PROTECTION AND HEALING IN A TSWANA VILLAGE:
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE TRADITIONAL AND
ZIONIST BELIEFS AND PRACTICES.

By

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ABSTRACT

This study, located in a tribal capital in South-Eastern Botswana, is primarily a comparative descriptive account of the Traditional and Zionist beliefs and practices.

The account of the Traditional system shows how religious beliefs and practices, as in other African Religions, are closely interwoven with all spheres of life. Despite widespread acceptance of Christianity from the nineteenth century, many traditional beliefs and practices persist.

Zion Churches, despite their name, are Christian. A brief history and the various types are outlined. The study focuses on some churches and an account of their beliefs and practices is given. The results of a small-scale survey among members show the importance of healing and protection (of which prophecy is an integral part) in initially attracting members. Various similarities to traditional religion are noted.

Although Southern African, Zion Churches are similar to new religious movements that have developed throughout Africa (and elsewhere) in similar social situations. Therefore, although the study aims to produce primary data on protection and healing rather than develop theory, an attempt is made to set findings within a wider context. It is noted how these Zion Churches, like other new religious movements, provide a continuity with the traditional belief system (where religion and health are closely interlinked) unlike orthodox Christianity. In these Zion Churches, like other new religious movements the basic traditional value system is not questioned, but reinterpreted within a Christian framework.

Speculations on the future of these Zion Churches suggest they provide an alternative system utilized by the majority of the community (who are neither Zionists, orthodox Christians, nor traditionalists) according to their empirical observation. Hence Zion religion may usefully be viewed as an important component of the community's Contemporary Religious Beliefs and Practices for protection and healing.
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PREFACE

This study of protection and healing was conducted throughout the 5½ years I resided in the home of a Tswana family whilst I was employed as a teacher at the local secondary school.

There are many people in Botswana and England whose assistance has been indispensable in different ways and at various times during my research. In Botswana I am grateful to my many Bangwaketse friends and neighbours whose welcome and hospitality made my stay so pleasant. Secondly I am indebted to all my informants for their patience, explanations and help; thirdly to my interpreters, especially my main one without whose assistance much of the study would have been impossible. In England I would like specially to mention my supervisor; the library staff and the "Sociology Office" at the University of Surrey; my family; and my typist.

During the fieldwork much ethnographic data was collected, not all directly relevant to the main theme, but as little appears to have been recorded on the community where the study was located it was decided to present the thesis in two volumes. Volume 1 contains the main thesis, and Volume 2 is mainly composed of the additional ethnographic detail to which cross-reference is made from Volume 1. However as Volume 1 of necessity contains much of such detail it is perhaps helpful to outline the main findings for which evidence will be found in the thesis, and to which a return will be made in greater detail in Part 4 of Volume 1.

The description of the traditional Tswana religion showing system of protection and healing, demonstrates how Tswana traditional religion is typical of the traditional religions found in similar African societies. For example religious beliefs and practices permeate all spheres of life, religion and medicine are closely interlinked, and they have a "this-worldly" emphasis. This account also shows that despite the widespread acceptance of Christianity from the nineteenth century, many traditional religious beliefs and practices have been retained.

The following account of the Zion religious beliefs and practices shows that in this new religious movement, composed of several individual and independent Zion Churches of varying types and sizes, there is a similar definition of religion. The Zionist and Traditionalist definitions are much wider than that of the Orthodox Christian Churches
originally introduced by foreign missionaries. Similarities are indicated between the Traditionalist and Zionist religious beliefs and practices, those of the Zion religion presenting an alternative, almost total, system of protection and healing. As is typical of new religious movements in other parts of Africa and the world that have developed in similar formerly self-sufficient societies subjected to social change, the traditional value system is largely unquestioned (as it is by Orthodox Christian Churches) but is re-interpreted within a Christian framework. Many examples to demonstrate this are given, indicating a much greater continuity with the traditional system than is found in orthodox Christianity.

However the majority of the community are not Zionists, Traditionalists nor Orthodox Church Members. Recent research has shown that, although a very high proportion of the population have utilized the "modern" health services at some time, they also utilize the traditional health service. In this community lack of adequate access to "modern" health services is not an adequate explanation for the latter fact. My research, like the research of others into similar new religious movements, shows the importance of healing in attracting new Zion members, and non-members also utilize the Zion Churches for healing and protection. Thus it is suggested that the Zion Religion offers further religious and medical alternatives in this community to the majority of the population who, as neither wholly Zionist, Traditionalist nor Orthodox Christians, choose among these alternatives according to their immediate "problems" and their empirical observations of the past success of a particular alternative. They may choose one or more alternative concurrently. Therefore Zion Religion should perhaps be recognized as one of the components of the Contemporary Religious beliefs and practices of the community.
It should be noted that in Setswana, which is the language of the Batswana, who are the people who live in Botswana and neighbouring areas of South Africa, the nouns are divided into different noun classes. Each class is characterised by different singular and plural prefixes; thus mosadi - a woman, monna - a man, Motswana - a person of Botswana, and basadi - women, banna - men, Batswana - people of Botswana; these mo- ba- prefixes indicate classes for personal nouns. Other prefixes denote nouns referring to objects or animals. A detailed analysis is not the concern of this thesis, but study of the noun classification would reflect an aspect of the Tswana view of the world.

Some Tswana words do not translate adequately into English, so in the text of the thesis the Tswana term may be used. Below follows a list of the Tswana words commonly used in the text with brief explanations. Some other words in this list are included because in this study they may be used in a particular sense that may differ from that of other writers on other cultures.

- **Ngaka ya Setswana** (pl. dingaka tsa Setswana) In my thesis this is translated as traditional doctor rather than witch doctor, as the latter has negative connotations. (The Tswana word for a "Western" doctor is ngaka.)
- **Bongaka** This refers to the therapy practised by a ngaka ya Setswana (traditional doctor).*
- **Badimo (always plural)** Ancestors.
- **Moloi** (pl. Baloi) Sorcerer/witch. These two alternatives are given because, although a moloi is not a witch in Evans-Pritchard's definition, some of the Tswana beliefs about baloi are comparable to those defined as a witch by his definition, rather than merely a sorcerer.*
- **Motsetsi** (pl. Batsetsi) A woman in seclusion for up to 6 months following the birth of her baby.

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*1 Gabriel Setiloane's definition in "The Image of God Among the Sotho-Tswana" (p 44)
*2 Isaac Schapera discusses this in "Sorcery and Witchcraft in Bechuanaland" (African Studies 51 p. 44).
Botsetsi
The state of a mother and infant in this seclusion.

Bogadi
The bridewealth (cattle and possibly sheep) presented by the groom's family to the bride's family during a marriage.

Kgotla
(pl. dikgotla)
This can have various meanings according to context. The common contexts in which I use it are as follows:-
1. An administrative unit of the village, composed typically of patrilineal kin grouped under a Headman. (See diagram 1)
2. A sub-division of this unit composed typically of more closely related kin. These kin have typically built their homes around a central cleared area in which there is a meeting place and communal livestock kraal. They recognize the senior male kin as their Headman (the cattle kraal and entrance and kgotla face his entrance). The arrangement of the other homes is according to seniority. (See diagram 2).
3. The meeting place in the cleared area.
4. The group (usually of men) who run the local affairs or, at the tribal level, the tribal affairs.

Diagram 1 shows a plan of a typical kgotla, the main kgotla surrounded by the sub-kgotla. Many of the homes are built around the central cleared area, where the kraal and meeting place may be built. The entrance of the individual yards face the centre. Such a kgotla (main kgotla and sub-dikgotla) is under the jurisdiction of the Chief's own kgotla. At the Chief's kgotla tribal assemblies are held and appeals and more serious kgotla cases may be judged.

Diagram 2 is a plan of a typical sub-kgotla.
lolwapa
(pl. malwapa)

This can have two meanings according to context.

1. The whole area or yard in which a family build their houses in their sub-kgotla. (these can be clearly seen in Diagram 2 e.g. in the Headman's lolwapa there are 3 houses.)

2. The mud-walled and floored enclosures built around individual houses of the yard. These walled areas may link two houses together. Such walled areas are often originally built and/or re-decorated for weddings and Botsetsi parties.

Southern District

Since Independence many traditional responsibilities of the Chiefs have been taken over by Local District Councils. For this administrative boundaries have been redrawn. Ngwaketse District is now called Southern District and includes the Barolong District on the border of South Africa (see Map 2). Kanye is the Bangwaketse tribal capital and also the Headquarters of the Southern District Council.

Mission Churches or Orthodox Christian Churches

These terms refer to those churches originally introduced by foreign missionaries. They are often still white-dominated, and often controlled from outside.
the country as they are branches of international churches. Churches in Kanye that may be described like this are:

1. The United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (U.C.C.S.A.) which was formerly the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.)
2. The Seventh Day Adventist Church (S.D.A.)
3. The Lutheran Church.
4. The Roman Catholic Church (R.C.)

Moruti (pl. Baruti)
A minister/priest. In the Zion Churches this term is often applied to all those of the "priestly" positions.

Rhodesia
This name is used rather than Zimbabwe although Zimbabwe gained independence during the course of my fieldwork. This is because reference is made to the time before independence.

**Kinship Terms**

Some kinship terms do not have an adequate equivalent English term. Below follows a list of Tswana kinship terms that will be used in the text, with brief explanations. It should be noted that no attempt has been made to present a complete list of Tswana kin terminology as this was not the purpose of the study.*1 It should also be noted that kin terms are often loosely applied to people in the same age group as an individual's true kin of that term. This indicates the appropriate respect or endearment that an individual would show to that person to whom the term is applied.

**Paternal Kin**

Bangwaketse typically reside with their paternal kin. The following are some paternal kin terms used:-

Rremogolo (pl. Bo-rremogolo) Literally this means the "older father". This term is used for both maternal and paternal grandfathers and is also applied

*1 A much fuller and more detailed list may be found in Schapera's "The Tswana" p. 43-4.
to an individual's father's older brothers. In addition it is a term of respect used to older men.

Rrangwane (pl. Bo-rrangwane) Literally this means "little" or "younger father", and is the name applied to the younger brothers of an individual's father. Bo-rrangwane, like Bo-rremogolo, should be respected.

Rrakgadi (pl. Bo-rrakgadi) This is the name given to an individual's father's sister(s).

Maternal Kin

Although Bangwaketse typically reside with their paternal relatives, maternal kin are also very important. The following are the maternal kin terms that will be found in the text:-

Malome (pl. Bo-malome) This is the term for the individual's mother's brother(s) (Maternal uncle) As will be seen in the text, this is a very important relationship involving many reciprocal obligations. On many traditional occasions an individual's malome is involved. The relationship obligations are in one sense inherited by the original malome's son or grandson who is usually the one responsible for the burial of an elderly person.

Mmamalome (pl. Bo-mmamalome) This is the name given to the wife of a Malome. It is she who will lead the bridal procession when a new bride is taken with all her possessions to her in-laws, and takes care of and accompanies the bride throughout the various stages of her wedding. If an individual's mother is not present or has died, Mma-malome may be responsible for bringing up children particularly daughters, or caring for them during a Botsetsi.
Mmemogolo
(pl. Bo-mmemogolo)

As with Rremogolo this name is given to both maternal and paternal grandmothers. It is also given to the Mother's older sisters. Literally it means "older" mother(s).

Mmangwane
(pl. Bo-mmangwane)

This literally means "little" mother, and is the term used for the mother's younger sister(s). Women to whom this term is applied, and also Mme-mogolo, should be regarded as mothers.
KEY

Zinc-roofed house

"Men's" thatched houses*
"Women's" thatched house**

Ruins

Track (pedestrian and vehicle)

Trees

Kgotla (including kraal and meeting place)

* i.e. those houses thatched by male professional thatchers, the thatch being topped with a metal cone.
** i.e. those houses thatched in the traditional way by women although men often erect the rafters; a different, softer type of grass is used.
PART I

CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION: THE SETTING OF THE STUDY

Opening remarks

This section aims to provide a mainly descriptive account of the background of my study, which focuses on the Bangwaketse in Kanye. As it is necessary for the reader to have some background information, this introduction is arranged in four sections. The first section is a general introduction to Botswana. The second section is on Kanye and the Bangwaketse. The third and fourth sections focus respectively on the Orthodox Christian Churches in Kanye and the "Modern" Health Services (with special reference to Kanye). The third and fourth parts are included in the introduction, so that later comparisons may be made. These two areas provide the "modern" alternatives of the Zionist and traditional practices and beliefs on which the study focuses: protection and healing.

1) A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO BOTSWANA

Botswana, formerly the Bechuanaland Protectorate, gained independence from Britain on September 30th 1966. It is a landlocked country situated at an average altitude of 1000m on the Central African Plateau. It is bordered by the Caprivi Strip, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe, and has a "pin-point" boundary in the North with Zambia across the Zambezi River. Although Botswana itself gained independence peacefully, until the liberation of Zimbabwe it was completely surrounded by white, minority ruled states, in most of which there are intermittent struggles for independence. Although not actively and outwardly engaging itself in these struggles, Botswana has long provided safe refuge to the political refugees of these countries.

The climate is described as continental and semi-arid. About 80% of the 561,000 Km$^2$ of the country is covered by Kalahari (Kgalagadi) sands. Apart from the Okavango and Chobe rivers in the North, there are no perennial rivers. 70% of the water is from boreholes and the rest is seasonal surface water that collects in water holes and dams during the summer rainy season - which usually starts in September and continues intermittently until April or May. The rains are sporadic
and inconsistent and are characterized by thunderstorms. Serious dry spells during the rains frequently occur, often when the growing crops most need rain, leading to crop failure. When the rain falls it often falls in short, very heavy showers depositing 80-300mm of rain in 24 hours followed by very hot spells leading to an evaporation and transpiration rate exceeding the precipitation rate. About 90% of the average annual rainfall falls between November and April. Average annual rainfall in the South-east, where my study was located, is approximately 500mm per annum with a variability rate of 30% and an average annual evaporation rate that might reach as high as 2m.

Recent research shows that the rainfall appears to occur within three simultaneous cycles. The first is a short cycle occurring over 6 - 10 years during which 2-3 years of good rains are followed by 2-3 years of below average rainfall. From 1975 onwards there were 4 good years but from 1979 rainfall decreased and from 1981 to the present drought relief measures have been necessary, much of the country being declared drought stricken. The second cycle extends over hundreds of years and the third over thousands of years. Research shows that the Kgalagadi region has been semi-arid for millions of years although there have been brief wet periods during which the dry river beds and pans would be filled with deep waters.

December and January are the hottest months, when temperatures may rise as high as 40°C. During the dry winters, although the days may be warm and sunny, the temperatures can drop below freezing during the nights and in the South frost is not uncommon. The natural vegetation of this area is mostly tree or shrub savanna with some grass savanna. In areas where cattle are introduced, scrub savanna tends to spread due to a tendency towards over-grazing.

Thus the question arises as to why an agricultural (livestock and arable) people like the Batswana, were attracted to this semi-arid area in which in only 5% of the land are the soils and the availability of water suitable for arable farming.

By the 1981 census there were still less than 1 million people, who are composed of 8 main tribal groupings and a number of minor ones. The Batswana belong to a Bantu language group and are classified as Western-Sotho, an off-shoot of the main Sotho speaking people. During the migrations of the Bantu-speaking peoples from the more Northern Savanna regions of the Sahara, this area was probably skirted due to its
aridity, the ancestors settling in the better lands of what is now called Transvaal, around Rustenburg, Pretoria and to the South of the Vaal River. This was in the 11th century and possibly as early as the 5th century A.D. The first of this language group actually to settle in Botswana were the Bakgalagadi around 1400 A.D. Previously the region had been only very sparsely populated by the hunting and gathering Basarwa, whose settlement probably dates back as far as 10,000 years. During the 16th century fission led to Batswana settling further West into areas around the modern Zeerust, and to the North where they encountered the Bakgalagadi, whom they either incorporated or pushed further West into the Kgalagadi Desert. The Bakwena, who are reputed to be the first main Tswana tribe, probably crossed the Notwane River in the 17th century and were certainly well-established in South-eastern Botswana by the late 17th century.

Settlement in the less arid North seems to have taken place much earlier. Iron age people were certainly using the area, even if not settling permanently, during the first millennium A.D.

Up to about 1750, settlement of Botswana was mainly to the East of the modern railway line, the rest of the Kgalagadi being very sparsely populated by Basarwa and later by the Hottentots. Of the Batswana, the majority were Bakgalagadi peoples who were mainly cattle herders and hunters, who moved as necessary in search of grazing and hunting areas.

By 1800 peoples had settled all around the Kalahari Desert and all areas with permanent surface water were occupied by the cattle owners. During the 1820's a new expansion into the area took place, mainly caused by the Mfecane following the Zulu expansions in South-east Africa that caused many Southern African peoples to migrate. Also, following the Great Trek in the 1830's, the Boers expanded into the Tswana-speaking areas away from British rule. This led to disruption in many tribes (including, as will be seen in more detail in the next section, the Bangwaketse). Dr. Andrew Smith, who travelled through the area in 1835, reported that the country was greatly devastated, with very few of the Batswana left in their traditional areas. They were "subsisting on the dregs of hunting and thieving". *2

*1 Basarwa, also known as the San or Bushmen, belong to a different language group – the Khoisan. Traditionally they were hunters and gatherers, unlike the agricultural Batswana.
*2 Alec Campbell quoting Smith in A Guide to Botswana P. 144
The first whites to come to the area were the traders, hunters and missionaries. As early as 1802 the British Government at the Cape had sent representatives to investigate the possibilities of trading for cattle. From some of the journals and drawings of these early whites (the artist Samuel Daniell travelled in this area around 1802) arises a picture of the Batswana as a "peaceful people living under civilized and prosperous conditions". *1 Burchell (1812) described a Tswana town as a "collection of villages, each a miniature replica of the whole town, since it combined a number of smaller villages composed of related families". *2 These towns were estimated as having between 10,000 - 30,000 people.

John Campbell of the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) was the first missionary to the Batswana, at Tlhaping, in 1813. Two other missionaries, Hamilton and Read, arrived later and all three went with the Batlhaping when they moved to Kuruman. The famous Kuruman mission was established in 1817. It was from here, under Robert Moffat, that the missionary movement spread North. Moffat wrote Setswana down and also translated the Bible into Setswana. Most of the major tribal groupings requested resident missionaries from this mission when they saw the benefits they brought, particularly in the fields of education and medical services. For example in the 1840's David Livingstone built a house in Kweneng among the Bakwena, and became a friend of, and converted, Chief Sechele, the Paramount Chief of the Bakwena. The missionaries were particularly useful as advisers to the Chiefs in their increasing dealings with other whites, for example, the traders, hunters, Boers and British. They would advise them on the type of trading to limit or outlaw, and against granting prospecting rights or land. This was very useful as the Boer expansion became an increasing threat during the 19th century, as did incorporation by the British South Africa Company under Cecil John Rhodes.

Following the Great Trek North (1835 onwards) of the Afrikaans-speaking Boers, out of the British ruled Cape Province in the South, friction between the Batswana and Boers increased. The Boers did not recognise Batswana as legitimate owners of any lands they occupied. In

*1 Alec Campbell op cit. P. 145.
*2 Alec Campbell op Cit. P. 145.
1852 the Boers North of the Vaal River were recognised by the British as independent, and the Boers immediately started to try to extend their government into Batswana areas. Soon after Boer independence, Mosielele of the Bakgotla, successfully raided Boer cattle, and then fled to the Bakwena for protection. The Boers then attacked the Bakwena, killing a number of people and taking many captives. Although most of these were later ransomed or allowed to escape, Chief Sechele became furious as they had kept other Bakwena as indentured labourers.

There were many such incidents, these Transvaal Boers would never define their Western boundary nor recognise any Batswana ownership of land. By the 1870's and 1880's the Batswana had been evicted from most of their most fertile areas. The missionaries advised the various independent tribal groupings to unite against the Boers and seek the protection of the British. One, John Mackenzie - a missionary to the Bangwato and the friend of Khama, their Paramount Chief - tried to raise public support and sympathy in Britain for this policy. Britain was unwilling to take responsibility for the administration of this arid area because of the expense. However in 1884 John Mackenzie was made Deputy Commissioner for the area North of Cape but South of the Molopo River. He constantly resisted the moves to bring the area under the direct administration of the Cape, believing that Batswana affairs should be managed separately. However when the Boer and Batswana raids on each other's cattle became worse, the British agreed to extend this area of administration to the whole area North of the Cape, West of the South African Republic, East of Longitude 20° and South of Latitude 22°. This Northern boundary was still illogical as it halved the Bangwato area. In 1885 the area South of the Molopo River was declared a Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland and that to the North a separate British Protectorate. Here again this had illogical boundaries as many of the Southern groups were divided between the two administrative areas. The Crown Colony was to be administered, but the Protectorate was to be left to go its own way. This was very unsatisfactory administratively for the Protectorate. There was a great influx into the area of whites, who did not fall under customary tribal law. One reason for this was because of Rhodes' ambitions, particularly on mineral prospecting concessions. In 1893 Rhodes, following the suppression of the Ndebele Rebellion, took control of Rhodesia and in 1894 made an offer to administer the
Protectorate for £50,000 per annum. The Chiefs having witnessed with horror what had happened to the Matebele were greatly opposed to this. The L.M.S. missionaries then helped to arrange for the 3 largest tribes to send their Paramount Chiefs to England, to campaign personally that they should become under British protection. In 1895 Sechele of the Bakwena, Khama of the Bangwato and Bathoen of the Bangwaketse, visited England. Their visit was successful, British Protection continued and they thus avoided either being incorporated by the Boers or being administered by Rhodes' B.S.A. Company.

Until September 30th 1966 Botswana remained a British Protectorate. The British Government wanted the area administered as cheaply as possible. Apart from a strip of land in the East for the railway line linking South Africa and Rhodesia (built in 1896-7) there was little benefit from this arid country. British administration was actually from outside the present country at Mafeking, which remained the capital of Botswana until 1966. This administration was paid for mostly by local taxation. The poll tax (formerly a hut tax), various customs duties, telephone and postal charges were introduced in the 1900's. By 1912, these revenues paid for almost all the costs of administration. These taxes and the new trading stores introduced for the Batswana a need to change to a cash economy, and it was this that was one of the main factors leading originally to migrant labour to the South African mines and farms. (In 1966 it was found that half the paid labour force worked outside Botswana.)

During the British Protectorate there was a Resident Commissioner responsible to a High Commissioner. The country was divided into 12 administrative districts, each with a Resident Magistrate. However most of the traditional judicial powers of the Chiefs were at first left more or less untouched and the Resident Magistrate dealt only with cases that involved whites, and blacks from other districts. In 1919 they were also given jurisdiction to deal with appeal cases from the traditional courts. In 1926 jurisdiction over inheritance involving people married by Christian rites was added. Otherwise, especially day-to-day administration was left mainly in the hands of the traditional powers of the Chiefs and Elders.

From the late 1920's Colonel Charles Rey became Resident Commissioner for eight years. Under him there were certain changes. For example the Promulgation of African Courts and African Administration
Proclamation regularised the activities of the tribal courts and magistrates assumed the powers of District Commissioners, their new duties included supervising the new Tribal Finance Committees. This had the effect of limiting the powers of Chiefs as tribal funds now had to be used only on projects approved by the D.C.s. During this phase social services were developed, for example, primary schools were increased by 65% and pupils by 100%, there was an 800% increase in out-patient attendance, and programmes to improve water, roads, agriculture, and communications generally, were started.

During the 1950's and 1960's various economic surveys for the Colonial Office showed that the Protectorate was still one of the world's poorest countries, and lacked many services, for example, water shortage was a constant problem; there were virtually no secondary schools, primary schools suffered from lack of trained teachers (only 50% were trained); there were only a few kilometres of tarred roads; a few all-weather surface roads; there was a chronic hospital shortage and medical services generally, especially in rural areas. There was also still no administrative centre - the country was still administered from Mafeking.

In 1961, in preparation for independence, a new constitution was conferred on the Protectorate, providing for Executive and Legislative Councils. In 1963, constitutional discussions were held and the new capital Gaborone was built, the administration was transferred from Mafeking. The General Elections took place on March 1st, 1965, bringing the Botswana Democratic Party into power, and their leader, Seretse Khama, became the first Prime Minister. On September 30th, 1966, Independence was granted and Sir Seretse Khama became the First President. The Botswana Democratic Party (B.D.P.) has remained in power ever since. In 1977 there were 27 B.D.P. M.P's and in the opposition—2 Botswana Peoples Party, 3 Botswana National Front, and 1 Botswana Independence Party. In addition there were 4 "specially elected" members selected by the joint National Assembly. In the 1979 election the B.D.P. was returned with an increased majority. Although the opposition is small, Sir Seretse Khama greatly resisted requests that he should become a Life President like the Presidents of various neighbouring countries. *1

*1 In 1980 following the death of Sir Seretse Khama, the Vice-President, Dr Quett Masire, was chosen by the B.D.P. M.P's as the Second President. It will be interesting to see if Masire, a commoner and a Mongwaketse, unlike the Mongwato Khama who was also considered by many as their true Paramount Chief, will be able to maintain such popular support.
By the constitution M.P's are elected by universal adult suffrage. The ruling party's leader is the President, the Head of State. Chiefs have powers comparable to those of the House of Lords and meet at the House of Chiefs. Their main function is to advise on customary law. One of their recent contributions has been on customary marriage - couples married in this way now receive certificates so that they can qualify for married accommodation in, for example, the new mining towns.

Economic Development in all sectors has been the aim of the Botswana Government since independence. At independence there were 251 primary schools, with 71,546 pupils, and 9 secondary schools, with 1,565 pupils. Also there was a small trade school with 60 pupils. There was a chronic teacher shortage and 50% of the primary teachers were untrained. In fact only 25% of the population received any education at all. Only 20% of the primary leavers could find secondary places so there was a great shortage of all trained personnel. By 1978 there were 130,000 primary pupils and 17 secondary schools (either grant-aided or Government), 5 more secondary schools were built by the 1980's and there were plans for the Government to take over the large number of private secondary schools. There is also an expanding agriculture college to train agricultural extension workers and it is also the focus of agricultural research, particularly for dryland farming. In 1982 Botswana established its own university at Gaborone, before then it had shared resources with Swaziland (up to 1975 with Lesotho as well). There are various other educational institutions that provide in-service training in short-term courses.

Section 4 will provide fuller details of "Modern Health" services available, especially with reference to those in Kanye. Therefore in this section only a few points will be noted. On the whole Botswana is a healthy country because of the dry climate and scattered population. The 1971 census showed that the rate of natural increase is 3.08% per annum. Infant mortality is lower than in any other country South of the Sahara for which comparable statistics are available, i.e. 126 per 1000 of children under 2. Life expectancy is high:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At birth</td>
<td>52.5 years</td>
<td>58.6 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At age 40</td>
<td>71.2 years</td>
<td>73.7 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At age 60</td>
<td>75.6 years</td>
<td>78.2 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On average women of 50 have given birth to 6.5 live children. The main diseases are T.B., of which 5% of the population are believed to suffer from live T.B. (probably as high as 30-35% in some communities). Venereal diseases are another problem and it is estimated that 25-30% of the population over 14 could suffer from these. In the South bilharzia is another common disease. Measles, pneumonia and enteritis are also problems. During droughts there is malnutrition, particularly in remoter areas and among children of the lowest income groups.

Although many of the early missionaries provided medical help (e.g. Livingstone was a medical doctor) the first hospital was not built until 1920. Most medical services were developed by the missions. Before 1905 the government only had one doctor. The Protectorate administration only became aware of the health problems in the 1930's and it was not until the 1950's that money could be allocated to provide medical services.

Apart from lack of finance and a centralized co-ordination, the main problems have been lack of understanding of elementary health care by the population, and the authorities until recently failed to see the importance of a role within their system for the traditional forms of medicine. A recent survey indicated that 90% of the population has at one time or another consulted or received modern medical aid, 40% of the population still consult traditional doctors, as do more than 40% of the close relatives of nurses.

Increased hospital provision was seen as a top priority in the first stage of improving medical services and today (1980's) there are 11 general hospitals, with a total of 1,871 beds, and one psychiatric hospital. There are also 3 mining hospitals and 4 mission ones that are government subsidised. There are 7 health centres, 70 clinics, approximately 100 Health Posts (these receive regular visits from qualified nurses and doctors). These services are supervised and co-ordinated by Regional Health Teams. Altogether within the country there are about 75 doctors, 10 pharmacists, 5 dentists, and 700 nurses.

Preventive medicine has been a target area of post-independence health policy. Vaccination programmes have eradicated smallpox, and infants and young children attend clinics to be vaccinated against such diseases as measles, polio and T.B. A Health Education Unit was started in 1974 and attempts to educate people in nutrition,
environmental hygiene and increase the acceptability of immunization programmes, also to trace those with communicable diseases such as T.B. and venereal diseases. Another target area has been to attempt to improve services for and attitudes to the disabled.

Preliminary findings of the 1981 census were that there are still less than one million people. As this report has not yet been published, the 1971 census figures and the projections of the 1973-1978 National Development Plan will have to be used. Also the 1978-9 Health Statistics will be used. Obviously changes will have taken place since then, but there are still useful indications for the purposes of my research.

Females were found to outnumber males 100:84. 30% of all households are headed by women, who also perform 70% of all arable work in a predominantly rural areas- only 9.5% of the population live in urban areas. However between the 1964 census and 1971, in common with all developing countries, there was a much greater increase in urban than in rural areas. For example, in Ngwaketse District, the population had increased by 8% whereas that of urban areas increased by 202%.

There was also a low level of education, 67.5% had never been to school and still by 1978 it was planned that provision would be made for only 51.2% of 5-14 year olds in primary schools and 20.8% of 15-19 year olds at secondary schools. There was still a high degree of economic dependence on traditional subsistence agriculture - 67% of the labour force over 10 *1 were engaged in farming, of which 60% reported they were totally dependent on it. A further 24% of the population reported no economic activity (however this figure should be treated with caution as for this census, subsistence hunting, gathering and fishing, and housewife, were not included as economic activities).*2

It was further recorded that 74% of the rural product was from cattle but 84% of the population owned less than 50 head,*3 of whom 46% had less than 10 and 32% had none. Connected with these facts there was found to be a high rate of emigration from rural areas. During the 1971 census 83.1% were reported as resident in Ngwaketse District, 7.0% ...

*1 This age is taken as children act as herdsboys and also help at the lands. Working like this was often one of the main reasons why children were not sent to school.
*2 Alec Campbell (1979) states that for 80% of the rural population agriculture is the 'mainstay' of their existence, 35% of total rural income is from agriculture. (p.321)
*3 The minimum size of herd to provide subsistence.
elsewhere in Botswana and 9.9% absent from Botswana (i.e. at the South African mines, farms and as domestic servants).

84.6% of the 139,542 people employed in paid income received an income of less than P600 per annum.

Therefore this gives a general picture of a predominantly rural population of subsistence farmers with a high proportion who have not been to school, and a large number of males of working age under 50 absent as migrant workers. In Ngwaketse District 40% of all males were reported as absent.

Before the arrival of the whites the food economy depended on growing millet, sorghum, beans, gourds, melons, hunting wild animals, collecting wild foods, plants, honey, insects and milk from the cattle.

Although the Batswana are traditionally cattle owners, cattle were rarely used for food except at ceremonial feasts — they were used to ensure mutual co-operation by establishing links when they were transferred during, for example, marriages.

However by independence cattle had become a very important part of the industrial economy with exports of meat products from the Botswana Meat Commission (B.M.C.) totalling P8 million. The National herd in 1976 was about 3 million and cattle exports totalled P43 million. By 1977 meat and meat products represented 25% of gross total exports, being second only to diamonds.*1 The Geological surveys of the 1960's and 1970's have found this area to be rich in many minerals. Botswana could be self-sufficient in coal. There are also copper-nickel deposits and manganese, brine and soda ash.

Although mining in Botswana can provide revenue to the country, this has so far not had much effect on reducing the number of migrant workers to South Africa. In 1977 30,000 were employed in South African mines while not more than 5,000 were employed in Botswana. The opening of Jwaneng mine in 1978 only produced 2,000 extra jobs. The new coal mine at Morupule is machine operated and not labour intensive.

Another industry that is being developed is tourism. This exploits in particular the unique wildlife resources, especially in the Okavango and desert regions. This is a growth industry that depends on the development of communications such as roads to make these remote areas more accessible.

*1 Alec Campbell op cit. Orapa mine that started producing diamonds in 1971 is the world's second largest pipe. Diamonds are also found at Letlhakane (1976) and Jwaneng (1978). The Government and De Beers are equal share holders.
2) **KANYE AND THE BANGWAKETSE**

Kanye is the capital village of the Bangwaketse and is located in South-eastern Botswana. In 1976 the population of Southern District numbered about 96,400 \(^1\) of whom about 40,000 have homes in Kanye. The rest are located in sub-villages in the Ngwaketse area. Today this local area is called Southern District. Kanye is the highest settlement in Botswana and the old part of the village, including the Chief's kgotla, is located on top of a flat-topped hill. To the Northern side of this hill is Phareng Gorge where there is a permanent spring, which is supposed to be the reason why this particular location was chosen by the ancestors.

The Bangwaketse are one of the three senior tribes of Botswana. They themselves are supposed to be an off-shoot of the senior tribe of Botswana, the Bakwena. According to tradition Bangwaketse are descended from Ngwaketse who, together with another younger brother of Kwena (the ancestor of the Bakwena) called Ngwato (the founder of the Bangwato), seceded from the Bakwena and started their own tribes the Bangwaketse and the Bangwato. This was probably sometime in the early part of the eighteenth century. (Exact and accurate dating is impossible due to lack of written records.) Bakwena and Bangwaketse traditions also disagree as to whether Bangwaketse were actually then an independent tribe under Ngwaketse, or merely a ward subject to the Bakwena.

About eight chiefs later, under the reign of Mongala traditions become more uniform and abundant \(^2\), so Mongala is usually regarded as the founder of the modern tribe.

During Mongala's reign the Bangwaketse were still not based in Kanye. It was not until the reign of Makaba II in the early part of the nineteenth century that they moved here. But due to inter-tribal wars, intra-tribal wars, wars with the Boers, and the Matebele (Mzilikazi, a rebel general of Chaka Zulu, passed through this area on his way to settle finally at Bulawayo) Bangwaketse were scattered and fragmented many times. So they did not finally settle in Kanye until about the middle of the nineteenth century. The royal family settled on top of the hill for defensive purposes and most of the commoners made their dikgötlæ either around the Chief's kgotla or downhill.

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\(^1\) 5.6% increase from 1971 census (Source Nat. Dev. Plan 1976-81)

\(^2\) I. Schapera "A Short History of the Bangwaketse" African Studies 1, 1942.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngwaketse</td>
<td></td>
<td>titular founder of the tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makaba 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moleta</td>
<td>1770-70</td>
<td>Bangwaketse first settled in Kanye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makaba 11</td>
<td>1790-24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebego*</td>
<td>1825-44</td>
<td>Sebego requested an L.M.S. missionary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segotshane*</td>
<td>1830-45</td>
<td>ruled a seceding part of the tribe until 1859.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senthufe*</td>
<td>1844-59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaseitsiwe*</td>
<td>1845-89</td>
<td>L.M.S. mission to Bangwaketse established at his request from 1848. Tribe re-united and settled in Kanye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathoen 1</td>
<td>1889-10</td>
<td>progenitor of present royal kgotla. First secession from L.M.S.(1901); because used by Chief's opponents, leader eventually exiled, similar punishment for followers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seepapitso</td>
<td>1910-16</td>
<td>&quot;the most progressive Chief in the Protectorate&quot;*. Tragically shot dead by younger brother Moyapitso during a Kgolal meeting. (Moyapitso subsequently tried and hanged for murder by the Protectorate Administration.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgosimotse*</td>
<td>1916-18</td>
<td>half brother of Bathoen 1; good but in ill-health.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malope*</td>
<td>1918-19</td>
<td>only lasted a few months as very ill. A grandson of Segotshane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshosa*</td>
<td>1919-23</td>
<td>great-grandson of Sebego, very confused due to ill-health. Eventually deposed when tribal money mis-appropriated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gagoangwe*</td>
<td>1923-4</td>
<td>widow of Bathoen 1 and daughter of Chief Sebele of the Bakwena. Good ruler but elderly, assisted by 3 Senior Headmen. Allowed S.D.A. Mission to establish a hospital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntebogang*</td>
<td>1924-28</td>
<td>appointed Regent at request of Gagoangwe, her mother. Sister of Seepapitso and Moyapitso.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathoen 11</td>
<td>1928-69</td>
<td>Very able Chief. Abdicated about 1969 to become a M.P. and the leader of the B.N.F. party in opposition to the ruling B.D.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seepapitso</td>
<td>1969-</td>
<td>Son of Bathoen 11. By his reign many of former powers and responsibilities of the Chief taken over by Central and Local Government.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* a Regent.
'* Schapera 1942b:23.
The first missionaries to come to the Baigwaketse were from the London Missionary Society. They were invited by the Chief. The first missionary was a black missionary who started evangelising around 1848. He was called Sebubi. In 1871 the first white missionary, the Rev. J. Good arrived. The Chief had long requested the L.M.S. to send a white missionary. The Chief himself, Gaseitsiwe, was never converted but allowed some Christian principles to be introduced, and was taught to read by the missionaries. His son Bathoen I was converted, and during his reign he abolished certain traditional practices that conflicted with Christian belief, such as initiation ceremonies, the inheritance of widows by the dead man's brothers, and the importation of liquor.

As will be seen in the third section the L.M.S. was the only Christian Church allowed for some time. In 1921, the Seventh Day Adventists started a hospital in Kanye, together with a mission, and in the early 1970's the Roman Catholics and Lutherans developed permanent missions. Independent Church members were at first greatly opposed and members were even exiled to remote areas of the Bangwaketse Reserve.

During the period of the inter and intra-tribal wars, groups from other tribes were incorporated into the Bangwaketse nation. These were either refugees, captives, or those who had been defeated. Sometimes these "foreigners" were mixed up in the different Bangwaketse dikgotlana or were settled as a separate kgotla of their own. For example some captives or refugees from the Matebele were settled in their own kgotla outside the village on the Lobatse side. Some Bahurutshe built their kgotla towards the Northern side of Kgwalkwe Hill. Neither settlement was allowed to face towards the Chief's kgotla.

However, today the descendants of all these different peoples are regarded as Bangwaketse, but their origins can still be traced from their individual totems. Those people descended from Ngwaketse have the crocodile as their totem, i.e. the orginal Bangwaketse (this is also the totem for the royal families of the Bakwena and Bangwato, showing their common origins). Schapera compiled an analysis of the various peoples and their totems and the numbers of the tax payers (heads of households) of each. Although this is now out of date (1941) it still shows the various origins, if not the accurate numbers.

* Independent Churches - those Churches started, led and run by blacks. For fuller details see Part 3, Chapter 10.
### Ethnic Composition of the Tribe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribal Stock</th>
<th>Totem</th>
<th>Taxpayers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangwaketse</td>
<td>kwena (crocodile)</td>
<td>2,855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basebako</td>
<td>kgomo (ox)</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakgalagadi</td>
<td>miscellaneous</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakgwatlheng</td>
<td>tlou (elephant)</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batsopye</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batloung</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baphaleng</td>
<td>phala (roebuck)</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakwena</td>
<td>kwena (crocodile)</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahurutshe</td>
<td>tshwene (baboon)</td>
<td>551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakghurutshe</td>
<td>phofu (eland)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batlharo</td>
<td>tshwene (baboon)</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakatla</td>
<td>kgabo (ape)</td>
<td>911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangwato</td>
<td>phuti (duiker)</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batawana</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barolong</td>
<td>tshipi (iron)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batlhaping</td>
<td>thola (kudu)</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baphiring</td>
<td>phiri (hyena)</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagalaka</td>
<td>phuti (duiker)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bataung</td>
<td>tau (lion)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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However it should be noted that members of a kgotla do not necessarily share the totem of their Headman, as in the past refugees or captives were often put under a Headman of the royal or other important family. Totems are patrilineal. For example in the kgotla where I stayed many of the people had nare (buffalo) as their totem. According to tradition they were captured by the Bangwaketse from the Matebele (this is a Matebele totem). The Headman on the other hand, had kwena as his totem as he is descended from the royal family. In a neighbouring sub-kgotla (elephant) was the totem, showing Bakgalagadi origins). However the above table does give a useful guide as to origin.

Besides these various totemic groupings of peoples there is also

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*1 "A Short History of the Bangwaketse" I. Schapera op. cit. page 26.*
a kgotla of coloureds (people of mixed race) who have been given
refuge from South Africa. They mostly live in a section of Ga-Sebako
and speak Afrikaans as their first language. Another separate grouping
is the Masesuru, who originate from Zimbabwe. Therefore the present-
day Bangwaketse include many different peoples. Apart from the coloureds
and the Masesuru, who have their own customs and traditions, the others,
although having different totems, share a common way of life.

