

Excerpt from
Feeling for Stones
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Chapter Seven
Nature's Voice in Africa

The Mask of Order in Abundant Life

In the late 17th century, the English Civil War produced a well-financed and powerful military state at the same time that the biological abundance of the Americas bred a profligate attitude towards the natural world. With each industrial and military success, British and European power grew. Two hundred years later, in the late 19th century, Europeans colonised Africa where policies of extraction continued. This profligacy still underpins our economic systems and is still backed by military force.¹ Yet, I wonder: would our societies be so careless now if Josias Ellsworth's generation in North America had adopted the Indians' technologies of abundance rather than perfecting their own economies of extraction? I don't know. I do know that Europeans of the 19th and 20th centuries ignored the role of African knowledge in the abundance of African landscapes, just as they had ignored Indian knowledge in North America. However, unlike New England's Indians, African populations were not wiped out by conquest and disease. That means the possibility of creative engagement with African learning is still with us today. But what might African knowledge hold and has any of it survived conquest and modernity?

The Mask of Order in Abundant Life

Sitting on the mantle in my Gray's Inn room is a Makonde mask from Southern Tanzania. The mask is made of some light wood once blackened, but now worn and dusty. It is a very contemporary face, the image of a strong man in his prime whose large eyes glance slightly downwards. There is a broad nose between high cheekbones in a firmly round almost square head with two very tiny ears at the back. The eyes are solid, the black paint of the pupils still visible in a sea of brown with the remnants of something white just touching the eyelids. The mouth is half open, as if the man were just breathing or nearly smiling or just about to speak. Through this opening the masked dancer could see and shout, whisper and sing, not as a performer but as the voice and being of the living spirit within the mask.² I sometimes wonder whether this mask still carries the spirit it was built to house. The eyes look in different directions at different times of day; the mouth moves with each trick of the

light and – since the mask arrived – the old, double-faced post office clock no longer keeps good time.

I began travelling regularly to East Africa about five years ago, working for a young Kenyan, Arthur Muliro, who has now organised three national scenario projects in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The people who joined us have been passionate, intelligent and curious, intrigued by the process and where it might lead. My job has been to design the workshops so that each group could identify and work with the critical issues in their country. Between our meetings, team members did the research, writing and testing of ideas to create a new story of the past and present. This story was then the foundation for stories of different futures each country might face. We sought to discuss the undiscussable, to imagine how key uncertainties might unfold and to discover ways of taking personal responsibility for society's affairs.³

When we began in Kenya, the process was new to all of us, including me. I had run similar exercises in large corporations, but never for a nation. From the start, my job was a delicate one. I was the only person who was not an East African and, as the facilitator, my own thinking had to remain in the background. I could suggest ideas, but I could not argue or defend them. Still, I kept hoping one of the East African teams would explore the ecological knowledge of African peoples. African societies are often described as needing to “catch up” with industrialised societies elsewhere, which implies they are backward and behind. But what if the future were not just industrial, but also ecological? And what if African societies had a finer legacy of ecological understanding than the admired Western world? Whose culture would be backward then? However, if I suggested that ecological issues might shape the future and that African traditions had something to offer, I was dismissed as romantic or resented as someone sending educated Africans back to the bush.

I was not wholly alone in my instincts, however. During one workshop in Tanzania, four of the team interviewed Joseph Nyunga, a thoughtful man and an inspired Makonde sculptor. “*You believe the other culture is better than what we have here,*” he told them. “*Before you come back from the West they make you a ‘yes person’ or you don’t qualify. You become brainwashed. ...Tanzanian universities should teach Tanzanian knowledge.*”⁴ But what was this Tanzanian knowledge? What had inspired the mask in my room?

Two East African priests – Laurenti Magesa, a Tanzanian Catholic, and John Mbiti, an Anglican from Kenya – have written extensively about African Religion.⁵ They argue that across the many different social and political units of African society there is a core set of

beliefs that have the same philosophical integrity found in any great world religion. They both describe a circular world where God and all his work sustain humanity who is morally obliged to sustain God and all his work.⁶ It is a world of interlocking forces linking the visible and the invisible, the animate and the inanimate, mankind and all other forms of life. In this world, nothing acts alone. “The world of forces is held like a spider’s web of which no single thread can be caused to vibrate without shaking the whole network.”⁷ It is a unified world of sacred relationships between five elements: God, mankind and those about to be born, all other forms of life, all objects and phenomena without life (such as rocks, mountains and rivers), and the spirits – who may be the spirits of nature or the spirits of people who have died. Powering the universe of this world is a vital force or energy which exists in every living thing. In the words of John Mbiti, “This ... is a complete unity ... which nothing can break up or destroy.” Man’s purpose in this world is to preserve the harmony of these elements as this will ensure the abundance of all life and therefore of mankind.⁸

