from a healing plant	Emakhuwa
makeya	Ritual of invocation of ancestors	Emakhuwa/ Elomwe
makhalelo	Eldest ancestor (house spirit)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
makhalelo minepa	Eldest ancestor (house spirit)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
makemalaula	Those who died	Cindau
makhurumela	"Dirt" after transgression of taboos	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
manungi	Flesh of the physical body	Cisena
mangodzwane	Medical plant and *scopus umbretta* (bird)	Emakhuwa
manungo	Physical body	Cisena, Xigorongozi, Cindau
phakama	Plant, seen as "hot"/basis for protective (it is a medicine used for fertility)	South Mozambique
mapungu (*mpungu:* sing.)	Female initiation individual counselors	Cisena
mararuwo	Sex through adultery	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
maretta	Leprosy	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
masseto	Third phase of female initiation,	Cisena, Xigorongozi
masseto	Name giving to the aunt of paternal ancestor	Emakhuwa

mathupu	Witchcraft related to incest	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
matingi	Stretching by elongating the labia	Cisena
mavuka	Transgression of adultery	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mavuwo	Cooking pot of a witch	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
maxia (sing.)	Spirit, breath, wind	Cindau
mbilu	Heart	Xichangana/Xironga/Xitshwa
mbita yi fayekile	Aborted pregnancy	Xichangana
mbuundu	The centre of the person located in the heard, where inner and outer meet.	Kiyaka, DR Congo
mhamba	Offering/invocation ceremony for ancestors	Xichangana/Xirhonga, Xitshwa
mhunhu (sing), *vhanhu* (pl.)	Person(s)	Xirhonga
midzimu mobvoka	Home spirits	Cisena
midzimu tateguru	Ancestors	Cishona
midzimu wa mbuja	Maternal ancestors	Cisena
midzimu wa sekuru	Paternal ancestors	Cisena
midzimu wek unze, ungozi	Freign spirits	Cishona
midzimu ya kashata	Bad spirits	Cishona
midzimu ya kundja, ya kuipa	Freign spirits	Cisena
midizmu ya nemba	Home spirits	Cisena
midzimu ya mphodoro	Ancestors	Cisena, Xigorongozi
midzimu ya tsekuru	Ancestral 'spirits'	Cisena
mihatto (*muhatto*, sing.)	"Problems", meaning palaver discussions	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
miheia	Rhythmic instrument used to call the spirits	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mihia	Air. Wind, environment	Cindau
minepa (sing.: *munepa*)	Protective ancestors	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
minepa naperwa	Ancestral spirits of the brothers-in-law	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
minepa mitatari siri vati votheene	Ancestor are roots spread in the whole earth	Emakhuwa
minepa sa amusi	Ancestors of direct kin	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
minepa sa makholo	Family eldest' ancestors	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
minepa samussi	Collective of protective ancestors	
minepa naperua	Ancestor of the husband (joking brother-in-law)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
minepa sa-elapo, ayeyeye	Spirits of persons who had a "bad death"	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
minepa sa parakha	Spirits of 'nature'	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
minepa sa wasoomo	Ancestor giving the name	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mirette/mirece	Witchcraft done with 'drugs' or stepping on	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
miri	Three	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
miti ya kutenga	Witchcraft using plants and roots	Cindau
mudzimu (sing.),midzimu (pl.)	Ancestor, ancestors	Citonga; Cishona, Cisena
mirece	Remedies	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mizimu (in Colson 2006)	Ancestral 'spirits'	Citonga/Tonga
(*mi*)*mmbibikula, mmbiudi*	Revealer(s) (*mimmbikudi,* pl.)	Kiyaka, DRC
m-mbikudi	Healer who reveals (religious kind)	Kikongo DRC
mmele	Physical body and social identity	Tsidi, Southern Africa
mnele	"Flesh" = physical body	Tsonga
moya	Breath of life/wind/air (called 'Spirit') Also used for "temporary sicknesses" or as "environmental and social 'pollution'.	Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa
moya la kaya	Spirit of the house	Zulu in South Mozambique
m-moni	Revealers	Kiyaka in DR Congo
m-mooyi	Intermediary vital force, uterine vital flow transmitting life. Breath of life (Christian call it 'spirit/soul').	Kiyaka in DR Congo
motho	Person	Tsidi, Southern Africa

mooyi	Breath of life (Christian call it 'spirit/soul')	Kiyaka in DRC
moyo	Breath of life (Christian call it 'spirit/soul'	Kikongo in DRC