Way of Life/Settlement Patterns

Kanye is the capital of the Bangwaketse District and the
surrounding land, Southern District is under the Chief.*' The tribal
boundaries were defined soon after Botswana became a Protectorate in
1885. The sub-villages are administered by Headmen who act on behalf of
the Chief. The district also includes lands for ploughing, and
separate areas where livestock are kept - the cattle-posts. Traditionally
it also included the tribal hunting areas, but in modern times hunting
has been severely restricted.

Family and Kinship Organization

Paternal kin build together in an area called a kgotla (plural -
dikgotla). Homes traditionally consist of various separate, round or
oblong, thatched houses (and nowadays zinc roofed, multi-roomed houses),
the family builds these separate houses in its yard. The entrance and
the first house of a new yard face towards a central area where there
is typically a common cattle kraal and meeting place.*2 Legitimate sons
have a right to build in their father's kgotla. Daughters can build
there but their houses should not face towards the kraal. Sons of
unmarried daughters should not build in their mother's kgotla but ask
for land elsewhere.

The head of the paternal kin, the first son, is the head of the
kgotla, but particularly the adult males help and advise him. Disputes
are initially settled at this basic kgotla level. If they cannot be
settled then they are referred to the main kgotla of that section of the
village *3, if necessary they may then be referred to the Chief's main
kgotla, the Senior Tribunal.

*3 By the 1934 Native Tribunals Proclamation the original 165 Ngwaketse
kgotla courts were combined into 13 Junior Tribunals.
*1 See Map 2 p. xviii.
*2 See Diagram 1 and 2 p.xix-xx.
Maternal kin are also very important, particularly the Malome—the mother's brother. As will be seen in Part 2, many examples will be given of the importance of this relationship on a number of traditional occasions.

The whole village is divided into separate dikgotla. The small dikgotla are under a main kgotla. Typically the people from the smaller dikgotla are usually the patrilineal kin of their main kgotla. Or when they were absorbed into the Bangwaketse nation in the past from the other nations they were sometimes settled under one of the Chief's male relatives as their headman. These original main dikgotla over time filled up, so new generations extended into smaller surrounding dikgotla that were still under the Headmanship of their main kgotla.

When a kgotla started, a man would build his yard (holwapa) where he had been granted land by his Headman or the Chief. This would face his cattle kraal. His next brother would make his yard next to his older brother on the right (facing the kraal), the next brother on the left, and so on alternating between right and left. The founder would be the Headman and his house always faces the kraal. His oldest son would build his yard behind the kraal (opposite, facing his father's yard), the next son to his right, and the next to the left, etc. This next generation would eventually build their own kraal behind their father's with the entrance facing the oldest brother. As this kgotla filled up, the next generation would make their new kgotla nearby, with the first house facing towards their Headman's etc.

Each kgotla is protected by traditional medicine, the kraal and the yards are doctored by that kgotla's traditional doctor. When an individual builds a new yard he must call his kgotla's traditional doctor to protect it.*\(^1\) When the traditional doctor "puts" the kgotla he often makes certain rules, for example, in some dikgotla one is not allowed to carry water through the kgotla, or cattle-dung, as this is believed to challenge the protective powers of the kgotla.

Traditionally the Chief was the ultimate power. He was not an absolute ruler but all elders (old men) were his advisers. They

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*\(^1\) Various examples are given of families where they have not done this, usually due to it being against the Christian teaching of their Church. In such families people will point to madness, or uselessness of the children as evidence that they are not protected, and harmed by the protections of their neighbouring yards.
would attend disputes with him and give their opinions, he would listen to all their comments before coming to a final decision. Traditionally he was the Rainmaker and head of all traditional religion, being invested with these powers on his coronation. However, since Bathoen I was converted to Christianity many of these practices officially disappeared. Many people do still wait for the official announcement from the Chief's Kgotla that it is time to go and plough.

Since Independence many of the traditional powers of the Chief have been limited further. There is now a Southern District Council, with elected councillors, which is financed by the central government. This has taken over many of the traditional responsibilities of the Chief, for example, this is responsible for social services, primary education, local administration etc. Employees are appointed through the central government controlled Unified Local Government Service. There is also Central Government represented by the District Commissioner. This has its own administration of District Officers, Fire Rangers, Police (in addition there are tribal police). Besides the kgotla courts there is the Magistrates Court, this also falls under the District Commissioner. This usually deals with more serious crimes and any appeals against verdicts from the Chief's kgotla.

**Economic Life**

**Farming**

Every family traditionally engaged in farming, and many still do even if individual members are employed in the wage economy. Farming can be divided into arable lands called Masimo, and the areas where livestock are kept called Moraka (cattle-posts). These areas are quite separate from the villages. Each family ideally has three homes - their village home, their home at their Lands, and their home at the Cattle-post. Traditionally a kgotla was granted its Lands for the individual families in the same area. Cattle-posts were also granted like this.

More details of Lands and Cattle-posts will be given in Part 2.

**Migrant Labour and the Wage Economy**

Besides farming many families still send their menfolk to the mines in South Africa. For young men this is often regarded as a form of initiation, as well as a source of employment. Opportunities are
gradually increasing for employment in the developing urban areas of Botswana, and at the newly opened mines, but these opportunities are mainly for the more educated people.

Although government policy is to try to develop the rural areas, most wage employment is still outside the area, involving migration. This obviously affects family life and agricultural development, as many Lands and Cattle-posts are often cared for by old people and young children, the younger people being migrant workers.

Besides the wage economy there are various alternative opportunities of earning cash. Probably one of the most common is beer-brewing and being a "Shebeen Queen". Shebeens exist at various levels, from the simplest where the woman of the home brews traditional beer or kgadi (a home-brewed spirit) for sale, to the more sophisticated type that also sell chibuku (a local commercially produced beer), canned beers, spirits (brandy, whisky etc.). These commercially produced alcoholic drinks are bought in bulk and sold at a profit.

Apart from this method people can supplement their income by producing local crafts such as clay pots, baskets, kgotla chairs, winnowing baskets etc. There is a limited local market for these as they are still in use in most homes. Traditionally, and still today, these crafts are exchanged for sorghum or livestock, especially chickens. For example, the price of a basket or pot was to fill it with sorghum, for example, a clay pot for storing beer, which would take a sack of corn to fill it, was equivalent to a goat. There is also a growing foreign market, local producers sell to the local Botswanacraft buyers and the crafts are then marketed by Botswanacraft to tourists or exported.

Dressmaking, crotcheting and knitting also help to supplement incomes. These are done on a small scale and at the moment markets are very uncertain. Other people sell fruits and vegetables that they have bought in "bulk" from the various South African traders. Still other people are hawkers (for which they need a hawkers' licence) clothes, household goods and groceries being the most common articles they sell.

Gumba-Gumba parties can be another source of income. These in recent years have been banned in Kanye as they tend to lead to lawlessness, but are still held in Lands and Cattle-post areas. Usually a group of women, often shebeen queens, come together to brew beer, kgadi, and to cook food. A man with gumba-gumba equipment (a record player, and
gumba-gumba records) is hired. People come to buy the food and alcohol and to dance. In order to dance an individual has to "rent" the record. If he puts down more money than anyone else he may dance alone or with selected friends, or even "rent" a girl to dance with him. If the girl refuses she must better the amount of money he has put down, similarly if others want to join the dancing. This, especially when people become drunk, can lead to disputes and even fights, hence the banning of gumba-gumba in Kanye. However, as with shebeens, these can be very profitable for the owners.

Education

Today most children receive at least some years of primary education, but secondary education is still limited to the few lucky ones. There are still many people who are illiterate, particularly older people. Education is not necessarily connected with wealth. Some traditionalists still oppose it although primary education is now free. Probably the main hindrance was that, until recently, schools were mostly located in the villages, and children's services were often required at the Lands and Cattle-posts, hence they were unable to attend school.

There is also an unfortunate but by no means unique attitude particularly amongst secondary leavers. They do not, even if they are unable to find employment, want to go to the Lands or Cattle-posts on a permanent basis. Employment opportunities, as has already been stated, are mainly outside the area, involving migration.

Production of traditional crafts is probably dying out because the skills required obviously need a long period of time to be spent with the traditional teachers, and increasingly - due to the requirements of formal education - young people have less of this time.
3) THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN KYANE

By these I refer to those churches originating from foreign, usually white, controlled churches, the ones classified by West as Mission Churches.

As has already been noted in Section 1), Christianity and Christian missionaries were introduced into Botswana (then Bechuanaland) in the nineteenth century at the request of the Tswana chiefs. Although only two of the five chiefs to request Christian missionaries to set up missions in their tribal areas were subsequently baptized themselves (Sechele of the Bakwena in 1848, and Moremi II of the Batawana in 1881) the other three (Sekgoma of the Bangwato, Kgamanyane of the Bakgatla and Gaseitsiwe of the Bangwaketse) had at least some of their children brought up and educated by the Christian missionaries. All the succeeding chiefs were Christian. There was in Bechuanaland very little persecution by heathen chiefs of Christians and many of them actively helped the missionaries by, for example, tribal taxation and tribal labour to build churches, their missions and schools. In Botswana there were no cases of Christian martyrs.

In Section 2) it has already been noted that the L.M.S. Mission introduced Christianity to the Bangwaketse and until fairly recently enjoyed almost a religious monopoly. Robert Moffatt actually visited and preached to the Bangwaketse in 1824. Then while he was visiting the Barolong in 1827 on the Molopo River, Chief Sebego (Ngwaketse Chief 1824-44) sent messengers to invite him to visit the Bangwaketse. When these messengers were unsuccessful in persuading Moffatt to come, Sebego took an unprecedented step by coming to ask Moffatt personally. Moffatt writes of this visit, that the Barolong "... were still more surprised when he (Sebego) told them he had broken an established law of his people, which would not permit the king to leave his own dominions, but that his martial appearance among them was on designs of peace; for his sole object was to induce me to accompany him to his capital." *2

When Moffatt insisted that he could not come, Sebego requested him to send another missionary. Moffatt remembered this and the Paris Evangelical Missionaries who arrived in Kuruman in 1830 were destined for Bangwaketse. However the Matebele attacks on the Bangwaketse

*1 Martin West Bishops and Prophets in a Black City 1976 (see Part 3, Chapter 1)
*2 Quoted in "A Short History of the Bangwaketse" P7 from Moffatt P.469.
intervened and the missionaries were sent elsewhere.

The next two decades were very unsettled, the tribe suffering not only from further Matebele attacks, but also internal fissions and the attacks from neighbouring tribes. In 1842 Sebego sent messengers to David Livingstone who during the 1840's lived with the neighbouring Bakwena, requesting Livingstone's help. Of this Livingstone writes:- "Sebego, like many of the other people of the country, had the notion that if he got a single white man to live with him he would be quite secure." *1

In 1848 the L.M.S. sent a black missionary called Sebubi to live with the Bangwaketse and start the L.M.S. Mission. However, the Chief, like the other neighbouring Chiefs, probably for the reason given above by Livingstone, particularly wanted a permanent white missionary. *2 Following repeated requests, the L.M.S. finally sent the first white missionary, the Rev. J. Good in 1871. This was during the reign of Gaseitsiwe.

Gaseitsiwe himself never became a Christian, but allowed changes to be made influenced by his missionary. His son, Bathoen, who later became Chief Bathoen I, was educated by the L.M.S. Missionaries.*3 In 1889 a law was passed enforcing the Sabbath, forbidding all people, Christian and non-Christians, to travel by wagon or work in their fields on Sundays. Bathoen I actually had this law displayed at the entrance to Kanye, informing "My people and all other people, that no wagons, shall enter or leave the town on Sunday" *4 In 1894 Bathoen I helped the L.M.S. to build a church in Kanye. He raised the Bangwaketse's contribution of £2000 by taxing Christians and non-Christians alike. Age regiments were called out to mould bricks and work as building labourers.

By the beginning of the 20th century the L.M.S. was the established Bangwaketse tribal Church. Although people were not forced to become Christians, several customs, ritual practices and ceremonies associated with traditional religion, particularly those held at a tribal level, had either been Christianized or abolished. For example

*1 Quoted in "A short History of the Bangwaketse" P.10 from W.G. Blaikie.

*2 Tribal Innovators - the Bangwato had a white missionary in 1862, the Bakwena in 1866 (in the 1840's they had had Livingstone) and the Bakgatla in 1864. (I. Schapera (1970))

*3 Seepapitso I was educated at a good school in Cape Colony and Bathoen II at the L.M.S. Lovedale, also in South Africa.

*4 Schapera Tribal Innovators p 16.
traditional rainmaking was abandoned after 1892, instead a Christian service was substituted. This like the traditional ceremony was celebrated at the Chief's Kgotla by all the tribe and led by the Chief and the L.M.S. missionary (the latter in many ways performing a comparable role to the dingaka tsa morafe who acted in a similar role at traditional rainmaking). The last traditional initiation ceremony was held in 1896. From 1901 a naming ceremony was held for boys' age sets. This lasted only one day. The girls had no substitute for the traditional ceremony, but it became the custom for the girls of the new age set of boys to call themselves by the same name. The ceremonies associated with the agricultural year were not disapproved of by the L.M.S. mission and were retained but often modified (i.e. Letsema (the inauguration of the ploughing season), Molemo (First Fruits), and Dikgafela (harvest thanksgiving)).

Chiefs, probably under the influence of their mainly teetotal missionaries, passed laws about beer and kgadi. For example, in 1892 Bathoen I prohibited the sale of traditional beer and in 1910 banned night time beer parties. Seepapitso I repeatedly warned people in addresses at Kgotla meetings, not to drink beer to excess because they were wasting mabele (sorghum) that should be made into porridge. He also reaffirmed Bathoen's laws in 1911. In the 1930's Bathoen II wanted to suppress either the sale of beer or beer drinking itself, but his advisers warned against the latter option and so the 1933 law merely reinforced Bathoen I's 1892 law. In 1904 the Kgadi Law prohibited kgadi altogether. This was a very unpopular law and chiefs continually had to refer to it at Kgotla meetings. For example, in 1929 Bathoen II stated at a Kgotla meeting "That enemy called Kgadi is still present in this town, and I warn you it must leave at once." In 1930 Bathoen II actually called up an age regiment and sent it to search for kgadi. When the offenders were brought in he said: "Today, I shall pardon the offenders, but if it happens again, I shall make them suffer."

However, some other traditional practices that the missionaries did not like and caused problems in other parts of Africa were left unaltered. For example, bogadi (bridewealth) was not abolished and in

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*1 Dingaka tsa morafe - a type of traditional doctor (see Part 2, Chapter 4)
*2 Kgadi, a potent locally made spirit.
*3 Schapera Tribal Innovators P. 211.
*4 Schapera Tribal Innovators P. 212.
fact still is enforced today. Polygamy never seems to have been very widespread among the Tswana, although at times laws were made forbidding it, for example, in 1915 Seepapitso I made a law forbidding men of the two youngest age regiments created in 1901 and 1909 to have more than one wife without his permission. During the regency period of 1916-28 this law was not strictly enforced but was revived by Bathoen II in 1931 when polygamy was forbidden for men of all age sets created in or after 1909. In 1935 he made a further decree whereby men taking more than one wife without his permission could be fined two head of cattle, the second wife and her children would be sent away without any possessions, and if they still lived together, her father was liable for a fine of three cattle. By the 1940's only 11% of the Tswana men were polygamists and among the Bangwaketse only 4%. *1 However it should be noted that the Chief would usually grant permission for a man to take a second wife if his first wife was childless.

With regard to Bogadi (bridewealth), despite missionary pressure, in 1913, Seepapitso I stated it was compulsory for all except church members, at the time of their marriage. Bathoen II in 1930 extended this law to include all marriages, including those of Christians if the wife's parents requested it.

As already stated above the L.M.S. had a virtual monopoly on the Bangwaketse area. Applications from other missions were turned down by the Chiefs. For example in 1912 Bathoen I's successor, Seepapitso I, turned down an application from the Anglicans and in 1929 Bathoen II refused the Roman Catholics permission to open a mission. As will be seen in the section on Zion Church history in Part 3, secession had already started from the orthodox Christian churches of Southern Africa by the beginning of the twentieth century. The Kanye L.M.S. mission also had a secession at this time led by an Evangelist Mothowagae Motlogelwa who seceded in 1902 after being refused full ordination. He and his followers called their new church the King Edward Bangwaketse Free Church. At first Bathoen I did not object and even allowed them to meet at the Kgotla for their services. But when it became obvious some years later that this church was being used as a political movement by Bathoen I's enemies, he ordered its members to return to the L.M.S. and banished Mothowagae Motlogelwa from Kanye. There were two Kgotla court cases about this, in 1910 and 1912. *2

*1 1946 Census Report.
However, in the 1920's the L.M.S. monopoly was broken. The Seventh Day Adventist mission was first admitted to Kanye by Acting-Chief Tshosa and later confirmed by Bathoen with the consent of the tribe. The main reason why they were admitted was because unlike the L.M.S., they agreed to open a medical mission. However when in 1939 the S.D.A. mission asked permission to build a church in an outlying village, Bathoen II agreed to put their request to the tribe, but the tribe refused because they said that the S.D.A. did not observe Sunday: "... concerning which we have a great law; they work on that day, they plough on Sunday and they weed on Sunday, and such deeds violate our commandment." *1

However by the 1940's the majority of Bangwaketse Christians, as in other tribes still belonged to one Christian Church, in the case of the Bangwaketse this was the L.M.S. In the 1946 Census, which was the only one to show this type of information, 40% of the Bangwaketse stated they were Christians. *2 Probably by stating this they meant they were paid up members, the percentage who held Christian beliefs was probably higher.

Schapera notes that the Christian conception of God had replaced the old idea of Modimo even among heathens. There was also no formal traditional religious system left on a tribal level as the Chief was also a Christian. Since 1938 it has been compulsory for all dead to be buried in the tribal graveyards. Today it is the common practice to bury all dead in a Christian rather than traditional way, i.e. the body is placed in a supine, not traditional sitting position, usually inside a coffin. Christian prayers and hymns commonly form the major part of at least the public burial services. It is also common for many public functions, for example, Kgotla meetings, feasts, celebrations and large meetings to open or close with Christian prayers. At schools there is a daily Christian assembly.

Today, (1980's), however, the L.M.S. no longer enjoys a monopoly. Freedom of worship was granted by the new democratic government at Independence. In any case with the greatly increased mobility around Botswana of all government workers it is no longer feasible to allow only

*1 Schapera Tribal Innovators P. 227. This law referred to is the one made in 1889 referred to above on page 21.
*2 The same Census showed the Bangwato and Batawana with 20% Christians each, the Bakwena with 40% and the Bakgatla with 65%.
one tribal church. In Kanye today, the L.M.S. still has its large church uphill, built in 1894 with the aid of tribal taxation and labour. It is still the church of the Chief's family and particularly of the older generation. Ex-Chief Bathoen II, who abdicated in favour of his son Seepapitso IV,\(^1\) regularly plays the organ and preaches at services. For many years Batswana have been ministers and there has been no white missionary.

The S.D.A. Church is probably the main rival, it attracts many members, especially women. The mission has built not only a large church but also a church hall near the S.D.A. hospital on top of the hill. A lighted cross shines out at night. It still has American white missionaries but there are also Batswana ministers.

In the early 1970's the Roman Catholics and Lutherans were both granted land to build missions. These two missions are run by white foreign missionaries. The Lutherans draw a membership from particularly the "coloured" population, but the missionaries also visit Kgalagadi and Southern Districts regularly and new churches have been started in sub-villages. In 1983 a permanent Lutheran mission staffed by an American missionary will be started in Werda in Kgalagadi District. The Lutherans are also negotiating to open a Youth Trade School on the outskirts of Kanye.

The Anglicans still do not have a Church, but the Lobatse church holds occasional services at the home of one of the white traders.

In the mid-1970's, two couples of American Jehovah Witnesses rented a large house from a local rich businessman and started their activities. They collected together a congregation and obtained money from America to build their own mission house and a church, for which the Land Board have granted them land. Some of their members now carry out similar activities to their Western counterparts i.e. visiting people at their homes to warn them of the approaching Day of Judgement and eternal punishment in Hell for non-Jehovah Witnesses, standing outside Kanye's main shop to recruit members and sell their tracts to busy Saturday shoppers.

There is also a Pentecostal Faith Mission. This draws a

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\(^1\) This was so Bathoen II could become a B.N.F. M.P. in opposition to the ruling B.D.P. By the constitution Chiefs are barred from sitting in the National Assembly.
membership from the "coloured" population, in whose Kgotla its church is located. The Kanye Church has a Motswana minister, holds periodic missions, often involving erecting a marquee, showing films and holding services. These missions are supported by white American and/or white South African missionaries.

All churches hold regular Sunday services (Saturday for the S.D.A.) and often hold smaller services during the week. Thursday afternoon, as in South Africa, is reserved for Women's Church Meetings/Services. It is common for a church to have a special uniform for women members accepted into these groups. The women attend these Thursday afternoon meetings wearing their uniforms with pride, to pray and conduct Bible Study.

Today in Kanye there is a high degree of religious tolerance. Most people, although they may not belong to a church, believe in God and are Christian. Everyone knows some hymns and prayers from all the churches. On public occasions, especially at funerals, hymns and prayers from all the churches will be sung.

There is no doubt that all the churches, both orthodox and independent, provide one of the main social opportunities.
4) THE "MODERN" HEALTH SERVICES

This sector of the health services is relatively new to the Tswana when compared to the traditional health services. These services were introduced by the nineteenth century Christian missionaries, although it should be noted that Livingstone was the only missionary with formal medical qualifications. Other missionaries would share their limited medical resources and knowledge, as would the traders. In the nineteenth century, the type of medicine available from the missionaries probably differed very little from that of traditional doctors, who probably had the advantage of having a much wider local knowledge of the locally available herbal remedies.

The first government hospital to be established by the Protectorate Administration was of little relevance to the Batswana as it was established at Mafeking. This was around the turn of the century.

However, Bangwaketse Chiefs, probably encouraged by their missionary advisers, showed interest in this "new" medicine. In 1906 Bathoen I requested the Protectorate Administration to appoint a medical practitioner to the tribe. This request was not in fact granted until 1911 in the reign of his son Seepapitso I, another progressive Chief.

The American Seventh Day Adventist mission was admitted to Kanye, mainly because, unlike the L.M.S. who had up to this time had a monopoly on Christianity in the area, the S.D.A. had promised to develop medical services. They agreed that, in return for a monthly tribal subsidy of £50, they would build a hospital to provide the Bangwaketse with free medicines and treatment. This resulted in Bathoen II imposing a medical levy on the tribe of 2s per annum per taxpayer. But some of the tribe objected to this and reported the case to the Resident Commissioner. Schapera *1 quotes from the contemporary correspondence to show one of the main grievances: "... they (the Bangwaketse) resented being compelled to pay an extra 2s to be obliged to go to a particular doctor without any right of selection on their part." (B.P.J. 1937/1 :RC to HC 18.xi.1930). The Resident Commissioner in fact ordered that the levy should not be imposed because the mission already received a government grant for its medical work to the tribe.

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*1 Schapera Tribal Innovators
This was, at least in part, paid for by the Bangwaketse contribution of annual tax.

The S.D.A. hospital developed during the 1930's and was one of the first to be built within the present boundaries of Botswana. The Protectorate Administration, mainly through lack of funds, established few medical services, especially outside the main tribal capitals, but believed firmly that traditional medicine was evil and equated it with witchcraft, both of which would eventually be eradicated through the provision of government medical facilities:- "Witchcraft and the influence of native medicine men continue to play a very important part in the lives of most of the native inhabitants and are responsible for much suffering. It is the aim of the Administration so to develop the medical services that these will be replaced by confidence in qualified medical men." (AR.BP. 1929)*1.

This theory could be neither disproved nor proved until the provision of medical services could be radically increased. Various reports, Commissions of Enquiry, and the Chamber of Mines constantly noted the need for improving medical services in Botswana, for example, 25% of Batswana potential recruits had to be rejected on medical grounds compared with 5% from other Southern African areas. Following grants made in 1934, a training scheme was set up to train Batswana as nurses, midwives, and dispensers to staff the new recommended clinics and health posts, as a hospital system in such a sparsely populated area had not proved to be a viable way of organizing health services. World War Two intervened and the development of medical services had to be postponed with only four of the recommended 20 dispensaries completed. In 1957 the Davey Report stated that Dr Davey (its author) "..regretted to say it, but medicine in the Protectorate was little more than vet medicine- it was not an efficient service."

The increase in the provision of medical services therefore dates mainly from the tremendous development of the country following independence. As this thesis concentrates on Kanye most of what follows will be with specific reference to Kanye and the Bangwaketse. However perhaps first it should be noted how the modern medical services available in Kanye fit into the national organization of

*1 Quoted by Caroline Dennis in Botswana Notes and Records 10, 1978:53-66.
health services. The health services of Botswana are provided by central government, local government, the missions, mining companies, other non-government and voluntary bodies and private and traditional practitioners. It should also be noted that the government often subsidises non-government health facilities for example, mission hospitals and clinics. The country is divided into Regional Health Teams who are part of the Ministry of Health. They aim to provide the link between the basic health facilities and the referral facilities.

Although, as already stated, this thesis is specifically about the Bangwaketse of Kanye, mention must be made of medical services in rural areas as part of the agricultural year is spent by Kanye residents at the Lands or Cattle-posts.

The lowest level of modern health services is the Health Post staffed by a Family Welfare Educator. (F.W.E.) These staff are not fully qualified nurses nor have they necessarily completed 3 years of secondary education. Their job is defined as ".. to be a health motivator and educator in family and community health." They are trained to refer more serious cases to a higher level. Their main function is thus to provide First Aid services and some preventive medicine. *1 Health Posts are found throughout the rural areas of Southern District. During the 1970's and 1980's the target has been to locate these in such a way that everyone should be within reasonable walking distance of a health post or the next level of service, the clinic.*2

Clinics provide the facilities of a health post but in addition provide a wider range of educative health subjects, carry out immunizations, and may have up to 6 beds for curative and maternity care. They are staffed by Family Welfare Educators, nurse aides and at least one qualified nurse who has undergone a midwifery course. They also receive periodic visits from doctors and refer more urgent

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*1 The 1973-8 National Development Plan (p.287 § 14.13) outlines this type of personnel. "A woman is selected from within a village, and given a training of 10 weeks in the rudiments of personal and public health, nutrition and health education, child care and family planning. She is also taught how to recognise and treat a few simple diseases, such as scabies, how to identify and cope with malnutrition in children, and how to follow up T.B. patients and their contacts."

*2 1976-8 National Development Plan stated that there were 177 health posts in Botswana, 40% of which could be described as having adequate buildings and equipment. Health Posts are regularly visited by qualified doctors, nurses and/or Medical Assistants on tour.
and emergency cases directly to the next level - the health centre or district hospital. The 1978-9 Annual Report of the Ministry of Health stated that in Botswana there were 33 clinics with maternity beds and 59 without such beds. For both types the majority were run by the district council, (Page 84).

Health Centres are designed to duplicate on a small scale most of the simple curative functions which are usually provided at hospitals. They also provide maternity and preventive health care. There were 7 of these mentioned in the 1978-9 Ministry of Health Annual Report, 6 were run by the District Councils and one by a mission. The District Councils also run and oversee the day-to-day operation of the clinics and health posts, but receive financial grants from central Government.

The highest level of district health care is provided by the district hospitals. These may be either mission or government or mining, but all are either directly run by the government or receive substantial government finance. There were 13 of these district hospitals, and Princess Marina Hospital not only acts as the district hospital for the Gaborone area, but is the main national referral hospital. It has specialist equipment and specialist medical practitioners not necessarily available on a daily basis at district hospitals. Psychiatric cases requiring in-patient treatment can be referred to the Specialist Psychiatric Hospital in Lobatse. *1

In Kanye today, the Western-orientated "modern" health services consist of a 167-bed hospital which is still run by the S.D.A. mission. At present (the 1980's) this hospital is utilizing a large grant from America and work was commenced in 1982 for extensive rebuilding and extension. This hospital provides most of the general services of a hospital. It has an operating theatre, T.B. Wards, maternity ward with facilities such as incubators for dealing with premature and delicate infants, eye and dental clinics, specialists from Princess Marina and other hospitals visit periodically, and the more complicated cases can be referred direct to the greater range of specialist facilities in Gaborone at Princess Marina Hospital, or to Baragwaneth Hospital in Johannesburg.

Apart from providing in-patient treatment, there are daily

*1 Ministry of Health Annual Report 1978-9 stated of the 13 General Hospitals 8 were Government, 3 Mission and 2 Mining (P 4)
out-patient clinics to which a sick person will go initially. Here patients will be examined mainly by the duty nurses and/or hospital assistants who will prescribe and administer treatment as necessary, or call the doctor on duty if the case is more complicated. A patient requiring in-patient treatment will be admitted from a clinic. The emergency cases outside clinic hours are dealt with by the duty ward staff, a doctor being called if necessary. Home visits to bedridden cases are not usually made, such patients are brought by relatives to the hospital. A hospital ambulance may be hired if necessary but many patients arrive by locally hired or owned transport such as cars, pick-ups, tractors, ox wagons, donkey carts.

The S.D.A. Hospital also provides family planning facilities. However it should be noted that because of the mission attitude, which is contrary to stated government policy, unmarried people find it very difficult to obtain such facilities at the mission clinic. Preventive medicine is also administered at special clinics, for example, various injections and inoculations such as cholera, typhoid, tetanus, polio, B.C.G. These are free and available on demand.

Apart from the fairly comprehensive medical services provided by the hospital there is also a government clinic staffed by qualified staff (trained nurses, nurse aides and F.W.E.s) and visited weekly by a doctor. They refer urgent cases to the S.D.A. hospital, but specialise in providing ante-natal, post natal, infants' and young childrens' clinics.

The staff at both the hospital and government clinics attempt to educate especially mothers and pregnant women in nutrition and child care. At the government clinic the staff run a demonstration vegetable garden. In addition there are F.W.E.s who mainly seem to specialise in tracing patients with T.B. and venereal diseases and their contacts.

It should also be noted that in addition to the above-mentioned services there are private practitioners. The hospital runs a private service with daily clinics. Patients who can afford this service often prefer to pay, as this ensures seeing a doctor, and a greater range of drugs appears to be available. The general clinics charge a national standard 40thebe per course, the private clinics cost from approx. P3 upwards according to the problem. Admission to hospital is a few thebe per night in the general wards (private patients can be
admitted to these) or P1-2 per day in the private rooms. From the early 1980's there has been an additional private practitioner in Kanye. Although he is more expensive than the hospital private service he is popular with those who can afford to pay, even though he has to refer his cases to specialists in South Africa.

In addition many patients who can afford it are prepared to travel to Lobatse, Gaborone or any of the other urban centres or hospitals to see doctors privately. As stated by other researchers Batswana favour medical services according to empirical evidence, i.e. if a particular doctor or hospital has a good reputation for curing a certain health problem patients will try their utmost to go there. For example Kanye S.D.A. hospital was not favoured for dental extraction, the medical assistants had a reputation for painful work. Princess Marina, on the other hand, had a much better reputation in this field. The Bamalete Lutheran Hospital at Ramotswa had a good reputation and people were prepared to travel there involving at least three changes of bus. A certain private doctor in Lobatse had the reputation for successful treatment of infants and children. On the other hand it should be noted that many people travelled from other districts to the S.D.A. hospital in Kanye and the new private practitioner. Perhaps these factors should be seen within the context of how people would often (and still do) travel long distances to see traditional practitioners, often ignoring the locally available practitioners.

Probably one could generalize by saying that modern facilities are available and accessible for those who want them and, as has been noted in other developing countries, are often cheaper than traditional services. The charges noted above for "modern" services are often much less than those of a traditional practitioner who charges 50t- P1.50 for throwing bones, and several pula to as much as a bovine beast for treatment. Therefore what about the belief of the Protectorate Administration mentioned above that once the medical services were increased the population would no longer require the services of traditional practitioners? The medical services in Botswana are now developed enough and accessible to test this 1929 assertion.

*1 N.B. Most in-patients have food brought to them three times a day by relatives. The hospital food, although cheap, leaves much to be desired.

*2 Frankenberg and Leeson.
Oscar Gish and Godfrey Walker "Mobile Health Services" (Tri-Med Books Ltd., 1977) provide an overall picture of availability. However it should be noted that their ratios are developed from the 1971 Census and for this reason a comment from the Ministry of Health Botswana states: "The Ministry of Health wishes to state that it has reservations about the report since in its opinion it does not reflect a true picture of the health services of Botswana at the time of the study (1975).

However Gish's and Walker's table is presented below: (P.26)

**Ratios of selected health workers to population.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health worker</th>
<th>Overall Pop. ratio</th>
<th>Ratio to population within 10 miles of population centres of 5,000 or more</th>
<th>Ratio to population further than 10 miles of population centres of 5,000 or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>1:10,700</td>
<td>1:4,615</td>
<td>1:41,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All nurses</td>
<td>1:1,370</td>
<td>1:622</td>
<td>1:4,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispensers, health Assistants &amp; Health inspectors</td>
<td>1:11,000</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Welfare Educators</td>
<td>1:1,100</td>
<td>1:8,150</td>
<td>1:5,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible primary care workers</td>
<td>1:1,100</td>
<td>1:518</td>
<td>1:3,470</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes**

1. Those towns and large villages with a population of 5,000 or over as at the 1971 Census.
2. Regional medical officers taken as serving population further than 10 miles from towns or large villages.
3. Information not available.
4. Includes doctors, nurses, dispensers and clinical health assistants.

It was noted in a recent survey *1 that 93.4% of the population had at some time received modern medical facilities (i.e. such services are widely acceptable to the population). However at least

*1 Quoted by the National Development Plan 1976-81:247, paragraph 14.86.
43.9% of the population also used traditional facilities (43.7% of those with close relatives who were nurses). This shows a picture similar to other countries where there is a choice of type of medical facilities - and in making a choice people will rely on empirical evidence. If modern facilities appear to be successful in treating a condition they will go there, if a traditional practitioner is successful they will go there. In many cases they might visit both as, although modern facilities are recognised as curing a medical condition, as noted in the section on traditional medicine, this may be seen by traditionalists only as alleviating one symptom of a wider problem that requires a traditional practitioner.

Perhaps at this point one could look at some of the medical conditions that are commonly brought to the Western medical services with special reference where possible to those in Kanye. The 1978-9 Annual Report of the Ministry of Health indicates that during 1979 64,953 patients and 17,200 normal new born infants (i.e. a total of 82,153) were discharged from hospitals, health centres and clinics with maternity wards. By examining the individual discharge summaries (available for 96.4%) of these discharged patients it is possible to see a pattern of common health problems brought to the modern medical services. The Ministry of Health Report classified the results according to diagnosis, age and sex and used the Basic Tabulation List categories of the 9th Revision of the International Classification of Diseases (W.H.O. Geneva 1977). General Conclusions showed that Injuries and Poisonings accounted for 9.8% of the total and was the single most frequent cause reported. Direct obstetric conditions was next with 6.6% of the total. Intestinal infections accounted for 5.5% and T.B. for 5.3%. Conditions originating from the perinatal period accounted for 5.1%, abortion 3.1% and measles 3.0%, pneumonia 3.0%, diseases of the circulatory system 2.9%, bronchitis, emphysema and asthma 2.1%.

Therefore about one tenth of all discharged patients had been treated for injuries and posionings, one tenth for complications connected with pregnancy, childbirth and the puerperium. Intestinal diseases including diarrhoeal diseases, T.B. measles and respiratory

*1 Some generalizations have already been indicated on page 9
*2 The latest available report.
diseases are the major causes of morbidity. Looking at mortality statistics in hospitals, clinics, and health centres, T.B. is the major single cause, accounting for 20.5% of all deaths. Perinatal causes are second (13.8%) and diseases of the circulatory system account for 10.9%, with intestinal infections accounting for 10.3%.

The conditions obviously vary according to age group. For example about 80% of all deaths and 75% of all discharges of infants are accounted for by intestinal infections and perinatal conditions. In the 1-4 age group intestinal infections (mostly diarrhoeal diseases) accounted for 19.7% of all discharges and 10.5% of deaths. If children under 5 are taken as one group (they accounted for 20% of all discharges and 40% of all deaths) the main health problems are perinatal causes (25% of all discharges, 33% of all deaths), intestinal infectious diseases, measles, pneumonia, and injury and poisoning. These five causes accounted for above 66% of all discharges and 75% of all deaths in this age group.

In the 5-14 age group 27.1% of all discharges were cases of injury and poisoning, next follow measles, T.B. and pneumonia respectively. These account for 50% of all discharges.

In the 15-44 age group normal confinement accounted for 60% of discharges, 10.9% were cases of direct obstetric causes, injury and poisoning 7.7%, abortion 5.2% and T.B. 3.7%. Mental disorders accounted for 1.6%.

In the 45-64 age group, T.B. accounted for 17.7%, injury and poisoning 13.6% and diseases of the circulatory system 13.5%. It should also be noted that mental disorders accounted for 2.8%.

For those over 65, diseases of the circulatory system were the highest reported health problems, accounting for 17.2% of the discharges, T.B. 16.8%, diseases of the eye and adnexa 9.8%, and injury and poisoning 9.0%. Mental disorders were lower in this age group accounting for 1.4%.

Thus it can be seen what are the main reported health problems according to age group dealt within the modern health sector.

Something should also be noted of the relative numbers per age group as this perhaps shows the in-patient age character of the modern services. The 1-5 years accounted for 11.2% of total patients, 5-14 accounted for 7.98%, 15-44 accounted for 58.3%, the 45-64 for 7.1%, and the over 65's for 3.6%. This therefore gives a picture of a modern
health service that provides a service particularly for the 15-44 age group. There are also indications that it is not popular with older people i.e. those over 45. The similar statistics available on out-patient clinics are not so reliable but indicate that in 1976-9 25% of all patients suffered from respiratory infections, this was followed by skin infections and gastro-enteritis, and worm infestations seemed to be on the increase. The three-fold increase from 1978-9 in the cases of malnutrition reflected the increasing effects of the drought of that period.

If one looks at some of these sickness causes in more detail it can be seen that 10% of all discharged patients in all age groups suffered from injuries and poisoning. Here fractures were the greatest single cause, the highest incidence of cases being found among males in the 5-14 age group who had 19.6% of all fractures. Males of 15-24, 25-34, 35-44 and 45-54 also had higher levels of fractures than other age groups or their female counterparts. This might possibly be accounted for by the fact that these age groups cover those working in the mines, and who are most active in physical activities involving risk, for example, working with oxen, roofing etc. If these age groups are taken together they represent 41.3% of all fractures. Burns also fall into this category. Here those most at risk are the 1-4's and 5-14's. This is doubtless because of the fascination that fire always holds for children, also that young children often like to imitate adults by attempting to cook. These groups represent 64.5% of the total cases of burns.

With regard to poisoning and toxic effects, the age groups where there is the most frequency of cases are again, as would be expected, children. The 1-4's had the most cases, followed by the 5-14's and the 15-24's respectively. Children under 15 had 57.3% of the total number of such cases and young people (15-24) had 14.6% of the total.

Mention can be made of other diseases according to age group and sex. In all diseases affecting children, boys show a greater number of cases than girls, i.e. intestinal infectious diseases, measles, nutritional deficiencies, pneumonia, chest diseases, for example, bronchitis. The cases of T.B. reach a peak in the 35-44 age group having started to rise in the 5-14 age group. V.D. is most prevalent in the 15-34 age group who have 56.7% of the total cases.
Nutritional diseases are most prevalent among the under fives (78.6% of total cases). Mental disorders are found among the 15-44 age group (67.0% of the total). Hypertensive diseases are most prevalent among those over 35 with an increase in incidence with age (75.9% of all cases), women being more affected than men in all age groups, having 61.5% of all cases.

Diseases of the circulatory system also increase with age, the over 65's have the highest incidence. The greatest single cause for women to become in-patients is all conditions associated with pregnancy. Here, as would be expected, the 15-34 age groups are the most affected.

Passing reference has been made above to a Mental Health Service in Botswana. This consists of a Psychiatric Hospital at Lobatse which in 1979 admitted a total of 727 patients and discharged 1047. Of those admitted, 465 were male and 262 were female. In addition to the Lobatse Psychiatric Hospital there are Mental Health out-patient clinics. These clinics were planned in the 1976-81 National Development Plan and aim to detect, report and refer necessary cases for in-patient treatment. These are based at the larger clinics and district hospitals.

In 1979 The Kanye Mental Health Clinic saw a total of 218 cases, of which 80 were men and 138 were women. The main mental health problem was classified as schizophrenia affecting 56 men and 70 women, 6 men and 28 women were suffering from neurotic disorders (unspecified) and 15 men and 19 women from epilepsy. There is no regional breakdown of the cases available for Lobatse Hospital in-patient cases, but here again statistics show that schizophrenia is the greatest cause with 125/441 men and 85/247 women reported as suffering from it. Epilepsy showed 28/441 men and 11/247 women. Perhaps it should be noted that the statistics show 198/441 men and 108/247 women were admitted for observation. Therefore no more than generalizations can be drawn from these available statistics.