Within this world, the progressive linear time of the West has little meaning. Instead, traditional African time resembles an expanding universe where the present, *sasa*, “feeds or disappears into” a deeper time, *zamani*. *Sasa* is an enlarged nowness, involving current events as well as people who are about to be born or have recently died. *Zamani* is macro-time, deep time. It is “full of activities and happenings” which can explain the present. The ancestors and other spirits are found here along with everything that ever existed in the world. “*Zamani* is the graveyard of time ... the final storehouse for all phenomena and events... a reality that is neither after nor before.” It is a past that explains the present and contains the future.⁹

In this cosmology, the African spirits are the living mystical heart of things. As they are “invisible, ubiquitous and unpredictable, the safest thing is to keep away from them.” That, however, is very hard. They crowd into the landscape on all sides. Some are the human spirits of ancestors who recently died but are still active in the lives of their descendants as the “invisible police of the families and communities.” The mask on my desk may house such an ancestor. Others spirits are those who died long ago, people who are unknown, mysterious and dangerous. Still other spirits are not human at all, but linked to natural forces – the sun, mountains, seas, hurricanes and diseases – that are so powerful they are nearly divine, acting with the force of God. Other spirits take the forms of snakes, animals, plants or stones. All spirits are able to possess men and women, using them to speak. Such possession can be a torment, a vision or a source of coercive power; it is always a frightening instance of the “real, active and powerful relationship” between the spirits and human society.¹⁰

There is much in this cosmology that resembles an ecologist's view of the world. For an ecologist, nothing stands alone because interlocking relationships create and constrain all forms of life. Like the ecologist's world, the African universe is an intricate place of multiple and cumulative interactions, where human societies are subject to the same forces affecting all living beings. Similarly, while the structure of African religion is universal, the forms and particularities are wonderfully local; no two villages will have the same collection of spirits just as no two ecosystems are wholly alike, however much they resemble each other. Thus the spirits reflect the landscapes they inhabit and carry society's intimate knowledge of the land. Such knowledge requires an enlarged concept of time. By appealing to the ancestors of five generations, the long time horizons of ecological change enter everyday affairs. Finally, the unpredictability of the spirits resembles the unpredictable disorders of nature: droughts, floods and various plagues. Like nature itself, the spirits may be responsible for crises and yet, paradoxically, will guard those places from which life is restored. As every ecologist knows, the seeds of mountain forests are among the first to regenerate a once flooded plain. With each crisis, human societies – like the rest of life – experience dearth, hunger and violence as normal, if unwelcome, episodes in recurring cycles of constraint, decay and regeneration.

This is a philosophy for living, not comfortably, but resiliently with the hazards of the natural world. It is a philosophy for surviving limits that, when respected, can create biological abundance and diversity. It begins with the belief that life itself is sacred, sustained by the relationships between man, the spirits, God and nature. Instead of financial wealth, African tradition has sought the abundance of life in all its forms. At a time of huge ecological challenges, the principles of African Religion, like the echoing stones of London, have something vital to share; they might even help us recover the lost learning of Josias Ellsworth's time.

Searching for the Voice of Nature

The last meeting of the Tanzanian scenarios team took place in July, 2002 as I was still puzzling over possible connections between development, ecology and African traditions. What might be the voice of nature in everyday affairs? What political power did the natural world have? Over our last lunch as a team, I raised this question with the others, asking where I might go to understand it a bit more. One week later, three of us, my niece, Rebekah Heinzen, myself, and Franco Mpangala from the scenario team sailed south to Mtwara, the province where my mask had been made.

Our next ten days were exceptionally successful. Rural buses were slow, but got us where we wanted to go; when we arrived, we found the people we needed to see and others we did not know were there. All of them gave us their time.¹¹ Everywhere we went we asked the same question: who has the voice of nature in your society and what power does it have? The answer came in a variety of forms – histories of clan power, stories of spirits and streams, tales of witchcraft and politicians. Importantly, the question made sense to everyone. The natural world was not something to be taken for granted, ignored or thrown away. It was present in practical knowledge and the political history of local affairs.