mpewe	Matrilineal community leader	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mpungu ? mupungu ?	Female initiation individual counselor, a 'godmother'	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mfumu or *pfumu*	Community leader ("chief")	Kikongo, Kiyaka in DRC
muachicho	"Small animal/vermin" for germs	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
muchohowawa	Theft of crops by a witch	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
muchu owaawa	Person stealing food, harvests with witchcraft	Elowme
mudhiwa	Foreign spirit	Xirhonga
mudji	Tree with a red sap	Nbemba in Zambia
mudzade	Taboo of husband in same room with a *mwali* (girl in initiation)	Cishona
mudzimu (sing.),	Spirit/breath of a person	Cishona, Cisena, Cindau
mudzimu tateguru	Ancestor of a man	Cishona
mudzimu/wadzimu	Spirit of the house (ancestors)	Cishona
mudzimo wakunikoya/maxai	Ancestor giving his name	Cishona
mudzimu mbuya	Male and female ancestor of women	Cishona
mudzimu tateguru	Ancestors; *midzimus ya tsekuru* in Cisena	Cishona
mudzimu ya kunza	Spirit of the house (ancestor)	Cisena, Xigorongozi
mugajo	Being bewitched	Cindau
muhia	Breath/wind/air (often called "spirit")	Cindau
muhiwa	Foreign spirit	Zulu
mukhulukana	Healer	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mula	Chlamydia: sexual transmitted disease	Cisena
mulatto (milatto, pl.)	Problem (used for "palaver)	Emakhuwa
mulaveleli	Guard taking care of your home	Xichangana
mulimire wapanhumba	Securing, responsibility	Cisena
mufi (sing.), *vafi* (pl.)	Ancestors	Xichangana
muhliwa	A bewitched, seeking vengeance	Cishona
mukela mpa	The person cleansing through sex and remaining with the widow/widower	Emakhuwa
mukhó	Prohibitions, taboo	Cisena, Xigorongozi
mukhulukana	Healer, mediumistic diviner	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mukondombera	Used for AIDS for a never ending disease	Cishona
mukhwiri	Person bewitching through *okhwiri*	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mulipa olaka ikano	Main counselor woman for neophyte girls	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
namalaka	Female initiation master counselor	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
muluku	God	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mulumuzana	Healer, diviner	Xichangana
mulungu	White person	Cisena, Xigorongozi
mukhulukana (sing.); *akhulukana* (pl.)	Healer(s), diviner(s)	Emakhuwa/Elombe
mulipa okhwiri	Person with *okhwiri* (unwilling witchcraft)	Emakhuwa/Elombe
mulipa ompenuxa okhwiri	Person (healer) who can remove *okhwiri*	Emakhuwa/Elombe
mulipa oolowa (sing.), *alipa oolowa* (pl.)	Witch(es) sucking "blood" night (known but not is/are not identified)	Emakhuwa/Elombe
mulowi	Witch through "sucking blood at night"	Emakhuwa/Elombe
mulupale	Eldest counsellor	Emakhuwa/Elombe
mulumuzana (sing.) *vamulumuzana* (pl.)	Healer(s)	Xichangana
mumunzane	Patrilineal ancestors	Zulu

mumunzane muloyi	Generic for witchcraft	Cindau
munepa (singular)	Ancestor	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
munepa nakholo	Eldest ancestor	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
minepa naperua	Ancestors of the husband	Emakhwua/Elomwe
munepa waparakha	Ancestor giving the name (namesake)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
munepa wasoomo	Ancestor as a “guardian angel” protecting	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
munhu (pl. *vanhu*)	Relational person(s)	Xichangana/Xitshwa/Cishona
munthu (pl. *anthu*)	Relational person(s)	Cisena, Xigorongozi, Cindau
munumunzani	Patrilineal ancestor	Zulu
muone	Offering ritual of animal for ancestors	Cishona, Cisena,
muthu (pl. *bunthu)*	Person(s)	Xigorongozi/Cisena
mutthu (pl. *etthu, atthu)*	Person(s)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mutthu owaawa *muchu owaawa* (Lowme)	Person stealing food, harvests with witchcraft	Emakhuwa
mutu (sing.), batu (pl.)	Person	Kikongo, DRC
muutu	Person	Kiyaka, DRC
murece	Medicine, or witchcraft with drugs or roots	Elomwe
muretthe	Medicine, or witchcraft with drugs or roots	Emakhuwa
murettele/murecele	Well-being	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
murima	‘Spirit’ (of a living)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
murima woorera	Good ‘spirit’	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
murima woonanara	Bad ‘spirit’	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
muroi wa kupasikwa	Witchcraft passed on from (grand-)mother	Cisena, Xigorongozi
muroi wa mudzimu	Witches waking the dead to eat the living	Cisena, Xigorongozi
muroyi	Witch, sorcerer	Cishona
muroyi	Witch	Xigorongozi, Cindau, Cishona
murima woorera	Person with a “good spirit”	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
murima woonanara	Person with a “bad spirit”	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