The above statistics available for physical and mental health must be used with caution, as obviously not all cases of sickness are brought to the attention of, and for treatment by, the "modern" health services, the percentage brought probably also varies with age. However these statistics are perhaps able to indicate in a general way the common prevalent diseases and also those that Batswana judge as able to be treated by "modern" health facilities.
N.B. This diagram does not take account of the Private Services. Some patients might go to Private Practitioners either in Kanye or urban areas. These may refer them either to the public or private services in Botswana or South Africa.
CHAPTER 2:  

GENERAL REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND THE RESEARCH PROBLEM  

Introduction  

This study attempts to present a comparative account of protection and healing in a Tswana village, with particular reference to the traditional (indigenous) and Zionist beliefs and practices. It attempts to explain why people may feel they need to supplement the services provided by the "modern" medical sector (that tends to be Western orientated), either by seeking help from traditional magico-religious practitioners, or from the Zionist churches. It also seeks to explain why the Zionist Churches appear to fulfil more of the local requirements of a belief system for protection and healing.  

As already stated, the study took place in Kanye, the capital of the Bangwaketse tribe, located in South-eastern Botswana. The main focus of this study - healing and protection - involves a multi-disciplinary framework and drawing on the literature of various social science disciplines for example, from sociology of religion, sociology of medicine, social anthropology, ethnography, theology and history. Turner (1976:55) among other writers has noticed the necessity for such a multi-disciplinary approach so as to avoid what he refers to as "tunnel vision". He was writing with particular reference to African new religious movements - as will be seen, Zion Churches fall into this category. He further writes: "Limitation to one approach only, and one set of categories, produces simplistic explanations that impoverish the phenomena."  

However, whilst drawing on literature from various social science disciplines, the primary aim of this study is not to attempt to produce theory - it is primarily at the level of producing primary information on the subject areas it covers. The study rather seeks to fill a gap in research on new religious movements in Southern Africa such as that noted by Kiernan (1981) that much of the research into African religious movements has been at the Headquarters level rather than at the branch level. He suggests that there is a need to investigate these movements at the local branch level.
Before moving to an assessment of the literature on the Zion Churches (study of which formed the basis of my study), it was necessary to set the study in its ethnographic background. Isaac Schapera is still the main academic authority on the area. His connection with Botswana (then the Bechuanaland Protectorate) started in 1929 when he conducted his first fieldwork among the Bakgatla, who like the Bangwaketse live in South-eastern Botswana. His main research has centred on the Bakgatla, but, although the majority of his publications are about these people, he is also probably still the main "authority" on many other tribal areas. To date he has published over 50 books and articles on all aspects of traditional and "modern" Tswana life in both English and Tswana. He has also edited the private papers of David Livingstone (who worked in the area for some years) and has written short tribal histories using such primary source materials as the unpublished accounts of late eighteenth and nineteenth century missionaries, traders and travellers, and the oral histories as related to him by tribal historians and informants. Therefore, for all research in this area, his impressively wide-ranging work is still the major starting point.

For my purposes Schapera's "A Short History of the Bangwaketse" was obviously very useful for a historical dimension. This is the only published written history in English of the Bangwaketse (Schapera published an earlier Tswana version). One of Schapera's sources for this was a manuscript history by G.B. Moseley (1926). He also used relevant parts of A.J. Wookey's "Dico Tsa Secwana" and the oral accounts related to him by members of the Chief's kgotla in Kanye. These latter informants had been appointed to help Schapera by the Chief of the Bangwaketse, Bathoen II. The draft was read before publication, by Bathoen himself, to check for errors. Schapera had been officially requested to prepare this history by the British Protectorate Administration. Therefore although published written history might be sparse for the Bangwaketse (indeed most of Botswana) for my purposes this publication is adequate.

Schapera's various works specifically on the Bakgatla have also

*1 1942b African Studies 1 p1-26
been useful for comparative purposes, as has his book *Tribal Innovators* (1970) that covers the period 1795-1940. This not only provides some additional historical data on the Bangwaketse, but further comparative information of other peoples, primarily the Bangwato, Bakwena, Batawana, and Bakgatla. *The Tswana* (1973, 3rd reprint of the 1962 edition) is also useful in providing general ethnographic information on the Tswana. However, apart from Schapera's work, little has been published specifically on the Bangwaketse people. For this reason volume 2 of my thesis includes some of my field notes on the ethnographic detail I obtained.

Alec Campbell's *The Guide to Botswana* (1979 edition) has also proved a useful resource book for basic information, particularly on government provision of all welfare services, communications, the economy and various statistics etc. Use has also been made of the National Development Plans (especially 1973-8 and 1976-81), the most recently available statistics from the last published Census (1971), and the 1978-9 Health Statistics, to provide the necessary information on population and provision and use of medical facilities and illness. These official publications all contain specific information on Botswana and/or Bangwaketse area.*1

2. Zion Churches

The next body of literature on which I needed to draw was that published on Zion Churches in Botswana. Here very little is available. David Barrett, in his survey of independent churches *2 lists five publications for Botswana. H.W. Turner's bibliography *3 of African religious movements lists seven entries under Botswana. The various more recently published Social Science bibliographies do not list further publications. Among the works listed none are specifically on my chosen area, and even if they are written totally on a religious movement, they typically take the form of a shortish article focusing on a historical event of a movement for example, Sandy Grant's article

*1 In addition I consulted Caroline Seeley's unpublished M. Phil, thesis and her associated article published in *Botswana Notes and Records*. She was supervised by Schapera, and it included little additional information. Thabo Fako's paper (1978) provided some additional information as did P. Ulin's report of her research in *Botswana Notes and Records*.

*2 David Barrett *Schism and Renewal in Africa* 1968.

which describes the relationship between the Z.C.C. and the Bakgatla Chief during a chieftaincy dispute. Four of the other entries listed by Turner are page references to Schapera's works in which Zion Churches and other independent church movements are mentioned. Of these there is a brief reference to an early independent church of the Ethiopian type, among the Bangwaketse. Therefore here again there is not much so far published on Zion Churches in Botswana, so again Volume 2 will include ethnographic description from my field notes.

However, from Southern Africa, particularly from South Africa and Rhodesia (the latter name is used instead of Zimbabwe as the work referred to was produced prior to independence and therefore refers to the colonial situation) there has been produced much research on independent churches since Bengt Sundkler's classic published in 1948. *1 Sundkler's research has been mainly among the Nguni peoples of South-Eastern South Africa - Zulus and Swazis - who have a different cultural heritage from the Batswana. Much of Pauw's research on the other hand, particularly his earlier research, has been among the Batlhaping, a Tswana-speaking people. His first book "Religion in a Tswana Chiefdom" (1960) has provided much useful comparative data, as have his various later articles. Gabriel Setiloane; himself a Tswana theologian, has written a very useful book based on his PhD thesis, 'The Image of God Among the Sotho-Tswana' (1975), and an article "How the Traditional World-View persists in the Christianity of the Sotho-Tswana" (1978). *2 Both of these present a very useful viewpoint and explanations of an "insider".

Martin West's work on Zion Churches in Soweto *3 together with Kiernan's various, mostly ethnographic, articles on Zion practices and beliefs, *4 have also been useful. These will be referred to in the text.

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*1 Bengt Sundkler Bantu Prophets in South Africa 1948.
*3 Particularly useful have been 'Bishops and Prophets in a Black City' and "The Shades come to town: ancestors and urban independent churches" in M.G. Whisson and West, M.E.'s Religion and Social Change in Southern Africa : anthropological essays in honour of Monica Wilson .
The South African material is perhaps more useful for comparison than the Rhodesian material because Zionism has been introduced to both Botswana and Rhodesia from South African, where it originated, by the migrant workers. Both Rhodesia and Botswana forms are syntheses of the South African Zionist forms and the local Botswana or Rhodesian religions i.e. South African Zionism has been synthesised differently in the two different contexts. However Murphree's, *1 Daneel's *2 and Aquina's *3 works have also been useful for comparative purposes.

The above-mentioned works were thus the main basis of literature consulted for comparative material on Zion Churches and also provided me with useful ideas, areas and emphases in which to conduct enquiries for my own research. The latter was particularly true of the works of Setiloane, Pauw, West and Sundkler.

3. African Religious Movements and African Traditional Religion

At this point it should be noted that these Zion Churches belong to a type that is by no means unique to Southern Africa. Barrett's study relates to 5000 such movements throughout Africa. Turner's bibliography is only Volume 1 in a three volume series covering the world. Although my focus was a study collecting primary data, it is still useful to try to relate this study into a wider perspective - at least one extending to Africa - therefore taking account of other parts of Africa with similar churches. By doing this one can, for instance, assess if there are similarities for their introduction. There is still much academic argument in the field of the sociology of religion on an acceptable vocabulary for the description of these movements - even for the name. Lengthy assessment of the pros and cons of the individual cases is not really the concern of my study.

Continuation of p.41

*4 "Zionist Communion" J. of Religion in Africa XI (2) 1980

*1 Murphree M.W. "Christianity and the Shona" (1969) and article in Barrett (1971)

*2 Daneel, M.L. "Old and New in Southern Shona independent churches" (1971)

*3 Aquina, Sr. Mary "The People of the Spirit : an independent church in Rhodesia" Africa 37(2) 1967, 203-219
"Zionists in Rhodesia" Africa 39(2) 1969 113-137
Turner's typology and terminology appears to be well-reasoned and acceptable, and this is what I propose to use.

Therefore using Turner's (1976) terminology, Zion Churches can be described as new religious movements. Turner defines a movement as an on-going corporate activity that has some distinct identity. He rejects Weber's alternative terms of cult, sect and church as too restrictive and appropriate mainly as descriptive terms in a Western setting in which they were devised. These movements are described as new when compared to the primal religions. They result because of the interaction between these primal religions and the new religions of Christianity or Islam which Western or Arab peoples have introduced into Africa. They are new as regards form and content because these movements cannot be seen merely as developing within either of the two contributing religious traditions involved, as they usually have some radical difference at certain points from the traditional primal religions in the area. Also they are different from the dominant society to the extent that they are frequently disowned by those who adhere either to the traditional religion or the invasive Islamic or Christian systems. Turner suggests four main tendencies or categories to classify these new religious movements, and two sub-classes. With the aid of these four classes and two additional sub-classes the movements may be satisfactorily classified according to their form and content.

The first category he suggests, is neo-primal where a new form of the traditional religion develops. Secondly, are the syncretist*2 movements. Thirdly, are hebraist movements. These reject traditional practices but accept Old Testament Biblical practices and beliefs rather than New Testament ones. These movements also tend to reject Christology and regard themselves more as African Jews following the Jewish way of worship. This category has two sub-groups, the Israelitish and Judaistic.*3

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*2 These are the movements that are consciously and intentionally syncretist in the sense that they create a new system by borrowing both from African primal and from invasive traditions. Therefore they are neither traditional nor Christian.

*3 Israelitish Churches see God as loving and co-operative, speaking through a founder or prophet. Magic and idolatry are strongly condemned but joy is a predominant characteristic which is frequently expressed in the sacred dance. Judaistic churches on the other hand, are types that lay emphasis in laws and taboos, and stress asceticism, repentance and suffering.
The fourth category, to which the churches that concern my study belong, is independent churches. The movements in this category retain the whole Bible and usually some kind of Christology. Of these, Turner suggests a further two sub-divisions. He suggests using Sundkler’s terminology for these: Ethiopian Churches and Zion Churches. Ethiopian Churches are those that most resemble the parent orthodox churches from which they seceded; their beliefs and practices, forms or worship and hierarchies are very similar. In Zionist Churches on the other hand, the main emphases are on healing and revelation through a prophet. Both of these sub-categories are found throughout Africa, but Zionist is a descriptive term limited to Southern Africa whereas in, for example, West Africa, the Aladura and Harrist Churches would fall into this Zionist category, in Central Africa (especially Congo) Kimbanguist Churches would be in this sub-category.

Turner rejects terms such as messianic or millenial as useful for classification because, although these features may be found to a greater or lesser degree, these tendencies may occur in any of the four categories but are not usually the main emphasis. He suggests visualising these four categories and sub-categories on a linear continuum.

For the classification of the movements according to their social structure he suggests a circular rather than a linear model. Here he identifies five classes. Firstly he identifies a category that may be referred to as a Prophet Movement, or less commonly exists as the Foundation Group. This is the group that gathers around the work of an individual prophet or charismatic leader, or in the case of the Foundation Group, the group that secedes from the parent body. This first category may become consolidated and organise into the second category called a Religious Society. This has a Headquarters and individual local congregations, it also has a hierarchy of leadership. Thirdly, from either the first or second category, may develop a Total Community, these are characterized by those movements that have Holy Cities or New Jerusalems. These organizations are more tightly knit and have more comprehensive benefits and a more intensive control of members. Typically there is a central Headquarters with a great range of activities providing for all the needs of the members - religion, social life, economic life, health, moral discipline.
Branches play a subordinate role and members usually gather at the Holy City for the major festivals.

Fourthly, Turner identifies the **Clientele**. If a Prophet Movement does not develop into a Religious Society or Total Community, it may develop into this form where the individual has a following but there are no member-to-member relationships. This is more typical of urban areas. The fifth category is the **Ancillary Cult**. This is used to describe a situation where the group has an independent existence and corporate activities for certain purposes, but where participants retain an earlier membership in one of the older churches or some religious movement that provided their basic allegiance. Turner notes that such a situation of plural belonging is by no means unusual in Africa.

Turner suggests a circular arrangement for visualising this model, with the first category - Prophet Movement/Foundation Group - at the top, and the others arranged at points on the circle with lines drawn from category one to any of the other four, or from any of these to the others. He notes that the simple linear Western categorization which presents an evolutionary model from sect to denomination to church, does not adequately reflect the African situation. In Africa, at some point in its history, a movement may move from any one to any other of the four later forms and then on again to yet another, with regard to its social structure.

This mobility can also be a feature of a movement with regard to its content and form, therefore classification of African religious movements should always be tentative and open to later revision. He further notes, with regard to the two sub-categories of independent churches as either Zionist or Ethiopian, that these may also become useless classifications, as types can evolve that do not fall into either category. Several researchers show a shift towards Ethiopianism in Zionist Churches in later stages for example, Sundkler's Second Edition (1961) notes such tendencies in the Zionist churches he studied in the 1940's. Also it should be noted that in many "orthodox churches" Africanization is occurring which removes the need for
secession. For example one of the main reasons leading to secession of especially Ethiopian movements was lack of opportunity for the ordination of Africans; with independence this has changed. Also Africanization such as that described by Abega in South Cameroon, is taking place. Abega*1 describes an experiment in liturgical adaptation in an R.C. parish in the Southern suburbs of Yaoudé, the capital of the United Republic of Cameroon. Some of the irrelevant Western cultural forms are now excluded. He gives the example of how European missionaries had taught converts to kiss the Cross at the altar, but in Abega's Beti language, for instance, there is no cultural category of "kiss". "Kiss" was translated with the word for "sniff" but here again in Beti there were problems as "sniff" is understood in the sense of to test if something, for example, meat, is rotten. Therefore this and other irrelevant gestures have now been omitted.

Again, Turner notes that as independent churches seek membership of Christian Councils, both national and international ones, there is a tendency for a shift towards orthodoxy.

As will be shown in greater detail in the section on Zion Churches, all of the churches of my study can be classified in Turner's Fourth category of independent churches in the sub-division of Zion Churches, with regard to their form and content. With regard to their social structure, most fall into the Religious Society Category, although the Z.C.C. is closer to the Total Community. In some ways the B.U.C.Z. has some characteristics of an ancillary cult with regard to its relationship with Kanana.

As already noted there have been several studies in other parts of Africa of new religious movements that may be classified in the same categories suggested by Turner as those with which I was concerned. Therefore I also referred to the works published on, especially, the Aladura, Harrist, Lumpa, and Kimbanguist Churches. The ethnographic data show that these have similarities in form and content and social structure to the Zion Churches, with which I was concerned. These churches have been studied for some time by various researchers, and therefore theories that try to explain their causative factors are now possible and of interest in relation to my study.

Theories of explanation and causation of these movements, as

*1 Abega, P. "Liturgical Adaptation" in Christianity in Independent Africa.
with descriptive terminology, are still a matter of debate. There are various viewpoints on this. Here perhaps before considering new religious movements one needs to consider African Religion (primal religion). However the first Europeans and missionaries in Africa often seem to have doubted that there was such a phenomenon as African Religion. For example, Bishop Desmond Tutu quotes one seventeenth and one nineteenth century missionary, and states that their stand-points reflect typical missionary attitudes to Traditional African Religion. The seventeenth century Olfert Dapper wrote:-

"No one, however thoroughly he has enquired, has ever been able to trace among all the Kaffirs, Hottentots and Beachrangers, any trace of religion, or any show of honour to God or to the devil."

The nineteenth century Robert Moffatt wrote:-

"Satan has employed his agency with fatal success, in erasing every vestige of religious impression from the minds of the Bechuanas, Hottentots and Bushmen; leaving them without a single ray to guide them from the dark and dread futurity, or a single link to unite them with the skies."

Perhaps one of the reasons why these early Europeans held these views is because, as Setiloane notes: "The Westerner, or European may be able to set up clear lines of demarcation, and explain what they mean when they use the word 'religion'. For Africans, religion or religious considerations enter into and influence all spheres of life. Therefore we can speak about the 'Wholeness of Human Life'."

If there is such a phenomenon as African Religion, it is perhaps necessary to attempt to identify common characteristics that are found throughout African societies with regard to their primal religions. Placide Tempels notes the importance of a concept he calls "vital force". He argues that Bantu behaviour is centred in this single value: vital force, and "..force, the potent life, vital energy, are the object of prayers and invocations to God, to the spirits of the dead; as well as of all that is usually called magic, sorcery or magical remedies."

He further notes that supreme happiness, the only kind of blessing, *1


*2 Gabriel Setiloane "Traditional World Views of the Sotho-Tswana" in Christianity in Independent Africa.

*3 Placide Tempels "Bantu Philosophy" (Second Edition 1969)

*4 Tempels op. cit. p.45.
is to possess the greatest vital force. The worst fate is the diminution of his power, (Tempels, 1969:46). Tempels' thinking, as presented in his book, strongly influenced the development of the Jamaa movement, that took its name from the Swahili word "jamaa" meaning "a family". The Jamaa movement was based on the three fundamental aspirations of Bantu: the desire for life, fecundity and for vital union with the sources of a stronger fuller life. The family was to be a spiritual one with spiritual friendship and community, it aimed at achieving "perfection in being".

Peel agrees with Setiloane. In his definition of what he calls ethnic religion, he states ".. one that is peculiar to a linguistic or cultural area, expressing the particular forms of its social life and natural environment, such as the original traditional religions of every people... Such religions have no Scriptures, though they may have extensive oral literatures, and usually no prophetic or conversionary aspect. So much are they taken for granted, like the air itself, by their adherents, that there are often no distinct words to cover all the connotations of 'religion'."*1 (Peel: 1974:444)

African religions lay emphasis on "this-worldly" values as opposed to the "other-worldly" orientation of Christianity. They evolved in microcosmic societies i.e. societies in which the way of life is dominated by subsistence farming, and in which social relations are likely to be mainly limited by the boundaries of the local microcosm. In this type of society the religious life tends to include a strong belief in lesser spirits who are the underpinners of the microcosm. These lesser spirits who underpin the whole society are frequently associated with ancestors, so ancestor cults are commonly found. However there is also a Supreme Being, but typically this Being is believed to be a remote and distant entity, little concerned with everyday experiences of humanity.

This then was the situation in which African Religion developed. However with the increase in interaction between microcosmic societies and other more dominant societies, such as arose as a result of colonization, social change took place in many spheres. The societies

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*1 Peel, J.D.Y. "The Christianization of African Society: Some possible models" in Christianity in Independent Africa

*2 This term and explanation was developed by Robin Horton in "African Conversion".(1971) Africa 41:2
hardly ever remained self-sufficient (a typical feature of microcosmic
societies). As a result of this, the emphasis in religious life on
the older underpinners of the system—the lesser spirits—tended to
give way to a greater emphasis on worship directed towards the Supreme
Being, who became far less distant and remote. Ranger notes that
this led to a much greater elaboration of both the concept and the
cult of this Being.

Therefore when microcosmic societies became more involved with
the macrocosm, change tended to take place in African Religion.
Therefore next one should consider the causal factors of the new
religious movements. Here again there is still much debate. Earlier
studies tended to conclude that they could be explained in terms of
one or two causes. Mitchell summarises the various explanatory models
as falling into three categories: The first is what he called the
Marxian paradigm. Studies of this type view movements as protests
against colonial rule. This interpretation shows how deprivations
associated with the imposition or exercise of colonial rule leads to
a desire to get rid of colonial masters. Religious means are chosen
to do this because in traditional societies such means are culturally
efficacious. These movements may be either directly in opposition to
colonial masters or an indirect form of protest either in rebellion
against missionary domination and white Christianity or turning from
the source of domination to a compensatory source of satisfaction.
Mitchell then shows how this paradigm does not fit the Yoruba Babalola
movement. Joseph Babalola, although imprisoned by the British
colonial authority, together with his followers, actually disowned
prophets who tried to challenge the new colonial taxes. Other writers
also show the weakness of this model as a general explanatory theory.
For example Barrett's survey which covered 5000 African religious
movements from 32 of the 41 countries South of the Sahara, which
movements in 1968 had 7 million adherents (and an estimated annual
growth rate of 300,000) from 290 different tribes. Barrett found that
although these movements developed in some colonial situations, they
are absent in others for example, Mocambique and Angola and some of
the French colonies.

*1 Robert Cameron Mitchell "Strains and Facilities in the Interpretation
of an African Prophet Movement" in Social Movements, Conflicts and
*2 Barrett, David Schism and Renewal in Africa op.cit.
*3 Ranger, Terence "The Churches, the Nationalist State and African
Religion" in Christianity in Independent Africa.
Similarly Peel (1974)*1 notes that Africa and India were both subject to colonial rule but, whereas Africa was largely converted to Christianity, in India there has been little widespread conversion. Barrett's survey also showed that a large number of these movements have developed after decolonization and are prevalent in countries that have been longest liberated. For example in Ghana which was one of the first colonies to gain independence in Africa (in 1957), the greatest increase in religious movements has been in the 1960's. Barrett summarises: "The background causative factors of independency are largely unchanged by the coming to power of Africans in the church or state." (Barrett 1968: 277) Similarly his findings tend to refute the claim that they are found amongst the most oppressed, as they tend to develop in nations with high average income. (Barrett 1968: 102).

As an alternative to the Marxian model is what Mitchell calls the Revitalization Approach. This approach emphasises the discontinuity between cultural synthesis offered by prophet healing movements and previous traditional cultural synthesis. The Movements are seen as a response to a severe cultural distortion brought about by colonization and modernization which creates uncertainty and confusion in people's minds. As a result they desire a fundamentally new synthesis.

Mitchell also rejects this approach as, like the Marxian model, it tends to group all movements together and uniformly view them as instances of protest and revitalization. Mitchell states that this is the approach used by Anthony F.C. Wallace who cites African "separatist churches" as examples of revitalization movements (1956:264). Although few others use this approach directly he claims it is present in the work of Gluckman (1967), Marwick (1970), Welbourn and Ogot (1966) Welbourn (1968), and Barrett (1968).

The third type of explanatory model is the one favoured by Mitchell that he terms the Reinterpretation Type. In this type, continuity rather than discontinuity is emphasised. The Prophet movements and churches are interpreted as "modern" versions of the age-old attempt by Africans to discover better therapeutic rituals

for example, the standard problem of suffering is the cause, or the cause of suffering together with the impact of wider social relationships because of the increase of scale, (or in Tempels' terms, new ways of achieving and maintaining the "vital force"). The term is from Melville Herskovits (1962:417) who defined "reinterpretation" as "the process by which old meanings are ascribed to new elements." He used it for prophet movements in Zaire and Gabon. His student Igor Kopytoff also used it. Mitchell claims that Baeta (1968:141), Pauw (1960:178), Turner (1967), Daneel (1970, 1971), Peel (1968), all use the concept without naming Herskovits.

Mitchell himself uses this approach with reference to the Babalola Movement which he analyses in terms of the Smelserian approach to collective behaviour. He argues the utility of Smelser's model and that these movements in general from the stand-point of a Christian religious system and the colonial political system, more usually represent change at the norm level. For example, Babalola's can be shown to fit Smelser's norm oriented movement type because Babalola sought to modify the orthodox Christian system to accommodate a solution to a pressing religious problem which stemmed from the widespread traditional need for a religious system that would not only have an other-worldly orientation but also a this-worldly one. As has already been noted, this-worldly orientation rather than other-worldly orientation is a common feature of traditional African religions. For example in the Babalola Movement as in many other such movements (such as the Zion Churches I studied) traditional ways to accomplish healing, protection from witchcraft, success in this world, and the reduction of interpersonal tension and conflict were re-interpreted by Babalola within a Christian framework. In the Babalola movement, the essential focus of the movement was always religion, not politics, and its synthesis was not fundamentally new nor the result of the kind of severe cultural distortion described by the exponents of the revitalization model.

The vast majority of African movements are norm-oriented and therefore fit this third model rather than value-oriented that would fit the protest or revitalization approaches. Babalola, unlike the missionaries with regard to the traditional religious system, did not question the fundamental assumptions of the traditional value system with its this-worldly emphasis, therefore it can be regarded
as norm oriented. But Babalola did condemn traditional religion and demanded that his followers should cut all ties with it as an institution. Babalola therefore simply offered another set of rituals which he said would be stronger to achieve this-worldly help.

Many researchers have noted that these movements tend to arise as a response to the urban situation. On a wider scale, Barrett's findings also support this. With reference to the Southern African situation, West and Kiernan both support this view. Following the American sociologist, Dubb, whose research was conducted in East London in Eastern Cape, in Nicholas Chengu's African Assembly of God Church, they note the social disorientation suffered by the new migrants and the absence of adequate institutions to provide for their needs. These new movements have a functional value because they relieve the conditions that give rise to them, for example, racial discrimination, urban confusion, by creating channels for leadership. They also function as voluntary associations and as mechanisms for adjustment to urban society, restore self-respect and esteem or, in Sundkler's words, "They are part of the struggle for the liberation of men and realization of personal worth." Kiernan's research (1974, 1977) also supports this, as does Johnson's findings based on his research on the American Methodist Episcopal Church in Zambia. These movements create order within the anarchy of conditions of life in urban areas. These writers show how these churches cater for many of the needs that were traditionally provided by the traditional rural kin group and therefore provide a means of adapting to urban life. Dubb for example, claims that these churches provide "religious answers to existential problems of Africans in an urban situation." Or, in West's words, the churches are engaged in furthering "the adjustment of Africans to the urban situation". Therefore the African independent church is increasingly viewed as a flourishing urban social form which offers solutions to cope with specifically urban problems of a predominantly rural-urban migrant group. This is reflected by the fact that there is a great increase of these churches in urban areas.

Connected with this urban variable is Peel's observation (1974:444) "... the world religions arose among peoples who had lost the relatively sure reality of their traditional social order; and they have ever since found the readiest converts among peoples who, through trade, wars, migration, the creation of larger political
units or the development of wider markets, have lost their security... Historically, the adoption of a particular world religion has stamped civilizations for centuries, giving a distinct cast to the institutions and life of their peoples." He further notes the social similarities of African societies, which gave rise to movements such as Aladura or Zion Churches, and those of pagan Anglo-Saxon societies which were converted—referred to by Bede—also those described by St. Augustine in "Confessions"; and those who took up Methodism described in Wesley's "Journal".*1

Turner (1974:698) summarises the various alternatives that have been found to cause new religious movements. He notes: "It is now recognized... that a large number of factors may be at work in complex situations that may vary considerably from one society to another."*2 He identified four types of causal factors—the situational or acculturative, the contributing, the precipitative and the enabling factors.

The first type, the situational or acculturative factors— are a necessary but not sufficient cause for the development of a new movement. These movements do all occur when a tribal society is in interaction with a dominant society. This is the situation identified by Horton (see above*) when a microcosmic society undergoes increased exposure and influence from the macrocosm.

Turner's second type of causal factors are the contributing factors. This type includes most of the factors suggested, particularly by the earlier researchers, who believed them to be the necessary and sufficient factors leading to the emergence of new religious movements. Here Turner suggests there are six factors. The first he describes as the psychological stress and conflict felt by individuals as a result of rapid social change. Such rapid social change leads to feelings of confusion, frustration and powerlessness. The second is because of cultural and social disintegration of the old tribal life, the new movements often provide "A Place to Feel at Home" (the title of Welbourn and Ogot's book on this theme). They note how rural emigrants arrive in urban areas with a set of values and understandings that no longer seem appropriate. Therefore they need to look for "crutches". The Western style churches fail

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*1 Peel op.cit.
to fit, nor do the urban, often bogus, traditional practitioners. These contributing factors lead to the formation of new movements that provide "places to feel at home".

Thirdly, as a result of interaction between the two cultures, moral conflicts often result between the two systems (for example conflicts over bridewealth, polygamy, widow inheritance, the place of ancestors). These conflicts are often resolved in the new religious movements by a new moral code based on both cultures. For example many of these new movements accept polygamous members, unlike the "Western" churches who often barred them, polygamous husbands being forced to renounce all but one wife. Ancestors are also often recognised and respected in the new movements.

Fourthly, political domination often led to traditional political structures being eroded or replaced, this led to frustration. The new movements often provide opportunity for organization and leadership. For example West found this an important factor in Soweto; the churches provide opportunities for black leadership against a background of a white dominated society.

Fifthly, economic deprivation or exploitation for example, loss of land, the change from subsistence to wage-labour economy, use of forced or migrant labour, the creation of a new range of wants. These are all factors that contribute towards the emergence of new religious movements. The sixth contributing factor can be related to all of the above, it is the existence of a colonial situation. However as already noted above, there is no close correlation.

The third type of factors - the precipitative factors - include severe personal crises or the traumatic effects of sudden epidemics (e.g. the 1918 'flu epidemic precipitated various new movements). These factors tend to provoke the emergence of new movements already affected by other causative factors for example the imposition of new taxes during severe economic depression coincided with the development of later Aladura groups in West Africa in the early 1930's. Another precipitating factor could be the disciplining of a mission agent leading to secession and the formation of a new movement. This was typical of several South African Ethiopian type movements. Or a new healing miracle, or emergence of a charismatic individual with some special religious experience (e.g. Harris (of the Harrist Churches), Lekganyane
(of Z.C.C.), are typical precipitating factors in the social context of other factors.

*Enabling factors* are the fourth type. These are the type of features of the two cultures that finally determine whether or not a new religious movement will emerge and the form it will take. Barrett's survey produced very useful information for this. In Africa Christianity rather than Islam tends to give rise to these movements, and Protestantism rather than Catholicism. Turner summarises that the dominant religion must possess features suitable for application to the re-interpretation by the tribal peoples; and the religion of the latter requires beliefs and practices that can be adapted in the light of the invasive religion. Zion Churches and Tswana religion will be examined in the light of these factors.

At this point I should like to turn to the emphasis, noted in several studies of these new religious movements, that they have on the importance of healing and protection. Turner has noted that a healing miracle can be a precipitative factor that often gives rise to these movements. Several researchers note the social disorientation felt by many people in urban areas, especially recent migrants. Psychological stress is also one of Turner's contributing factors. Setiloane quotes from a headline and part of a leading article in the Johannesburg Star (Sat. 13th July 1974) "Main Killer of Blacks is hypertension" then followed a report on the findings of the Professor of African Medicine at the University of Witwatersrand, who blamed this on the high incidence of psychological stress to which urban blacks were exposed. Among these stresses he listed ancestral spirits and ditokoloshi.

Several writers on these movements in Africa note the search of their members for security. It was this aspect which formed the emphasis of my research. Various researchers have found that the search for healing is often the initial cause leading new members to such churches in the first place. The questions that obviously follow from this fact are ones such as: why do they seek aid here? Where did they seek aid in the past? What about the "modern" medical facilities? Why do they not seek aid from these? This last question leads on to questions such as: Is it because of lack of such

* Setiloane 1978 op.cit. For ditokoloshi see Chapter 6, p.130-1. See also West:1976:118ff.
"modern" services? Or is it because there are a body of health problems that they fail to tackle that means that prospective clients of this sector must turn elsewhere?

4. Traditional Religion and Traditional Medicine and the "modern, Western" Systems of Health Care

To try and answer these questions it is therefore necessary to give an account of the traditional system to which those requiring healing and protection could call upon - in the case of Botswana, this involves an account of traditional medicine, the traditional practitioners (dingaka tsa Setswana etc.), the philosophy and practice of this system. This then leads on to the question as to why this is no longer sufficient. Here I will consider the historical dimension that will include the introduction of a new religion into the area and its impact on traditional religion and medicine that, as has already been noted by Setiloane, are inseparable. There must also be a consideration of the new religion - Christianity - presented by the missionaries and how it affected the traditional religion which led to the division of religion and medicine. Also the "modern" medical facilities are considered and why these may be insufficient.

At this point one needs perhaps to return to African religion. If it is agreed that there are common factors in all traditional African religions, then one can assess what is missing from traditional African religion that has led to the necessity for new African religious movements. If orthodox Christian Churches have not been able to provide these facilities that were traditionally provided within the framework of the traditional religious system, what about the medical facilities of these countries? Again it appears that there is some "African illness" with which their Western orientation cannot cope, and/or that their methods of curing differ from the African attitude. For example Western methods tend to relieve what the African system would believe are mere symptoms but not the causes. The two systems disagree over beliefs about causes. In all societies, as noted by Maclean, the belief system is the background to the medical treatment which the society's members absorb from childhood. Belief systems can obviously differ from society to

society, which leads to the development of different medical facilities in Africa and the West. Maclean's study is one of such comparative studies, and investigates the medical services available in Ibadan, Nigeria. This study will be referred to in greater detail later.

Briefly, the difference in philosophy between the two systems represented in Africa and the West is that Western-oriented medicine has tended (since the 20th century germ theory and emphasis on bacteriological and scientific medicine) to believe that an individual suffering from illness can be treated - it is the individual that is sick and so the individual's symptoms are treated to effect a cure.

In African medicine, on the other hand, the common belief is that causes of disease arise from an individual's social environment and result from a breakdown of his relationships, therefore the cure is aimed at healing the broken relationships that have caused the symptoms. The individual is therefore treated together with his family. The definition of ill-health/illness can therefore be wider than the Western definition, symptoms of these broken relationships can include such diverse symptoms as disease, livestock sickness, agricultural failure, bad luck, failure at work, accidents, as well as what would be considered illness in the Western definition. Thus the causes are also more varied for example, supernatural beings, the workings of Fate, malevolent tendencies of humans can all be responsible. Therefore within this framework of belief, curing the cause is believed to cure the symptoms such as cancer, crop failure, infant mortality etc. In Africa as in the West the doctor and patient of either society share a common belief system which Maclean summarises as in Europe involving symptoms and signs, and in Africa involving signs and portents.

Obviously lack of access to Western medical facilities is an important factor in the continued use of African medicine, and statistics from all countries show how, particularly in rural areas, there are few Western medical facilities. However other studies also show that even in the areas with such Western medical services and the economic means of potential patients to use them, African medical services still flourish and enjoy a success rate often higher for certain types of illness than their Western counterparts.

Maclean's study, for instance, surveys medical facilities
available in Ibadan, Nigeria. After presenting a very informative account of traditional Yoruba medicine, the available Western medical services, and the Aladura (prophet healing movement), she compares the usage of these by two social groups representing the "lower" income group, and the "elite". In the situation as in Ibadan, where there is a choice of medical services available, she found that the people of both social groups showed a similar usage of traditional medicine. Both groups believed that there were some illnesses that Western medicine was unsuccessful in curing and preferred the alternatives provided within the traditional system, for example, illnesses that in Western belief system are diagnosed as psychiatric illness were referred to the Aladura Healing home. One chapter describes this medical system based on a visit she made to one of the most famous of the Aladura healers.

Field's earlier study among the Ashanti people of Ghana shows a similar picture of people turning to shrines that are a flourishing concern. In describing the supplicants at the Ashanti shrines, she notes that mentally ill people were in a minority. Supplicants came from all over Ghana. She writes: "The great majority are healthy people supplicating for "protection". Financially successful men are full of fear less envious kinsmen should, by means of bad magic or witchcraft, bring about their ruin. Unsuccessful men are convinced that envious malice is the cause of their failure." She further notes "... a strikingly 'paranoid' attitude is normal. Healthy intelligent Africans have some insight into the prevalent distrust and envy."*2

Ngubane,*3 herself a Zulu medical doctor, notes in her paper that there is a fundamental difference between Zulu and English notions of the causality of disease which govern the Zulu use of medicine and the nature of the cure. She outlines the various notions of causality that show a similarity to those described by researchers in other African societies. For example Hautvast and Hautvast-Mertens also note, with special reference to the Nyakusa of Southern Tanzania

*2 Field op. cit. p. 87.
*3 Harriet Ngubane "Some aspects of Treatment Among the Zulu" in Social Anthropology and Medicine J.B. Loudon (Ed.) (1976). This volume presents several other papers that show the survival of traditional medicine.
"...in traditional Bantu life, matters of health and disease are intimately tied up with supernatural powers."  

Frankenberg and Leeson point to a similar picture of the flourishing business of traditional practitioners despite adequate provision of "modern" facilities in Lusaka, Zambia.

In African medicine there is often a notion of "double therapy" where treatment is "at the physiological as well as at the spiritual level." Boston 1966:1. With this system of therapy, the "how", "why", and/or "who" are problems that are taken into account. These facts are noted by Gillies and she then goes on to construct a diagram showing the Ogori classification of misfortunes and remedial actions. She notes, as does Ngubane for the Zulu, that within these societies, and probably most African societies, the traditional medical systems recognize that there are trivial common diseases for example, colds, 'flu, digestive upsets, and the deaths of socially fulfilled people for which there is no "magical" medicine and no blame will be attached to anyone as a causer. Gillies thus shows disagreement with the earlier held anthropological ideas based upon Evans-Pritchard's statement that "Azanda attribute sickness, whatever its nature, to witchcraft and sorcery." (1937)

A later study in Ibadan carried out by Odejide et al included a head count of psychiatric patients on one day within the care of traditional healers compared with the number in the care of the Western facilities. This count found that 15 traditional healers had the care of 104 patients, the Western facilities had 49 patients. The healers were confident of their cure rate - only 2 of the 104 cases admitted by the healers required re-admission. The authors also found that 62.3% of the healers appeared to be unaware

*2 Frankenberg and Leeson "Traditional Healers in a Lusaka Suburb" (1973)  
*3 Odejide, A.O. et al "Traditional Healers and Mental Illness in the City of Ibadan" J. of Black Studies Vol. 9 No. 2 Dec. 1978 pp 195-205  
that patients went to the psychiatric hospitals and doubted the success of this type of medicine, where patients frequently relapse. They claimed they had cured many such relapsed cases. Their investigation of these traditional psychiatric facilities led the authors to conclude that traditional healers should be included in the management of psychiatric illness. They also noted an important development in traditional medicine "It is now quite clear that the traditional healers' concept of psychotherapy is in fact quite broad. Not all illnesses are ascribed to the supernatural—witches, a curse, or the violation of taboos. It is hoped that the long-term collaboration with traditional healers will further the cause of psychiatry in Africa." (p.204)

Harding's study noted that on a single day in a rural community with a population of 140,000, in a mainly Yoruba rural area, 100 Km west of Ibadan, that there were 51 people suffering from a psychosis severe enough to lead them to seek medical help. Of these 43 were under the care of traditional practitioners and only 8 sought help from the Western medical services (in this case clinics with referral facilities to a hospital). He again presents a picture of, where both facilities are available side by side, patients choosing according to the nature of illness. 91% choose traditional healers for mental illness, whereas 2% choose the Health Centre (7% didn't know). He also found that for other illnesses the traditional healers' treatment is favoured, for example, 85% chose the traditional healers for snake bite, 81% for leprosy, 70% for infertility, 66% for epilepsy. For other illnesses the health centre is favoured for example, 92% for trauma, 86% for fever, 83% for cough, 52% for haematuria. Harding concludes by comparing the success of traditional treatments with the success rate in the Western situation in London hospitals. He presents figures that lead him to state that the patients' "... overall progress does not seem strikingly worse than that of psychosis treated in hospital elsewhere." (p.203)

Swantz's research among the Zaramo (an ethnic group of

people located in and around Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania) compares the rural and urban dwelling Zaramo. She notes that "Illness felt by the Zaramo in the body is more often than not conceived to have been caused by some discord in the "social body", the social group of which one is a part. For this reason, modern medicine fails to satisfy the Zaramo patient who, after being treated by it, continues to look for a cure dealing particularly with the social aspects of his/her state." (p.168) She also notes that, although there is an increase in the usage of the Western medical facilities, there is also an increase in visits to traditional healers and that both types of practitioners are consulted by the same people. "The traditional practitioner can be consulted either before or after hospital treatment, or even simultaneously as is evidenced by the many cases in which traditional medicines are smuggled to hospital patients." (p. 170)

Uyanga's study was located in South-eastern Nigeria. He also found that despite the tremendous improvement in the establishment of hospital and health care delivery system in the area, many patients still cling to and patronize the traditional practitioners. These traditional practitioners enjoy particular popularity for their specialization in specific illnesses which some hospitals fail to cure, and patients feel psychological satisfaction from these healers because they are able to provide spiritual and supernatural explanations for illnesses. He believes that the ability of traditional practitioners to name the illness or its source is "... a very important curative process because it tends to redirect the patients' psychic process towards a favourable curative direction." On asking his respondents their reasons for consulting native doctors, 32% gave as a reason that "It is not a sickness for hospital" and 41% replied "Others could not do it" (a similar reason).