After landing at Mtwara town, our next stop was Ndanda, where we interviewed Abbott Siegfried and met Paul Akiba Hatia, an administrator at the Ndanda Mission. Paul gave us a detailed history of his Makua clan, highlighting the positions of power and authority and linking each role to the natural world. He then introduced us to other elders, and took us to interview them. The structure that emerged from these interviews was of political power in three places: the chief, the elders, and the chief's spiritual advisor – in this case, because the Makua are a matrilineal society, a woman, known as the Apwia Mwenye. These three were responsible for their people, but not accountable to them. Instead, they were accountable to each other, a self-perpetuating oligarchy of mutual oversight. "So," I said to Paul, after he had outlined these roles, "*each one is checked by someone else.*" "Exactly," he replied. "*That is what it is. Accountability works in several directions.*"

But who among them represented the natural world? According to Paul, responsibility lay with the chief. "*The chief is chosen by keeping the order of society and order includes the order of the natural world ... but the Apwia Mwenye advises and also has to have great knowledge of the natural world.*" Dr Wembah-Rashid, a researcher in Mtwara from a Makua clan, also saw the chief's role as essential. "*A chief was ... the custodian for the nature around them, because ... the land must be kept alive for people to live. If the land is sickly, people are sickly.*" The chief was able to exercise this responsibility thanks to his three roles: the distribution of land (the basis of all livelihoods); the resolution of disputes; and the leadership of rituals that asked ancestors for help when the clan's survival was threatened.

In addition, Dr Wembah-Rashid said responsibility for the natural world existed in rules and restrictions that were taught by the elders of the clan. "*...in traditional society...people would not kill certain types of animals because they were related to those animals – or trees – and it would be like killing one of your own clan. ... They had strict regulations on how to behave at a water source, including rules on the distance at which trees*

could not be cut down. There were birds one was not supposed to mock or kill.” In an important sense, therefore, the knowledge of what one was allowed or not allowed to do, was held by everyone as part of their ordinary education. The initiation rites organised by the elders were important schools in the rules of nature. During these rites, said Dr. Wembah-Rashid, *“information was passed on and ... the older people [were reminded] of what rules applied.”*

However, the chief’s ability to keep order in society and the natural world depended on the respect he commanded. That in turn depended on his ability to invoke the power of the spirits, during important rituals in times of trouble – such as an epidemic or drought. Sometimes these rituals were conducted in the chief’s meeting place, at other times they were on a sacred mountain. *“If there is a major problem,”* said Paul, *“especially for a drought, the chief and the wazee [elders] go to the mountain, to the cave ...it is a very complicated place, Hungungwe.... I know that sometimes when they go to the mountain, the rain comes.”*

These rituals suggest that the spirits were the critical custodians of the natural world. *“The ancestors and the land are the same thing,”* said Paul, *“so you have to respect it.”* The discipline of that respect was reinforced in daily admonitions, but also reinforced by the use of masked dances. Sometimes the masks were used to satirise and entertain; at other times they deliberately inspired fear. That may be why the Makonde mask on my mantle is often frightening to my visitors in Gray’s Inn. While the chief had temporal authority for the land, in some ways it was the Apwia Mwenye – the spirit advisor – who had ultimate authority. In the history of Paul’s clan, for example, it was the Apwia Mwenye’s who removed an ineffectual chief in the early 20th century by ordering him to be murdered and another man put in his place. Even today she is the only one who can chide the chief. From small clues in our various interviews, I would guess that her ultimate authority comes directly from the powerful spirits of the *zamani* world, the deep reservoir of distant space and time.

If I am right about the authority of the spirit advisor, she is also the political voice of the natural world through her links to the spirits. Many spirits inhabit rocks, waterfalls, caves, mountains and forests. Others take the form of animals, birds, snakes or other creatures. Still others are the spirits of people who died long ago and can remember ancient ecological disasters. As the person who has contact with all these spirits, the spirit advisor is the guardian of the natural world, with all its intricacies and harsh thresholds of ecological change. While today the Apwia Mwenye is a quiet and unassuming woman with a strong handshake and calm gaze, in earlier times she held considerable power.