muruzi wa nhika	“Landlord”, whose ancestors occupied first this land	Cishona
muswammaha	Reconciliation ritual	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
Mutemo, kureremedza	Respect (mostly related with fear)	Cindau
mutemo kuchidjikira	Securing, responsibility	Cindau
muthu (pl.: *bunthu*)	Person(s)	Xigorongozi/Cisena
mutthu owawa	A bitter person	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mutthu (pl *.bunthu*)	Person(s)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mutoro	Responsibility	Cishona
mutu (pl. *Batu*)	Person(s)	Kikongo, RD Congo
muviri, uviri	Shad/shadow	Cindau
muviri	The physical body	Cishona
muiri	The physical body	Cindau,
muzimbha	The physical body/the flesh	Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa
mvuri	Shade, shadow	Cishona
mwali	Neophyte, girl in the main stage of initiation	Emakhuwa/Elomwe, and in Cishona Cisena/Xigorongozi
mwari	God	Cishona
mwene	Head of family or community (chief)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mwene humu	Head of community	Makonde North Moz.
mwene elapo	Community chief - 'landlord'	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mwene nikholo	Family elder	Emakhuwa
mwiikho	Prohibitions, taboos, behaviour rules	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
mwuti (or *mvuri*)	Shade, shadow	Cishona
mwuviri	Shade, shadow	Cindau
muzimbha (or *nyama*)	Physical body (or flesh)	Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa
nakuru	Spirit (from mountains): may provoke death	Emakhuwa/Elomwe

nloko	Clan	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
nanipako	Healer treating withcraft with drugs	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
namaphula	Witch who uses "drugs" to destroy	Elomwe
namalowa	Witch sucking blood/vital force at night	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
namatakhaliya (on the coast); *namutakhaliwa* (inside Nampula province)	Transgression of sex through adultery	Emakhuwa
namuku, namalaka, namungo, nalombo, mankosi	Experienced woman ('Godmother') female initiation	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
nanipako, namirette, namirece	Healer treating bewitchment with drugs	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
nawawa	Witchcraft involving the theft of footsteps	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
ndhinga	Snake with two heads = metaphor for witchcraft	Xitshwa, Cindau, Xichangana
ndoki	Witch	Kikongo/lower Congo, DRC
ndoki kabuloca	Destructive witch	Kikongo/lower Congo; DRC
ndunzi	"Spirit" of a living person	Kikongo/lower Congo; DRC
ndzhaka	Cleansing necessary after death	Xichangana/Xitshwa/Zulu
ndzhuti	Shade of a person	Xichangana/Xthswa/Zulu
nfukwa	Bad spirit (not well buried)	Cindau
nfukwa dzekunja	Foreign spirits	Cindau
nfunguna	To speak out	Kikongo (West DRC)
ngaanga ngoombu	Healer who makes diagnostic ('diviner')	West DR Congo
ngangu	Intelligence	Kikongo/lower Congo
ngati	Blood (red, white semen) = vital force	Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa
ngati lompfanyi	Chameleon blood (=changing illnesses like by AIDS)	Xichangana, Xirhonga,
ngazi	Blood (red, white = semen) = vital force	Cindau
ngolu	Force, "bloods" virility, procreation, health	Kikongo and Yaka in DRC
guluve leyi yikulu	Aunt working with the healer	Xichangana
ngudi a mutu	The whole person or the interior person	Kikongo, West Congo
(*ti*)*nguluve* (pl.)	Ancestor(s)	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
nguni	Zulu spirit	South/Central Mozambique
nhakatendewa	Chameleon disease: Metaphor for AIDS	Xichangana, Xirhonga
nhemba	Beans as a metaphor for children	Cisena
ninlo or *eynlo*	Burial ritual involving cleansing through transgressing sexual intercourse	Emakhuwa
nifito	The path to the ancestors of the clan	Emakhuwa
nihimo	Name of mother's clan (kept secret)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
nikholo	Clan	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
nipako	Witchcraft with envy: using drugs and the remedy against it	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
nitu/nzutu	Physical body of a person	Kikongo, DR Congo
nizimu nkaliri	Guardian angels	Cisena, Xigorongozi
nkanda	Male initiation	Kikongo, West DRC
nkasi nkulu	Giving birth to first child (4th stage female initiation	Cisena
n-kisi or *yiteki* or *nkondi*	Ancestors spirit in wooden figurines often translated as "fetish"	Kiyaka, Kikongo, DRC
nkulu uwama pnungu	Communitarian master by female initiation	Cisena
nlaika/malaika	Vital force	Emakhuwa
nleika	Environmental spirit	Cishona/Cisena, Xigorongozi
nokhwiri	Witch	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
npanze	Shrine: ritual three from a healer	South Mozambique