One of the questions that Uyanga's study sought to answer was "Why are the traditional and spiritual healing homes so popular in the face of increased urbanization and medical expansion in the study area?" He found that those seeking aid from spiritual healing homes tended to be more educated and also to be young women, as opposed to

those seeking aid from traditional practitioners, who tended to be children, illiterates, and married women. In both cases the majority of patients were suffering from mental symptoms, infertility, child bearing problems and diseases attributed to enemies, witchcraft and supernatural forces. They had previously been disappointed at hospital, leaving them to resort to traditional medicine or spiritual healing homes. Also Uyanga notes "... demand for causative explanation is what modern medicine is unable to meet at the level sought by the patient. In contrast, both the spiritual and traditional consultations have explanation as the main ingredient." (p. 329) This latter point will be returned to in greater detail later.

Therefore it has been shown from a selection of various studies that even by increasing the availability of "modern" or "Western" medical facilities in the areas where they have traditionally been absent - the rural areas - the traditional facilities do not necessarily become obsolete. Nor is it purely a matter of economics - several researchers show how traditional services are often more expensive than those of the "modern" sector, where charges are often nominal or non-existent. Nor is it necessarily a matter of increasing education. For example, Jahoda's study of Ghanian University students found that education is not necessarily eliminating the use of traditional medicine. Among all faculties of the University he found there were students with traditional beliefs about, for example, forest dwarfs who are attributed in traditional belief as the teachers of white and black medicine to humans; students with personal evidence of the continued activity of witches, and stories which show continued belief in the reality of witchcraft powers. Maclean, in referring to Jahoda's study, also mentions that one of the Nigerian university students whom she used to interview respondents in her survey, related personal experience of the powers of witches. This was certainly my

experience, informants with all degrees of education related similar experiences which perhaps indicates widespread belief.

In many African countries today the potential client requiring the use of medical services is faced with 3 alternative systems: traditional medicine, the Western services, and that presented by the new religious movements. This pluralistic situation has been recognised by many countries and by the W.H.O., as it presents a potential policy problem for the development of public policy. The Western trained doctors have in the past opposed traditional medicine but increasingly its efficacy, at least for the management of certain diseases, is beginning to be recognised. It appears, especially in the area of psychiatric medicine that African traditional medicine has much to offer. Also in many African countries there is still a problem of shortage of trained personnel, buildings and equipment. Therefore access to these services is still limited, particularly in the rural areas. To provide increased services would obviously involve the already over-stretched budgets of developing countries in great expense. Even if loans could be obtained, to extend these type of services, in the light of the above-mentioned research, they might not be the appropriate services demanded by potential clients. Traditional medicine however, does appear to be much more widely available, systematic surveys of its geographical distribution of its services are still lacking, but in Botswana, for example, it is estimated that there are approximately 250-300 people to each traditional practitioner.\(^1\) This compares with 1 Western doctor per 7910 people, 1 dentist per 98,875, 1 nurse per 804 and 1 pharmacist per 60,846.\(^2\) (1979). The much wider access to traditional medicine is noted by many other studies for example, Frankenberg and Leeson with reference to Zambia note "Everyone in Zambia has access to traditional medicine more readily than other primary medical care."

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\(^3\) Ronald Frankenberg and Joyce Leeson "The Social Dilemmas in the Post-colonial World: Intermediate Technology and Medical Care in Zambia, Zaire and China" in Sociology and Development E. de Kadt and G. Williams (Eds) (1976)
Dunlop (1975)*1 summarises the situation of comparatively easy access to the traditional system with reference to most traditional societies in Africa: "Consumers were not faced with a health resource maldistribution problem, which presently exists in the "modern" health delivery systems of Africa. The traditional health system was available and close-by and generally remains so today. Apart from an economic advantage to the government and easier access for the consumer, the traditional system is also less culturally disruptive as it developed out of the traditional belief system." As Maclean notes in her study,*2 most illnesses that a patient suffers from in all societies are of a chronic or minor nature, and the patient will recover from these in spite of any medical treatment he receives. The actual percentage of cases of serious and potentially fatal illnesses is very low.

Now a climate persists where traditional medical systems are receiving official recognition for example, Dunlop referring to 9 countries that took part in a conference (the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association held in Chicago, October to November 1974) shows how in Ghana, Mali, Nigeria, Zaire and Botswana, traditional medicine is officially recognized, and in the other four who took part in the conference - Liberia, Ethiopia, Uganda and Tanzania - formal recognition is being considered. In Tanzania the government has implemented a policy to train traditional midwives in areas where there are no "modern" services.

Maclean's study refers to T.A. Lambo, a Nigerian Psychiatrist, who successfully uses traditional priests of Ifa to assist in the assessments of cases, at his hospital settlement in Abeokuta, Nigeria. These traditional priests are also encouraged to contribute to the treatment of patients by, for example, recommending particular rituals, or association with certain cults recommended by the Babalawo healers. The sense of insecurity and strangeness that often develops as a result of institutional care is overcome by many of the patients living with people in a nearby village where they can remain in touch with

*2 Maclean op cit. Chapter 1.
all the ceremonies and celebrations connected with Yoruba traditional life. The Aladura Healing home described by Maclean also allowed patients to remain in closer contact with their customary lifestyle, as soon as they were well enough they would undertake simple everyday tasks to which they were accustomed.

However, although the usefulness of traditional methods has been demonstrated, there is still a problem for public policy makers in exactly how to develop a policy including the integration of the various medical systems. With regard to Botswana this problem is discussed by Thabo Fako. He notes that in Botswana "... traditional medicine is not a rural phenomenon which will be replaced by modern medicine. Rather, traditional medicine provides an alternative to modern medicine." He notes the urgent need for a united national traditional healers' association and warns that "... whatever the nature of a comprehensive health system, it must keep the relative autonomy of traditional healers" they must not "... be simply subsumed under the direct supervision of nurses and doctors".

The problem of finding a viable way of integrating the various medical systems of African countries will also continue, according to Frankenberg and Leeson, as long as "... competition, profit, and self remain the guiding motives, and nations are organized by emerging urban bourgeois elites." (However Asuni, with reference to Nigeria, notes "... those who most strongly advocate such integration are foreigners, not familiar enough with the problems such policy (i.e. integration) would generate.

Concluding Remarks

This is perhaps the point where one should return to the new independent churches. It is perhaps in such churches that the African traditional idea of religion as the centre of healing and what exactly constitutes ill-health, and the Western-oriented religion of Christianity and the Western medical services can be united. For example Maclean

*1 Thabo Fako "Traditional Medicine and Organizational Issues in Botswana" (July 1978) National Institute of Research and Development and African Studies Documentation Unit (Gaborone, Botswana).
*2 Frankenberg and Leeson op.cit. (1976)
*4 Maclean op.cit.
refers to the remarkable success attributed to a healing home run by an independent church. Uyanga\(^1\) refers in his study to spiritual healing homes in South-eastern Nigeria, their similarity to traditional methods in naming the illness or its source, is believed to weaken the problem. He also notes "... this is a very important curative process because it tends to redirect the patients' psychic process towards a favourable curative direction... Cure of the associated social and emotional disturbance may come to be seen as the real cure, especially when the sickness is long standing or chronic." (p 329). Sheila Walker\(^2\) refers to the success of a Harrist Church in Bregbo, a small village near Abidjan, Ivory Coast. Here one of the most successful and best known healers of the Harrist Church works, Albert Atcho. Harrists come from all over Ivory Coast and Ghana and even official government guests attend the annual three day celebration of All Saints' Day. Walker also states that "Bregbo has also received recognition from the psychiatric hospital in nearly Bingerville, doctors from which sometimes work in collaboration with Atcho with some of their patients. Some patients receive the benefits of both Atcho's traditional healing practices and those of the Western trained doctors while residing in Bregbo, and others are sent to Bregbo upon release from the hospital to learn to readapt to village life."\(^3\) I shall refer to the successes of the Zion Churches within my research later.

These movements are perhaps better able to provide a continuity with the past African religious philosophy, where what constitutes religion, as has been shown above, included a much wider definition than the Western idea of religion. This is the belief held by Bond, Johnson and Walker,\(^4\) who present analyses from their own research on new movements, to support this idea. Walker's research is on the Harrist Churches of Ivory Coast and Ghana, Johnson's on the A.M.E. in Zambia, and Bond's on the Lumpa Church in Zambia. They also include Benetta Jules-Rosette's work among the Apostolic Church of John Maranke in Zimbabwe and Zaire, and Leith Mullings' on the Church of the Messiah in Labadi (Accra) Ghana. Although this book may have its shortcomings

\(^1\) Uyanga op.cit.
\(^3\) Walker op.cit. 134.
mentioned in its review in the Journal of Religion in Africa,\footnote{1} (e.g. its material is based largely on research carried out before the early 1970's, therefore it does not take account of the present situation) the theme of seeing new religious movements as constructing a new belief system "as a manifestation of continuity between the traditional and the modern world views\footnote{2} is useful. This they claim is contrary to the views of H.W. Turner, Wishlade and Sundkler, who see the syncretic character of these movements as reactions to missionizing or to the European presence.

Perhaps Bond's et al's idea of these movements as a continuity between the past and present can be supported by other research, for example, Ranger\footnote{3} in his review of various viewpoints, notes that there are two false ideas with regard to African Religion. The first is the idea that there is a total incompatibility between traditional religion and development. He states that in most African situations Christianity and African Religion are both parts of a single continuum of popular religious beliefs. He cites Murphree's research among the Budjga to support this assertion: "... there is such a thing as Contemporary Budjga Religion. This entity is not the traditional religion of the Budjga of the pre-occupation days, nor is it Christianity; these are only the component parts of a contemporary religion which by the circumstances of its development and environment is something different from, and more than, the sum of the two."

To support this view further he cites Mac Gaffey and Janzen in their anthology of Kongo religious thought:- "Nearly everybody is at least nominally Christian. But it's also true that nearly everybody believes that at least the possibility of witchcraft, and also the presence of the possibility of divination and spiritual healing... It's our view which we cannot do more than state here, that there is a Kongo folk religion embracing and transcending its particular manifestations in Kimbanguism, magic, divination, and many different ritual and organizational forms." This folk religion is not a static, compartmentalized religion. People move as necessary to the

\footnote{1} J. of Religion in Africa XII, 1 1981 pp 68-71, David A. Shank. 
\footnote{2} J. of Religion in Africa op.cit. p 69. 
\footnote{3} T. Ranger "The Churches, the Nationalist State and African Religion" in Christianity in Independent Africa.
various churches. In his conclusion Ranger states: "Today it is perfectly plain that Africans live in a situation of religious pluralism. The old monopolistic spheres have broken down; Africans no longer have to be a Methodist or an Anglican or an S.D.A. in order to obtain an education or enter a hospital. Africans can choose among a variety of Christian churches and sects, a variety of indigenous movements, a variety of secular ideologies." (p. 501).

It is perhaps in the context of this pluralism and continuity that I propose to view the traditional Bangwaketse and Zionist religious beliefs and practices, with especial reference to healing and protection. My thesis supports the idea that Zion Churches, as new African religious movements, represent a pattern of continuity with the traditional belief system. I will focus on one aspect of this - the system of healing and protection. I will attempt to show that in the same way as the traditional health system was finely interwoven with the religious system, which, as Setiloane has stated, it was itself difficult to separate out this system from traditional life as a whole, so also is this seen with regard to the Zion Churches.

Finally in summary one should note that in Botswana there are three alternatives in religion:

Traditional Religion
Orthodox Christianity as presented by the former mission churches
The New Religious Movements.

There are also three alternatives for health care:

Traditional Medicine
The Western"oriented "modern" medical services
The Healing offered by the New Religious Movements.

In Chapter 1 the Orthodox Christian Churches and "Modern" medical services available in Kanye have already been outlined. In the following Chapters an account will be presented of the remaining alternatives in religion and health care.
CHAPTER 3:

ACCOUNT OF METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

During Christmas 1977 I visited a Zion Church at the invitation of one of my neighbours. It was after this visit that I became interested in attempting to make a study of Zion Churches, although prior to this I had known very little about them.

The first Zion Church I visited was not in fact the one to which I was invited, but was a church of type 2,* attended by the brother of the Bishop of Kanana. From there I visited Episcopal (type 3)¹ and then began to be invited by visiting Zionists to their churches and special services. They were all very keen to invite me when they saw my interest. At this point I started to read what I could find about Zion Churches. These studies focused mainly on South Africa and Rhodesia, mostly on how they operated within the urban or rural settings of those two countries. Many of the conditions that favoured their development did not necessarily apply to the Botswana situation, particularly in a rural area such as Kanye.

Although I had obviously learnt something about traditional life in Kanye by this time, I needed to obtain information for a more detailed comparison. Therefore I recorded observations as I made them, even though later I had to make alterations or additions as I became more familiar with the subject.

Methodology

To start with, whilst I was still at the beginning, my method was mostly straightforward observation. When I attended Zion services, I always recorded the service on cassette tapes and took photographs (colour slides). This was necessary because of the language difficulty (services naturally took place in Setswana). Also the use of cassette tapes was far less intrusive than attempting to make notes, particularly as many of these services were held at night with perhaps only one candle lighting the church.

When I attended the services my role was as a visitor. The church leader would call upon my interpreter to introduce me, and I would be introduced as a teacher from England who taught at the secondary school in Kanye. She would explain that I was interested in writing a book about the Zion Churches and how they were helping

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¹ For an explanation of these types see below Chapter 10, p. 237.
people in Botswana, as such churches are not common in England. Both my interpreter and myself would stand in our positions (i.e. usually with the women of the congregation, but sometimes we would be placed with the leaders and their wives). We would both be dressed like other non-member women, that is, bare feet (shoes usually had to be left outside the church), hair covered by a duek (head scarf) and dresses and/or jerseys that covered knees and arms.

Strangely, neither the tape recorder nor the camera flash disturbed the services, in fact this became a useful tactic for contacting informants, as members would come to my house to hear the tapes and look at the slides I had taken. This not only enabled me to ask further questions about points of which I had not understood, but also to interview them later with the interview schedule.

In all I attended 26 services. These covered the spectrum of regular services, Christian festival ones, special services, including both those held by the churches and those held for individuals.

Passing reference has already been made to an interview schedule. This was administered to 66 members and was intended to provide further information on the characteristics of the members and also on their reasons for joining. The questions were designed to try and provide a basis for comparison with West's results of the interviews he held with members of Soweto Churches.*1 The sample I used, like West's, could not be considered as a random sample. This is discussed in much more detail in Chapter 16 on Church Members and Membership (pages 294-303). However I do feel that it does provide useful qualitative information that may be compared with West's results in Soweto.

The church leaders and Secretaries were also interviewed, using additional schedules. This was to provide some of the basic data on the individual churches.*2

Apart from studying the Zion Churches, my chosen topic also required me to make a study of traditional practices and beliefs to provide a comparison. The information I collected here came mainly from observation, participant observation and informants. At this point it is perhaps relevant to mention where I lived, as this enabled me to collect much useful information. I was very fortunate to find

*1 See West Schedule C page 209, appendix 2
*2 Details of these Schedules may be found in the Appendices in Volume 2.
accommodation with a very helpful family who reside "downhill" in the kgotla next to the secondary school where I was employed as an English teacher.

The family

The family could be described as an average ordinary family. They were not related to the royal family, but were descended from the main kgotla of our area. Their totem was nare (buffalo) so originally they were Matebele - probably left behind, maybe as captives, at the time when Mzilikazi's armies passed through the area on their way North to Rhodesia. Today however, such people are considered as Bangwaketse.

They seemed to be respected by the kgotla, as honest, hard-working people who always took part in the various traditional obligations. There was a certain amount of jealousy against them from some kgotla members because the father of the family (about 70), although illiterate himself, had sent all his 7 surviving children to school. The third daughter, my chief interpreter, had completed the most education (Form 5 at the local secondary school). Another sister had completed 1½ years of secondary education and her son, 3 years. Of the others, 3 had completed Standard 7 and the remaining one, Standard 4. Although younger children are now usually sent to school, very few of those in their 20's and 30's have attended more than 1-2 years of primary education. One reason for this is that children traditionally were needed at Cattleposts, but the family where I lived had lost most of their cattle in the drought in the 60's.

Every year the parents of the family went to plough their Lands. This they did in a very traditional if frequently unsuccessful way. This factor again provided me with much useful information on traditional agricultural practices. At all times they were very patient in explaining traditional practices.

While I stayed with them various babies were born, and unfortunately one died. Again these events provided me with information on traditional practices concerning childbirth and burial of infants. I feel much of this type of information would not otherwise have been available to me unless I had been living with such a family.

As a resident in the kgotla, I was treated as a sort of quasi-sister of my interpreter, the daughter of the family where I stayed. Everyone of course knew where I worked but took it for granted that I
would appear at the various weddings, botsetsi parties, badimo festivals, funerals etc., as a quasi-member of the family where I lived. This was very useful again for collecting much qualitative information. I would be treated as an ordinary woman and be expected to assist at funerals etc. fetching water, helping to cook, clean, and wash up. This again enabled me to observe many traditional practices associated with these occasions without actually having to ask direct questions. I could note my observations and ask for further points of clarification later at a more diplomatic time. For example much of my initial information gathered on the cleansing of widows came from going with my interpreter to greet one of her relatives who had long been absent in South Africa. This woman, had become widowed so had to return to her Kanye kgotla to be cleansed. When we arrived, many older people were gathered to witness the cutting of her hair as part of her cleansing. Then on another occasion another new widow was cleansed at a neighbour's yard, which allowed me to gather additional information purely by observation. This ritual is rather a difficult one to question people about, especially as it is always conducted by older people as younger people are not supposed to come in contact with the mechanics of death.

By being a resident of the kgotla I did gather much very useful information by this method, as my presence at many such occasions was natural and expected.

For collecting information on traditional medicine, observation was also the main method used. I had two main informants and they allowed me to observe their cases, and also when they were treating them. One of these informants was the father of one of my friends and the other traditional doctor was the relative of the family where I was living.

Informants

Use of informants was another useful method of collecting information. The family where I lived were obviously invaluable, particularly the daughter who acted as my interpreter. Other informants were the various church leaders and Zion members and traditional doctors. Many students at school gave me useful information, as did the neighbours and residents of both my kgotla and the neighbouring ones. The important information collected by this method was on cases
of boloi. For example the fact that my interpreter was a local resident meant that she was often able to give me very much useful background historical information on a number of Zion prophecies during which members may be told they were bewitched. She also kept me informed of births, marriages and deaths in the kgotla, and the various allegations of boloi. All this information she had access to by the fact that she was a member of the kgotla whom people respected.

Assessment of Research Methods

Obviously the question arises as to how representative my information is, especially as I failed to use random sampling methods. However this would have been an impossible method to use for the types of information that I was particularly interested in collecting, i.e. the detailed qualitative primary information. There were no written records of contemporary Bangwaketse traditional practices and beliefs that I could find, so much of my time, especially at the beginning, was spent in recording these. This obviously requires the use of methods such as observation, participant observation, and the use of informants. Obviously some of the practices, particularly those connected with death, cleansing and protection, are rather sensitive areas, and unless a researcher has been able to establish "prior trust" with informants, it would be difficult to obtain information, for example, one of my traditional doctor informants became an informant because I was already friendly with his daughter. Although traditional doctors are in no way secret practitioners, I had known her well for over a year and visited her frequently at her home, before I knew her father was a traditional doctor. This was probably because educated Batswana do not realise that this could conceivably be of interest to foreigners. However, once I had shown an interest, they went to great lengths to assist me. Similarly this was the case with the Zion churches, once a relationship had been established, they would go out of their way to provide me with information.

Participant observation is severely criticized by some, but the quality of information this method can provide can be high and detailed. I found this a very useful method for gathering information especially on boloi and baloi, and it is interesting to find that I agree here with Esu-Bwana et al, who found this a useful method for
collecting information for their study on sorcery in Zaire.*1 It would be extremely difficult to interview alleged baloi on a random sampling basis. Even to attempt to ask a moloi directly, would be a betrayal of trust of the original informant, who would blame future adverse occurrences on the revenge of the moloi. One has to draw conclusions from the results of their alleged activities, steps taken against them and perceived results of these. One becomes involved in the various cases over time.

As a participant observer, there were various houses in the kgotla, or occasions where I was always advised to refuse acceptance of any refreshments because of the fear of bewitchment by poisoning. At some homes I was advised not to visit because of the fear of footprints being 'stolen.'

One very useful factor was that I have a teacher at the local secondary school. Everyone knew about teachers and what they do. My perceived role was therefore as a teacher who happened to be interested in "Dilwana tsa Setswana le dikereke tsa Zioni."*2 This was a clearly understood role. People became aware of the things I was interested in learning and would come to inform me if they felt there was something that would interest me, for example, dikgafela, brewing beer, treating people who had been bewitched, tlıhowana cases etc. I believe that they would not really have understood what a Sociologist was, they would not really have seen this as work. Someone who conducted the study as a full-time Sociologist would also have had the various bureaucratic problems of obtaining permits from the government to make the study and also to obtain a residence permit.

*1 Esu-Bwana, Kibwenge, Ngubsim (University Nationale Zaire, Kisangani) "Question de methodologie : sorcellerie et observation participante" (A Question of Methodology: sorcery and participant observation). Ethnopschologie 1979, 34,1, Jan. 21-30) Social Abstracts "The nature of sorcery among African Bantu peoples is discussed and positive and negative aspects of participant observation methods as an ethnopsychological research method considered. Conclude that while there are drawbacks involved, the method does provide valid and otherwise unobtainable information about this aspect of Bantu life."

*2 This roughly means "Setswana Customs and Zion Churches."
Problems of Language and Foreigness

This was a difficulty to a certain extent. To begin with I knew very little Setswana so I had to use an interpreter. Her presence became less necessary as I progressed in the language (although it should be noted that I never became fluent). However people do not really go anywhere alone in Botswana, you go with a companion, so my interpreter was not just an interpreter, but also useful as a companion.

Being a foreigner was helpful. I found that people greatly fear boloi, but do not feel that foreigners (white ones) can harm them, thus they perhaps allowed me more laxity and gave me more information, particularly about baloi and boloi, than if I had been a Motswana Sociologist. Other tribes may be greatly feared for their powers and many traditional people seem to believe that success in education (or anything else) is greatly assisted by possession of powerful medicines (often boloi ones). This would thus perhaps have led to a Motswana having more difficulties because of this. My interpreter fortunately belonged to a family against which there was no smear of boloi, and she also had a very polite and respectful manner - I was extremely lucky in this.

Being a woman was also helpful. Mention has already been made of the opportunity for participant observation whilst helping at for example, funerals, botsetsi etc. Men of course do not enter Botsetsi, so I think it would have been difficult for a male investigator to collect first-hand information on some of these things. At so many traditional events men sit in the kgotla "discussing" with the other men, therefore a male investigator would probably not have had the opportunity to observe the women's side of things. As a foreign woman, I was at other times given the privileges of Tswana men, for example, I was not necessarily banned from entering other people's kraals.

Residence in a kgotla in a Tswana House

This I feel was very important, as already stated. Just by living in a traditional house, which was in fact built while I was there (giving me the opportunity to observe all the associated traditional practices) and its upkeep, building a lolwapa and re-smearing the walls, various gardening practices etc. gave me a lot of information. Also many of my informants would not have visited me if
I had lived at the Teachers' Quarters at the secondary school in the "European-styled" houses. Also by the fact that my lifestyle was more similar to theirs - having to fetch water, no electricity, collect cattle dung for the mud walls and m'wapa, planting mealies in the yard etc. - I feel helped them to recognise that my interest in Tswana practices was genuine. Also it often gave them something to show me, for example, if my first efforts at smearing were not very successful! This all helped to establish relationships of trust.

**Difficulties**

Because of the dislike of the "powers" used by traditional doctors, it was not possible for me to carry out my investigation of traditional doctors and Zion Churches simultaneously.

Also, as already expressed elsewhere, mainly 2 traditional doctors informants were used. This is because traditional doctors had individual secret methods and would not favour a person going from one informant to another in case these "secrets" were exposed to a rival. Again many other traditional doctors were allegedly utilizing boloi ingredients to assist clients to obtain power. It would not have been politic to have become involved with such people.

However I do believe that my information is fairly typical and does provide an account that could be used for a basis of comparison with either Zion Churches elsewhere or traditional practices in other parts of Botswana.
PART 2: BONGAKA (TRADITIONAL MEDICINE AND RELIGION)

Introductory Remarks

It was noted in Part I that in traditional, self-sufficient societies, religion is closely interwoven with all aspects of everyday life. In Part 2, an overall account of Bangwaketse traditional life will be attempted. This account will cover the traditional practices and beliefs with reference to those associated with traditional religion (which includes medicine), those associated with the life cycle, and those associated with the traditional year. The emphasis of this account will be especially on protection and healing.

Much ethnographic data was collected during my fieldwork. As this was not all strictly relevant to the main thesis, but appears to be unrecorded elsewhere, passing reference will be made in Part 2 to further details that may be found in Volume 2.
CHAPTER 4:

BONGAKA : ITS CONTEXT

In presenting an account of traditional medicine, some facts should first be noted about traditional Tswana religion because, as has already been noted, in a situation as in Kanye, the two are often closely interwoven. In fact it is preferable to use the more inclusive term Bongaka as this concept includes both emphases.

Perhaps it is best to start by giving a brief account of traditional religion before the Batswana made contact with, and were influenced by, the Europeans. In many respects such an account can only be a reconstruction because the majority of Batswana now claim at least nominal Christian belief. Also it should be noted that the written materials of nineteenth century observers must rely solely on European sources, for example, the writings of European travellers, missionaries, and traders. In all of these written accounts an allowance must therefore be made for a certain bias. Throughout Schapera's works there are many references to traditional religious beliefs and practices. Jean Comaroff presents extensive information on the Barolong (South Africa), Pauw's work is on the Batlhaping (South Africa) and Setiloane writes of the Sotho-Tswana. However, apart from an article in Botswana Notes and Records, there is nothing published specifically on the Bangwaketse. Therefore for my reconstruction of Bangwaketse traditional beliefs I relied heavily on informants to cross-check the information available on neighbouring tribes. Elderly people were obviously the main informants, particularly those from my kgotla, but younger people such as secondary school students also provided much information which they would voluntarily obtain from their elderly relatives. I also obtained much information from the modern traditional specialists i.e. my traditional doctor informants.

Tswana Concept of Humanity

The moral quality of an individual is believed to be something that grows with age and experience. It is shown in wisdom, care for

*1 See Chapter 2 p 47 and 56-68.
others and knowledge of human nature. According to Setiloane the conformist is respected i.e. a person who follows the accepted pattern of social living, one who is just and mature, generous and kind, and strong morally and spiritually rather than physically. "Manhood is a matter, not of birth or material prosperity, but of human relationships."*1 The ideal of a Tswana woman is as a "Mma motse" (mother of the household) - the backbone of the family, ward and the village, complementing all the male moral good qualities of her husband.

Each individual is believed to have seriti, (plural diriti, also referred to as sehihi) which may be roughly translated as personality or shadow. This is described as light when it is weak, and dark when it is strong. It can derive darkness and strength either from good or evil. When a child is born, its seriti is light and needs to be strengthened, it becomes stronger through the influence of other darker diriti. In this context it can be understood why young babies are secluded especially from people in certain conditions.*2 If a child's seriti remains light, it will be unable to withstand misfortune, alternatively it may become strong through being exposed to the influence of evil diriti and grow up to become a threat to the whole society.

Within this context it can be understood why much of the concern of Tswana medicine is to strengthen the seriti. Traditionally the head of the household would annually strengthen the diriti of the members of his household to protect them from misfortune. A person with a healthy seriti shows this outwardly by being dignified, well-mannered, prosperous and successful in his enterprises. An evil, heavy seriti is believed to cause people around it to be irritable and weak.

As will be seen below, traditional practitioners' methods are often aimed at strengthening the light seriti of a person, that has caused him to be prone to sickness, bad luck and all types of misfortune. Thus a main function of traditional medicine is to strengthen the seriti. It should also be noted that an individual's seriti extends beyond the individual (e.g. in the case of the head of the household

*1 Setiloane, 1976: 40
*2 See Chapter 8, p. 156-162.
it includes the members of the household, his livestock, his possessions and the yard itself, therefore if he does wrong his children, stock or crops could suffer from the reflected protective medicines of the person he has harmed. An individual's sputum and perspiration are filled with his seriti, as are his body hair and nails, therefore an article of an individual's clothing is sufficient for a traditional doctor to use in his absence, to divine the cause of his problems. Conversely these articles which his seriti is believed to permeate, can be used by baloi (roughly- witches/sorcerers) to weaken his seriti if they intend to harm him. Many of the traditional practices described in Chapter 8 and 9 in connection with the life cycle and traditional agricultural year are aimed at strengthening the seriti at vulnerable life crises, hence making it less prone to supernatural attack.

The Traditional Tswana view of the Supernatural Universe

Tswana traditional religion appears to be in many ways typical of that of a microcosmic society as outlined elsewhere\(^*1\) by Horton. In traditional Tswana religion there is a strong belief in Badimo - the ancestors - as the underpinners of the microcosm. Willoughby claimed that they act as the guardians of tribal morality. Badimo are described in greater detail in Chapter 8, but in their capacity as the guardians of tribal morality they are believed to punish or reward their descendants as necessary. Therefore ancestral activity features in traditional beliefs about the causality of successes and problems (the latter includes ill-health).

Apart from Badimo the traditional Tswana Supernatural Universe included a belief in Modimo - the Supreme Being, the Creator, the Controller of Destiny and the Rain, who could inflict punishment by sending thunder and lightning, drought and death. However Modimo was typical of the Supreme Being of microcosmic societies, as it was not believed that Modimo was involved in, or concerned with, the daily activities of human beings. There is no organized cult to worship Modimo, but instead, as is typical of these societies, the emphasis is on Badimo.

The Badimo of commoners are believed to be active in the life of their living descendants who placate, thank, and supplicate them

\(^*1\) See Chapter 2, p. 48.
(see Chapter 6 for more details). They are contacted through the senior living male descendant. Royal Badimo can be appealed to (or thanked as necessary) for national happenings, for example, drought, famine, disease, good harvests etc. They are contacted via their senior living descendant - the Chief.

Therefore it can be seen that the Tswana concept of Modimo is, as has been noted by Seeley,*1 a residual category for the explanation of otherwise inexplicable events. However, as she also notes, there is a Tswana proverb: "Modimo ga se mmolai" (Modimo is not a murderer).

Comaroff*2 has suggested the following as an illustration of the traditional Tswana concept of the Supernatural Universe. (see next page)

It can be seen from this that there is a circular conception of the universe which is paralleled in life by the way a Tswana settlement develops. The village is in the centre - the Chief residing in the centre of this. The dikgotla of commoners are arranged in a circular mode around Kgosing (the Chief's kgotla). Surrounding the village are the Lands, and surrounding these are the Cattleposts. These parts include the domesticated area of the Tswana Universe. Each family's homestead, Cattlepost and Lands are protected by the domestic ancestors. The overall area is protected by the Chief's ancestors. In these areas the main dangers are believed to emanate from the Metlhala (footprints) left by people suffering from maoto a molelo - those believed to be ritually hot.*3

Beyond the domesticated areas of the Tswana Universe is the bush. This is conceptualised as a wild, undomesticated area. Here live diphologolo (the wild animals), and ditlhare (the wild trees, plants and tubers) grow. This a neutral area. On the one hand it is the area that provides food when there is a shortage in times of drought or famine, i.e., the wild food plants are gathered and the wild animals are hunted; but on the other hand the wild animals and plants also provide the main constituents of the medicines of the traditional doctors' medicines, or those of Baloi (sorcerers). These ingredients

*1 Seeley p. 36-7.
*2 Comaroff p. 66
*3 For a fuller explanation see p.84-5 of this section.
are not believed to be innately good or evil but are neutral and only become powerful to cure or harm according to the intentions of their users.

Traditionally this area was believed to be potentially dangerous, here those denied burial were left, for example, Baloi. Initiation took place here. Therefore ghostly spirits were believed to inhabit this area. Cairn graves could be found for those who had been denied burial in the capital. Willoughby*1 refers to how hunters and travellers passing these would salute the cairns with the words "Dumela sefikantswe" ("Greetings cairn") and then throw a few stones. They feared that if they neglected this practice, they would be punished by those spirits with bad luck. Willoughby*2 also refers to a custom whereby an unsuccessful hunter would choose a large shady tree, then mark out the circular area of its shadow. He would then sweep this circle clear of leaves and litter and there invoke his Badimo to help him be more successful. If he was subsequently successful he would return and leave a portion of the carcase for Badimo. In clearing such an area, he was demonstrating that in order to contact his domestic Badimo he should first domesticate the bush in order to approach them.

Beyond the bush was the far distance where lived the Supreme Being, Modimo. Comaroff therefore states this demonstrates a cosmological continuum from the domesticated area of the settlement controlled by the personalized spiritual beings (Badimo), through the undomesticated bush controlled by ill-defined and dangerous spirits, to the far distance inhabited by the ill-defined and impersonal Modimo.

It is into this conception of traditional religious philosophy that Tswana medicine may be seen to fit. The primary emphasis of this traditional religion is, like other African religions - to promote potent force, or alternatively using Tempels' words "vital force". There is a this-worldly emphasis - the primary aim of this religion is to provide adequate explanations and ritual techniques to cope with the demands and irregularities of everyday life.

*1 Outlined in Comaroff p. 100 ff.
*2 Willoughby 1932: 46.
Emphases/Functions of Traditional Medicine

There are, as noted by Seeley, four main emphases of traditional Tswana medicine. The first function is protective i.e. to protect an individual, his family or property against the various dangers present in the Tswana Universe. These can emanate from baloi (sorcerers) dissatisfied and angered Badimo (ancestors), dikgaba (the anger of an outraged living elder), or from the adverse effects of ritually "hot" people or dibeela (abominations, e.g. unburied foetuses).

The second function of traditional medicine is curative i.e. to cure the results of the actions of any of the above-mentioned dangers. The curative methods vary according to the divined causes of a problem (including illnesses).

The third emphasis is productive. As found by other researchers, a main aim of many African societies is to promote fertility both of humans and in agricultural enterprise (livestock and crops).

The fourth emphasis is destructive, this not only includes the destructive intentions of baloi, but the function of protective measures may also have the effect of reflecting the evil intentions of a moloi back to the moloi. Also, traditionally, during the eras of inter-tribal war, a Chief could use this method against his enemies as an alternative to war, or again he may use this method against a tribal rival.

Tswana Concept of Illness

Something should perhaps be noted about what is the traditional belief about sickness and ill-health. As is noted elsewhere, the Tswana concept of illness is not limited to the "European" concept, i.e. human organic disorders. Also included in the category of those considered to be ill are those who could pollute others, i.e. those suffering from maoto a molelo ("Hot blood"). Such people are menstruating women, newly confined and pregnant women, the recently bereaved - especially those most closely related to the deceased - the widowed, recently miscarried women (and men to a lesser degree), recently returned travellers and warriors, murderers, fornicators and adulterers. All of these were believed to suffer from the condition called maoto a molelo - "hot" blood. They are believed to transfer this condition to the pathways through their tracks and footprints. The contagious condition can be especially dangerous to
people who are considered ritually weak, i.e. those whose seriti is weak; livestock and germinating and growing crops are also in danger from people with maoto a rolelo. Therefore people with this condition, until they have been treated by medicines to "cool" them, should avoid pathways where people walk. These people, if left untreated, are also believed to adversely affect the rain, leading to drought and starvation.

Thus it can be seen that much of the protective function of traditional medicine is to protect against the adverse effects of maoto a molelo.

Another common cause of ill-health is displeased Badimo and dikgaba. These two causes of ill-health can be avoided by an individual following the moral code.

Boloi is a common cause of ill-health. To a certain extent this can also be avoided by an individual keeping the moral code i.e. being generous, welcoming, modest etc., i.e. not causing other individuals to feel malice, envy or hatred. Unlike in many other African countries, boloi is the result of the conscious evil intent of an individual towards another. Boloi and traditional doctors use the same ingredients that are mostly derived from the "undomesticated bush" area of the Tswana Universe. Whereas the traditional doctor usually uses them positively in order to effect a cure, protection, or productivity, a moloi is able to reverse their effects in order to make them destroy. So apart from an individual attempting to avoid causing such malice in other individuals by "correct" social behaviour, they can also use protective measures against the effects of such actions. These measures are administered through the agency of a traditional doctor and will be outlined in greater detail below. (See Chapter 6).

Another cause of ill-health can be a category called Meila. This includes all adverse conditions that result from the breaking of taboos. More will be mentioned about this in Chapter 6.

As noted by researchers in other African societies there is a category of illness that cannot be attributed to any of the above-mentioned causes. It is recognized that some conditions "just happen". Most of the non-serious illnesses such as colds, coughs, small grazes and cuts etc. fall into this category. Also some of

*1 E.G. c.f. Ngubane, Setiloane, Gillies (see above, Chapter 2, p. 59).
the more serious diseases and adverse conditions can be attributed simply to Modimo, for example, some droughts, some famines etc. However, it should be noted that these can also be attributed to any of the above causes.

Therefore in traditional medicine treatment of ill-health (which here includes all adverse conditions) is in terms of treating the cause of the adverse conditions. That is before the condition which traditionally may only be seen as a symptom can be successfully treated, the traditional practitioner must divine the cause. It will also be noted that in Tswana traditional medical philosophy, as in many other African countries, ill-health is caused by disharmony in the social environment involving severed social relationships. Therefore the main aim to effect a successful treatment is to restore harmony, i.e. to repair the broken social relationships. When these are repaired, then the various symptoms of ill-health (these include the European category of ill-health, but also unsuccessful agricultural enterprises, family illness, bad luck etc.) will also disappear.

Traditional Practitioners

In reconstructing traditional religion and medicine it is clear that the role of traditional practitioners today is more on an individual or private basis. Traditionally their role was much wider. The great change undoubtedly came when the Chiefs were converted to Christianity. Before Christianity, the Chief was the magico-religious leader of the tribe and in this capacity headed all other traditional practitioners. As already noted, Badimo were believed to be hierarchically arranged with the royal Badimo higher than the Badimo of commoners. Connection with the world of Badimo was via the senior male living kin on a domestic basis, but for the tribe as a whole the Chief was the link with the royal Badimo who oversaw the welfare of the nation. Traditional doctors acted in an advisory capacity only, to Chiefs or heads of households, on establishing and maintaining these links with Badimo, but the Chief or senior male family member was always the main celebrant of all ceremony and ritual in this connection.

In pre-Christian times the Chief was the Supreme traditional doctor and at his installation took control of the two most powerful medicine horns: lenaka labokgosi (horn of chiefship) and lenaka lantwa (horn of war). These horns contained medicines that protected the tribe
against adverse influences, including other hostile tribes. The 
pre-Christian Chiefs, as the Supreme traditional doctors of their 
tribes, also performed all the major tribal-level ceremonies. These 
Chiefs were responsible for the supernatural protection of the tribal 
boundaries and the annual dipeku ceremony (that protected the capital). 
They also celebrated, as the main celebrant, the various ceremonies 
conducted at tribal level during the agricultural cycle, and the other 
traditional ceremonies, the most important of which was the rainmaking.

Under the Chief were the various traditional practitioners, the 
dingaka. Of these there were the dingaka tsa morafe - responsible to 
the Chief for the general protection of the tribe, and the Chief's 
special and usually hereditary dingaka tsa kgosing. These were 
attached to the Chief's kgotla and acted under his orders, for example, 
during court cases. In addition there were the baroka or dingaka tsa 
pula, the rainmakers. The baroka, probably because of the unreliability 
of the rains in this semi-arid area, were very much respected. According 

* 1 Batswana believed that Modimo was the ultimate source of 

rain, but it was believed that prayers for rain could be addressed via 
the royal Badimo and their living intermediary, the Chief. If rain 
fell it was said that "Kgosi e bua pila le badimo" (the Chief is 
speaking well with the ancestors). But if there was drought then it 
was believed that the Badimo were angry and an atonement sacrifice 
was necessary. Willoughby (1905 : 301) refers to an occasion of 
terrible drought when Sekgoma (Chief of the Bangwato) slaughtered a 
black ox on the grave of his ancestor, Chief Mothibi. Following the 
sacrifice the rain fell and the drought ended.