Paul Akiba Hatia introduced us to the political structure of his clan with its three leading roles: the chief, the elders and the spirit advisor, the Apwia Mwenye.¹² The chief had secular responsibility for the land, the elders instructed the young in the rules of nature, while the Apwia Mwenye may have been the voice of nature itself. There was one final element in this unwritten constitution: the neighbours. Each clan was surrounded by neighbouring clans who defended their own rights, people and ecosystems with their own chiefs, elders and protective spirits. As a whole – the clan structures plus the checks of the neighbours – created a political economy of biological abundance.

Stretched and Unstable

So what did we see when we travelled on the local buses of Mtwara region from the coast to Ndanda to Masasi to Newala, then back to Mtwara town and up to Lindi, Kilwa and the road to Dar es Salaam? Did we see a landscape of forests populated by screaming monkeys, or wide African plains dotted with lions, elephants and giraffes? No. The ancient landscape of abundant and dangerous life has been silently pushed away.

The process began soon after the Germans had defeated a great uprising in Tanzania in 1906-07, known as the Maji Maji War, but it has accelerated in recent decades.¹³ Mzee Raymond Mrope, a wildlife officer and elder in Paul Akiba Hatia's clan, told us that as peace and development were established in the early 20th century, "*Trees were cut then and many animals were consumed.*" His father, who was with us during the conversation had "*...witnessed the disappearance of the animals year by year without noticing it. He thought it was temporary, that perhaps they had migrated to avoid people, or were eaten. ... But the loss of animals means a poor diet, while the loss of the trees means less rain and less firewood.*"

The chief of a neighbouring clan, Mwenye Nkope, also described an area of rich dangerous nature that has since vanished. "*We met a lot of dangerous and destructive animals, like lions. This village, Nasindi, is named after Shindi, which is a kind of animal, many of which were here when we first came. ... Once we settled, the animals ran away.*" Another man, who served us breakfast each morning in Ndanda, told us that that when he was a ten-year old boy some fifty years ago, his own mother had been eaten by a lion. When his father had gone to revenge this death, he had been mauled by the same lion and killed.

In a more remote Makonde village, lying between the Ruvuma river and the bottom of the Makonde Plateau, the village chairman told us that when they first settled there in the

1960s, “we were just living in a clan system and there were not many people around. Some settled here, some far and the animals were in-between.” He drew invisible circles on the table in front of him as he went on. “So there was no problem and the rituals protected people. Plus there was traditional medicine which protected people from animals, especially snakes. ... So the swamp, at that time was fruitful for each and every thing...” Along with the loss of soil fertility has come climate change. “The rainy season used to be six months long; now it is only three months. ... the seeds germinate, then everything dries up and there is hardship.”

Thus, the landscape we saw in early August 2002 was not a landscape of forests and lions. Instead, our Mtwara buses rattled along a road set in a roughly cultivated plain. As we left the coast, the villages were surrounded by coconut palms. Further inland, much of the ground was planted with cashew trees, thick spreading trees with dense dark leaves whose shade makes it hard for anything else to grow beneath them. Leaning against many mud houses were neatly tied bundles of thatching, ready to repair the roofs before the next rains. As the dry season lengthened, the rivers and streams were turning to sand, while everywhere, often at dusk, we saw women and children carrying water in colourful plastic buckets or bright yellow jerry cans. It may just have been the dryness of the season, but the landscape felt stretched and unstable, as if too much was being asked of the earth and waters beneath our feet. What had happened to the political economy of abundant life?

There are four critical, interlocking changes to understand: new religions, new governments, new health and new goals. The first change was religious, a fundamental challenge to the role of the ancestors. While interviewing Mwenye Nkope, one of the Makua clan chiefs, I drew a sketch on the ground showing a man at the centre connected in four directions to God, the spirits, the rest of biological life and the inanimate world. Had it once been man’s job to manage all these relationships and to keep everything in harmony? “Yes,” replied Mwenye Nkope. “But God was far away, remote. God was unclear and we thought that the missionaries had better access to God who was so unclear. We thought that they could bring God closer to the people.” Was man’s relationship with the spirits and the natural world lost when people followed the missionaries? “At that time, there were very few people, so it was easy to manage the environment and people. As the population grew, it was harder to manage, but the communication with the ancestors was totally blocked up, except as individuals, because we were taught that communing with the ancestors is a mortal sin. ... Now, you have to struggle on your own.”