npila	Tree with a red sap	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
npungu	Godmother/counsellor in female initiation	Cindau, Cisena
nshileyamwali	Special ceremony during female initiation	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
nsi kana	First stage of female initiation	Cisena
n-siku	Taboo	Kikongo in DRC
nsila	"Dirt" (after transgressed taboos)	Xironga/Xishagane/Xtiswa
nthemo or *a mutche*	Tradition (meaning also 'nature')	Cishona
ntima	Heart	Cisena in Moz.; Kikongo in DRC
ntombo	Marriage: third stage of female initiation	Cisena
ntudi	Physical body	Cisena, Xigorongozi
ntumbuluku	Tradition (meaning also 'nature')	Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa
munkho or *nthemo*	Tradition	Cisena
ntupi	Flesh as the physical body	Xigorongozi
ntunzi	Shade, shadow	Cisena, Xigorongozi
ntrumi	'Spirit' of the shade (invisible)	Xirhonga
nvuli	Spirit assisted by ancestors to bewitch	Cishona
nyakwadi	Something in the physical body which 'defends' it	Cindau
nyakhwari	Something in the physical body which 'defends' it	Xitshwa, Xichangana
nyama	Flesh (physical body of a person	Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa
nyamusoro	Diviner, healer working with spirits	Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa
nyaanga	Diviner, able to discover witchcraft	Cishona
nyoka	Snake	Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa
nyama	Flesh, physical body	Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa
nyamusoro	Healer using 'spirit' possession	Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa
nyanga	Healer using 'spirit' possession	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
nyangarume	Healer using medicinal plants / herbalist	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
nyakhwari	Snake in the stomach, prevents diseases	Cindau, Xitshwa
nyoka	Snake	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
nzayilu	Knowledge	Kikongo/lower Congo
nzala	White, invisible body, survives physical death	Kikongo DRC
nzimu, ndzimo or mudzimu	Breath, air, wind, 'spirit'	Cisena, Xigorongozi
nzimu nkaliri	Guardian angel	Cisena, Xigorongozi
nzoni	Disease potentially transmissible	Cishona
onyokolowa	Post-natal sign of being bewitched	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
ohakalala	Well-being and eating healthy	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
ohikona ni mwaana	Transgression of sex between boy and older woman	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
obulamu	Health, referring to a good life	Yole, Uganda
ohuumaala	Not to respect (e.g. a taboo)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
okatthiwa	- Cleansing of the mother allowing a new-born to leave its reclusion, allowing the parents to have sex. - Cleansing of adults before having sex after violent/accidental death	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
okela mpa (in Nampula prov.); *ekela mpa* (at the coast)	Widow/widower cleansing through sexual intercourse after 3 or 6 months	Emakhuwa
okhweliwa	Misfortune	Emakhuwa
okhwiri wa phaama	Positive' (protecting, giving wealth...) witchcraft, or which brings wealth/luck	Emakhuwa
okhwiri wisatxihera/	Witchcraft done with the help of lions	Emakhuwa/Elomwe

okhwiri khalanmwatch		
okhwiri woolipelela	*Okhwiri* to protect people; brings luck	
okwhiri woolipelela vaate	*Okhwiri* to prevent witches from entering in the house	
okhwiri woolowa	Touched by *okhwiri*, but luck is on your side; to bewitch in the night	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
okwaseya	Freed from witchcraft related to footprints	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
okhwiri	Generic term for witchcraft (envy involved)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
okhwiri walipelela anamuane avate	Witchcraft of protection of the children at home	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
okhwiri wowilipelela	Touched by *okhwiri*, but not bewitched	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
okuasea	Suffering feet though bewitched sand	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
okukula	To be great or to grow	East of DR Congo
oliliwa	Foreign or “bas” spirit	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
oloywa, olowa	Bewitchment through sucking the vital force (“blood”), bewitched person	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
olowa	Witchcraft sucking blood during the night	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
olapha	Witchcraft through spoken word	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
olipa okhwiri or *alipa*	Healer able to treat *okhwiri*	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