The special rainmaking materials were stored in a special hut 
in the Chief's kgotla called the segotlwana sa pula. When their 
services were necessary the tribal baroka would retire here with the 
Chief and burn the rainmaking medicines (mostly roots, bulbs and 
animal fats, but it is still rumoured that special human parts such as 
from very black people are/were also used). This burning would produce 
thick dark smoke "like the rain clouds" that it was believed would 
then be caused to form. The methods of rainmaking varied between the 
individual baroka. Schapera by interviewing very aged informants 
was able to collect information on the Bakgatla rainmakers, but he

* 1 Schapera Rainmaking Rites of Tswana Tribes. (1971).
notes that they had long disappeared on a tribal scale by the time he
was doing his main fieldwork. However he is able to quote some of
the old incantations that show quite clearly the appeal to Badimo
during the process. The following is part of a prayer of a rainmaker
whilst he was preparing the medicines:

Bomatshatha, bomatshatha abokgosi
(Shoulders of Chiefship)
pepepa bothakga bamanakana-dialla,
(carry well the people of the crying horns)
bamanakana-tsapodi,
(the people of the goat's horn)
eleng baroka batlhogo tsa Matebele,
(rainmakers who fought the Matebele)
Molebedu, senamolela masogana,
(Molebedu, intercede for the youths)
senamolela barena;
(intercede for the Chief)
keabua, kebua pula,
(I am speaking, I speak about rain)
agoswe phofu.
(let the eland die).

The following song was used by the same rainmaker while he was walking
around the fire to bring the rain:--

Mokgatla omogolo waMatshego apitsa
(Great Kgatla, son of Matshego of the pot).
kerapela wena Lentswe aKgamanyane a Pilane
(I pray to you Lentswe Kgamanyane Pilane)
nthuse, agone pula
(help me, let it rain;)
le wena Sechele a Motswasele Mokwena omogolo
(and you, Sechele Motswasele, great Kwena;)
kerapella molona,
(I pray to you all)
kelona medimo emogolo yalefatshe;
(you are the great gods of the land)
lewena Mongwaketse Gaseitsiwe;
(and you, Gaseitsiwe the Ngwaketse;)

- 88 -
kebua lelona gore lenkutlwe;
(I speak to you all that you may hear me)
lewenene Moshweshwe morwaMokotedi;
(and you, Moshweshwe, son of Mokotedi)
kebiletsa medimo e molona,
(I call to these gods through you all)
ke ele lona medimo yalefatshe lelegodimo;
(for you are the gods of earth and heaven;)
lewenena Kgama Mophoting,
(and you Khama, the duiker)
thapelo e retse reabaya gowena;
(this prayer we place before you (sing.))
Refeng pula yalona,
(Give us your (plural) rain)
keyalona pula e
(it is yours this rain)
Gobua nna mong waditlhare, nna Rapedi.
(it is I who speak, Rapedi, owner of the medicines)
kerapela mong watsone Motsatsi,
(I pray to their owner Motsatsi)
kare, "Molebedu nthuse,
(I say, "Molebedu, help me)
pula e ya gago
(this is your rain)
wena matshatha abokgosi pepepa bothakga,
(you the shoulderer of chiefship, carry well)
mosunkwane aboPoo, aboPoo aboRradira
(the charms of Poo, Radira and company."
Kefeditse.
(I have finished)
Thobela!
(Hail!)
Agone pula!
(Let it rain)

These are just some of the incantations quoted by Schapera\textsuperscript{1} that show very clearly how the royal Badimo were invoked in rainmaking.

\textsuperscript{1} Schapera Rainmaking Rites of the Tswana Tribes (1971)
As already noted, Baroka were greatly respected, but as Moffatt*1 noted: "The rainmaker seldom dies a natural death." Batswana were quick to blame and punish fraudulent practitioners. However when this happened, if Baroka failed to succeed in making the rain they promised, it was the man not the underlying system that the Batswana questioned.

Chiefs also had their dingaka tsa boloi (also known as dingaka tsa kaloya). These were the sorcery specialists. As already mentioned this method could be used as an alternative to inter- or intra-tribal war. Ritual murders to obtain substances for these medicines were carried out with the sanction of the Chief. For example the traveller Campbell*2 claims that the Bangwaketse Chief Makhaba, told him he possessed special strengthening medicines made from the entrails and bone marrow of a rival Chief killed in battle. Makhaba claimed that these were very powerful and effective medicines.

In addition to these traditional practitioners employed on tribal business by the Chief, many had a private practice, being employed by individuals and/or families. In the old days there seem to have been various specialists:- rainmakers, thobega (setting fractures), ritual purification specialists, those specializing in children's complaints, protection specialists, those who specialized in productive problems - of people, cattle and lands.

The effect of the Coming of Christianity

In the nineteenth century Tswana microcosmic society was increasingly affected by the macrocosm which led to certain social changes, resulting from increasing contact with Europeans. Tswana traditional religion was greatly affected by the challenge from Christianity. As noted above, the Chief was traditionally the magico-religious leader, so once the Chief was converted many of the religious ceremonies held at national level were either greatly modified or abandoned altogether.

Among the Bangwaketse, Gaseitsiwe was the first Ngwaketse Chief to obtain a white missionary from the L.M.S. in 1871. He never became a Christian himself, but his son Bathoen I was educated by missionaries and became a Christian, and under him many traditional national practices

*1 Moffatt (p. 325)
*2 Campbell, J. Travels in South Africa (Vol. 1 1882: 312)
were abandoned, for example, in 1892 he abandoned traditional rain-making, and the last initiation was in 1896. This weakened the power of the traditional doctors as the Chief's advisers on ritual matters. Their position as the Chief's political advisers was further eroded by the fact that, with increasing contact with Europeans in South Africa and other parts of Bechuanaland, the missionaries were more useful to advise the Chief on these type of political activities than the traditional doctors (dingaka tsa morafe and dingaka tsa kgosing).

They also lost their former power with the ending of inter-tribal wars for example, the practice of gofoka marumo (literally to sprinkle the weapons with traditional medicine), i.e. the protecting of the tribal army in wartime and on the death of the Chief, became an obsolete custom.

Under the influence of Christian missionaries various laws were passed limiting the powers of traditional practitioners. All the churches condemned the use of magic and punished members who consulted traditional doctors. However, as Schapera states, "Christianity may have provided Tswana with an acceptable substitute for their old religion, it had apparently not been able to convince them that their faith in the efficacy of magic was 'idle superstition'".

In 1914 Chief Seepapitso tried to limit the numbers of those who practised as traditional doctors. Schapera writes that he wanted to control their activities because he knew of the attempts being made to bewitch him personally. Schapera quotes part of a letter from the Chief's letter book, Tribal Office Kanye 15.x.1910: This was a letter he wrote to his uncle (Malome) Chief Sebele I of the Bakwena: "I inform the Mokwena (i.e. Bakwena Chief) about my life here with the Ngwaketse. I'm not living at all well with them. Wherever I am evil charms (debeela) are being placed, and the diviners say they are evil charms placed by the Ngwaketse. The purpose of my sending Morapane (the letter bearer, and one of his confidential servants) is this because father, I beg you to help me by cleansing (goitaya-striking, neutralising) the evil charms for me. I mean that the Mokwena should send one of his people here to help me pray to God by

*1 Schapera Tribal Innovators p. 131.
*2 Schapera Tribal Innovators p. 168.
*3 Schapera Tribal Innovators p. 168.
cleansing the evil charms. There are dingaka here, but I fear, lest they find this an opportunity for removing me altogether. If my father agrees to this request of mine, I shall be grateful if that person could be here soon, some time next week. This is the errand on which I have sent Morapane."

In 1914 Seepapitso decreed that the name of reliable traditional doctors should be forwarded to him by kgotla heads. When he did not receive a satisfactory response from these heads, he passed a law that if anyone required the services of a traditional doctor they should obtain one through him. He added further: "Whoever seeks a doctor for himself will be committing an offence."*1 In 1916 he introduced the idea of the registration of traditional doctors, by ruling that he would select those doctors to be allowed to practise and, as there were now enough, no new ones could learn.

The Protectorate Administration largely ignored the whole subject of traditional religion and medicine until the 1920's. In fact in 1908, when the Governor in Bloemfontein urged that a stop should be put to the practice of "witchcraft" and that legislation should be framed for the prosecution of dingaka, the Resident Commissioner in Mafeking retorted that there had been no murder resulting from boloi since 1885, and that it had died out "... so far as any visible effects are concerned."*2

In 1927 the Protectorate Administration passed the Witchcraft Proclamation. This act was originally framed because Chief Sebele (Bakwena Chief complained to the Protectorate Administration of his Tribal Councillors, whom he accused of sorcery against him. The stated aim of the Act was "to suppress the imputations of practice of pretended witchcraft". By this act it became a penal offence to practise sorcery, to accuse others of sorcery or to practise divination for certain specified purposes. Unfortunately this law confused traditional doctors (dingaka tsa dinaka - those who divine with bones (see below)) with baloi (sorcerers/witches). The law was unpopular and very difficult to enforce and in fact was hardly ever enforced. Unfortunately, by confusing

*1 Schapera 1947b:79
traditional doctors with baloi, the most effective controllers of sorcery/witchcraft were outlawed. In vain various Chiefs tried to protest against it, including the Bangwaketse Regent, Ntebogang. The only effect of their protest was for the Administration to distinguish between dingaka tsa dichowa (herbalists) and dingaka tsa dinaka. The former were now described as "honest persons who mix medicines for the purpose of curing their fellows". The latter continued to be outlawed and were classified with baloi.

Among the Bangwaketse, Bathoen II consolidated the decrees of his father by passing the "Melao ya Dingaka" (Laws for Doctors, professed magicians and medical practitioners) which was passed in 1929. In July 1929 Bathoen read it to an Assembly at the Kgotla. It stated: "la) A doctor may not take (for himself) what has been killed for (use in treating) sickness; his payment will be a live ox, goat or sheep.

lb) A doctor who takes (the meat of) an ox, goat, or sheep, that has been slaughtered (on his instructions) will not be paid a live animal, because he has paid himself.

2) There is no longer to be any fee for divination (alone) let the doctor (also) give medicines (for the patient).

3) A doctor can treat sickness only if he has a written permit from the Chief.

4) If a doctor is unable to cure a sickness he must say so, so that another doctor may be sought; also, let the doctor visit the patient and make medicines for him, (and) not send them by someone else."*1 The most important clause of this law was 3) i.e. that a doctor could only practise if he had a permit from the Chief.

In fact the Bangwaketse Chiefs were the only Tswana Chiefs who attempted to ensure that trustworthy traditional doctors continued to practise, whilst outlawing evil ones. If a traditional doctor was found to be practising boloi, or encouraging it by giving his clients help in this way, his bones and tools were confiscated and his permit was withdrawn. Bathoen II repeatedly announced in kgotla meetings that people should refrain from magical practices and rites that would harm others. Traditionally, before the Protectorate, sorcerers had been put to death on the orders of the Chief, but after the

*1 Schapera Tribal Innovators p.131ff.
Protectorate was declared, Chiefs no longer retained the power of capital sentencing. However if sorcerers were convicted and then still refused to "undo" their victims, the victims or relatives were given permission by the Chief to resort to vengeance magic - i.e. doctoring the grave of a deceased victim. Convicted sorcerers were also fined heavily and may be even exiled from the village.

Today these tribal laws still stand, as does the Witchcraft Proclamation. However there have been some changes and additions, for example, at the 28th Session of the African Advisory Council in 1947, the members all regretted the weakening of power of traditional doctors who were dedicated men; at the 35th Session in 1951 a representative from Kweneng drew attention to the fact that traditionally in Molepole there had been easy access to herbalists but now (1951) there was only one doctor to 38,000 people at the Molepole mission.

Although today many of their traditional functions may have become outmoded and abandoned altogether (e.g. go foka marumo), or with the Chief's acceptance of Christianity, tribal ceremonies may have been Christianized (e.g. prayers for rain), traditional medicine is strong on a local level. Traditional doctors (dingaka tsa morafe and dingaka tsa kgosing) are no longer the Chiefs main political advisers. Chiefs themselves, with the introduction of democracy at independence, no longer retain much of their traditional position. However modern medicine has not displaced traditional medicine. At first traditional medicine survived because there were very few Western medical facilities widely available in the country. Even today, whereas there is estimated to be 1 traditional practitioner per 250 - 300 patients, in Ngwaketse District it was estimated that there was only 1 doctor per 35,645 people. Also, as will be seen in greater detail below, Western medicine functions largely as curative medicine and sometimes preventive, but does not fulfil many of the functions of traditional medical philosophy, for example, strengthening the seriti, nor does it cope with many of the symptoms of weakened diriti.

Today (1970's and 1980's) a new role is being found for traditional medicine.

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*2 1971 Census Report.
doctors and medicine. Traditional Doctors' Associations now exist and, although they are suffering many "teething problems", there is a move by Practitioners who are members, to spread their horizons. In 1972 the Dingaka Society of Botswana received official Government recognition and was granted a mandate to regulate the practice of traditional healing and issue licences to those whom it judged were competent to practise. Its main problems have been organization/because of the problems of distance and illiteracy. However by 1975 it was attempting to acquire land in Gaborone to build a training school.

Traditional medicine is dynamic and modernizing and in many areas traditional practitioners are agreeing to participate in locally organized health seminars.
CHAPTER 5:

MODERN TRADITIONAL MEDICINE (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KANYE)

It is preferable and less limiting to use the Tswana word Bongaka; as the English word "medicine" implies a much narrower application of remedies for human sicknesses. Bongaka, on the other hand, is used on a much wider number of occasions. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that much of the aim of Bongaka is to strengthen the seriti (or sehihi) of an individual, or, using Tempels' terminology - promote "vital force". This is in order that the individual concerned and all his/her dependants (including humans, livestock, fields and property) can withstand the attack, challenge, or retribution of adverse physical, mental or supernatural events.

Therefore in the following section the role of Bongaka with regard to traditional practices and beliefs, of protection and healing, will be outlined with reference to its part in the life cycle events, the traditional and agricultural year. This section will commence with a more detailed description of the traditional practitioners themselves, but first some comments will be made on the Methodology

Foreward on Methodology

It should be mentioned that collecting information on Traditional Belief and Traditional Medicine is reasonably difficult. Obviously there is much information that is not revealed to an outsider. Although there is a large number of traditional doctors, choosing suitable informants to approach was complicated. As will be seen in the Chapter on Boloi, there appears to be widespread belief in boloi, and I was completely guided by the advice of my interpreter on which traditional doctors to avoid (some are reputed to dabble in Boloi or at least supply known Baloi with Boloi, i.e. are dingaka tsa kaloya). A number of possible informants were thus eliminated. Another problem is the association of Baloi and Boloi with women, thus as a woman (and with a woman as interpreter) although for much of my research this has been useful, in this case it had a certain number of difficulties.

Thus I have obtained most of my information for this section from two main informants who are practising traditional doctors, two female traditional practitioners, and one trainee. As they appear
to be typical of other traditional healers, I did not feel it was necessary to obtain information from others. My interpreter introduced to me one informant who is a neighbour, the two female practitioners were used by her family, the other contact was pure luck. I had already become friendly with one of his daughters, a primary teacher, and after about 18 months I discovered her father is a powerful and greatly respected traditional doctor. This was very useful, as traditional doctors are unwilling to reveal the "secrets" to outsiders, and even more unwilling to reveal them to other Batswana. So in this second case my friend, the daughter, was able to act as interpreter. This traditional doctor also introduced me to his trainee.

I interviewed both of my traditional doctor informants about the general history and format of Bongaka, medicine and belief, they showed me their bones and how they divined. Then the father of my friend invited me to observe a number of his cases so that he could show me how traditional doctors operate. I was allowed to photograph and record on my cassette recorder the proceedings (which of course all took place in Setswana). Then later my interpreter translated the tapes for me. At a very much later date, I also discovered that my interpreter's paternal grandfather (now late) had been a traditional doctor - so she also had a certain amount of knowledge of Bongaka that allowed for "intelligent interpretation".

Another way I obtained my information was from individuals who told me of their experiences, for example, students at the school where I taught.

There does not appear to be any specific literature published on Bangwaketse Bongaka, but for comparative information I have used Gabriel Setiloane's book "The Image of God Among the Sotho-Tswana", which was very useful, Schapera's work, and Hoernlé's article published in "The Natives of South Africa" edited by Schapera. Also Seeley's*2 Ulin's*3 and Comaroff's*4 theses and reports on their research provided useful comparative material.

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*1 Apart from Campbell's article on divination in Botswana Notes and Records op. cit.
*2 Seeley - interviewed 12 traditional healers none of whom were Bangwaketse.
*3 "The Traditional Healer of Botswana in a Changing Society" in Botswana Notes and Records Vol. 7. Ulin interviewed 9 healers none of whom were Bangwaketse.
*4 Comaroff's research was among the Barolong of S. Africa.
It can not be emphasized enough that personal contact has been very important in obtaining information on this whole area. Once I had made the various personal contacts, my main methods were interviewing for which I have always had to use an interpreter and a tape recorder, and observation. I do not feel that questionnaires on a large scale would have been useful in this area, as obtaining information had always depended on being well-known by the informant first. Also if I had started to make a large scale inquiry it could have led to suspicion from my original informants, and possible trouble for my interpreter.

**Dingaka tsa Setswana - Traditional Doctors**

Setsiloane distinguishes 5 types of traditional doctors:

i. Ngaka e tshantshwa - a herbalist who uses mainly boiled medicines to cure.

ii. Selaodi - one who divines with ditaola (bones).

iii. Senoge - one who divines without the use of material means.

iv. Lethugela - one who divines through spirit possession.

v. Ngaka e e dinaka - this is the so-called "horned doctor" who uses a lenaka (i.e. medicines kept in an animal horn) to heal and protect.

The traditional doctors in Kanye appear to be a combination of i., ii. and v. that is they are "horned" doctors who use bones to divine and frequently prescribe herbal medicines. They do not in any way hide their profession, as they are well-known in the community as traditional doctors. Although they perform their specialised work, they live quite 'normally' as members of their community, attending Kgotla meetings, ploughing at their Lands, visiting their Cattle Posts etc., just like any other adult male member of the community. It should be noted that traditional doctors are usually men. Although women may acquire certain specialist skills (as will be mentioned later) they do not usually become traditional doctors. In fact in the home of a traditional doctor the daughters do not involve themselves in more than collecting the medicinal herbs and roots. This is because of the association of Baloi (witches) with women. (In fact in 1982 one of my female informants trained as a traditional doctor).

The training for a traditional doctor is fairly long. Although many do learn by being apprenticed to their fathers or other male relatives, kinship with a traditional doctor is not a necessary factor
in becoming a traditional doctor. \textsuperscript{1} Most men probably start training in their early twenties, although in the case of a trainee born into the family of a traditional doctor he would probably build up a knowledge of herbal remedies from early childhood, as a traditional doctor often sends his children to gather and dig herbs and roots. Such a child would also observe how they are ground and prepared as this is not in any way hidden in the lolwapa (yard) of a traditional doctor, nor is divination. The children of the home were usually helping my informants while they were working.

Setiloane mentions that traditional doctors are often chosen for their vocations by Badimo, who may reveal their wishes through signs such as sicknesses in childhood or adolescence; \textsuperscript{2} or even this special destiny may be revealed at birth, signs such as an eclipse or a bodily mark may later be divined as a sign of the baby's special destiny. Or maybe in childhood an individual may show an aptitude for remembering things to do with Bongaka (traditional doctoring), or he may exhibit certain characteristics, and if it is suspected that this boy is destined to be a traditional doctor, he will then, after consultation and agreement with his relatives, be apprenticed in his twenties.

However, the traditional doctors I interviewed in Kanye did not necessarily mention signs of special destiny. One of my informants (who is now 70) had started to train when he was 34 at the encouragement of his family, who wanted him to train so that he could help them. He had not been ill. He had learnt how to divine and read bones "within a week" from his older brother, and had then trained with another traditional doctor from his Kgotla, but not a relative, in the use of medicines. First he had learnt the medicines for people and then those used for washing people and cattle. On successful completion of his training his teacher had been paid the customary cow. He is now able to treat all diseases of both people and livestock, and also treat fractures. In fact people come from all over Southern Africa to be treated by him. Although he attends the United

\textsuperscript{1} Seeley reports \( \frac{9}{12} \) of her informants' fathers or grandfathers were also traditional doctors. Ulin \( \frac{9}{9} \) had close relatives who were.\textsuperscript{2} Ulin \( \frac{7}{9} \) healers said their decision to become healers influenced by Badimo in a dream. \( \frac{3}{9} \) had been ill and they alleged their recovery was dependent upon becoming traditional healers.
Congregational Church of Southern Africa (U.C.C.S.A. - Livingstone's Church, much favoured in Botswana), he is not a member.

Another traditional doctor who is approximately 40, told me he had started to train when he was in his twenties. Before he had started to train he had been very sick with a swollen stomach. Then he had been cured by people who had been trained to be traditional doctors by his maternal grandfather. (His mother's Rre Mogolo - maternal elder great Uncle - had also been a traditional doctor).

He then started training as a traditional doctor himself in 1966-9. In 1969 he had finished his training and became registered at the Chief's Kgotla in Kanye and also at the Ministry of Home Affairs in Gaborone. From 1969 he had therefore been allowed to take fees. He told me that he believes his powers come from the Christian God, and he is a member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church in Kanye and attends services regularly.

**Divining with Ditaola (bones)**

Divining appears to be the basis of traditional medicine in Kanye and it is a very complicated process. Most traditional doctors use a set of from 6 - 10 bones that are kept in their own special skin bag. Ditaola are very important and always consulted first when a client visits a doctor. It is from ditaola that a traditional doctor sees not only the future, but also the past, and the whole character of those people both alive and dead involved in a particular case. He sees the state of the patient's "seriti". It is also in the ditaola that he sees the remedy.

Different traditional doctors have different practices connected with how ditaola are thrown. For example a client may be asked to sit on a chair, on the floor, or on a skin mat, or in a particular position for example, with the right shoe off and the right leg crossed under the left leg. The doctor then brings out his ditaola and the client repeats after the doctor certain words as the client holds the bones. These usually include the question that the patient wishes to ask. For example, "Ke a itaola, ke batla go bona molato gore ke eng ka tseo mo gonna." (I cast lots, I want to see the trouble with my marriage). The client then breathes onto the bones and may say something like "Khu!" and then drops them onto the floor.

The traditional doctor then praises his bones in a special
"secret" Setswana, that is difficult for anyone else to understand. The bone sets consist of animal bones, some of which are decorated. There appear to be four principal bones. Hoernlé quoting Bryant (1909)*1 states that of these 4 principal bones, there are 2 "male" bones made from the hoof tips of oxen. The main one is always from an important ox (e.g. one slaughtered at a wedding feast) the other is from a less important ox. There are two "female" bones and these are usually flat bones made from bone, horn or ivory. The male bones can each fall in 4 different ways, and the female bones in 2 different ways. Therefore these 4 bones can fall in 64 different ways. They represent the various close relatives.

One of the traditional doctors who showed me his sets of bones told me that he used 6 bones per set. Formerly he had used 8, but had been told by a certain female traditional prophet in 1974 after he had been having troubles, that he should use only 6. Today he uses one set of bones that contains 2 hoof tips from oxen, a vertebra from a baboon, a vertebra from a sheep and two flat bones (white) which are pieces of elephant tusk. In the other set he had 2 hoof tips, one pig vertebra (he uses this set when a Client's totem is a baboon), a sheep vertebra, and the 2 flat bones are made from cow ribs. He told me that he had prepared these sets himself but had chosen bones from those animals because they interested him. The hoof tips represent the "right and left", i.e. the main one represents the "right" - the client's father or father's elder brother. The other hoof tip represents the left, the father's younger brother(s). The sheep bone shows when the one who caused the trouble is a traditional doctor or a white person*2. The baboon vertebra represents Rhodesians and other Africans*3. One flat bone represents the client's spouse and the other a sister or mother.

Another traditional doctor told me that he uses sets containing 8 bones. Both emphasized that the number of bones and the way of interpretation varies from doctor to doctor. Therefore although Hoernlé's description is a useful starting point there is perhaps not quite so much standardization as she implies.

*1 Bantu-speaking Peoples of South Africa - (Ed.) Isaac Schapera.
*2 This may be because whites are often believed to be wizards!
*3 Batswana frequently refer to all non-Batswana from the North as Matebele. (Rhodeans)
According to Hoernlé, after throwing the bones for the first time, the traditional doctor recites a general praise to the set as a whole, then he praises each of the principal bones in turn, each having its own praise. These praises I found almost impossible to have interpreted, and even the parts that were make little sense to a non-doctor. Parts of such praises I observed translate as follows:

Something which drinks blood is red ... a lion is the one which eats other animals ... Meat is eaten by masija.

The doctor then continues in his "special" Setswana the way the bones have fallen. Then he will start to tell the patient in ordinary Setswana what he "sees" from the bones. The patient is supposed to agree or disagree with what the doctor says.

Then the patient is told to pick up the bones and throw them again. Again the patient repeats the question and blows onto them saying "Khu!" Again the traditional doctor praises the bones and the way they have fallen, and then he again interprets what he 'sees'!

This is repeated 3 or 4 times in all or even more if necessary, with the traditional doctor instructing the client what to ask. The praises and descriptions of the falls of the bones are impossible for anyone but the traditional doctor to interpret. For example:-

"Somebody has killed an impala at his place, where he was herding."

This perhaps meant something like the client may have an accident where they were working (herding), the dead impala could represent the client's blood dripping. On this occasion, the traditional doctor had continued:

The meat is finished, but I do want the skin of my animal. Where is the skin I chopped bending? Who are you looking for, impala? I miss that person, if you can see that sort of a person, impala, you should hunt for that person for me."

The traditional doctor interpreted this to mean that there had once been a time when that client had been visited by a person who had come to borrow money, and the doctor then pointed to the direction the borrower had come from. When the borrower (a woman) came she had in fact just come from a traditional doctor. Then immediately the client had lent her money, and she had left, and then the client had started
to have problems at her home.

The client agreed that this had indeed been the case. The doctor then continued that that woman had a friend who lived behind the client's home. This friend had medium-toned skin, was short and had a scarred eyebrow. The doctor then continued that those two women pretended not to be friends during the day, but that they were. He added that the client's neighbour was a Morolong from Matseloje and married to a traditional doctor. He warned her (the client) to be very careful of these two women. Then he told her to throw the bones again. (She was about to go back to Rhodesia where she works). She was told to say, as she threw the bones: "I'm going, I'm going. I am about to go on a journey. I'm having a bath and going." (i.e. going to be 'washed' by the traditional doctor.)

After this fourth throw the traditional doctor told her that she would have a safe journey, but that he could 'see' that she had a pain starting under her arm. The woman agreed that she did indeed have this pain. He continued that once those women had come and buried something in her yard and it was that that was causing her pain.

**Traditional Doctor's Remedies**

Straightforward divining usually follows the above pattern. The trainee doctor must learn to be able to 'see' from the ditaola the necessary remedies. For example, in the above case, the traditional doctor 'saw' that it was necessary to wash the woman with medicated water, he would also have 'seen' how to mix this water — what substances to use. This water was to protect her in the future from harm.

Thus trainees must learn this, not only the various ingredients and preparations but also the special words of protection to be repeated as a client is washed.

1) **Washing of people**

Washing usually takes place either in the morning or towards sunset. This is presumably so that it is carried out at a time of day when there are shadows. As already noted it is believed that a person has problems when their seriti (which may also be translated as shadow) is weak and another person's seriti is overcasting them and making them two weak to withstand problems. Therefore treatment must take place at the time of shadows.

*1 Hoernlé states that traditional doctors do not describe people, but just generalise. However this appears to be a fairly exact description.*
When I observed the washing of patients, the traditional doctor did it in a small enclosure in his yard. The patients sat down on a low wooden bench having taken off all clothing except their underwear. The medicated water was in either a metal bowl, or on another occasion it was in a large tortoise shell painted green on the outside. This practice varies from doctor to doctor, as do the words used whilst washing. The doctor I observed dipped in a buffalo tail whisk (seditse) and then sprinkled the water over the patients. As he did so he repeated the following:

"I'm a big man, I don't go challenging other people. If one challenges me, the top layer of his skin will come off in his hands. Anyone who touches him with his nails, his nails will drop out... I surprise the weapons of him with my green head which I have been given by my home man.*1 Children of other men are not supposed to be touched.*2... If you touch somebody's children, your hands will drop off, or else if you try to gnaw any part of their body, or put it in your mouth, this part of your tongue or mouth will drop out... I'm entering with you, a talkative. The one who touches you will talk louder.*3... They're not supposed to be touched. The daughter of lightning is not supposed to be touched, in case the mother explodes.*4

On another occasion a family were washed with the following words which perhaps indicate how traditional protections often work by reflecting the evil intentions from a moloi back to the moloi:—

"I'm arriving with you my white pheko.*5. I don't challenge anybody, I challenge the one who challenges me. I don't

*1 Home man usually means relative, here it probably means another traditional doctor, probably the one who taught him.
*2 i.e. people are not supposed to be bewitched.
*3 Louder - anyone who tries to bewitch this person will only bewitch themself and go mad.
*4 These words were recited when two unrelated women were washed together. One was a girl who had been cured of a fractured leg, and the other was a woman who wanted her husband to love her more and complete their marriage.
*5 pheko - protective ointment (see below)
trouble anybody, only the one who troubles me. No one should dare to touch these people. If you dare to touch them, your hands will be skinned. Don't dare to put your hands in your mouth, or you will get sores in your mouth too. The first milk of lightning is never milked. Don't dare to put them on your thighs. Your thighs will start to have sores. Do not dare to touch them...because of your rudeness, trying to challenge the weapons of a real man... You there surprised the women's ones. Please do eat them, but leave them afterwards. The other men are not touched. Do try to touch them with all your power. But do leave them afterwards. The children of other men are not touched. Do try to touch them with all your power. The children of other men are never touched. If you dare to touch them your skin on your hands will peel off. If you dare to put them in your mouth, your mouth will peel. If you put them on your thighs, your thighs will have sores. The children of other men are never touched. If you try to roll them, they'll roll you. If you try to turn them, they'll turn you. If you dare to touch them, your hands will be peeled off. The children of other men are never touched, as the first milk of lightning is never touched... You should know them, and do leave them. The children of other men are not touched. The talkative, do look after these people. The talkative one who will dare to touch them will talk more. The one who laughs after nothing, will laugh for ever.*1

2) Pheko

A fairly common treatment for an individual suffering from boloi is to be given pheko. This is a traditional ointment, blackish in colour. The basis is animal fats into which is mixed herbal and animal, ground medicines. The patient rubs pheko into the skin once a day.

The aim of pheko is to protect the sufferer from harm and to reflect any evil intentions back to their source. When I observed this being prescribed, the traditional doctor, after "seeing" the

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*1 These were the complete words recited whilst the traditional doctor washed a family to protect them against the problems they had been having.
necessity for its use from his bones, asked the patient to bring a suitable container - he suggested an empty vaseline jar. He then, when the container had been brought, took different ointments from his own ointment jars, and mixed them together. He then asked the bones if the remedy was correct - i.e. before he threw the bones and as he asked this question, he tapped the bones on the ointment jar. After receiving a favourable reply, he instructed the patient on how to use the ointment, i.e. first to mix it with red vaseline. The important parts of the body to rub it were the face, front and back, arms and legs and soles of the feet. Also, as with all traditional medicines, no one but the patient and doctor should touch it.

3) Washing of property

Traditional doctors also wash homesteads, Lands, Cattle Posts, livestock and property, both when these things are new and when they are believed to be bewitched. Perhaps the following description of a bewitched bull being washed illustrates the general format of these jobs.

This took place in December 1979. The bull had been bought for P30 in 1977, and the same traditional doctor had been called to protect it by washing it then. This is the customary procedure with all new property. The doctor had been paid the customary heifer (about 1½ years old). However since the bull had been bought, the cows of that family's kraal had not been productive, if they had become pregnant they had had miscarriages. The bull had, however, made other cows from neighbouring kraals pregnant and was constantly going astray. One time he had even been found about 20 miles away. Therefore in December 1979, the traditional doctor decided to wash the bull again to make it productive. For this we went to the family's Lands, as it was the ploughing season they had taken their cattle to their kraal at their Lands. The husband was away with the oxen ploughing for other people but the rest of the cattle had, according to the doctor's instructions, been kept in the kraal and not yet been taken out to graze or to be watered.

On arrival the doctor went to work immediately as it was becoming late in the morning for washing i.e. the shadows were shortening. A boy brought a metal basin containing water and the doctor took out from his brief case his bag of bones, his buffalo tail, and various ground up "herbal mixtures" wrapped in separate paper
bags. The young boy also brought hair cut from the bull's tail that the doctor twisted into a ring.

He then took the bones into his hands, touched the bull's hair on the ground, then touched the basin of water and the bags and said:

"With these medicines I have ground I'm going to cleanse you."

He then threw the bones in this way several times asking permission from the bones to wash the bull with those medicines on that day. He kept repeating:

"I am going to cleanse you with these medicines that I have mixed. I am going to cleanse you, bull, with these medicines I have mixed. They are very good medicines. I have used a tree called mosiama.¹ Someone who was extremely ill waited until the herbs had grown up, and decided to be cleansed."

Maybe here it means that although the bull had been ill, it had waited i.e. not died, before being cleansed.

"It was even waiting for rain to be cleansed by the Rains. It was stationary like Moshata."²

This probably means about the same, i.e. the bull had not got worse, but had remained the same (stationary). It was stationary and permanent like the capital and so there was no one who could dare to harm it. He then continued:

"Some people say that the only things that bite are ditapana³ but that is not true. Even human beings can bite."

The doctor then explained to the owner's wife that he could see from his bones that the bull was going to stand still and work for its own cattle and no longer roam around.

"The cattle will fill up the kraal immediately. The prostitutes should come."

i.e. The cattle should behave like prostitutes so that the bull could make them pregnant.

*¹ Mosiama - the Holy Tree. This also used to cleanse widows. (see also section on Death, Burial and Funerals in Chapter 8).
*² Moshata - the capital.
*³ Ditapana - little lice that live on chickens.
"You'll work with your cattle (i.e. making them pregnant) as tsaka (the prostitute) will come."

The doctor again talked to his bones:

"It's with these bones he's really going to work on his cows."

The above recitations were the words the doctor used whilst throwing the bones a number of times. Before he threw them, each time he touched the bull's tail and then the basin of water. From time to time he would add to the water substances taken from his bags, and stir them in with the buffalo tail whisk, his hands or his walking stick. Whilst he was doing all this, the rest of the bull's owner's family and the son of the traditional doctor and his daughter*1 had been talking socially.

Eventually the doctor took out medicines in a screw of paper and gave them to the owner's wife. He instructed her to give this to her husband and tell him that early in the morning he should go to the cattle kraal and notice where the bull had slept during the night. Then he should sprinkle the powder in the paper, starting from the direction the bull had been sleeping during the night and make a line from its chest downwards. Then sprinkle the remainder in a cross in the region of the chest.

Then we all went to the nearby cattle kraal. The doctor told us to drive the cattle to the East. Then he moved amongst the cattle with the bowl of medicated water and his buffalo tail, flicking the medicated water first over the bull, and then the other cattle until it was finished. As he did this he shouted as he recited the protective words. Unfortunately I did not manage to obtain a clear recording of these words as we were all engaged in driving the cattle, which were thundering around, to the East, but I was told they were similar to those used for washing the family (i.e. daring anyone to challenge the protections of this traditional doctor, see above p. 104).

On this particular occasion only the bull was bewitched by neighbours, and so it was the bull that was washed. On some occasions the whole kraal may be seriously bewitched. The doctor showed me the bead bracelet and necklace he wears on these occasions to assist him and increase his power. These are like those beads often bought by

*1 The doctor's son had driven us there, and the daughter accompanied me.
tourists, and this appears to be one of their original uses. Some months later I heard the bull was now cured and the cows were pregnant.

A doctor also protects a couple at their wedding when their "bloods" are joined, he protects the pots used to cook the food for wedding and other feasts. A fully trained doctor is thus able to divine, heal and protect. These three broad categories are, of course, very interlinked as often in divining he will see that he needs not only to heal but also to protect; or in healing, for example, a sick baby or a fractured leg, he will first divine the cause and the cure and then also protect the person in the future. One traditional doctor gave me the following list of the tasks he performs:

1. Checking whether someone's job is alright.
2. Checking the whereabouts of an individual's missing money or property. He can "see" whether it has been stolen or misplaced and where to look for it. *
3. Assisting an individual to be successful in finding a job, promotion, luck, entry to school/university, marriage, etc.
4. Protecting the individual in the cases of (3.) above when they obtain what they sought, from accidents. (N.B. It should be remembered that many people go from Kanye to work in the mines in South Africa. Recently South Africa has been cutting recruitment in Botswana. My informant told me even more people come to obtain "luck" and protection. It should also be noted that there is a very high accident rate in South African mines, therefore these protections are believed to be very important for miners).
5. General protection against being given poisons, being struck by lightning, accidents, dikgaba (jealousy) etc.
6. General protection against boloi (witchcraft). This may be manifested by for example, blood found in the house or yard, or a dead animal such as a cat in a cupboard. Or Sefofo, i.e. a small whirlwind may blow through a yard destroying roofs, and possessions etc., or Thobo (crop failure) when fields are bewitched.
7. Helping in cases of misfortune, for example, barren women, unsuccessful farming, cattle not breeding, misfortunes in the home etc.
8. Bringing luck to an individual, for example in raffles, horse racing, gambling, marriage, etc.
9. Antidotes to Baloi attacks, for example, stop bewitched cattle

*1 An example of such a case is given in Volume 2, p. 2.
dying etc.

10. Curing illnesses, for example, Tlhowana (fontanelles - see later), fractures, stomach trouble, venereal diseases etc.

11. Finding missing livestock, for example, when gone astray. (N.B. livestock can be bewitched to go astray.)

12. Doctoring new houses, yards, Lands, Cattle Posts etc.

13. Protecting new property such as cars, lorries, beds, radios, bicycles, from Boloi, accidents etc.

14. To make a business successful, for example, a bottle store, shop, garage, dressmakers, beer brewing in a shebeen etc.

15. Ascertain cause of a misfortune, for example, neglected by a boyfriend, disliked at school, work etc.

These tasks fall into Seeley's functions of traditional medicine. *1

Medicines used by traditional doctors consist mainly of roots and herbs and animal fats (especially from wild animals), much like those of a standard herbalist. However they are also mixed with other substances that are believed to be potent for various cases, for example when I went to observe the bull being washed the traditional doctor asked the woman if she knew of a tree near her Lands that had been struck by lightning. The ash taken from such a tree is reputed to be a very strong protection. It may be used in the medicated water to wash a family and yard where lightning has struck, to protect them. Some are ground up and boiled, some are taken orally, others are purgatives, or emetics, others are rubbed into incisions made on the joints with a razor blade, whilst others are inhaled. In each case the prescription is "seen" in the ditaola.

Training of a Traditional Doctor

The nature of the training is secret, and as a woman I did not like to press too much for details. But it involves learning how to divine with bones, treat with herbal remedies (both orally and through incisions), and to wash with medicated water. As already noted traditional doctors do not only treat people but also property, Lands, Cattle Posts and livestock. Their treatments not only cure physical and mental symptoms but also protect against the supernatural agents, sorcerers/ particularly the actions of Baloi (witches). They can also heal problems caused by Badimo by appeasing the displeased ancestors. In

*1 See p. 84, Chapter 4.
certain instances they are able to alter the course of future events for example, they can bring good luck in gambling etc.

Thus during the training all these practices must be learned. Normally an apprentice will go to live with his teacher (if he does not learn from his father). Setiloane states that he first undergoes initiation into an age regiment, but in the Bangwaketse area age regiments no longer go to initiation schools, so this part is presumably no longer followed. During his training, the trainee will go with his teacher to all his cases and learn the uses and preparations of all the substances used to make medicines. He will also learn their various administrations. He will learn how to divine with ditaola (bones) and how to prepare his own set, and he will learn the rituals to protect people and property and livestock by washing with medicated water. But the details of this training is secret. It is said that when traditional doctors are talking to their bones and praising them they are talking to their Badimo who help them, through the bones, to "see". However, as already stated, my informants claimed their power was from God. During their training they are believed to fast at times. Then at the completion of their training a bullock is presented to their teacher by their father. Setiloane says this presentation is on behalf of the paternal kin and Badimo. The trainee's Malome presents a gift on half of the maternal kin and maternal Badimo. The trainer then gives a feast for his trainee to which all his kin are invited. During this feast, according to Setiloane, the teacher and trainee may disappear and they are reputed to spend the time under the water in a river bed with the water snake. *1 In Kanye I heard of how trainee traditional doctors gathered in the hills amongst the rocks at Cattleposts, singing all night hypnotising the water snake that is believed to live also in caves. It is believed that trained traditional doctors know how to burn certain leaves that make poisonous snakes and animals sleep so that they can remove their saliva, venom, urine or faeces, substances used to make certain strong medicines.

Setiloane continues that after the feast the new traditional doctor is supposed to remain at his teacher's house whilst he collects for his ex-student the basic equipment he will need. Then he will leave his teacher's house at night and arrive at his own house also during the night so that he will be found by the herd boys in the

*1 Water snake - see Chapter 7, p. 145.
early morning. He is then taken to a house specially prepared for
him at his home. Until a feast to please the family Badimo is held,
he is attended only by men and old women. The idea of this feast
is to please the Badimo so that they will send him luck in his new
venture.