To a Westerner, the loss of contact with the ancestors is just the dying away of an irrelevant superstition. However, Laurenti Magesa, in his book on African Religion, writes: “If we compare the interaction of vital forces in the universe to a spider’s web, then in day to day life the ancestors form the principal strand without which the fabric collapses.”¹⁴

As the new religions undermined the spiritual foundations of abundance, European colonial administrations and their successor, the independent state of Tanzania, attacked the role of the chiefs. This has been the second critical change. Governments weakened the chiefs’ power by taking over many of their functions. According to Mwenye Nkope, “*Since government has taken over, we have no responsibility, but have a certain kind of role in minor problems in the community.*” The new governments took ownership of the land, leaving the chief’s authority to function in the grey light of half-tolerated ‘customary law.’ In the process, the modern state adopted Western column rights, rather than mosaic rights defined by local needs. This is why the administrators of national parks assume that nature is only safe when protected from the human world by fences. Local people, however, often still live in a world of footpaths, where local knowledge and mosaic rules act as fences. These two different philosophies wrestle with each other in Tanzania today; as a member of an Mtwara rural development team observed: “*Village knowledge may exist, but will government accept it?*”

The third important force altering the traditional political economy has been investments in health and education. As more children have survived, Tanzania’s population has trebled in thirty to forty years, straining the capacity of the traditional agricultural system. During one of our meetings in a Makonde village near the Ruvuma River, an elder told us, “*The fertility of the land is so poor. We had shifting cultivation, but now all of us have been in this place for ten years, so what do you expect the result to be?*” This failure of the agricultural system to feed people has led to a loss of confidence in traditional ways. “*In [the past], when they were having problems, they made rituals, but this time, it doesn’t work.*” Reading and writing, classic foundations of modern economic development, have also undermined traditional knowledge. In theory, literacy should not reduce the value of oral knowledge, including knowledge of the natural world. In fact, as Mzee Ayubu, the leader of a neighbouring village observed, “*Now there is no expectation of turning back to [traditional] communities if you have a nice education.*” Nor, we were repeatedly told, can one mix the two. “*You cannot succeed by mixing. ... the modern and the old ways cannot mix.*”

The fourth critical factor undermining the web of traditional beliefs and political economy has been the goals of development. Many policy makers measure development in financial terms; in popular eyes it is measured by possessions – clothes, phones, houses and cars. Where traditional societies sought the abundance of life and resilience in times of crisis, modern societies have pursued the increase of money and things. This goal explains why we did not see forests or giraffes along the Masasi Road, but instead endless plantations of cashew trees. *“I encouraged people to plant trees to get money,”* said Abbott Siegfried of the Ndanda Mission. *“Then the price broke down ... and it has still not recovered.”* *“A lot of forest was cut to make plantations and fields,”* said Babu Alfons. *“Cashew nuts ... made people rich, so we didn’t notice the loss of the trees.”*

In a mere one hundred years, new religions, national governments, modern healthcare and education have set a new social goal: the increased possession of health, money and things. As people and governments have reached for that goal, they have created a different relationship with the natural world. In the process, the abundant life that supported African societies for thousands of years is rapidly slipping away, while the villagers of Mtwara remained stuck between traditional and modern ways. *“We are still hanging,”* said the chairman of the Mpilipili village. *“We are still using the old system [which] is not working ... [but] we don’t have money for modern things.”*

Just weeks before the Tanzanian scenarios were published, the traditional concept of interdependent relationships was added to the draft. We called it the *“Utu Net”*. *“This ‘utu’ is lived in the rites of birth, initiation, marriage, and death; in the wedding and funeral committees that reinforce these connections, in our elders who keep the peace. ... We [Tanzanians] are also a people with a strong connection to the land and its life – plants, animals, fish, and birds. ... our net also includes this wider world ... For some, utu explains why we fail to develop. For others, this utu is deep, enduring and is the essence of who we are.”*¹⁵ With these words, I heard Tanzanian knowledge openly enter the modern public realm and silently prayed its influence would endure.

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Society for International Development. Kenya scenarios website: www.kenyasenarios.org; Tanzania scenarios website: www.tutafika.org.

¹ The most recent example of using military force to gain access to natural resources is the 2003 Anglo-American war against Iraq.