olipa opuhula or *alipa*	Healer able to treat *opuhula*	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
olipa opaka	Healer/'witch' using drugs	Emakhwua/Elomwe
olipa wawa/ olipa issikwi	Healer treating bewitched by witchcraft thrower	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
olipelela	Witchcraft of protection	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
oloywa/olowa	Sucking the blood (vital force)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
ometiwa	Cut the hair of the baby (part of cleansing)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
omuhuluxa nookhwa	Transgression “to contour many deaths in the family”	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
omuleva namukhweli	To ask pardon from the deceased, to free the widow	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
omutupha	'To jump the child', who becomes ill.	Emakhwua/Elomwe
omutupha mwaana	Child's illness due to lack of cleansing (Literally: “to jump the child”)	Emakhuwa
ompwexera mwaana	Transgression of sex between girl and older man	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
onleva nankhweli	To ask pardon from the deceased, to free the widow	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
onyipi	Sequence of female initiation rite, oil	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
opahula	Bewitching as vengeance (sorcery)	
opahuliwa	Witchcraft related to vengeance	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
opahuliwa	Bewitched person	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
opakiwa	Use of drugs from roots to bewitch	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
opahuliwa	Willing witchcraft: vengeance, stealing and other evil deeds. The person bewitched in this way	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
orapa makari	Cleansing with medical plants	Emakhuwa
orapa itáyi	Ritual cleansing bath in sand	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
orapiha	Transgression of no sex after death of wife/husband without cleansing	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
orapihiwa	Cleansing bath e.g. of an un-initiated child seeing death	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
orihela	Bewitched “drugs”	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
orihela wa nokhwiri	Sending bewitched drugs to people	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
otalikhiya (at the coast)	The taboo and bath against negative crafts, incl. the family, e.g. after an un-initiated child see death	Emakhuwa

otheka	Traditional beer used for burials/rituals	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
otthitthimiha	Taboo transgression	Emakhuwa
ovasiwa	Cleansing after birth with water and plants	Emakhuwa
ovululasiwa	Cleansing parents after death of a child	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
owaawa (or waawa)?	Use the own thinks of the person in order to bewitch this person	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
pfumu or *mpfumu*	Chief	Kikongo/lower Congo, DRC
pheemba	White kaolin clay to welcome visitor	Kiyaka/DR Congo
phudzi	Taboo of coitus with menstruating woman	Cishona
pita chicuna	Cleansing after too early sex for girls	Cindau/Cisena, Xigorongozi
pita kufa	Cleansing ritual a widow/widower after death of husband/wife	Cindau/Cisena, Xigorongozi
pita kufa ngozi	Cleansing through coitus after violent death	Cindau/Cisena, Xigorongozi
pita kufa, or *tsanganico*	Cleansing ritual through coitus after transgression & death	Cindau/Cisena, Xigorongozi
pita mabzwadhe	Cleansing after early sex after birth	Cindau/Cisena, Xigorongozi
pita phudzi	Cleansing of sex with menstruating woman	Cindau/Cisena, Xigorongozi
pita pringaniso	Cleansing for sex after birth or abortion	Cindau/Cisena, Xigorongozi
pringaniso	Lifting taboo transgressions on parents after child-birth	Cishona, Cisena, Xigorongozi
piyamwene	The most respected woman	Emakhuwa/ Elomwe
ropa	All kinds of 'blood' (red, wite, semen...)	Cishona
seriti	Self, dignity, presence	Tsidi, Southern Africa
seriti	Aura	Tsonga, South Africa
svirhu (sing.) , svirhu (pl.)	Member (of the body or of the family)	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
svayila, sva kuyila (verb: kuyila)	Taboo, prohibition (verb: to prohibit)	Xitshwa, Xichangana, Xirhonga
svikwembu	Spirits (plural)	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
svikwembu xa la kaya	Spirits of the house (ancestors)	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
tamaa	Desire	Chagga of Tanzania
tateguru	Ancestors	Cishona
tinfanelo	Responsibility	Zulu/Xichangana/Xironga
tfu	Witchcraft	Wimbum (North Cameroon)
tinhlolo	Set of bones used for diagnostic, divination	Cithonga (South/Central Moz.)