In March 1982 one of my traditional doctor informants had two
trainees. One was his own son and, very surprisingly, the other one
was a woman. This was despite the fact that I had been previously told
that women are never traditional doctors!

The two trainees spent about a month outside Kanye at their
teacher's Cattlepost.*1 I was told that they are always trained in
secret outside the village because if the training is done in the
village, Baloi might steal their medicines before they are powerful
enough and hence not only would they themselves be bewitched, but also
all their patients.

The lady, although her parents are from Mochudi (Kgatleng
District), had lived all her life in South Africa and is married to a
Mosotho. She told me that from 1962 she had had dreams from her Badimo
telling her that they wanted her to be a traditional doctor. (She
was already a Sangoma). Finally her husband had agreed and so she
had come to train in Kanye after hearing of the great power of my
informant from his patients in Johannesburg. Her Malome was also a
traditional doctor and she had various cousins who were also such.

At the Cattlepost she told me they had studied ditaola
(divination by casting bones), and the use, digging and preparation of
various herbal medicines. They had also learnt the invocations. This
was always done at night. During their training period they had been
subject to various taboos, for example, no sexual intercourse, they
were not allowed to cook, touch pots, fetch water and they had had
their own utensils (i.e. very similar to those to which a Motsetsi is
subject).*2

During the day they would help to diagnose patients with ditaola,
when their trainer threw his bones for a patient they would be called
to make a diagnosis.

When I visited the woman, she had just finished her training

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*1 N.B. Both of these trainees were already partly trained. The lady was
already a Sangoma (a South African female diviner) and the man already
knew how to divine with bones, and certain simpler tasks of a
traditional doctor's work.

*2 See Chapter 8.
and they had returned to Kanye. She was helping my informant to prepare his medicines that he would use for washing people. She was stemping the medicines they had brought from the Cattlepost. From time to time my informant would add flakes from the inside of a tortoise shell. After she had stemped them, she sieved them and emptied them all into the tortoise shell. Then my informant threw his bones to see if the medicines would be successful in curing people. When he threw the bones he knocked them on the tortoise shell and then asked the question as he threw them. Then he invoked his bones. She repeated each line of an invocation for talking to the bones. In all they threw the bones three times. After each invocation she would first attempt to interpret the bones. They were shown by the bones that the medicines would be powerful. This is one of the ways she had learnt to divine and mix herbs.

The lady told me that she would pay her trainer a cow for her instruction.

Training to be a traditional doctor is very difficult and one of my informants (himself a doctor) told me that many try to train but fail. They may try for 25 years but still fail. Some may only be able to learn parts of the training. For example he told me that in his training he had started by learning the treatment of pregnant women, and the baby in the womb, then studied childbirth, childhood troubles, then adults up to death and Badimo. He said that some people only manage to learn the treatments of pregnant women and childbirth. Others, after completing the main training, may go on to study specialist skills such as the treatment of fractures, madness, menstrual pains, and Rain making.*1

Formal Recognition

Today a traditional doctor is still controlled by Bathoen II's Melao ya Dingaka of 1929.*2 He is not allowed to practise in Kanye unless he has been registered at the Chief's Kgotla. For this registration he is tested by other traditional doctors. He must also be registered at the Ministry of Home Affairs in Gaborone. This is

*1 It is difficult to judge how much Rain making still goes on as it is very secret as it has always been. As the taboos that are supposed to spoil the rain are still strictly kept, it would be reasonable to assume that Rain makers still exist.
*2 See Chapter 4 p. 93.
controlled by the Traditional Doctors' Association. On registration he is given a certificate to prove he is registered and licenced to practice.

Traditional doctors still occupy a very important position. For example each Kgотla is under a particular traditional doctor who may also have an assistant, and every new yard in that Kgотla must be doctored so that it is protected, by that one doctor or his assistant. This is called go thaya. This doctoring protects its owners and inhabitants from accidents, thefts, Boloi etc. If any household suffers from these problems the traditional doctor in charge of the Kgотla will be consulted so that he may heal them. When a person wishes to build a new yard he takes earth from the site he has been allocated and the traditional doctor will throw the bones on behalf of that earth to see if that piece of land is satisfactory for that person. If it is, he will then go to the site and bury protective medicines near the future doorway or boundaries of the house to be built.*1 These protect the whole yard and its occupants. If he has found that the site is not all right, then it will be cleansed, or in extreme cases the owner may even have to build on another site.

All the yards in Kanye, Lands and Cattleposts belonging to one Kgотla must all be doctored by the same official traditional doctor. The fee for straightforward doctoring before building a new yard is 50t-Pl (25p-50p), then if there are complications a person may have to pay as much as a cow for special cleansing.

It is from these fees that a traditional doctor makes his living. For a straightforward divination, the cost is about 50t-Pl, people frequently give an extra 10-25t to the bones "to help them speak". These fees are always laid by the client on the bone bag and the traditional doctor gathers the money into the bag with the bones. The fees for protection, cleansing, influencing events etc. are always "seen" in the ditaola. To cleanse a person who has been bewitched not to obtain work may be a goat, and to cure alcoholism (there is such a specialist in Kanye) is P6 or a goat, according to the difficulty of the case.

In cases of sickness or particular problems such as bringing luck, patients are free to go to a traditional doctor who is known to

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*1 Doorways are always placed according to custom.

See Diagram 1 and 2- the entrance of each lolwapa faces the appropriate sub-kgotla, and doors are never opposite the lolwapa entrance.
be particularly successful in that field. Many patients come from all over Botswana and Southern Africa to visit one of my informants. Another traditional doctor in Kanye is well-known throughout Southern Africa for his skill in thobega (treating fractures). Doctors consulted like this can command very high fees. Patients, particularly those from outside Kanye, often come to stay at the doctor's home whilst they are undergoing treatment.

Other Traditional Practitioners

1. Herbalists

Other researchers*1 note that although specialists are today rare and so dingaka tsa setswana have a more general practice, there is still another type of practitioner called dingaka tsa dichochwa. These were the so-called herbalists who were allowed to continue to practise after the Witchcraft Proclamation was amended.*2

In Kanye there is a pharmacy where both traditional and "modern" remedies are sold. The owner, and pharmacist, has gained a certificate in traditional herbalism from the South African Herbalists Association. Many people go to him to obtain both types of medicine. The traditional remedies include roots, tubers, shells (including sea shells), parts of wild animals and animal fats (e.g. an armadillo was on one shelf and people could buy scales*3, also ostrich eggs and beads). He also stocks animal tail whisks (seditse) which are used by traditional doctors to sprinkle the protective and/or healing medicated water.

Traditional doctors may obtain their ingredients from him, or sufferers consult him direct. He informed me that he obtains his stock from different parts of Botswana and all parts of Southern Africa.

In addition, as already noted, he stocks "modern" patent medicines (including medicines such as antibiotics, only obtainable on prescription in England). The commonly bought patent medicines are aspirins, painkillers, worm pills, gripe water etc.

*1 Seeley, Ulin etc.
*2 See Chapter 4, p. 92-3.
*3 If the scales are mixed with dry donkey dung and the two burnt together, a sufferer of nose bleeds inhaling the smoke may be cured.
It should also be noted that he stocks the candles, sacramental wine, prophecy sticks, that are used in the Zion religion (see Part 3).

Apart from this pharmacist there are travelling herbalists who visit people at their homes to sell herbal medicines, protections, ingredients and objects to attract good luck, success etc. For example I was shown a cube of thick, hard reddish fat, which if it was squeezed at one corner into a horn and burnt early in the morning, it would help a new business to be successful.*¹

2. Moalafi (pl. Baalafi) - The Healers

Apart from these herbalists there are also people who specialise in healing one or two conditions. Such a person is referred to as a Moalafi - a healer. They perhaps fall into Setiloane's first category of traditional practitioners - ngaka ya tshantshwa*² as most of their remedies appear to involve the use of boiled medicines. Several women in Kanye specialise in healing diseases that affect women - childbirth and children. There is also a woman who is famous for her skill in purifying the widowed*³. Like traditional doctors they receive fees for their cures. More details of their method will be given below in the section on Tswana remedies.

Further Examples of Tswana Remedies

Examples have already been given in the section on Dingaka tsa Setswana. It should be noted that when a person is ill and they decide to use traditional medicine they may go to a ngaka ya Setswana, a Moalafi or a herbalist, including the pharmacy. Their choice will depend largely on the reputation of the healer for that particular disease.

It should also be remembered that according to Tswana philosophy, the sickness is often seen as a symptom of another problem caused by other agents, for example, the action of Baloi, dissatisfaction of Badimo, or dikgaba. Therefore if symptoms persist then an individual will consult a ngaka ya Setswana, who will throw his bones to discover

*¹ One informant told me how this method was used by a highly successful local prostitute!
*² See Chapter 5, p. 98.
*³ See Chapter 8, p. 196.
the cause. Thus, in this type of case the aim of the cure is not only to heal the symptom but also to protect the patient against any further actions of the causer(s).

Examples of the treatments of various sicknesses

Some diseases are interpreted differently from the Western interpretation.

1) Tlhowana This is a very common disease seen in young children. This is diagnosed when it is noticed that the baby or young child is seen to be confused and its fontanelles are observed not to close up properly. If it is not cured the child will grow up to be mentally disturbed or may have poor sight or even die. This condition is said to be caused by the large intestine "not being well-built". One symptom is a protruding umbilical cord. This condition is believed to be caused by air from the large intestine pushing out the umbilical cord. This air can be heard if one listens to the lump of the protruding umbilical cord. As soon as the child is in this condition another symptom will be that the fontanelles (tlhowana) sink. Therefore the traditional healer needs to prepare special medicines that will help the tlhowana to "come together". After they have healed, the large intestine will also come together and there will be no air to push out the umbilical cord which will return to its correct position.

   If this condition is left untreated the air might eventually push out the umbilical cord, making it burst. This may even kill the child. Untreated tlhowana can lead to poor sight and headaches. It is believed that this is the reason why so many whites have to wear glasses, as their doctors do not know how to treat tlhowana!

   Medicines to cure this disease can be smeared on the babies heads daily along the fontanelles that are seen to be affected. They may also be smeared over the whole body. These are usually the so-called black medicines that are made from animal fat and ash (amongst other things). The baby is also given boiled medicines (pitsa) to drink, to help it grow. (The hair along the fontanelles is not cut until the child has been cured of the condition, then the healer comes to cut it. Traditional sorghum beer is brewed specially for her and she uses some of this beer to mix with the medicines with which the child will be washed.

A Tlhowana Moalafi (healer)

   I was fortunate to witness a tlhowana Moalafi at the
completion of one of her cases. The child aged about 18 months, had started her cure in June 1981. By November she was cured and beer was brewed for the Moalafi. During its preparation no one was allowed to taste it at any of its various stages. When it was ready, the woman was called and came after dark. The woman mixed a calabash of the beer with some of her curing medicines and the child was the first to drink it.

Then the child was set down upon a new piece of cotton cloth (about half a metre). She was naked. Then the lady first rubbed her hair with a new bar of Sunlight soap alternating with the beer mixed with the medicines. Then the rest of her body was washed in the same way. Then she started to shave off her hair with a new razor blade, rubbing in more of the beer and medicines and soap from time to time.

All the hair was carefully collected inside the cloth and after the job was finished all the hair mixed with the medicines was scraped off the floor and put in the cloth. Throughout the hair cutting all the spectators had to sit down.

The rest of the pot of beer was then strained and poured into the woman's 10 litre plastic container. She was given all the various sediments from the various stages of preparation. She gave the grand-mother of the child, her friend, a small pot of the beer. The rest she said she would sell, and the sediments would be given to her chickens and goats. She then took all these things together with the cloth, rest of the soap, razor blade and hair, with her.

On her way home she threw away the hair behind her, without looking backwards; this was to signify throwing away the disease from the child.

Besides the cloth and "tools", her fee was P10. Apparently she was taught this technique of curing tlhowana by her mother who was taught it by her own father, a traditional doctor. She told me that in addition she could cure nose bleeding.

There are various plants that are believed to be helpful for children suffering from tlhowana. I saw three different ones, that had small flowers and were growing along a river course in the village. (It should also be noted that the protruding umbilical cord in a child may be caused by the mother or the father sleeping with another person whilst the baby is still suckling, or by another person using the mother's or baby's utensils or food whilst they are still in confinement.)
2) Curing the umbilical cord of new born babies

Various traditional herbal medicines are given to a new born baby to heal its umbilical cord. Many people know these and they are not necessarily administered on the directions of a traditional doctor or Moalafi. One such is called masokela tsebeng which has one round leaf above ground, and the underground tuberous root is used. This is boiled and administered to the baby 3-4 times a day with a teaspoon for 7-13 days. As with all traditional medicines, no one else is allowed to touch it.

3) Menstrual Pains

The sufferer was aged about 28 and had long suffered from this condition. She had heard from other women who had been successfully cured, of a good Moalafi. The woman had learnt her skill from her father who had been a famous traditional doctor in the Hurutshe area in South Africa. In this particular case she gave her patient a certain "wild onion" and some ground up medicine. The patient was instructed to boil these separately and drink them 3 or 4 times a day, before her next menstruation. They had to be boiled, like all traditional medicines, in an open pot to let out the evil spirits. Then when her next menstruation came she had to take a few drops of the menstrual blood and keep it in a small bottle and give it to the woman, who was then going to bury it where she had dug the "wild onion". She emphasized that no one other than the patient was to touch these medicines - this is the usual case with traditional medicines. Her fee for this cure was a bag of maize seeds worth about P3. (This Moalafi was also able to cure tlhowana.

4) Venereal Diseases

Men are believed to develop a venereal disease that is probably gonorrhoea through sleeping with women who are menstruating. One traditional doctor explained this disease to me by saying that the man feels the pain of this disease in the umbilical cord and then the blood passes from the umbilical cord into the spinal cord. As soon as it enters here, it will go via veins and arteries to bring the pain to the head. This makes the person mentally disturbed and even mad. The doctor will use ditaola to see the kind of herbs to use to cure

*1 One of my informants.
the person. If the disease is very bad he may have to use the intestine of a goat or sheep and wrap it around the medicines when he is boiling them. This is because this is the part that is loose in the patient and so it is to make it become stronger to help that part to come together. By boiling these medicines several times for the patient the patient will have diarrhoea and this will help to dehydrate the blood from the spinal cord that has caused the disease. In this way the madness comes out of the person and he is healed.

5) Fractures

These are often caused by Boloi. Thobega (setting fractures) is a specialty. The traditional doctor will splint the broken bones, and then often wrap strings of beads, especially mixtures of ostrich egg shell beads and porcupine spines, around the fracture. The patient will also be washed to protect him against his attacker. One way these are commonly caused is through the attacker bewitching a person's footprints. Earth from the footprint is mixed with bewitching medicines, which is why such a patient must be washed to be protected.

6) Hepatitis

This supposedly can be cured by various people. Some traditional doctors can cure it, but there is a certain woman who lives near Kwakwe Hill who is well-known for being able to cure this disease. She charges P3-6 for her cure. She prescribes a herbal mixture that the patient boils and drinks over a period of some days and it is supposed to cure the liver. One of my informants was cured by this woman in 1979. In 1981 the father of another of my informants died of the disease. The relatives who were blamed for bewitching him were supposed to have bewitched the Moalafi to refuse to cure him.

7) Alcoholism

Certain traditional doctors in Kanye are believed to have the cure for this. I knew of three such specialists who were believed to be able to cure advanced alcoholics. The brother of one of my informants was cured of this disease by one of these practitioners.

Alcoholism is often believed to be a symptom of having been bewitched. There are many cases of people who, for example, after successfully completing education at a high level are bewitched to become alcoholics. The specialist traditional doctor first throws the
bones to find the cause and gives the sufferer a special herbal mixture. This is mixed with his next alcoholic drink and has the effect of making him vomit badly, after this he is supposed to refuse to take alcohol again. The sufferer I observed was taken by his father after spending some years as a hopeless drunkard (having been bewitched to become so by some jealous people of his kgotla). He took the cure in April 1971 and by February 1983 he had still not returned to alcohol. The fee in this case was P20 (i.e. approximately equivalent to the price of a goat.)

8) Mumps (Makidiane)

When a person has this they are isolated from adolescent boys and girls as the disease is believed to cause sterility. Then every morning the sufferer must call into a big clay pot: "Makidiane, boela nkgwaneng." (Mumps go back into the pot). They do this several times. This is believed to reduce the swelling, which returns to the clay pot where it belongs. Presumably the shape of a clay pot is believed to be connected with the shape of a sufferer's swellings.

9) Measles (Sompane)

A sufferer is supposed to be kept in the house. Then they go outside and step on certain 5-pointed thorns. Those that stick to the feet are then taken to be boiled for a medicine to cure the patient.

Another cure is to go to the goat kraal and take goat's droppings. Individual droppings are then put in a circle alternately with the above-mentioned thorns (mosetlha) and then a boiled medicine is made from the droppings and thorns which the patient drinks until cured. These medicines are believed to protect against the eyes becoming infected.

Another cure is to slaughter a goat and then the grass from its stomach is rubbed over the rash to reduce irritation.

10) Ante- and post-natal care

Maburu women of Go-Lobeko are well known as midwives and specialists in this type of care. For example the sisters of an informant were massaged before and after birth to ensure easy delivery and that their wombs returned to proper positions. Also another Maburu woman prays on women who are barren and massages them to have babies etc. I am not quite sure where this power is believed to come from, but it is probably God rather than Badimo.
Several physical disabilities may be attributed to the action of boloi or the breaking of taboos (meila). For example, females and children are not supposed to see kittens and puppies before their eyes are open or they will go blind. Pregnant women should not eat ground nuts from their shells as this leads to the birth of babies with narrow eyes like the shells of ground nuts, nor should pregnant women cross pieces of wood - this leads to deformed babies, nor pluck chickens as this leads to the birth of babies without skin. One cause of barrenness is to wear the clothes of another woman that she has worn during pregnancy if you yourself have never been pregnant. If a suspected moloi has a deformed child this can be believed to be caused by the revenge of one of the victims. Several deformed people were pointed out to me as falling into this category.

Visiting a Traditional Doctor

Some mention has already been made of this. If it is a matter concerning the Kgotla, the head of the household is the one who consults the Kgotla traditional doctor. If a husband or wife need to go they always go with their spouse or at least with their knowledge. If it is a straightforward sickness such as tlohausta or venereal disease, the individual is treated according to the instructions of the ditaola thrown for the individual. If the individual is looking for help in obtaining a job, luck, marriage etc. again he is treated as an individual.

In the case of a bewitchment, even if it has only manifested itself in the individual, usually the whole family will need to be protected. For example a family were attacked by a whirlwind which blew straight through the yard, loosening the thatch on one of the houses. The traditional doctor found that a neighbour was bewitching the mother of the home who was at that time at the Lands as it was the ploughing season. He instructed that she should not come to Kanye until he had washed her, or the attackers might kill her, which was their aim. He then collected his medicines and all the family had to go together to the Lands to be washed. This washing not only protected the woman and the family but also neutralised the Boloi that one of the attackers had buried in the entrance to the home in Kanye and which had attracted the whirlwind.
The following case study illustrates not only a typical case brought to a traditional doctor, but also how a traditional doctor should be consulted by the family as a unit and is also treated by the traditional doctor as a unit.

The family had recently built a new zinc-roofed house in their Kgota, and had become aware that other people were very jealous. Fearing how this jealousy might manifest itself, they had decided to consult a traditional doctor to obtain protection.

The husband was called to throw the bones first. This particular traditional doctor tells his clients to sit on a mat with the right leg crossed under the left leg. The medicated water that was to be used to protect and cleanse the family was in a nearby tortoise shell container. The husband was instructed to take the bones into his hands, touch the water, and recite the following words before breathing onto the bones and throwing them onto the ground:-

"I'm cleansing with this medicine. Is it correct to do so? Khu!"

The traditional doctor then spoke in his special Setswana to the bones. He compared the case to traditional beer that had not separated properly from its dregs:-

The only beer that can be sieved is Mma*1 Polo's*2 beer. What have you been sieving? We saw the animals that live in the water. They separate themselves from the rest. Their mother, Mma Polo, is really taking care of them, putting them in special places. Mma Polo said to her children:

"Do wait, my children. Don't go around. You'll eat what remains, after I have sieved it."

The doctor then gave the bones to the man to throw again, which he did in the same way as before. The traditional doctor then continued in his special Setswana:-

People are always telling lies about moraro*3, that the servants have burned the fence, although the fence was burnt by the owner of the home. The owner of the home, who is a witch,

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*1 Mma - roughly equivalent to Mrs. in the sense of "mother".
*2 Polo - a species of iguana living in water.
*3 Moraro is a type of fencing, sometimes used for the walls of houses, but more commonly used for making cooking areas or boundary fences. Thin branches are pushed into the ground close together and others may be woven in and out.
I burn the old house.
The man was again told to throw the bones as before. The traditional doctor continued talking in his special language, and then concluded by telling the man that the medicated water was all right to use on him. He further told him that he would have arguments with other people and have problems, but that the medicated water would protect him from everything that could harm him. He added that anyone who dared to challenge him would end up having problems themselves. He further warned the man that he would have problems with either his Rrakgadi (father's sister) or his mother. They would argue with him over the things he had inherited from his father. There would also be arguments over his fields at the Lands. Even if he did not argue with his mother or grandmother, there was someone else who would try to argue with him over his fields.

On hearing this, the man immediately agreed that there had been trouble at his Lands. There was a dispute over one of his fields that another man wanted. This other man had even ploughed that field for himself that year without asking the owner's permission.

The wife was then told to take her husband's place. She threw the bones in the same way as her husband. Then the doctor talked to the bones in his special language. (We were totally unable to make sense of this to translate it.)

Then the doctor told the woman that there was a certain woman who lived near her home, (he emphasized that he meant her real home, not the home where she was married). This woman had T.B. He asked her if she knew such a woman, and when she replied that she did not he indicated the direction where that woman lived. He told her that that woman did not actually come from her own Kgotla, but lived very close to it. The woman continued to reply that she did not know such a woman, but eventually, as the traditional doctor continued to point in the direction that that woman's house was, she agreed that she knew such a woman.

Then she was told to throw the bones again. This time she was told to say:

Khu! I'm washing with these herbs. I don't care about problems like trials. Khu!

The traditional doctor again spoke to his bones in his special language, while he examined the way they had fallen. Then he told the woman that
he had seen that the woman who coughed (i.e. the one with T.B.) would
give her poison, and therefore she should take care of herself. If
she ate food cooked by that woman she should make sure she drank a
protective drink afterwards. The doctor further told her that the
"T.B. woman" was annoyed because she had wanted that woman's husband
to marry a woman she liked, although the husband was not her son, she
did not like that woman and was annoyed by her marriage.

The family were then told to prepare themselves to be washed.
This washing has been described earlier in this Chapter. (p. 103-5)

It is perhaps useful to comment on one or two points mentioned
in this divination. The doctor mentioned quarrels over inheritance
and over fields at the Lands. These are very common causes of
disagreement, and often result in an aggrieved party resorting to Boloi
in order to obtain revenge. Jealousy over a marriage, such as that of
the "T.B. woman" over the husband's choice of a wife, is also another
very common cause of bad-feeling that can lead to Boloi.

In conclusion, the main thing is that when a person visits a
traditional doctor, they should not go alone. To do so can lead to
suspicion that they are trying to obtain boloi medicines.

*1 N.B. On certain ritual occasions such as Botsetsi, weddings and
funerals, it is easy to poison people, as it is difficult to
refuse food offered on these occasions. As will be seen on the
Chapter on Boloi food can be served to a large number of people,
but would only poison a designated individual.
A traditional doctor holding his certificate from the Bangwaketse Tribal Association that allows him to practise and receive fees.
A traditional doctor using his ditaola (bones) to diagnose the family's problems and the treatment required. At present the bones are being cast for the husband, and the doctor is asking the bones if the medicated water in the tortoise shell is suitable for washing the family.

The doctor washes the whole family with the medicated water. He sprinkles them using his buffalo seditse (whisk).
The doctor asks the bones what medicines to use, each time the bones are thrown he touches first a twisted circuit of the bewitched bull's tail hairs. The medicines are mixed in the bath.

Inside the kraal, the cattle have been driven to the East on the doctor's instructions. Then he sprinkles the bull and cattle with the medicated water, using his buffalo seditse.
A trainee traditional doctor (the woman) mixing and preparing herbal medicines under the supervision of her teacher.

After all the herbal medicines have been ground, the trainee and her teacher ask the bones if they are good medicines. After throwing the bones she repeats after her teacher, line by line, as he talks to the bones.
The little girl in the pink dress is suffering from this disease. Her mother (back left) has been instructed by the tlhowana healer to apply the tsitlho (black, fatty medicine) daily, along the line of the child's fontanelles and on the cheeks (as in the photograph). She will not cut the hair along these lines until instructed to do so by the healer.

This child is now cured of tlhowana. Beer has been specially brewed, and the child tastes some of it first. She is being given it by the tlhowana healer who has mixed some of her tlhowana medicines with it.
Next the healer shaves off the child's hair using a new razor blade. She first dampens the child's head with the beer mixed with the medicines, and soaps the hair using a new bar of soap. The child is seated on a new length of cloth.

After the shaving is completed, all the hair, and medicines are carefully collected together inside the cloth by the healer. As part of her fee, the healer receives the pot of beer, cloth, soap and razor blade.
CHAPTER 6:

BALOI AND BOLOI = SORCERERS AND SORCERY

Introductory

"Christianity has failed signally to stamp out magic and sorcery. The practice of magic still persists strongly, even among members of the churches. Many a man who has long abandoned ancestor-worship in favour of the Gospels, or perhaps never known the old tribal cult, yet feels it necessary to have himself and his family, his huts, his cattle and his fields, regularly "doctored" to ensure good health and prosperity. The belief in sorcery is also vigorous.... The belief in their (sorcerers) existence is a disturbing factor in social life and the cause of much ill-feeling and malicious gossip, and magical methods of counteracting or avenging them have increased considerably of late."*1

Schapera was writing about the Bakgatla during his fieldwork in 1929-34, however these comments are still very much applicable to the present (1977-83). During my fieldwork I heard constant reference to Baloi and their activities.

Throughout the preceding account of the work of present-day traditional healers, many references have been made to boloi. This was noted to be divined as a common cause of many illnesses and problems faced by individuals and families. Much of a traditional doctor's efforts are aimed at protecting against, and/or healing, the results of boloi. In Part 3 it will be seen that this is also a major concern of the Zion Churches. As will be seen below, there was even a big Witchcraft Trial in 1978.

It should also be noted that by the Native Courts Proclamation of 1943, the Protectorate Administration gave Witchcraft official recognition. This Proclamation, although it repeated that Kgotla Courts had no jurisdiction over statutory offences, provided that they may have special endorsements on their warrants to deal with cases of Witchcraft. The Bangwaketse are one of the three areas (together with Bangwato and Bakgatla) that have been given these special endorsements.*2

Seeley lists the number of cases tried by the Bangwaketse Tribal Court 1960-70. In 1960 there were no cases, 1961 - 1, 1962 - 5, 1963 - 1, 1964 - 1, 1965 - 1, 1966 - 1, 1967 - 0, 1968 - 1, 1969 - 4, 1970 - 4. It should be noted that not all cases are brought to Court, probably because of fear. E.G. Seeley also notes that the Head of the C.I.D. in Gaborone informed her that between 1950-70 there were about 6 ritual murders per annum, but very few prosecutions because of the difficulty of getting evidence, which he stated was because of fear of witnesses and loyalty shown to headmen and chiefs who may be involved.*1

Bangwaketse, and all Batswana, use the word moloi (pl. baloi) to describe a person that seeks to use their special powers to harm others. The activities they use to bring about this harm is called boloi. Schapera states that: "The Tswana do not believe that there is any hereditary condition by virtue of which people unwittingly become witches. They maintain that all who practise boloi are fully aware of what they are doing, i.e. their motive is invariably one of envy, vengeance, or greed, and any person, male or female, may become one of them. In other words Tswana do not believe in 'witches', but only in 'sorcerers'."*2

Types of Boloi

According to Setiloane*3 there are four types of boloi of which the first two are not caused by baloi.

The first is called boloi ba pelo (boloi of the heart). This is caused by an offence against a mogolo – an elder relative. This offence may even be a lack of courtesy – the elder simply by feeling offended in his heart is calling the attention of Badimo to the offender – Badimo do not like lack of courtesy to elders thus they may punish the offender with ill-luck, sickness, misfortune, failure etc, by withdrawing their beneficient support, hence the offender becomes weak against the challenge from malevolent forces. The offender must make a sacrifice of a beast which also may involve being washed by the offended elder in order to be cured. A traditional doctor who may be consulted by the offender about his sicknesses or failures will "see"

*1 Seeley p. 196
*2 "Sorcery and Witchcraft in Bechuanaland" Schapera op.cit. p. 110-111.
from his bones that boloi ba pelo is the cause and prescribe the necessary sacrifice.

The second type of boloi is boloi ba molemo - sorcery of the mouth. Here an offended person may point a finger at the offender or utter threats in his anger, for example "0 tla iponna" (You'll see for yourself) or "0 tla se pona" (You'll see it). Again the offended one is calling the attention of the Badimo to the offence and it is Badimo through the withdrawal of their support who are punishing the offender.

These first two types of boloi which appear to be the same as dikgaba, can be seen to be a functional means of ensuring and encouraging correct social behaviour. However the other two types of boloi are believed to be caused by the malevolent actions of Baloi. These two types of boloi are called boloi bo motshagare (day sorcery) and boloi bo bosigo (night sorcery). The names correspond to the two different types of Baloi who practise them. Although Tswana Baloi fall into the category of sorcerers rather than witches, a distinction is made between baloi ba bosigo and baloi ba motshegare (night and day sorcerers respectively) and they cause boloi bo bosigo and motshegare, respectively. It should be noted that Baloi can be of either sex and any age, although it would appear that the majority are older women. Children of Baloi are also often suspected of developing into Baloi, and they may be believed to be "messengers" carrying boloi from their parents to the victims.

Baloi ba motshegare are the most feared as they are not afraid to bewitch people in front of everyone. Many of the beliefs connected with baloi ba bosigo are probably only half jokingly believed by the majority of people as many of these beliefs border on the "weird and wonderful". For example they are believed to ride through the night to their meetings with their fellow Baloi, flying on their pet hyenas or baboons or even humans whom they have "stolen" and treated to make stupid. (Such humans used in this way are believed to have been bewitched to appear dead and then after they have been buried they are dug up by the moloi, revived, and made into servants.) Baloi, amongst their many "powers" are believed to be able to open locked doors and make themselves invisible.
Common methods used by Baloi to attack victims

Setiloane states\(^1\) that Baloi use four main methods to attack their victims.

1. **Sejeso** (pl. dijeso from go ja-to eat and go jesa - to cause to eat). By this method the victim is caused to eat poison. These may be known poisons or such substances as the tabooed meat of the victim's personal totem, or a piece of crocodile (liver of crocodile is believed to be particularly poisonous in Kanye). Such a piece of crocodile is believed to grow into a small crocodile in the victim's stomach and cause diarrhoea, pain or intestinal swellings similar to cancerous growths. These poisons given by sejeso commonly cause conditions similar to (and even may be diagnosed at the hospital) as hepatitis or T.B. "Poisoned" food may not poison all those who eat it, baloi are believed to be able to "name" the victim(s), whilst others who may eat the food remain unharmed. Poisons can even be fed to an unwitting victim whilst they are sleeping, by baloi who enter the house through the locked doors. A common poison used in this case is pieces of human flesh - presumably from the graves that Baloi are reputed to exhume during their nocturnal activities.

2. **Sebeela** (from go beya - to put down or put away). By this method ditlhare (parts of herbs, bushes or trees) that are usually used for positive helpful purposes are used negatively to bring harm. For example plants used to cleanse can be treated in such a way that they will cause harm to the occupants of the home. Also by this method plants that are always believed to be harmful to man if they are in close proximity are deliberately hidden like the above ones, in the loloapa, roofs, entrances etc. Sebeela is believed to attract misfortune to the family and home.

3. **Go neela** (to set on, or go naya - to give). By this method a victim's hair, body dirt, footprints, shadow or personal possession may be stolen and treated so that he will come to harm. By this method the victim's seriti is affected in such a way that all things, including living things and people, react negatively towards the victim, for example, a farmer's normally docile cattle may turn against him and harm him when, for example, they are being inspanned in a plough or ox wagon, a hunter may be attacked by wild animals etc. Even bicycles

\(^1\) Setiloane op.cit. page 52-3.
or cars can be caused to harm the bewitched owner, or students suffer bad headaches and temporary blindness every time they pick up a bewitched school book.

4. **Sending lightning and freak weather conditions.** Powerful boloi are reputed to be able to direct lightning and certain other freak weather conditions such as whirlwinds. Lightning includes sudden unexplained fires. These conditions either attack the victim, his family or property.

The above are all common methods by which victims are attacked. The effect of such boloi commonly results in either illnesses (including T.B., hepatitis, cancerous types of illnesses, pains, miscarriages, giving birth to deformed children, death of children, fractures, bad "luck" and "accidents" etc., failure in exams, anti-social behaviour (e.g. alcoholism, wasting of money, confusion and madness), failure in agriculture (crop failure, livestock deaths (including Foot and Mouth etc.) failure of livestock to reproduce), accidents in the home, failure at work such as lack of promotions etc. The presence of any of these examples may cause an individual to suspect he is bewitched and thus seek help.

During my fieldwork I observed examples of the use of all four methods of boloi with varying effects. Before giving examples of this it should be noted that boloi either attack their victims personally or send messengers (such as their children) to carry poison, or they may use a thokolosi. Thokolosi (pl. dithokolosi) is perhaps best explained as the familiar of a moloi - the servant that is kept to help the moloi in bewitching activities. These take various forms throughout Botswana and are widespread throughout the rest of Southern Africa.

The form in Kanye is probably heavily influenced by other areas, and very strong boloi are rumoured to obtain their powerful dithokolosi from other places. (Maybe the idea here is that if the thokolosi comes from a far place it is immune to the local protective magic of the intended victims.) For example some people say that the moloi obtains a certain plant tuber from an evil traditional doctor and plants it with special boloi and then it grows into a thokolosi - this belief appears to be a Sotho belief originally. Other people say that thokolosi are miniature men (or women), very hairy and very ugly, rather like European goblins. During the daytime these dithokolosi are supposed to be hidden in the moloi's house where she feeds them
together with various animals who are also kept to act as her assistants, for example baboons, hyenas and certain highly dangerous snakes are all believed to be kept by witches either for transport or as assistants.

There are always numerous rumours of how various baloi have trouble in controlling these creatures. For example, one informant told me of a certain relative-in-law who was reputed to be a terrible moloi. She had finally been "caught". People had often wondered why she cooked large quantities of food for just herself in an enormous pot and yet never had any left overs. Then on one occasion she had been called to attend to her sister who was seriously ill in a sub-village. She did not have time to cook that day and was unable to return that night. Then neighbours began to hear a terrible "mewing" and animals rather like squirrels or large rats and cats began to come out of the house - they were terribly hungry!! The Headman refused to allow her to be reported to the Chief, fearing her powers of retaliation. For example, she was reputed to have caused many women to have miscarriages, children to die or become senseless, and working sons to become useless drunkards or dagga addicts or even meet with accidents in the mines.

Another moloi had a disobedient thokolosi that always became jealous every time she went out, and would start to follow her and refuse to remain behind. People would always hear her arguing with her thokolosi, trying to persuade it to stay behind. On one occasion it is supposed to have even followed her to a wedding.

It should be mentioned that female baloi are believed to keep male dithokolosi, and male baloi to keep female dithokolosi. Like the European familiars of witches, they are also believed to sleep with their dithokolosi, which are believed to be very jealous of any human husbands or wives. In 1980 when a man was nearly castrated by baboons who were stealing from his fields at the Lands, this was supposed to have been caused by the jealousy of his wife's (a moloi) thokolosi.

Examples of Boloi

There were several cases of reputed boloi during my fieldwork. For example soon after I arrived a young woman became suddenly ill after she had eaten porridge

*1 Apart from the cases of boloi cited in this section, further cases recorded during fieldwork are briefly described in Volume 2, Part 1, p. 2-10.
that her husband's mother's sister had given her. She suffered from bad stomach pains, turned yellow, and died soon afterwards, after the hospital had said there was nothing they could do as she had been given Tswana poison. The dead woman had been married the previous year.

After her death, traditional doctors were called by the family and they found that she had been given poison by her mother-in-law's sister, who was believed in the kgotla to be a powerful moloi. Apparently her motive for killing the woman was because she had wanted the dead woman's husband (her nephew) to marry one of her daughters - this would have been a traditionally preferred marriage. However in 1976 the widower had had a child with the dead woman whom he had chosen to marry. The moloi had then caused a fire at his family's lands by bewitching one of the younger children to go into the house and set it on fire, *1 everything had been burnt inside the house, including money.

However, despite this the man had married the woman he had chosen for himself, and the poisoned porridge in 1978 was the moloi's reaction to that marriage, to kill the wife.

In another sub-kgotla there were many widows, most of the husbands and adult men being dead. This was reputedly due to the action of the various women who had bewitched, through jealousy and retaliation, each other's husbands and working sons, to die. The moloi who is mentioned above (who killed her nephew's wife) was one of these baloi. During my fieldwork one of the last surviving husbands died, officially of T.B. which he refused to have regularly treated (probably through lack of understanding), but this was popularly attributed to the action of the kgotla's baloi. He himself had been a traditional doctor, who as he was dying, had started to confess to supplying the various widows with poisons to bewitch each other and those in the other dikgdtla. One of the cases he admitted to at this time, was of bewitching a woman who before her marriage came from that kgotla. In December 1978, this lady had a badly infected elbow. Apparently she began to suffer from this after mixing mud to make walls for her son's coming wedding. She was eventually cured by traditional doctors after the hospital had failed to cure her.

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*1 This is a common method used by Baloi - to bewitch one of the victim's own family to carry the poison (boloi). The idea of this is so that the "protections" of the home that is being attacked will then attack the bewitched member of the family.
The traditional doctors had divined that she had been poisoned by boloi that had been hidden in the mud she had been mixing. The mud had been dug the day before and baloi had come in the night to put their boloi, which they had obtained from the other dead traditional doctor. (Normally the mud is dug daily to avoid this opportunity for baloi to attack.) The baloi came from the woman’s own kgotla (the same as the traditional doctor’s) and their motive was jealousy of the family’s wealth and marriages of their children. Zion prophets also saw this in their prophecy (the oldest son from the family was a Zionist.)

In November 1979 a woman from this same kgotla (where the baloi lived) had a baby that died. This was apparently the sixth child she had had, that had died. Her older brother had made a girl in this same kgotla pregnant and then refused to marry her. The girl’s mother, a moloi, had then retaliated by bewitching the man’s sister to die and not have live children so that she could not be married. In December 1979 a young girl who also came from that kgotla nearly died of T.B. When she had become really sick at the Lands, a traditional doctor had been called. He had said that she was bewitched by the same moloi who had killed the young wife (see above) and also another moloi from that same kgotla. During the funeral of the traditional doctor (see above) the panties of that girl had been stolen. They had bewitched her to die because they were jealous of her mother (the only child of the dead traditional doctor) who would inherit all his possessions. They were also jealous of the sister...

It is common also to bewitch men working in the mines to have accidents or meet with some misfortune. Again this is due to the jealousy, usually of relatives, as men are able to earn a lot of money as miners, and there are many examples in Kanye of the resultant riches.*1 For example in December 1979, one informant told me how her brother had been working in the mines. Then while there he had had P260 stolen, and also his passport, so that he could not collect anymore money due to him. Then when he returned to Botswana to take a replacement passport, his brother’s lorry had overturned and the

*1 Many of the shops in Kanye were started with capital earned in the mines, as were also the various bus services; it is common for miners to build modern houses which are the envy of everyone.
broken ribs (i.e. he would be unable to work for several months in the mines). Then while the other brother was waiting to return to the mines he had spent the night with his sister at the Cattle post. Then during that night baloi had entered the house and nearly choked him, first making the sister sleep heavily. In the morning he was unable to rise. When their traditional doctor was called, he found that the man was being bewitched to die by the girl he was engaged to and with whom he had five children. She had apparently decided to marry another man and therefore had decided to kill him in order to avoid having to repay all the things he had given her.

In July 1981 I encountered a case that involved go neela. A certain family had suffered from a thief stealing corn from their fields during the night. In the morning they would just see the footprints of the thief. They tried to catch the thief but failed, so called a traditional doctor to help them, after about four bags of corn had been stolen in this way. The traditional doctor took earth from the thief's footprints and "treated" it. Some time later a certain moloi was threshing corn at her Lands, when she hit herself with the threshing stick. The bruise turned into a sore that refused to heal up and started to go rotten. She was then taken to the hospital and eventually made a recovery. She had apparently been the thief, and the "treatment" of her footprints found in the field where she had been stealing caused her accident and the injury.