² Frank Herreman, "Face of the Spirits", in *Face of the Spirits: Masks from the Zaire Basin*, Frank Herreman & Constantijn Petridis, editors. Koninkliji Museum, Voor Midden-Afrika, Tervuren, Belgie, Annalen Menswetenschappen, Vol 140, p. 14. "The mask is a medium through which the supernatural takes on a physical reality." In the same volume: Marie-Louise Bastin, "The Akishi Spirits of the Chokwe". "It is through masks that the *akishi* make themselves known. The *akishi* are ancestors, abstract beings or forces of nature that are honoured and respected quite as much as they are feared." p. 79.

³ The Kenyan process, including development of the scenarios stories and their dissemination throughout the country, was completed by the end of 2002. The Tanzanian scenarios were launched in May 2003 and will be disseminated more widely in the coming months. The Ugandan team's work was launched in July 2004 in Kampala. For a brief discussion of the Kenyan scenario work, see chapter 6, "Kenya: Scenarios for a Country's Future" in *The Power of the Tale: using narratives for organisational success* by Julie Allan, Gerard Fairtlough and Barbara Heinzen. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, Chichester, 2002. See also www.kenyasenarios.org for the Kenya story and www.tutafika.org for the Tanzanian work.

⁴ As I do not speak Swahili, this quotation comes from team reports of their interviews, recorded on a laptop as they were delivered.

⁵ Laurenti Magesa, *African Religion: The moral traditions of abundant life*. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York, 1997, and John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 2nd edition. Heinemann, London, reprinted 1999. Some writers prefer to use the phrase African Traditional Religion, which they believe has been largely replaced by Islam and Christianity. Magesa, however, argues that even among Christians and Muslims the "inner motivation for religious life" in Africa remains African Religion. For that reason, I have followed his usage here. I am indebted to Harold Miller in Nairobi, for having introduced me to both works.

⁶ This sentence is a short-hand description of a longer argument which appears in Laurenti Magesa, *African Religion: The moral traditions of abundant life*. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York, 1997, p. 72-73.

⁷ Laurenti Magesa, *African Religion: The moral traditions of abundant life*. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York, 1997, p. 46, quoting from P. Baudin, *Fetishism and Fetish Worshippers*. Trans. By M. McMahon, New York, Bensizer Brothers, 1885.

⁸ John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 2nd edition. Heinemann, London, reprinted 1999, p. 15-16 re five elements and the unified world of sacred relationships. Laurenti Magesa, *African Religion: The moral traditions of abundant life*. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York, 1997, p. 46 re: the force of life in all creatures and p. 51 for the purpose of man.

⁹ John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 2nd edition. Heinemann, London, reprinted 1999, p. 22-23. This aspect of John Mbiti's work has created considerable debate and not everyone subscribes to it. I find it aesthetically pleasing, but have no real basis for judging whether or not it is an accurate reflection of traditional ideas about time. *Sasa* and *zamani* are both words that John Mbiti had taken from Kiswahili to form his argument. More commonly *zamani* simply means 'the past.'

¹⁰ John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 2nd edition. Heinemann, London, reprinted 1999, p.78-81.

¹¹ I am particularly grateful to the regional commissioner, Mr Nsa Kaisi, who gave us excellent support, and introduced us to a number of people who were extremely helpful, among them the team working in RIPS, Rural Integrated Project Support. Unless a published source is mentioned, all quotations in this chapter are from my notes of the Mtwara interviews. While many interviews were in English, all interviews in Kiswahili were translated by Franco Mpangala, so my notes are of his translations.

¹² There was a fourth leader, the *Nampanda*, responsible for the military defence of territory, but this position is now obsolete.

¹³ See G.C.K. Gwassa and John Iliffe, editors. *Records of the Maji Maji Rising, part one*. Historical Association of Tanzania Paper No. 4. East African Publishing House, Dar es Salaam, 1967, p. 9. This is a fascinating pamphlet which tells the story of the war by quoting from German documents of the period and interviews from the 1960s conducted with elders who remembered the War. See also G.C.K. Gwassa, “Kinjikitile and the Ideology of Maji Maji” in *The Historical Study of African Religion*, edited by T.O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo. Heinemann, London, 1972, p. 202-217.

¹⁴ Laurenti Magesa, *African Religion: the Moral Traditions of Abundant Life*. Orbis Books, New York, 1998, p. 47.

¹⁵ *Tutafika: Imagining Our Future Tanzania*, published by SID, Society for International Development, Tanzania Chapter, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 2003.