tinguluve	Ancestors	Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa
tsanganico	Transgression of taboos: loss of ancestor's protection	Cindau/Cisena, Xigorongozi
tchitso	To surrender	Xigorongozi
twhasa, thwasana (verb: *kuthwasa*)	Ritual of qualification of healers (graduation), verb: to graduate.	South Mozambique
ubuntu	Ethics of the relational person	South Africa
ufite	Generic term for witchcraft	Cishona/Cisena/ Cindau
ufite wa kukamba	Fetishes requested from healer as remedy	Cishona/Cisena, Xigorongozi/Cindau
ufite wa muzimo	Witchcraft by ancestors who were witches	Cishona
ugumi	Life, stay healthy	Cindau/Cisena, Xigorongozi
ukuthakatha	Generic term for witchcraft	Zulu
vuloyi or *wuloyi*	Witchcraft coming from envy etc. (exists only in singular).	Xichangana/Xirhonga
uloi	Witch	Bitonga
uloi kudyssua	Witchcraft giving food/drink in dreams	Cindau
uloyi wa kukamba	Bought witchcraft	Cisena, Xigorongozi
uroyi wa kupaswa	Witchcraft inherited at birth	Cishona
uroyi wa kutchinga	Freely chosen witchcraft inherited at birth	Cishona
uloyi wa maptswedha	Witchcraft with defamation	Cisena, Xigorongozi

uloyi wa mutima	Freely chosen witchcraft inherited at birth	Cishona
uloyi wa muzimu	Ancestors remaining witches after death	Cisena, Xigorongozi
uloyi wa nkumbira	Requested witchcraft	Cisena, Xigorongozi
uloyi wa ntima	Self-chosen witchcraft	Cisena, Xigorongozi
uloyi wakutcheguerwa	Witchcraft through drugs taken	Cisena, Xigorongozi
umoya	Air, wind, temper spirit, soul, climate	Zulu, Cishona
umunhu, vumunhu	What gives the person a personality	Xichangana
umutima	The heart	Rwanda Bantu
ungumi	Life, stay healthy	Cigorongozi
upenyu	Living person	Cindau/Cishona
uroio	Witchcraft that can be bought	Cishona/Cisena /Cindau
usithunzi, or *umoya*	Breath/air/spirit of a person	Zulu
ussirangwe	Incest	Cishona
uthongo (for men)	To become old with grey hair	Cishona
uthongo (for women)	Life, stay healthy and well-balanced	Cishona
utsai	Witchcraft	Kijikenda in Kenya
uwire ou uvire (?)	Physical body	Cindau
va hahani	Head of the aunts (*makhosazana,* pl.) of the clan	Xichangana/ Xitshwa
varharhana	Head of the aunts of the clan	Xirhonga
vandusua	Transmission, eating the meat of humans Initiation to witchcraft of 'eating' humans	Kikongo/Kiyaka, RD Congo
vulusua	Spiritual transmission	Kikongo, DR Congo
vuloyi	Generic term for witchcraft	Xichangana/Xirhonga
vuloyi la ntumbuluku or *wuloyi la ntumbuluku*	Witchcraft by birth, by the family tradition	Xichangana
vuputsu	Traditional beer	Xichangana
vuputru	Traditional beer	Xirhonga
vito la ntumbuluku	Traditional name, the "great name" (secret)	Xichangana
vuri	Shade/ shadow	Cindau
vutomi or *wutomi*	Well-being, life, health	Xitshwa, Xichangana, Xirhonga
vuvudi, vuvulu	Physical body	Kikongo DRC
*wadzimu (*pl. of *mudzimu)*	Spirits of the house (= ancestors)	Cindau
wadzimu wakutanga	Ancestors	Cindau
wakakangua	Respect	Cishona
wakuleliwa	Cleansing of a new-born allowing the child to leave its reclusion	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
*wakutanga (*pl. of *kutanga)*	Ancestors	Cindau
walipelela anamwane a vate	Protection of children at home	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
wanuna wokala angapfuki	The pot broke (aborted pregnancy) (or a man who cannot get erected)	Xichangana