The main methods used by baloi in the above cases were sejeso, go neela and sebeela. I also encountered cases where lightning (tladi)*1 or adverse weather conditions was believed to have been directed to the victim. One such case happened at a shebeen of some notoriety. A sudden unexplained fire started in the roof of one of the thatched houses, and within about 20 minutes, 2 thatched rondavels were burnt to the ground. When the shebeen queen's husband called his traditional doctor to find out the cause he found that the fire (tladi) was caused by a customer. Apparently the shebeen queen had been "cheating her husband" with a certain customer who had just returned from a mine contract in South Africa, so had had plenty of money, most of which she had managed to trick out of him through their relationship. When she then had a relationship with another customer he became very angry (all his money from two years work having been used up), the man insulted her and she then reported him to the kgotla. In the kgotla case his parents were fined two cattle because their son had insulted a married woman. His parents agreed

*1 It should be noted that tladi is also believed to include sudden unexplained fires that destroy property etc.

*2 A shebeen is an illegal drinking house.
then consulted a traditional doctor who had "sent" this "lightning".

Another case that involved lightning being directed happened in 1979 during a particularly bad thunderstorm. A house was struck and burnt to the ground, despite the efforts of the neighbours and the torrential rain. When a traditional doctor was called, it was found that the lightning had been directed by baloi from their kgotla. The family had been suffering badly from boloi, the previous year they had had a bad accident with their ox wagon.

In May 1979, a sudden whirlwind blew through one kgotla and nearly took off the roof of one of the houses in a yard.

The family had been expecting some trouble ever since April when a certain woman had come to the house and, finding no adult around, had been seen by the children of the home to be digging at the entrance and burying something. When the traditional doctor was called after the whirlwind he found that a group of baloi were trying to kill the woman of the home and harm the rest of the family, they were jealous of the supposed success of the family - they had sent their children to school. The traditional doctor then had to wash all the family to protect them and also to neutralise the effects of the boloi that had been buried at the entrance. The traditional doctor had "seen" from his bones that the boloi consisted of poisonous sebeela from the Kgalagadi, and that it had been placed there to attract lightning.

It will be noted from these examples that many cases of boloi involved relatives or neighbours bewitching each other. When A bewitches B, B is already protected by his traditional doctors. So if his protections are strong they may have the effect of reflecting A's attempted boloi back on himself. Or if A succeeds, B may then seek to bewitch A in revenge. Schapera noted that in 90 of the 105 cases of boloi for which he had adequate data, the baloi and victims were closely related. He writes:

"... The most common types of relationship were those of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and brother; less commonly, but also fairly frequent, the parties involved were parent-in-law and child's spouse, master and servant, or doctor and client. It is extremely rare for people to be accused of bewitching either strangers or persons living away from their own part of the tribal territory."*

This would appear to be true also in many of the cases I have observed. However with greater mobility nowadays, due to the Unified

*1 Schapera "Witchcraft and Sorcery" op.cit. page 118.
Government Service, where people have to move to where they are posted, it would appear that a new common source of boloi is that of prostitutes allegedly using boloi to attract and keep their clients in order to obtain as much money as possible. There were several such ladies who allegedly gained success in this way. Also rival girlfriends seem to bewitch each other, and in work situations rival employees may bewitch each other either for jobs or promotions. These appear to be new situations since Schapera's time and also include bewitching white foreigners (who are still often in positions of power) in order to gain their favour and bring about promotions etc. Thus the last part of the above statement from Schapera that "it is extremely rare for people to be accused of bewitching strangers or persons living away from their own tribal territory" perhaps needs to be modified in the light of recent experience. The B.D.F. soldier who died was living away from Kanye in the north of Botswana, as were the various miners.

As has been already noted, Batswana protect themselves against the danger of boloi. However the following analogy made by Schapera places this in perspective:

"It is often said by Europeans claiming to know something about tribal life that the African lives in perpetual dread of sorcery. It is true that he regards sorcery as an ever-present danger. But he is no more obsessed by fear of it than is the average inhabitant of a large city in Western Europe obsessed by fear of being involved in a traffic accident. Both are dangers that must be faced almost daily; but just as we can avoid a collision by exercising caution, so do the Tswana believe it is possible to protect against sorcery."*1

Methods of Protection against Boloi

The main method of protection against boloi is from the traditional doctor in charge of that kgotla. As has already been stated in Chapter 5, every new site and house is doctored by the kgotla doctor, as are Lands, kraals, and even new property such as ox wagons, cars, lorries and bicycles. By certain traditional people these protections may be annually renewed from the family lenaka (medicine horn). In times of special trouble the family may be "washed" with medicated

*1 Schapera "Witchcraft and Sorcery" op.cit. page 114.
water, and again certain traditional families may do this annually. People may take special protections before going on a long journey, before taking a new job, or going to work in the mines.\footnote{1}

The aim of all these protections is often to reflect boloi back to the moloi herself/himself. Thus, if the moloi intended to bring bad luck to the victim, this hard luck is reflected to the moloi, for example, miscarraiges, child deaths, misfortunes etc.

\textbf{The Punishment of Baloi}\footnote{2}

When an individual or his property (including livestock or Lands) meets with misfortune or sickness, or even death, a traditional doctor is called to divine the causes. If the family traditional doctor divines boloi as responsible and the bones indicate a certain Moloi as responsible\footnote{3}, then the family attempt to catch the moloi. If they are able to do this the moloi may be reported to the Chief. There will then be a kgotla case.\footnote{2} The moloi will then be commanded to go \textit{dirolola} (literally this means to undo, or use an antidote), the victim, if the victim is still alive. If the victim subsequently recovers the moloi is then released with a stern warning. However in the old days if the victim had died, the moloi who had been proved guilty would be killed. In Kanye on the North Eastern side of the hill on top of which the main part of the village was built, is a high cliff called Phareng. Traditionally guilty baloi were thrown to their deaths off this cliff - the bodies being left for scavengers. Another alternative traditional punishment for convicted baloi was exile, together with all their family, and sometimes even the whole kgotla. Lekgolobotlo is an example of such a sub-village that started through the banishment of baloi from Kanye. The baloi from a sub-kgotla neighbouring mine were convicted. When Chief Bathoen II (the present Chief's father) was still a boy his \textit{Rakgotdi} was the Regent. She apparently had performed favours for various people and so when the time came for Bathoen to become Chief, certain people wished her to remain as Regent and tried to bewitch the young Chief. They were caught, as a result, the whole kgotla, even though most had not been involved,

\footnote{1} Further details of the method and nature of these protections are found in the Chapter 5.
\footnote{2} As has already been stated, the Bangwaketse are one of the three tribes that were granted the right to try Baloi.
\footnote{3} N.B. A traditional doctor never names an individual, the bones only indicate the general characteristics.
were exiled and had to build themselves a new village.

Nowadays there is no death penalty for convicted baloi (unless they are caught performing ritual murder). However there are still many cases at the kgotla involving the trial of baloi. Boloi is a frequent cause of mental disorders, and is also a ground for divorce. During my fieldwork there was a big Witchcraft Trial.

In September 1978 the Chief's uncle died and was buried with a Christian burial service in the Royal Cemetery in Kanye. In November four people, two men and two women, were found "stuck" to the grave in the early morning. Apparently they were baloi who had been trying to exhume the grave. (Human flesh is supposed to be a potent ingredient of boloi and the flesh of a Chief is believed to be particularly potent.) The grave had been specially doctored by the Chief's traditional doctors to protect it, and these "protections" had had the above effect on the baloi. These four people were then arrested. One of the women was even an ex-student of the secondary school in Kanye, and now a primary teacher. The tribal police then searched each of their homes, confiscating any suspected boloi equipment, and taking it to the kgotla. The baloi were then put on display with their equipment and the rest of the village was called to view them in their disgrace. The boloi equipment consisted of human parts (particularly skulls and sexual organs), dead baboons and hyenas etc. Students flocked to the kgotla - one of the male baloi was popularly believed to have killed several people, in fact all of these individuals had long been suspected of boloi. Stones were thrown and it was feared that they would be killed by the crowd that rapidly became a mob, so members of the public were then dismissed. However the windows of the home of that man were stoned.

Those baloi who had been caught then started revealing the names of their companions and the tribal police arrested many other baloi, searching their homes each time. A certain red pick-up truck was even hired for this work, and whenever people saw it approaching they would rush to follow it to see who would be the next to be arrested, and they watched with interest when boloi equipment was carried from a house. I witnessed two baloi being arrested and what struck me was the poverty of their houses. Both lived in badly maintained houses - "Woman's thatch" rondavels, with no modern windows.
One who lived in a house in a particularly bad state of repair, with no fence around the yard, was said to be a notorious moloi, and was even reputed to have recently paid two cattle for some human flesh to make her boloi stronger.

For some days the various baloi were on trial and public display at the Chief's kgotla. However two were badly injured whilst going home at the end of the day. One had her ear badly cut when she was hit by a stone and had to rush to the hospital for shelter. The crowd (mostly school children) then tried to force an entrance into the hospital. Things began to get out of control and various innocent old people were stoned and threatened by school aged children, accusing them of being baloi. The trials then seemed to fizzle out. Apparently the government intervened and ordered them to be stopped as they would bring disrepute to the country abroad.

However very often people do not seek a trial after the moloi causing their problems has been identified by divination. They rely much more on strengthening their protections, or using protections that reflect the moloi's boloi onto herself/himself. As will be seen in Part 3, protection against boloi plays an important part in the Zion Churches.

Ritual Murder

As has already been stated, human parts are a powerful ingredient of boloi.*1 This is probably "normally" obtained by exhuming graves, especially those of small children that are in yards (see burial of children, Chapter 8), that is why such graves of small children are never marked. Stories abound of hyenas (the transport of baloi) being sighted at the various Kanye graveyards. There have also been various recent cases of ritual murder.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion to this section perhaps it should be mentioned that much of the information here could only be gathered by rumours and
informants describing how they were themselves affected by the actions of baloi. Naturally I was unable to interview any baloi about their activities although I knew several people who were alleged to be baloi, and once whilst walking in the village I observed one at work late at night! Some of the stories about them may sound ridiculous but they have been included because they appear to be seriously believed by many people and because of this belief and the fear of boloi, attempting to avert it is a chief concern of people. This is the main business of traditional doctors - to avert boloi (preventative) and drive away its effects (curative). Mission churches do not fulfil this function, therefore many mission church members also have to consult traditional doctors, and traditional doctors are even members of the churches (although they may receive their power from Badimo).

On the other hand Zion Churches do recognize the presence of boloi and as will be seen many of their activities are based on this belief - they protect and cure members from the effects of boloi. Because they offer these services their members do not have such a need for traditional medicine except in special cases. In this way as will be seen the Zion Church is able to offer more of an alternative "total" system for most of the occasions when traditional medicine is needed. *1

*1 At present the main exceptions on which there is no Zion service or practice are:-- the curing of widows, tlhwana, and certain tribal occasions such as Dikgafela (although for the latter there is a Seed service, but Zionists must still also attend the tribal traditional occasion).
CHAPTER 7:

SOME ADDITIONAL TRADITIONAL BELIEFS

This is perhaps the best place to include a brief account of some of the other traditional beliefs held about various phenomena. Some of the examples that follow include beliefs about omens foretelling future events. Others involve taboos, which if they are broken, cause the problems associated with meila - the breaking of taboos.

1. Noga ya metsi - The Water Snake

According to Pauw the belief in noga ya metsi - the water snake - is a widespread Sotho-Tswana belief. The water snake is believed to live in dams, rivers and caves. It may take the form of half fish and half man or woman (rather like a merman/mermaid). It also is supposed to have the power of enchanting humans by changing itself into beautiful colours. There are believed to be both male and female ones who at times can "steal" humans to "marry" them. They are believed to hypnotise their victims by their rainbow colours, then the victim, in this state, continues to be drawn into the water or cave. Even if they are dragged back by companions they will remain in a confused state until they are doctored by a traditional doctor.

In Kanye it is believed that there is a water snake in Mmakgodumo Dam to the North-East of the village, and also another such snake in the caves of Kwakwe Hill on the South-Western side of the main village. Some people say there are underground tunnels connecting the dam and the hill through which these snakes can pass to visit each other.

During the early 1960's a group of small boys went to swim in the dam, and one of the boys was drawn into the water. His companions were unable to pull him out. The police were called as many people were too afraid to touch the boy. When the body was eventually recovered from the water, where it had been partly submerged, the soft parts had been eaten out, such as lips, mouth, nose, eyes; fingers and toes were also missing.

This incident was related to me by various informants, the brother of one of whom had been a member of the original swimming group.

In October 1978, during my field work, there was a similar case. Again a group of small boys went to a nearby dam and two of them were
supposed to have been killed by the snake. When the second boy was killed the other small boys ran away. Again, when the bodies were recovered later in the day, the soft parts had been eaten.

During large gatherings such as the local Independence celebrations and the annual Kanye Agricultural Show, it is often very windy but immediately preceding and following these occasions the weather is "normal". (It should be noted that the Agricultural Show is not held on a fixed date, but is fitted into a schedule of local Agricultural Shows held around the country annually, so it takes place somewhere between June and August. Independence is of course always celebrated on September 30th). This windy cold weather is popularly believed to be "sent" by the water snake that lives on Kwakwe Hill - certainly after hearing about this belief I did observe that at the July 1981 show the wind did blow from the direction of Kwakwe Hill, although the next day it was from the opposite direction and a much warmer wind!

This belief in the water snake is still widely held today but probably most people only half believe the stories. For example, Botswana Daily News reported a story early in 1982. Villagers in Mmankgodi, a sub-village, at a recent kgotla meeting had refused to allow a dangerous water snake to be killed even though it had killed 5 goats. To support their refusal to allow the snake to be killed the elders ".. quoted an incident which they claimed happened 50 years ago when a similar snake was killed in Kolobeng and the land became dry until the past few years." Eventually it was agreed not to kill the snake but instead to erect a security fence around the area where it was believed to live.

In addition, people can also be bewitched to be troubled by the water snake. This belief will again be referred to in the section on Zion Churches.

2. "Natural" Phenomena

Many phenomena that are believed to be natural in the West are traditionally believed to be attracted by the breaking of certain taboos or alternatively "directed" by the action of baloi. Below are examples of some of these phenomena. Other such phenomena are believed to be omens of bad luck or even death.

a) Lightning - tladi

Every year much damage is done by lightning both within Kanye and the surrounding district; houses are burnt, cattle are killed, and it is by no means uncommon for people to be killed by lightning. Lightning is not believed to be a purely natural phenomenon, not only are individuals believed to attract it by the non-observance of certain practices but it may also be "directed" to individuals by others.
through the use of boloi.

Traditional people believe that lightning could be "sent" or "directed" because it consisted of a bird called tladi which was believed to have long, bright red wings. When the lightning flashes are seen, it is supposed to be this bird passing low over the ground. Baloi are believed to have the power to attract this bird, and the breaking of certain taboos also does so.

Many of these taboos are concerned with water. For example many dikgotla forbid non-residents to pass through the kgotla with water or cattle dung as this can attract lightning to the kgotla. It is also believed to attract lightning to throw the dirty water over a lolwapa wall. In fact water should always be poured onto the ground, never thrown. Water should never be passed through a fence, even if it is a "short cut", it should be always brought through the entrance.

Other taboos are connected with fire. For example, fire should never be thrown, nor taken from place to place at night – a lit candle is never carried around the yard at night. During the first rain of the year, one is not supposed to dig or plant, nor to drink the waters, as these practices are believed to attract lightning.

Baloi are supposed to attack their victims by hiding boloi in the victim's yard and this can attract lightning. Much of traditional doctors' protections are to neutralise the effects of this type of boloi.

During a storm there are several precautions that are believed to protect against lightning striking. For example, all radios, batteries, and mirrors should be covered as they are believed to attract lightning. People may avoid wearing red or white during the lightning season as these are colours that are believed to attract it to strike. Also, when building a house, the entrance to the lwa-lapa should never be opposite the entrance to the house as this is supposed to encourage lightning to travel into the house.*1 Again, during a storm, people should not cover their heads (for example, with a jersey or a blanket) as this is believed to attract lightning to the house.

Lightning may be driven away in various ways. For example, if salt is thrown into the fire or the leaves of the mosetlha or mositwane trees are thrown into the air, at the same time repeating "Golela, golela, Modimo." ("Go higher, go higher, God.") lightning may be driven away. However, as this is also believed to drive away

*1 See Diagram 16 2(p6ax) & (xx)). None of the entrances to the individual malwapa (yards) were opposite the doorways of the individual houses of the yards.
the clouds bringing rain, it is only done in extreme emergencies.

If a person's property or an individual is struck by lightning, a traditional doctor is consulted to divine the cause. If he finds that taboos have been broken the person will probably be charged a high fee to cleanse them. If it is boloi then they will be doctored to give them protection. In January 1979, during a thunderstorm, a house was struck and burnt to the ground despite the efforts to put out the fire. It is not true in Setswana that "lightning never strikes in the same place twice" as this family had been struck several times at their Cattle posts and Lands and also in Kanye. Traditional doctors found that they were being attacked by boloi from their own kgotla, who were jealous.

Again in February 1979, lightning struck during a football practice on the ground on top of the hill. Two of the players were even killed. This included one student who was from Kanye whose family had suffered a lot of recent trouble, the boy's father had been killed the year before in a road accident. A girl fell off her bicycle in February 1979 and had to have six stitches on her leg. Then in April she was struck by lightning. Apparently she was being bewitched because people in her kgotla were jealous that she was engaged into a rich family.

The above examples are to illustrate how lightning is believed to be one of the ways that baloi attack their victims. Some further examples of the use baloi make of lightning are included in Chapter 6 and Vol.2.

**b) Shooting Stars and comets**

Shooting stars and comets are believed to be omens of bad luck, especially of death, in particular the death of a great person such as a member of the royal family. The bigger the shooting star, the more important the person for whose death it is an omen. For example at the end of June 1980 there was a very big shooting star; on July 13th 1980 Sir Seretse Khama, the First President of Botswana (and also by descent the Paramount Chief of the Bangwato), died.

Whenever people see a shooting star they say: "Naledi ga ke a go bona ke le asi, ke go bone le batho." (O star, I haven't seen you alone, I have seen you with people.) This is an attempt to avert the bad luck from themselves, much as throwing three pinches of spilt salt
over the left shoulder, according to an English belief.

c) The new moon

The position of the crescent moon is believed to be an omen for the coming month. For example when it is in the position of a dish:--, the month will be a bad one and many people will die! this is because the disease and death around in the atmosphere will be collected in the "dish" and not be poured out, as it will be when the crescent is tilted on its side:--.

People wish on seeing the new moon, similarly to the English custom, for example for luck, long life, happiness etc.

Another belief connected with the new moon is that the very first stage is supposed to be seen by baboons only and this is the time for baboons to start menstruating. Women should only start menstruating from the second day onwards. Naturally the moon is the way that illiterate people judge the months of pregnancy.

d) Unnatural Behaviour of Animals

Various omens are connected with the unnatural behaviour of animals. For example, if chickens lay eggs with soft shells or eat their own eggs, this is believed to be an omen of the death of a close relative. If a hen "crows" like a cock this is also believed to be an omen of death. Such chickens are usually slaughtered quickly to avert the bad luck.

If cats or dogs defecate in the house, or mate near people, this is again believed to be an omen of death.

The passing of certain small creatures (such as worms) across the path of a walker is a very bad omen. Similarly if any dead reptilian creature is upside down, the body should be turned the right way up as it is believed that otherwise bad luck would be attracted.

e) Pythons

It is a terrible taboo to kill pythons. Only traditional doctors using special protections may kill them. It is believed that if they are killed, rain will be driven away and a horrible dusty wind that encourages rain clouds to evaporate will blow from the direction where the snake was killed. This wind is supposed to be caused by a terrible gas that is exhaled by the dying snake. The drying wind is sent from Badimo who are strongly displeased by the killing of pythons.
On November 13th 1980 promising rain clouds gathered in the morning and the wind was from the correct direction of the first rains. However by lunchtime they had disappeared, there was a terrible cold, dusty wind like that typical of August. The wind had also changed to blow from the opposite direction - from the Kgalagadi.

Everyone was very surprised about this until the next day when it was heard that a python had been killed by the police during the morning of the previous day. Apparently the python had tried to eat a baby. Fortunately the baby had been saved in time, but then the python had attacked and eaten a goat. When the police were called they had shot it. When the wind had changed direction it had started to blow from the direction from where the snake was killed. The police were not from Kanye, but from the north of Botswana where there are different beliefs.

e) Baboon Spider

There is a large black hairy spider which lives in a hole in the ground. It makes a web over the entrance of its hole which is about the size of an egg. If bitten by this spider the only cure is to return to the spider's hole and step on the hole again saying: "Lesire e ke go gata ka bomo." ("Spider, I step on you on purpose.") Although the person will be bitten again, this is believed to be the only cure.

The brother of one of my informants was bitten by a baboon spider in 1964. He was taken to the local hospital and given various forms of treatment, but was not cured. During the next three months his foot became worse and worse, so that he was unable to attend school. Eventually neighbours advised his family to try the above cure - within three days he had recovered.

Even if a person steps on the hole but is not bitten it is believed that a bad sore will develop, so as a prevention to this happening an individual should always spit on the hole and say the above words: "Lesire e ke go gata ka bomo."

f) Thokolosi

(see Chapter 6, p. 130-131)
CHAPTER 8:

TRADITIONAL PRACTICES AND BELIEFS OF PROTECTION AND HEALING ASSOCIATED WITH LIFE CYCLE EVENTS

Introductory Remarks

As has been noted, traditional doctors are not merely concerned with healing diseases of the human body as are their "modern, Western" counterparts. In the following two chapters further examples will be outlined to show the involvement of bongaka in traditional practices and beliefs; these accounts will demonstrate how bongaka is closely interwoven with everyday life.

This account will be divided into two parts. Chapter 8 will describe the traditional practices and beliefs associated with life cycle events and Chapter 9 those associated with agriculture and the traditional year.

Throughout it will be seen how these practices and beliefs aim to protect and heal.

a) Pregnancy

Nowadays many pregnant women attend the antenatal clinics, of which there are two in Kanye.\(^1\) One is at the Government Clinic and the other at the Seventh Day Adventist Mission Hospital. Although many women still give birth to their children at their own homes it is becoming increasingly popular to be confined at the hospital (especially for the first baby) where the mother will go at the onset of the labour pains and stay for up to ten days after the birth of the baby.\(^2\)

Traditionally women gave birth at home in the manner described by Schapera.\(^3\) There are still many traditional practitioners who specialise in helping pregnant women and at confinement. Even those women who will be confined at the hospital use these practitioners as well, some of whom are male traditional doctors who help the pregnant woman with herbs during pregnancy to relieve pains and other ailments connected with pregnancy, but others are female specialists who not only do this but also can massage the woman to bring about an easy delivery.

\(^1\) 1973 - 75% of all pregnant women in Botswana attended an antenatal clinic. Mobile Health Services, Oscar Gish & Godfrey Walker (1977), p.28

\(^2\) 36% of all births in Botswana (1973 Gish and Walker) took place in a hospital or clinic.

and can predict accurately when the baby is due.\textsuperscript{1} These traditional practitioners are paid quite small fees, for example in the case given below the fee was 10thebe (about 5p).

However, whether or not a pregnant woman attends antenatal clinics, or whether or not she is confined at the hospital, traditional taboos concerning pregnancy and childbirth and the period following childbirth still appear to be widely observed.

Traditionalists believe that children are a gift from the Badimo (ancestors). According to Schapera premarital pregnancy\textsuperscript{2} was traditionally frowned upon and the offenders severely punished.\textsuperscript{3} Today, however, so-called unmarried mothers are very common. In fact there is often great pressure on a girl to have a baby and there is much suspicion that women without children are committing abortions (this is a terrible taboo). Traditional people will not allow such women to touch their children as a woman who has aborted is believed to be fatally dangerous to children if she touches them. (She has maoto a molelo – see Chapter 4)

Pregnancy was traditionally believed to come about by the mixture of a woman's menstrual blood with her husband's semen.\textsuperscript{4} Therefore once a woman is pregnant she is not allowed to sleep with men other than the father of her child. Another man would be endangered by her "menstrual blood" when it entered him during intercourse. The father of the child should however continue to sleep with her as his semen is believed to help the child develop properly in the womb (often referred to as stomach).

A pregnant woman should not do hard work and if she asks anyone for anything, for example food or wood to burn etc., they should not deny her. If they do sores will develop in the eyes of the person, which will then publicly advertise the fact that they have refused to give to a pregnant woman. This was presumably a custom to encourage people to help pregnant women and make sure their lives were comfortable. However a pregnant woman should not eat food cooked for a Motsetsi (a woman in confinement), as this will seriously affect the Motsetsi's child. Men

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} A pregnant Motswana friend of mine who believed herself to be 8 months pregnant consulted one of these specialists. The lady massaged her abdomen and told her the baby was due within the next two days. The next day my friend went into labour and gave birth to a healthy "9 month pregnancy" baby. She had been attending the clinic and they had told her that she still had another month before time.
\item \textsuperscript{2} N.B. There is a difficulty in defining premarital pregnancy, as will be seen in the later description of Marriage.
\item \textsuperscript{3} See Schapera, Isaac \textit{Married Life in an African Tribe}.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Schapera, op.cit. p.177
\end{itemize}
believe that if they are with women who are pregnant they feel tired and sleepy and may become stupid. Nowadays this is a common way for school boys to tease girls at school when they want to make an excuse for sleepiness or laziness during lessons!!

Again a pregnant woman should not touch traditional medicines prescribed for another person or that person's symptoms will be aggravated. This is probably to do with the fact that pregnant women are believed to suffer from maoto a molelo and can therefore weaken the diriti of others. She herself may take certain herbal medicines that are believed to help her to have an easy childbirth. Pauw refers to one such herbal medicine known as Magorometso,\(^1\) that is taken by pregnant women to ensure an easy confinement. He also refers to a special powder called tshitlho\(^1\) that is used by traditional doctors to treat pregnant women. A pregnant woman should not enter the cattle kraal or walk through a flock of livestock or the animals will be subject to fatal miscarriages.

When a woman is ready to be confined, she will either give birth at the hospital or at her own home. If she is married it is customary for the first and maybe also the second birth to be organised from her paternal home, not from the home where she is married. (See botsetsi, below.)

If a pregnant woman is unfortunate enough to have a miscarriage, she and the father of her child are believed to have maoto a molelo - "hot blood".\(^2\) The foetus must be carefully buried in a shady place, usually under the floor of one of the houses. Failure to do this would be a dibeela - an abomination- which would cause drought. Such a woman must then be confined as though she is a Motsetsi (see later) and she is not allowed to visit or move around the village until she has been "cleansed" by a traditional doctor. She is not allowed to touch children as to do so might kill them. Even after she has been "washed" many traditional people will not allow her to visit, especially inside their houses, as they believe she is bringing death with her. In any case, before she enters a person's house for the first time, she must smear a little wet cow dung on the wall, or take cold’ ash from the fireplace and

\(^1\) Pauw, B.A. Religion in a Tswana Chiefdom . , page 15
\(^2\) Schapera op.cit. page 204
put it inside the house before she enters. All the children in the yard where she lives, with whom she is likely to be in close daily contact, are "washed" to protect them from her if she has to touch them.

**How a miscarried woman is cured**

In December 1981 one of my informants unfortunately had a miscarriage, so I was able to observe at close quarters the treatment of women in this condition. The aim of this traditional treatment is to "cool" her maoto a molelo which can endanger the diriti of others.

As the miscarriage took place at the hospital the foetus was not buried traditionally, but when she returned from the hospital her mother had collected the traditional cleansing medicines from their traditional doctor. The patient had to wash her body in cold water to which these medicines had been added. These herbal medicines are called mogaga, which is the same remedy that is used to heal widowed people. She did this at sunset and was not allowed to wash them off until after sunrise the next morning.

Then with another bowl of water to which another herbal medicine called mosiama - the Holy Tree - had been added, she had to wash all the young children of the home, including a newly born baby. First she washed their hands, then arms, legs, head, back and front. This was to enable her to touch them without harming them. If she did not do this it is believed that the children would die if she touched them. She was obviously not allowed to touch other people's children as they had not been protected in this way. The children had to leave this medicine on their bodies until after sunrise the next day. These medicines were all mixed with cold water (normally people wash in warm water) to cool the "hot blood".

If a miscarried woman is not treated at the hospital there is a traditional remedy to cleanse the womb. The woman steeps herself in a bath of hot water in which donkey dung has been boiled.

The miscarried woman, after cleansing, still has maoto a molelo and is subject to several taboos, for example, she is not allowed to sit on chairs as this could be very harmful to men; as already stated she cannot touch "unwashed" children nor should she walk where small children can walk on her tracks. If by mistake children do walk on the tracks of a miscarried woman and become ill the cause would be divined by a traditional doctor, who would then cure them by taking mud from the miscarried woman's foot-prints, mixing it with water, and give it to them to drink. These women are not allowed to walk through kraals as
this would cause cows to miscarry, she has to enter houses she visits by first throwing in a cold ember. If parents allow her to touch their small children she has first to blow on all the orifices of their bodies or they could sicken and die. She of course may not sleep with any man other than the father of the miscarried child. This man must also be cleansed as he, too, can be a danger to other small children.

These taboos are still taken very seriously in Kanye. At the end of January 1982 a young man died in the mines. After Christmas, which he had spent in Botswana, he became swollen and could not be cured in hospital at the mines. When his parents called a traditional doctor, it was divined that the man had slept with a woman who had made an abortion, while he was in Botswana. This woman had not been cleansed with mogaga medicine.

Treatment with the mogaga medicine allows the miscarried woman to walk freely in the village without spoiling the rain, harming livestock, or small children. If mogaga is unavailable then sekaname (the red onion) that is used to make a protective cross on the threshing floor can be substituted. (see Chapter 9).

Many people do not like women in this condition to come near their tools or work places. For example one informant who was showing me how she makes clay pots (a specialist skill) showed me her firing pits, and also an old firing pit she had had to abandon after such a woman had walked close to it. Apparently when she later had tried to fire pots in that pit they had kept cracking and even breaking. The traditional doctor she had consequently consulted divined this cause and advised her to make a new firing pit.

Miscarriages are frequently attributed to Boloi (sorcery). *1 Although the father of the miscarried child is also supposed to follow these same taboos (except the confinement) this has become less common in recent times due to the increase in casual relationships. Increasingly the taboos are applied only to the woman. Women in this condition are extremely dangerous to men, I heard of several cases where such women (they are particularly dangerous before their menstruations restart) were reported in their family dikgotla for sleeping with men whilst in this condition.

It should be noted that when a woman is pregnant it is bad etiquette to refer to her pregnancy and unlike in England, refer to

*1 For examples see Chapter 6, p. 131 and 133 and Volume 2, pages 2-10 and 12 - 14.
how many months she has been pregnant. Women who have not had children are not supposed to know about pregnancy, and unrelated women who are not close comrades might be suspected of wanting to bewitch the woman and her child.*2 Naturally men do not refer directly to a pregnant woman's condition.

b) Botsetsi - Confinement of the mother and her child

A woman who has just given birth is called a Motsetsi (pl. Batsetsi, condition - Botsetsi). Whether or not she gives birth at a hospital she is expected to spend a period of from 2 - 6 months confined inside a house or the yard. During this period she is subjected to certain customs and taboos.

As already noted, even if a woman is married, for her first baby born after her marriage (and even perhaps her second) she will spend her Botsetsi at her own home with her mother or a close female relative, such as a sister or aunt, being responsible for looking after her. There is always a certain woman who is responsible for looking after a Motsetsi and her child. As will be seen most of the taboos and customs surrounding a Motsetsi have the effect of protecting her from arduous work, and aim to protect her and the young baby from infection. A Motsetsi is not allowed to cook, she is believed to be dirty and therefore could contaminate food through her "maoto a molelo" condition. The woman responsible for looking after her cooks for her and looks after all her things as she has her own crockery, cooking pots and cutlery, which are kept absolutely separate with no one else being allowed to use them. The only exceptions to this are the other young children of the family who may use them and also eat some of the food that is cooked specially for the Motsetsi. If people who are old enough to have sexual relations were to share these utensils and the Motsetsi's food, it is believed that harm would come to the baby. This would be shown by a swelling of the umbilical cord. In some very traditional homes a separate bucket may be kept for fetching the water for the Motsetsi.

Immediately a Motsetsi is confined in a house, or when she returns from the hospital with her small child, the house is "closed" by a traditional doctor. Crossed sticks may be put across the entrance or on the ground to symbolise this.*1 He will also apply special

*1 Schapera op. cit. p. 210, also Kutlwano 1979.
*2 Baloi are believed to tie one knot for each month of their victim's pregnancy, adding a new knot as each month passes. When the baby is due it cannot be born. This victim is said to have been "tied".
medicines to protect the mother and baby from attack by those who may wish them harm, such as through Boloi.\(^1\) These are strong medicines and anyone trying to challenge after their application would become senseless as the intended Boloi would be reflected to them.

For the first week or two after birth, entrance to the house where the Motsetsi is confined is severely restricted. This is so until the umbilical cord of the baby drops off, when its hair is also shaved off. The restriction on admission to the house is obviously a sensible one as it helps to protect the baby from infection. The mother lies usually on her stomach, on her blankets on the floor, with her baby beside her. Lying on the stomach is supposed to help the stretched stomach muscles to return to their former natural shape. The baby suckles frequently "on demand" at its mother's breast. The mother herself is fed frequently on large bowls of matogo (a soft thin posspidge made from sorghum or maize meal), milk, tea, meat and vegetables. Each time she eats, her hands are cleaned for her by the woman in charge of her Botsetsi, and her food is dished into her special plates. These are always washed separately and the water used is tipped away well inside the yard to protect against Boloi. She lies on her stomach to eat and drink, again this is believed to help her stomach muscles. While she is eating someone else will hold her baby, this cannot be the woman who is dishing her food for her, nor must this woman touch her blankets while serving the mother, as this again is believed to contaminate the food. At the beginning of the Botsetsi the woman in charge of the Botsetsi would have given all the rules to the other members of the household to avoid mistakes.

Schapera\(^2\) writes that the mother and baby may be doctored against sorcery. Traditionally this consisted of the mother and baby bathing in the smoke of certain burning roots. Some of the ashes from these were then ground into a powder and given to the baby to eat. The remaining ones were mixed with fat and used to smear on the ears, nostrils and fontanelles. This was supposed to ward off convulsions. Now people tend to buy patent medicines for this purpose. This traditional treatment described by Schapera appears to be very similar to the traditional but still common treatment of \textit{tlhowana} (See Chapter 5, p. 117-8)

\(^1\) I did not see this being done as it is very secret, but I would imagine from informants' descriptions that the traditional doctor uses special incantations as he applies these medicines to give them extra potency.

\(^2\) Schapera op.cit. p. 211.
Various traditional medicines - home remedies - may be given to a new baby to drink (on a teaspoon). These are to heal its umbilical cord. One I encountered, (and has already been mentioned in Chapter 5, p.119) and in use in the family I lived with was called mosokela tsebeng. This has one round leaf that grows above the earth and part of the underground tuber is boiled to make the medicine.

When a baby is born its birth is announced to all the maternal and paternal relatives, who will come to inquire after the mother and baby. After the first week or two, when the umbilical cord has dropped off, they are allowed to visit the mother and baby, especially the women, so long as they are not suffering from "hot blood". "Hot blood" is caused by menstruation or a close contact with a death.*1 When visitors come, especially for the first time, they will usually bring a small gift for the mother such as candles, soap, coffee, sugar, sweets, wood, or may help to fetch water for the Motsetsi. The baby as yet does not officially have a name and is usually referred to as "the child". The mother usually wears a head scarf tied around her head (as in English fashion), this is to hide her cheeks. Whenever she goes out of her house she will wrap herself in a blanket. If a passer-by sees her in the lolwapa she is not greeted with more than a wave. The Motsetsi is hiding herself from public view, as during this period she is supposed to grow fat (fat is beautiful!!), if she is greeted she is believed to become thin. If people see her growing fat they may become jealous and want to bewitch her making her thin and ugly.

During this whole period she is considered "dirty". Just as no one should eat from her dishes, so she should not use those of anyone else, or they will become senseless, i.e. her condition can weaken their seriti. The father of the baby is not supposed to sleep with any other woman or the baby's umbilical cord will start to protrude and may even burst, and the child will not grow properly.

The paternal relatives of the child may slaughter a sheep or a calf for the mother of the baby. Before woollen blankets became fashionable the skin of this beast was used to make the baby's first "cradle-skin" - the skin used to carry the baby on its mother's back.

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*1 A close relative in this condition who cannot avoid contact will enter the Botsetsi house with cold ash if she is from a death, or wet cattle dung if menstruating. This is then smeared on the baby's umbilical cord, chest, and forehead.
after the period of seclusion.

Pauw refers to the ritual slaughter of a goat for the mother of the baby by the baby's father or maternal grandfather. He states that the mother is given soup made from the intestine and stomach of this goat, to help cleanse her liver to help the baby grow strong.*1 The meat is then eaten only by the mother and those women attending her.

Schapera also refers to a custom about 3 weeks after the child's birth, when its umbilical cord has dropped off. The father sees the child for the first time and should have sexual intercourse with his wife. He is then supposed to take some of his semen and make a cross on the baby's back in order to "strengthen the spine". This Schapera states is the ritual to mark the father's first "crossing of the poles", releasing him from the prohibition of entering the house. However he is still not supposed to visit his wife at night until after the end of the seclusion.*2

Schapera and Setiloane refer to a custom that Setiloane calls Go kururetsa ngwana - to awaken the child out of sleep. Schapera states that this is done at the appearance of the first new moon after the child's birth. The child is taken out into the courtyard by the women looking after the mother and raised up to look at the new moon. As the woman does this she says to the child, "There is your moon." Then takes the child into the house again. Schapera could not find a satisfactory explanation for this.*3 Setiloane writes about a similar custom saying it is done when the mother has lost her previous baby. The present baby is referred to as letlhomela - an offshoot or graft. The attendant takes the child outside and as she shows it the new moon, she says, "There is your mate. Look at him. Kur....ru....ru....ru." Then when the baby wriggles and opens its eyes, the other adults present (all close relatives) say,"He has seen it." The child is then taken inside.*4

The mother and the child continue in seclusion for up to 6 months. Several of the Batsetsi I knew spent 4 or 5 months in seclusion, particularly if it was a first baby and they were not working. As a Motsetsi becomes stronger, although she continues to wrap herself in a

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*1 Pauw op. cit. page 14-15.
*2 Schapera op.cit. page 212.
*3 Schapera op.cit. page 211-2.
*4 Setiloane op.cit. page 176.
blanket and tie her scarf around her cheeks under the chin, and does not
greet nor is greeted by passers-by, she will start to help with the
lighter tasks in the lolwapa. She may wash hers and the baby's
clothes (it is in fact a taboo for the napkins of a baby to be washed
by anyone except its mother, the attendant, or a very close relative,
this is because this can be a way of bewitching the baby, through its
faeces. The water used to wash these things and the mother's clothes
is poured well inside the lolwapa to avoid it being taken by baloi.)
A Motsetsi cannot cook food or fetch water. Until the seclusion is
over, her food will be specially cooked for her by her attendant who will
also wash her hands for her before she eats. If for some reason her hands
cannot be washed the food will be put straight into her mouth for her, or
her cup will be held for her while she drinks. Should she visit a
nearby house (without the baby, who does not go out) she will not eat
there. If she did, she will have to be fed by hand, and if she uses any
utensils, for example, cups, spoons, plates etc., because of the taboo
against sharing the utensils of a Motsetsi, the Motsetsi must be given
these things to take away with her.*1 Not to follow this taboo could
lead to possible harm to the baby if the utensils were subsequently used
by a person who is sleeping with members of the opposite sex.

At the end of the period of seclusion the mother and baby should
have both grown fat, and are also usually very light-skinned from spending
much of the day inside, both of these attributes are considered very
beautiful. A day is chosen and a feast usually called a Botsetsi Party
is held. The walls of the malwapa in the yard will have been newly
decorated with coloured muds. Traditional sorghum beer is brewed, and a
beast is slaughtered for the mother and baby (in rich families it might
even be a bovine beast), salads, samp, rice etc., are cooked. The
maternal and paternal relatives of the baby are invited, also friends
and neighbours. On this day the mother and baby are cleansed and
doctored by being ritually washed by a traditional doctor. The mother
and baby are both dressed in smart new clothes bought by the baby's
father. Both the mother and baby are on show to, and much praised by,
all those present, and the baby is passed around for admiration.

*1 On two occasions I gave refreshments to visiting Batsetsi and had
to give them the cups, plates and spoons they had used. They also
had to be fed by another person.

*2 Setiloane, Schapera and Pauw all refer to this occasion as go
ntsha ngwana motlung - to take the child out of the house.
Guests give presents to the mother and baby. These gifts are all carefully recorded by a person chosen to be responsible during the Botsetsi Party for receiving and recording the gifts and donors in a notebook. These gifts commonly consist of money (5 to several pula), glassware, crockery or baby clothes.