wa phaama	Benign *witchcraft* (protecting or providing well-being)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
waatala nsunkhi	To extend the mourning in the bush – *at the coast* –; To extend a cloth (white, red) at a tree of evocation of ancestors.	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
waawa	Using personal items of the bewitched to bewitch	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
walipelela anamwane a vaate	*Okhwiri* to protect children	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
warupa ni mwaana	Sex with a child = Incest	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
wifuwela	Living person	Elomwe
wisuwekeke	Responsibility after initiation as person	South/Central Mozambique
wisuwela or *wisuwelela*	The honour of a person	Emakhuwa
wicacala	Preventing, averting	Emakhuwa/Elomwe

vuloyi, wuloyi	Witch	Xichangana/Cisena, and Xigorongozi/Xirhonga
wookhweliya (on the coast); *wookheliwa* (at the interior Nampula province)	Transgression of no sex after death of wife/husband without cleansing	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
wokuleliwa	Cleansing of the new-born to leave its first reclusion state	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
wumaala	To respect (e.g. taboos)	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
wuula	Transgression of the taboo of having coitus with a too young girls before her menses	Emakhuwa/Elomwe
wuloyi or *vuloyi*	Generic term for witchcraft	Xichangana/Xirhonga
wuloyi or *vuloyi la kuthaka*	Inherited witchcraft	Xitshwa
wumaala	Respect	Emakhuwa
wuri	Shade of a person	Cindau
wuti	The shade/ shadow of a person	Cishona
wutomi or *imphilu yami / kuphila*	Life, vital force, well-being	Zulu
wutomi or *vutomi*	Well-being, life, health	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
xará	Namesake	Portuguese, Xichangana
xichavo or *xihlonipho*	Respect related to non-fear feelings	Xichangana
xichavo or *xihlonipho*	Respect	Xirhonga
xifula	Witchcraft by influence (of drugs, remedies); Stepping-on way of transmission	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
xigego	Metaphor	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
xihlonipho	Respect	Xichangana
xikwembu	Spirit (sing.) used for God; *svikwembu* (plural) for 'spirits'	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
xikwembu xa la kaya	Spirit of the house (ancestor)	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
xinzhuti	The singular notion of the shadow/shade	Xirhonga
xichavo	Respect with fear	Xichangana, Xirhonga
xigego	Metaphor	Xichangana
xiungwane	Vermin, small snake, microorganism	Xirhonga
xivungwane, xipungwane,	Vermin, small snake, microorganism	Xitshwa, Xichangana
xisila	Bad luck, bad look, misfortune	Xichangana, Xirhonga
xitsongwatsogwana	Vermin, small snake, microorganism in the belly	Xirhonga and Xichangana
xiviri	Presence of a person, visibility, shadow	Xichangana, Xirhonga
xichavo/ xihlonipho	Respect	Xichangana/Xirhonga/Xitshwa
xoyila (sing.), *svoyila* (PL.)	Prohibition, taboo	Xichangana
yi fayekile twaza	Graduation in the initiation of healers	Xitshwa/Xichangana/Xirhonga
yidiimbu	Grafting of social reality on the body	Kiyaka (RDC)
yiniinga	A person's shadow or double	Kiyaka (RDC)
zvinoera (sing.)	Prohibition, taboo	Cishona