Men are as customary, responsible for slaughtering and cooking the meat. This they do in the kraal of the family kgotla. The female relatives brew the beer and prepare the rest of the food. Women usually also serve the guests with the plates of food already dished out. "Important" guests are seated at tables, and others will sit on the ground and eat around the lolwapa and yard. The "most important" are given the "full menu", but even casual passers-by will probably be served with whatever is available such as fat cakes (a kind of doughnut) or samp (crushed maize) or sorghum or maize porridge. As with all feasts, Badimo (the ancestors) are believed to be present. They are believed to be attracted by the spilling of blood when the beast was slaughtered, as they like company and rejoicing, this may also be seen as a feast to thank the Badimo for looking after the mother and baby during the dangerous first months of the baby's life, and protecting the mother and baby from harm.

On this day there is much rejoicing, and as people become merry with beer there may even be singing and dancing. From this day the baby is known by its name. Traditionally the maternal relatives would call it by a name chosen by them and the paternal relatives by their chosen name. Most Tswana names have meanings, and children are commonly named after ancestors or important events, or as thanks, or as a wish for success for a child in its future life. *1

From this day onwards, the mother now resumes her normal duties, but continues to avoid at first the heavier kind of household work, such as heavy digging. If a married mother and baby were being secluded at the maternal home, then usually about a week after the Botsetsi Party she will be returned with the baby, by her parents, to her husband's home. Traditionally they would be taken there by ox wagon or donkey

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*1 Examples of common names: Mmatlalepula - she comes with the Rain (for a child born during the Rain), Kelebogile - Thanks, Kelebetse - I have forgotten (e.g. if there had been a family death or misfortune before the child's birth), Ofentse - Victory (e.g. children born at the end of the war etc), Khumoetsile - Wealth has come (in the sense of a girl who will hopefully bring bridewealth).
cart, the mother and baby being dressed in their best clothes, and of course ideally they should both look fat and light-skinned. On arrival, they will be served with food, and probably traditional beer will also have been brewed. This is in gratitude to the baby's maternal relatives for caring for it and its mother.

Letlhomela Child - A child that follows those who have died

The infant mortality rate is high compared with the West*. When a baby dies it is obviously a very sad event. The associated customs and taboos will be described later in the section on Death and Funerals in Chapter 8, but here the customs and beliefs relating to the next child born after the one who dies should be noted.

Such a child is called a Letlhomela, this means an offshoot or graft. It is often very much feared that such a child will also follow the one before to the world of the Spirits. According to Setiloane it is these children who are shown the new moon the first time it appears after their birth. The baby is treated very carefully and under the direction of a traditional doctor, its Malome may dress it in little skunk skins which will include a little skin purse. Every time a visitor touches such a child they will put a little gift in its purse, such as a small coin, snuff, tea etc., as these children are believed to be very poor. The child will wear these skins under its ordinary baby clothes and they will not be removed until the traditional doctor orders (maybe when the child is 3 or 4 years old or the clothes grow too old and fall apart). If the child manages to survive the period of seclusion, it will be given a name that means something poor or useless, for example Serurubele (butterfly), Mokgalagadi (the tribe from the West, after the Setswana saying "as poor as a Mokgalagadi"), or Phokojane - little jackal (i.e. a creature that wanders from place to place). According to Setswana tradition, a bad name is thought to be a curse, so the idea here is that the family want to show they have already been cursed enough (i.e. by losing the previous children) so this is like a prayer to their Badimo to protect this child and allow it to live.

In 1980 I observed another way in which a Letlhomela child may be treated. One child who came to visit the family I was staying with...
Mother and baby in confinement inside the house. N.B. a woman in this condition wears her head scarf as shown in the picture, so that people will be unable to see that she is growing fat (fat is beautiful).

At the end of Botsetsi the mother (in orange) and the baby, being returned by the baby's maternal grandparents where the Botsetsi has been spent, to the baby's paternal home.
When the baby's umbilical cord drops off (about 2 weeks after birth) the baby's hair is cut off.

Mosekela tsebeng - a home remedy given to young infants to heal the umbilical cord. (It is the white spikey tuber which is boiled, the liquid is given to the baby to drink. The green leaves wrapped around the tuber are to prevent anyone accidentally touching this traditional medicine.)
This child is a letlhomela child. The skin purse would have been tied on to him soon after birth by his Malome. Everyone who touches him is supposed to put a little gift in his purse, as such children are believed to be poor. This child is also suffering from tlhowana, so the hair growing along the line of the fontanelle will be left uncut until he is cured.

The child on the right is a letlhomela child. In this case she has two "horns" of hair that have never been cut. Even when her head is shaved these "horns" are left.
always twisted the hair on the top of her skull into two "horns". Then when all her hair was cut off (this is common with children) all except these "horns" was shaved off. Apparently this child was such a child. The three before her had died. When she was a baby and her umbilical cord dropped off about 2 weeks after birth, all her baby hair was cut off according to custom, however these two "horns" were left, they are never cut until maybe the child is fully grown. The little girl I saw was about 7 years old.

c) Childhood

Babies are not usually completely weaned until they are 2-4 years old, although they will probably start to be given thin porridge and small tender pieces of meat when they reach about 6 months. Traditionally it is judged whether or not a baby is increasing in weight by tying cords, strings or even strings of beads around the ankles, wrists and waist. These are said to be doctored to protect the baby against Boloi, and to help the baby to grow well. Babies receive a great deal of maternal attention. They are fed on demand, are never left to cry but always picked up to be comforted, they sleep with their mothers at night. They are always with their mothers, nestled in a blanket on her back when she is on errands, visiting or travelling. The mothers take a tremendous pride in their babies, they are often immaculately dressed in baby sets (complete with hat, bootees or shoes, and mittens), or many mothers still dress them in the beautiful traditional bead disea (for boys) or dimakgabe (for girls) which are often underneath their Western style baby clothes. It should also be mentioned that when a mother is eating herself, she will never hold her baby as well, this is a taboo.

As they grow older and learn to walk and talk, children begin to play with, and they are increasingly minded by, older children. These "nannies" spoil them greatly, but at the same time they begin to learn from the example of the older children, their future role in life. It is not uncommon to see young (2 or 3 year old) children with small tins "helping" the older ones to fetch water at the village water taps. As they grow older, small boys start to spend more and more time with older boys learning from them how to herd goats and other livestock, and the girls spend more and more time with the older girls, learning how to fetch water, cook, clean the house and sweep the lolwapa (to name just a few of women's many tasks!!) Even quite small children
will start to learn the taboos, again by example. For example one fight broke out between two of my little friends when they were playing with ox vertebrae pretending that they were their ox wagons. They made themselves a little kraal from mud on the ground and then the little boy refused to allow the little girl to "enter" the kraal, telling her that ladies are not allowed inside the kraal, only men, (this is an adult custom). Again small boys in a quarrel will quite often tell girls they are not supposed to insult "men". They are obviously copying from their elders.

During the agricultural season the children go to the Lands. If their mothers are in employment they will stay there with grandmothers and learn the work of the Lands (see Chapter 9). Boys, as they grow older will go to the Cattle posts and learn herding etc., with the older boys who stay there.

Nowadays an increasing number go to school. It is usual for children to start at school in the first Standard when they are between 6 and 8 years old. There are seven Standards of primary education and, although a certain number drop out *1 this is probably not due to lack of school fees. In 1980 school fees for primary schools were abolished, but before then they had only been P3 per annum. Probably more common reasons for drop-outs and even failure to enter Standard 1, are factors such as child labour needed at the Lands and Cattle post, general suspicion of schools among conservative parents, distance from schools (e.g. if the family stay at their Lands or Cattle posts and do not come to Kanye parents are unwilling for their children to walk over long distances to the few schools in these areas), also pregnancy, fear of being beaten by teachers (bad beating of children still seems to continue in some primary schools, and several of my young informants, especially teenagers, told me that this was why they had dropped out of school - they had run away!)

At the end of Standard 7 there is a national examination which also functions as an entrance exam to the secondary schools and other forms of post primary training available, and for employment. *2 Although this Standard 7 exam is supposed to be a test of ability many families believe in doctoring their children to bring about success. *3 If a child is lazy, disobedient or unco-operative at school this is frequently attributed to boloi. That is the child is believed to have been bewitched by other people who are jealous. It should perhaps be
The 1977 "Education for Kagisano" - Report of the National Commission on Education found that in 1976 the following percentages of each age group were enrolled in primary schools:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 year old</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>44.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>81.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>96.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>83.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>82.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>68.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. There would also be some children of these ages in secondary school.

The grades necessary for entrance into secondary school are usually an A or upper B.

A Form One student in 1979 at my school was supposed to have been trailing throughout primary school at the bottom of the class. His father paid a traditional doctor with a cow to obtain his success in the Standard 7 exam. He obtained an A and entered Form One! A traditional doctor also told me that during exam time he was always very busy.
noted that an educated child can be a great economic asset to a family as it is the custom for a child to work for its parents, to whom the earnings belong. Wages in Botswana are structured very heavily according to educational level attained and experience. Therefore children who are successful in the school system can easily attract the jealousy of neighbours and relatives and traditional parents would therefore protect their children from this.

Sickness in a child can be a result of, or symptom that the family is bewitched. This is described in greater detail in Chapter 6, but some mention should be made of tlhowana and kokwane. These are fairly common childhood diseases. Again more detail on these can be seen in Chapter 5. Briefly, the word **tlhowana** means fontanelles. If the fontanelles of a baby do not join together properly and become sunken, this is believed to show that the baby is suffering from the disease called tlhowana, which can only be cured by specialists such as traditional doctors or certain female specialists. Western hospitals and Zionists are not believed to be able to cure this disease. If it remains uncured & the child survives to adulthood, the adult will suffer from eye trouble, poor sight, squints and headaches associated with the eyes. Uncured tlhowana can also lead to mental problems and even death.

**Kokwane** is described by Setiloane. I did not hear this referred to, but some of the symptoms he describes appear to be similar to symptoms of tlhowana, so maybe there is no distinction between the two in Kanye. **Kokwane** means a little worm. The symptoms of the illness are diarrhoea, vomiting, and inability to breastfeed. Setiloane emphasizes that this is NOT gastro enteritis. The disease is called kokwane because it is believed that a little worm (like an earthworm) has been directed by a Moloi into the child's intestines where it feeds on the contents of the intestines and then starts to eat the actual walls of the intestines. A traditional doctor will prescribe herbal medicines that will drive the worm out either whole or cut up into pieces in the child's faeces.\(^1\) This sounds very like a form of tlhowana.

Apart from the annual family doctoring as described by Schapera, and the doctoring to attain success at school, or healing from tlhowana and other diseases, children, especially young ones, are kept away from people with "hot blood", especially those who have been in close contact

\(^1\) Setiloane, page 177-8.
with death and have not yet been "washed".

It should be noted that as a child grows up it learns, from example and teaching, the Tswana traditions, history, customs, rituals etc. It can be assumed that some of the traditions, especially traditional crafts that tended to be learnt over a lifetime of experience, are waning in modern times, as children are separated from the traditional teachers (their parents, relatives, elders) in schools, to which an increasing number of children are obviously going. However even with secondary school children much of the traditional way of life is retained. During the holidays, and often also at week-ends, many children go to the family Lands and Cattle posts. If they are day students, they are returning daily to their homes and dikgotla where they will be expected to follow traditions and keep the traditional taboos. During a thunder storm school children may be very unwilling to keep their books open, as white and books are both believed to attract lightning.

However one custom that has certainly fallen into abeyance among the Bangwaketse, is that of initiation.

d) Initiation

This was the traditional "rite de passage" from childhood to adulthood. For boys it was called Bogwera, and Bojale or Gorupa for girls.*1 Among the Bangwaketse there has been no traditional initiation since Matshelephole regiment in 1896, when it was abolished by Bathoen I. According to his brother Kgosimotse, Bathoen I abolished initiation because he was a Christian and wished to have all Bangwaketse children properly educated in school. He condemned bogwera and bojale as being morally bad and tending to undermine the Chief's authority.*3 In fact there was opposition to the abolition of initiation, mostly from Mmanaana-Kgatla, who were a subject community living in the sub-village Moshopa. Their headman, Gobuamang, strongly favoured initiation. He was supported by some people in Kanye and whenever a new age-set was created, they would

*1 According to Pauw (page 17) no child from a family where they had not performed the ceremony of go ja dithari (to eat the animal of the cradle skin) for the first child, could attend initiation. If any of these children attended any initiation ceremony the other initiates would be greatly endangered and could even become senseless.  
*2 A regiment is best described as an age-set. Malau (1901) had no initiation.  
*3 BP 2667: R.M. Kanye, to GS, 22.x.1917 quoted in Schapera Tribal Innovators.
organize their own illegal ceremonies either in the Bangwaketse area or in the neighbouring European farms of the Lobatse Block. Schapera states that on at least 3 occasions (1911, 1917 and 1931) more than 200 boys and girls were involved. Some parents sent their children to take part in those organized by other tribes, for example, 1909 Barolong, 1916-17 Bakwena, 1929 - Balete. Chiefs continually warned parents that this was illegal. In 1907 Bathoen I collected 81 head of cattle from fathers of daughters who had been sent to illegally held bojale ceremonies. Even as late as 1940, Bathoen II again warned the tribe against sending their children to attend these ceremonies (that year they were being held by the Bamalete). He later had to fine the fathers of 5 boys, 2 head of cattle each for ignoring his warning (Government Record Book 40/1940).

As all details are secret to non-initiates, especially women, it is difficult to know exactly what happened. But the aim was to teach boys to behave as men. Schapera describes traditional Bakgatla Bogwera and the Bangwaketse, was probably fairly similar. Since the last full scale initiation in 1901, regiments (mephato) have still been formed, but nowadays the Chief just calls boys of a certain age group to his Kgotla and they are told the name of their regiment. The last of this type was formed in 1960's, but in September 1980 Chief Seepapitso IV announced at a Kgotla meeting that new regiments would be named for boys between 1942-6, 1947-51 and 1952-6. Also in 1980 some people asked the Chief at a Kgotla meeting if initiation could be revived; this does not seem likely, as his reply was: "We no longer know how to go about those things."

Many projects were carried out by the various age regiments as the particular regiment's special duty. For example, two of the primary schools in Kanye were built by regiments and then named after them: Matsaakgang and Maisantwa Schools were both built by the regiments of those names. Motlaladibe built a road (Madba road) from Kanye to Lobatse.

*1 Schapera (Tribal Innovators) p. 210 ff.
*2 It is perhaps useful to provide dates for the last official initiation ceremonies in some other tribes: Bakgatla 1902, Bangwato 1876, Bakwena 1901 (restored 1916, abolished 1937)
*3 Schapera op.cit. page 229-31.
Pauw describes initiation among the Batlhaping, page 16-19.
Majammewa dug a dam and Malwelakgosi was the regiment sent to the Second World War. Each male regiment had its male and female branches. People of the same regiments refer warmly to "their comrades" i.e. people of their age regiment. It is a terrible thing to insult a member of a regiment senior to your own, and an offender can be severely punished by being beaten or fined. Even the Chief cannot insult a member of a regiment that is senior to his own.

Among the Bangwato and Balete more elaborate but modified initiation is still practised. In November 1978, two new regiments were created among the Bangwato, both led by sons from the Royal Family. One was called Matsosa and led by Sekgoma Khama, and the other was called Maemelwa and led by Modiri Khama and Sediegeng Kgamane.*1 The new Paramount Chief of the Bangwato belongs to and leads the Malvelamotse Regiment;*2 he is the son of the late President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama.*2

Traditionally no one was allowed to marry until they had been initiated into a Regiment. This is obviously no longer followed, certainly in Kanye, but certain elements of the system remain. As has already been stated respect for one's elders is very important, and it is considered a very serious offence to insult a person from a senior regiment, which is punishable at the Chief's Kgotla. But men often tease each other in a joking fashion, claiming superiority through membership of a senior age group, even if that age group has not yet been named. It should also be noted that during the collection of the 1981 Census, enumerators were issued with Events Calendars that included the years of the various regiments, to enable them to estimate the ages of respondents who did not use the modern dating system.

e) Engagement.

Traditionally marriages were arranged between families by the elders of the families. There were certain preferred marriages and many Tswana proverbs show this. One example of such a preferred marriage was to a motswala (roughly equivalent to cousin), that is for a man to marry the daughter of his Malome (Maternal uncle) or of his Rfekgadi (Paternal aunt), or with those first cousins that are referred to as kgaitsadi (sister) i.e. the daughter of his father's brothers. This

is because it was believed that marriages with cousins were those that were
most likely to succeed, as according to the Tswana proverb; "Side by
side with his cousin, a man is always happy."*1 Or another proverb
refers to keeping the cattle in the kraal: "Child of my paternal uncle
marry me, so that the cattle may return to our kraal."*2 (It should be
noted that brothers and their male descendants share the same cattle
kraal and live in the same Kgotla in Kanye, and they often also share the
same Cattle post.)

The other type of traditionally preferred marriage is between
families who are old friends or neighbours. A family always preferred
to marry its child to a family with a reputation for positive attributes
such as hard work, generosity, and of course no smear of being Baloi
(witches). Beauty was not believed to be so important.*3

Although it is not so common nowadays for parents to choose
marriage partners for their children it is surprisingly more common
than one would think. Relatives, especially parents, still have very
strong influence over their children's marriages. For example it is by
no means unknown for a girl to be betrothed to a boy when she is still
in her early teens. The boy, who is probably a few years older, will
then "work for her", for example, he will pay for her education and
make her presents of clothes, blankets and household goods, and
generally support her and any children. She will only go to live at
his home with her in-laws after completing the marriage.

Men, especially those working in the mines, may still ask their
relatives to find suitable wives for them. They will perhaps send their
photograph and then the relatives may decide on a suitable family.
They will then go to that family and ask if there are any daughters. If
there are, the mother of that family will then call her daughter and
ask her if she would like to be married. The girl may only at this
stage be shown the prospective husband's photograph, or if he is
available in Kanye a meeting will be arranged. Sometimes, if there is
more than one daughter, each of the suitable ones (usually starting
with the oldest unmarried one) will be called in turn to find one who
agrees. It should be noted that it is most unusual for a girl to be

*1 Schapera op.cit. Married Life in an African Tribe page 35.
*2 Even if people do not marry their cousins it is common to hear
a young man referring jokingly to one of his pretty girl cousins
as his wife!
*3 Schapera quotes a Tswana proverb: "A pretty girl either steals or
wets her bed." Married Life in an African Tribe. Page 34.
forced against her will to become engaged, and during the part of the marriage where the marriage is registered at the Chief's Kgotla they are both asked if they have agreed to the marriage. Problems usually arise later when one party wishes to break off the engagement. Examples of such cases are given in Volume 2, p.10-15.

However many young people do meet and choose their own marriage partner, though the marriage is still subject to parental approval. Once a boy has proposed to a girl he will ask her if he may send his parents to arrange the engagement formally with her parents. The boy's parents then visit the girl's to make the formal proposal. If both sides agree, a traditional doctor is consulted, who will then cast his bones to "see" if there are any problems on either side that might prevent the marriage taking place. During his examination he will discover if either party has already promised to marry anyone else, or if either have children with another partner (here he would be looking especially to see if the boy has children with another girl that are as yet unpaid for).*1 The traditional doctor can also 'see' if these children born "out of wedlock" could be a cause of possible future Boloi from the other parent or their parents. For example if the prospective fiancé has had children with another girl, even if he has paid damages to the girl's parents and supplied the children, they may still try to bewitch this new wife (if they dabble in Boloi) through jealousy that he is going to marry another girl and not their daughter. This type of Boloi could take the form of the new fiancée becoming barren, sick, lazy, confused or even dying. If the traditional doctor was to 'see' any of these sorts of future problems he would then need to give the couple special protections against those sort of problems. This kind of Boloi is probably fairly common and an example is given in Volume 2 page 10-15.

If the traditional doctor finds nothing wrong, or possible problems may be overcome, for example, by paying off damages or being given further doctoring, the engagement is then formally accepted by both families. The traditional engagement presents to the girl will be made. Formerly these consisted of skin clothing, beads and other ornaments.*2 Nowadays they consist of blankets, clothes and maybe some money. These will be presented to the girl on behalf of the boy by his father or other

*1 If a girl is made pregnant, the boy is usually charged 6 cattle to support the child, plus another cow if he did not support her, when she was a Motsetsi, with food and clothes.

senior male relatives in the presence of her parents and relatives. All his subsequent presents should be presented in this way with witnesses from both families, as, if the engagement is later broken off by the girl or her family, her parents can be held responsible for returning all these gifts or their equivalent value.

After both families have agreed on the engagement, the boy will be free to sleep with his fiancée at her home. It is not considered correct for a girl to sleep at the boy's home unless invited by his parents. During the period of engagement he is expected to support her with gifts of food and clothes, and pay for her education if she is still at school. If any children are born, he must also support them. He is expected to make gifts to her parents and younger brothers and sisters and also to help her family with jobs that require extra manpower from time to time, such as collecting firewood (especially when the family oxen are harnessed and an ox cart is taken, as this requires a lot of manpower, oxen not being the most co-operative of animals), clearing fields and repairing kraals etc. The girl is expected to cook for her fiancé when he visits and to wash his clothes and blankets (no mean task when one remembers that all the water has to be fetched first, and ironing is done with flat irons heated on the fire!).

Engagements may be quite long and last several years, 3 or 4 children may even have been born to the couple before the marriage is completed and she goes to live with her in-laws. In Kanye, it still seems to be common for younger brothers to wait until older brothers marry before doing so themselves. Also in Kanye the Chief usually insists on Bogadi (bridewealth) being paid before allowing the marriage to be registered. Before a man marries he should prepare and equip a house for his wife and, as will be seen later, purchase the wedding clothes and food. Nowadays most people like to build a house of cement bricks with cement plaster and a zinc roof, but the traditional mud and cattle-dung brick houses are still built, these have mud and cattle-dung plaster and a grass roof. For the former type of house a builder will be hired, but the latter will be built mainly by female relatives. The first couple to sleep in the house together must be the couple who will eventually live there. Even if they will not finish their marriage for several years the fiancée will be invited by the man's parents to come and visit so that the house may "be tasted". This is usually done secretly to avoid jealous people trying to bewitch the couple. There is no
public ceremony, but the couple are doctored. The traditional doctor who was responsible for "putting the house" when it was first built will again cast his bones to see if the house has "been spoilt" through anyone else sleeping with a member of the opposite sex first. The traditional doctor either casts his bones in the house itself, or some of the dust from the house will be taken to him. This is done in the presence of the girl's and the boy's parents as well as the couple themselves. The girl's parents will bring their traditional doctor with them, and he will also cast his bones.

If the traditional doctors find that the house has already been "tasted" even by the fiancé and another woman, it is believed that terrible misfortunes and even death can befall the owners. If the house is found to have been "spoilt", for example by the boy's sisters, it must be cleansed by a traditional doctor. This cleansing is very expensive, sometimes as much as 2 cattle. Even then when it has been cleansed many men prefer to abandon the house completely and rebuild elsewhere, especially if a sister has spoilt it. This is probably sensible as there will probably indeed be future great discord in the family if a man's sister can deliberately break such a strong taboo.\*1

Marriage and Bogadi (bridewealth)

It should be noted that although a man marries a woman (monna o nyala mosadi), a woman is married by a man (i.e. mosadi o nyalwa monna). Among the Bangwaketse a marriage is not finally completed until Bogadi (bridewealth) has been presented by the bridegroom's family to the bride's family. Thus it can be seen that marriage is not just a union between two individuals, but between two families.

In the past much misunderstanding about the exchange of Bogadi seems to have arisen. Early missionaries believed it to be a process by which a man bought a wife and so tried to ban it as a heathen practice among their Christian converts. Despite this Bangwaketse chiefs

\*1 In 1978 such a "spoilt" house was for sale in Kanye - it was a large modern house with running water. The couple never lived in it and it was for sale brand new. Another new Tswana house in one kgotla also had to be abandoned by the couple and used by other members of the family, the bridal couple had to use instead an old rondavel in the yard.
consistently retained the custom. For example in 1912 Seepapitso I asked a kgotla meeting: "Why have you abandoned the custom that is yours, I mean the custom according to which you used to marry? I'm not speaking about those who marry in the European manner in church, I am referring only to the marriage customs of us black people (batho ba bontsho). If you marry according to your custom, you ought to give bogadi so that it may be known that it is a true marriage (tseo yammamante)," (Schapera 1947b:51) In 1913 he passed the Bogadi Law making it compulsory for bogadi to be paid except for those married in church. In 1914 a headman was punished for refusing to pay bogadi for his 4 wives or to appear in court. An age regiment was sent to confiscate all his cattle and each father was paid 6 head in lieu of bogadi, one was slaughtered to feed the regiment and the remaining 9 were kept by the Chief. In 1930 Bathoen II extended the Bogadi Law to all Bangwaketse marriages, including those of church members, if the bride's father asked for it.*1

Among the Bangwaketse women were not sold to husbands. There is no bargaining over the number of Bogadi beasts prior to the marriage, but a man's family should present as many as they can afford. Both families gain status by the presentation of a "good" Bogadi. The number of beasts should be even (as each has a mate to show that the 2 people are being bound together by the bogadi), and at least some of the beasts must be cattle. Goats are never used for bogadi, they are destructive and so this would be a bad omen for the marriage. Frequently I saw the number being made up with sheep. Bulls are never used as Bogadi, and to present one would in fact be considered an insult, as they are warriors and would cause the marriage to end disastrously.*2 Young cattle are preferred, and some at least should be heifers as those will increase the family herds. Also, as will be seen, one cow is always a special one, for example black or "yellow" or without horns.

The bridegroom's father or guardian helps to provide him with Bogadi beasts, also his paternal uncles and maternal uncles and his paternal aunts. His brothers and mother may also help him and nowadays, as so many young men work in the cash economy, he may also contribute some. However no one is obliged to contribute and they will only do so

*1 Schapera Tribal Innovators (p.173 and Chapter 9)
*2 Schapera 1940:77
if they can afford it. Already it can be seen that many relatives are becoming involved in the marriage of two individuals.

The preferred time of the year for marriages is after harvesting and before people go to the Lands for the new ploughing season, i.e. the time of the year when most people will be staying at their homes in the village. Families prefer to hold marriages in a year when there has been a successful sorghum harvest, so that there is plenty of sorghum for making porridge to feed people who help in the preparations, and for making traditional beer that will be drunk during the marriage. The two families will meet, usually at the bride's home, and agree when the wedding will be and what type of wedding it will be. Whichever type they decide on (either Setswana or the so-called Sekgoa - English - wedding) it will take place both at the bride's and at the groom's homes. So immediately a date has been agreed upon all the paternal and maternal relatives of the couple are informed and invited, and the female relatives who have been invited to do so will gather at the respective homes to prepare the houses and malwapa (walls around little courtyards outside houses). They will plaster and re-decorate the mud houses and walls. This is quite hard work as mud to make the bricks for the walls and the plaster must be dug up from under the ground, cattle dung must be collected (this is mixed with the mud to strengthen it), and the special different coloured muds for the decorations must be collected from the different places where they are found. When the women come to work on these tasks they are always fed, in rich families a beast may even be slaughtered to feed them. The concrete and brick houses are thoroughly cleaned and the cement floors highly polished, particular attention being paid to the house at the groom's paternal yard where the couple will live. Normally the fiancé not only tries to build a new house for his wife to live in, but he will try to equip it with furniture.

The male relatives will gather at the respective homes to collect loads of firewood for all the cooking that will be done, to repair the kraals in the family dikgotla (these are used for containing the Bogadi cattle and also for slaughtering the beasts for the feasts), and the stick fencing used to shelter the cooking areas and for the outer fences of the yards will be repaired. If it is to be a Sekgoa wedding (the so-called English wedding) the young relatives of each family will gather nightly, after being invited, outside the respective homes of the bride or groom, to form the two choirs. They practise the semi-traditional
wedding songs that will be sung on the days of the wedding. There is an element of friendly competition between the two families, both trying to outdo the other with well-prepared homes with beautiful mud walls, and well rehearsed choirs.

About three weeks before the wedding, registration takes place, relatives gather at the respective homes and meet together at the places of registration. All marriages are first registered at the Chief's Kgotla and then may also, if it is to be a Sekgoa wedding, be registered at the District Administration Office in Kanye and/or at a Church. Paternal and maternal relatives from both sides of the family go to the registration, especially the older married people. The best man and other attendants of the groom accompany him, and the senior bridesmaid (and maybe some of the others) accompany the bride. For this occasion the bride will be dressed in new clothes such as a dress and jacket or suit (crimpelene was very much in fashion at the time of writing), and a new head scarf, stockings/tights, and new shoes. She will also wear a lightweight blanket like a shawl around her shoulders. All the women will dress in similar fashion in their best clothes, all wearing head scarves, and blankets around the shoulders. The groom will wear a suit and gloves and also a hat. All the men will be dressed in suits or jackets and ties and wear hats (even if they are old ones).

The marriage is registered for three weeks. During this time, anyone with any complaints may object. A common objection is when the groom has had children with another woman, and he has not completely paid all the "damages" to her parents. Her parents will then object and report the matter at the Chief's Kgotla. His present marriage will then be postponed until he has finished paying the damages ordered. A wedding may also be delayed if the Bogadi of one of the couple's mothers has not yet been paid in full, or if it was not "cooked for" by her own family. These stages of the mothers' weddings are particularly important if a child's parents were married with a Setswana wedding but the child wishes to have a Sekgoa wedding. I witnessed an example of this situation in 1979. Before a certain wedding could take place, the groom's mother and all her children had "to wear the lomipi" (the peritoneum) of a sheep that was specially slaughtered for this purpose. When this

*1 In Kanye this could be at the U.C.C.S.A., R.C., Lutheran, or at one of the Pentecostal or Zion Churches.
*2 In Volume 2 p.15-16 examples of such cases can be found.
*3 Fuller details of such cases are included in Volume 2 p. 16-17.
groom's parents had originally married (probably about 40 years before), his mother's family had never 'booked' for the Bogadi, i.e. slaughtered a beast specially and given a feast for it, then tied the peritoneum around the necks of the bride and groom. The groom's elder brother and sister were already married but had married with Setswana weddings, but as he wanted to have a Sekgoa marriage the traditional Tswana customs had to be finished first from his parents' wedding. For this ceremony - wearing the lomipi (peritoneum) - the groom's mother and her children had to go to the maternal grandparents home, where a fat sheep (it could have been a cow) was slaughtered by a traditional doctor. The parents and children then had to wear bits of its lomipi around their necks, which the traditional doctor smeared with special black medicine from a lonaka (horn). The Malome of the groom's mother had to put these on them, and provide the animal for slaughter (he would have benefited from the original Bogadi that had been given for her). Apparently in the old days when this was done it was part of the wedding, and the actual wearing of the lomipi was done in public. The couple would wear it throughout the wedding and choirs would sing traditional songs (this is perhaps where the idea of choirs at Sekgoa weddings originally comes from.*1)

Nowadays 'wearing the lomipi' is becoming unpopular with modern brides, and "wearing the wedding veil" in a Sekgoa marriage is seen as a substitute. A woman originally from the home of one of my neighbours did this rather than "wear the lomipi" in October 1980, so that her son would be able to have a Sekgoa wedding. This lady and her husband had originally been married around 1942 with a Setswana wedding, and had failed to "wear the lomipi". Their son who was born in 1945 and married, also with a Setswana wedding, about 1970, as he is a Christian, now wants to be married in a church and so he will have a Sekgoa Wedding. As the parents are also Christians they chose "to wear the wedding veil" and so they had a Sekgoa wedding complete with white wedding dress and "change clothes".*2 They have four grown up children and several grandchildren!

These two examples perhaps illustrate the importance still attached to traditional customs.

*1 In Volume 2, p.16-17 further details of lomipi feasts are included.
*2 Such weddings are fully described in Volume 2 p.22-29.
Finally, after registration has been accepted, the wedding continues. Today there are two main types of weddings - what is called the Setswana or traditional wedding, and the so-called Sekgowa: (English) wedding, which also contains many of the practices of the Setswana wedding. Both types take place first at the bride's home and then at the groom's, involving a feast at both, and both involve the payment of Bogadi.

A traditional doctor is always called to doctor both homes to protect against Boloi. One will be called to the bride's home and the groom's family will call their own. According to the individual traditional doctor and also what he "sees" he should do from his bones which he always throws at the commencement of his work, he will probably protect by "washing" the firewood, the entrances to the yard and houses, and also the pots that will be used to cook food for the feasts. The transport to be used, such as cars and ox carts, during the marriage may also be protected so that no "accidents" should befall the bridal couple. The traditional doctor is of course paid for his services, according to how much his bones "tell" him, but usually the fee would be in the region of a goat or in the case of having to avert or overcome any difficult problems he has "seen", it may be a cow.

After the food has been protected in this way it is believed that, if a Moloi subsequently tries to challenge the marriage, her boloi will be returned to her. One very commonly held belief is that if anyone chokes whilst eating at a marriage it means that that person has tried to bewitch the food with poison.

As the day of the marriage approaches, young female relatives gather to stem sorghum and maize, and to fetch water.

**Paying Bogadi (bridewealth) and Setswana Weddings**

All marriages, whether Setswana or Sekgowa, start with the paying of Bogadi.

Early on the first day of the marriage the bride's relatives will start to assemble at her home. The men go to the Kgotla, and the women gather in the lolwapa with the bride. The family's traditional doctor also starts his work. He "washes" with medicated water, the goat that

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* In fact "Paying" is a bad translation. In Tswana this is called go ntsha Bogadi Go ntsha and is better translated as to give or to offer. Go duela means to pay.
is always slaughtered for the Bogadi feast (it is provided by the bride's father). The lolwapa is sprinkled, and a little medicated water is poured into each cooking pot to protect against Boloi.

In the meantime, the bridegroom's relatives will have collected at his home. The beasts that will be used for Bogadi, that will have been collected in the kraal in the village overnight, are brought out. The groom will be dressed in a new suit and all the other men will be wearing suits or jackets. The women will be dressed in clothes suitable for going to the Kgotla of the Chief — these include a head scarf and a blanket wrapped around the shoulders.

About 7.00 - 8.00 a.m. both groups of relatives leave independently, but in their family groups, for the Chief's Kgotla. It should be noted that only married people take part in this stage, apart from the couple themselves. The groom's family take with them the Bogadi they will be giving as this is displayed to the Chief at the Kgotla. At the Kgotla the bride and groom are both asked if they have agreed to marry each other, and they are both asked if they realise what marriage involves. The bride has to remove her head scarf to prove that she is not pretending to be younger than she really is. They are both asked if they have any other children with other partners. If the answers are satisfactory, the Chief is then shown the Bogadi. The Chief may refuse to register a marriage unless the Bogadi is available. For example at one wedding I attended, the Bogadi beasts unfortunately escaped from the groom's family kraal during the night before the marriage and returned to their Cattle post. They tried to register the marriage as scheduled the next day explaining the accident that had happened to the Bogadi, but the Chief refused registration, saying that he did not want people to cheat and not pay. The marriage then had to be postponed while the groom and his family searched for the cattle.

As has already been stated there is no bargaining over Bogadi, the groom's family is supposed to give as many as possible. Usually 4 is the minimum accepted by the Chief, but most of those I observed were 6, 8 or even 10. The only Bogadi I observed with 4 was a great disappointment to the bride's family. A low Bogadi is really an insult and this could be the cause of future quarrels and misunderstandings between the two families that are being united and may even lead to

* Marriages may also be registered at the Chief's Kgotla the day before the paying of Bogadi takes place.
Boloi. People always try to avoid situations like these developing. Presenting a large Bogadi also shows social status. A man can feel proud if he knows he gave a large number of beasts when he married. The largest Bogadi I saw was 12 beasts - 7 cattle and 5 sheep. This was given for the marriage of a boy who was working in the mines and who was from a rich family.\footnote{A full description of bogadi follows in Volume 2, p. 17-18 and 22}

Attention should be drawn to the significance of Bogadi. As has already been emphasized, Bogadi cannot be seen as the purchase of a bride. Schapera writes that among the Bakgatla it is seen as: "a thanksgiving to the wife's parents for having raised her, and a token of gratitude for their kindness in now letting her husband marry her. Some add that it is a compensation for the loss of her services. Others, influenced by European ideas, term it a 'registration' of the marriage. Still others stress the point that it creates a special bond between the two families, just as the transfer of cattle in other contexts - say from the Chief to a subject, or from an owner to a herdsman - imposes reciprocal obligations upon the people involved."\footnote{Schapera 1940: 73-4.}

This is probably the way Bangwaketse would explain Bogadi, not only does the giving of Bogadi by the groom's family to the wife's family form a bond between these two families, but in each of the families it creates and strengthens bonds. As has already been stated, the father of the groom, his paternal and maternal uncles and paternal aunts, and his brothers may all contribute to help supply Bogadi beasts. So within his family he is under obligations to all those who contribute to his Bogadi. In the bride's family, who are receiving Bogadi, similar bonds are created. Although her Malome could keep all the beasts himself so that they have a chance to increase, eventually (if not immediately) he will divide them. The bride's linked Malome will be the most important one to receive Bogadi beasts from her marriage, but also her linked brother, who will thus be enabled to have cattle towards his own Bogadi when he himself marries. The bride, as the Rrakgadi of her linked brother's children (their father having married with her Bogadi) will have a certain recognised position with them, and may herself receive Bogadi beasts when those nieces marry, or help those nephews to contribute Bogadi for their marriages. There will be a very special
relationship between her own children and her brothers and their children.

Thus Bogadi could be seen, as the Dutch Reformed Church Missionary, Mr. Reyneke, wrote in De Kerkbode, October 31st, 1928 in defending his reinstatement of Bogadi in Bakgatla Christian marriages:

"Never will the people (Bakgatla) be able to say to the church: 'You have robbed us of one of the oldest features of our family life, which we have always regarded as one of the most outstanding aids to morality.'" *1

It should also be noted that, just as Schapera stated among the Bakgatla that "the main effect of Bogadi is to give the husband and his people a valid claim to any children the woman may bear", *2 so this is the case among the Bangwaketse. If the husband has not given Bogadi for his wife, he will not be entitled to receive Bogadi for her daughters—this Bogadi will belong to her father. Nor will he be entitled to the work or money of his sons.

The bride's family must "cook for Bogadi" when they receive it. This usually takes place when the Bogadi is paid (as described in Vol. 2 p.17-18 but if for some reason it is not "cooked for" it must be done later. If it is not then the couple's children cannot be married with Bogadi (i.e. the boys may not pay Bogadi, and none may be given for the girls). Several times I observed such Bogadi feasts where Bogadi that had long ago been received by a bride's relatives but had still not been "cooked for". Even if both that bridal couple are dead that original bride's Malome (probably by this time it will be his son or grandson) must supply a beast, usually a goat or a sheep, to be slaughtered for a feast which is held at her original home. Traditional beer is also brewed and relatives from both sides of the original couple are informed about, and invited to, the feast. However, at such an occasion there is no ululating as there is when the couple are still living. Unless Bogadi has been cooked for, the children of the couple are unable to finish all the stages of their own weddings. This can be particularly problematic in a family that has always had Setswana weddings and then a child wants to marry with a Sekgoa type of marriage. The Chief will insist that all the traditional customs of the parents' marriages must first be completed.

*1 Schapera cites this, (1940:76)
*2 Schapera 1940:74.
Another problem that can arise is if the Malome of the original bride refuses or is unwilling to supply a beast and make the feast, as it is only the Malome who is able to make this lomipi feast of "cooking for" Bogadi. Failure to do this led to a great deal of confusion for the relative of one of my informants. Her father's older brother was the linked Malome of some of her cousins. Whilst these cousins had been working in the mines they had always honoured their Malome and given him part of their wages and cattle, as is the traditional practice. He, their Malome, had, however, never "cooked for" their mother's Bogadi. Their Malome had continued to put it off so that even to the present day (about 10 years after the oldest nephew's marriage) none of the brothers has been able to finish all the parts of their own marriages through their Malome's refusal to finish their mother's marriage rites. In 1981, when the nephews threatened to report the matter to the Chief, he agreed to start making arrangements.

Therefore it can be seen that this custom and its associated rites is still very important. Although it can give rise to hardship, it is obviously functional in bringing together large numbers of often quite scattered kin to celebrate, contribute to, assist with and benefit from, a number of family occasions.

Later the groom's female relatives arrive: "to ask for a wife."*1 Then the next day the bride is brought in procession with her possessions by her female relatives to her new home.*2

The next day certain relatives of the bride, such as the Malomes' wives and maternal and paternal aunts, will be called to the groom's home, and in front of his similarly related female relatives, the bride will be shown her house and the possessions her husband and his family are providing for her. In the event of a later divorce or separation she may not be entitled to keep these things, or her family may be called upon to replace them if they are found to be missing. Her things that were brought in her procession are also noted. Nowadays all these possessions are often officially noted and itemised in a note book (an inventory!). Both sets of relatives are witnesses to this. The groom's Malome's wife will be the one responsible for showing the bride her possessions.

*1 This is fully described in Volume 2, page 18-19.
On rising on the first day at her new home the bride will help sweep the house and the lolwapa and start to assume her duties as a daughter-in-law (fetching water, cooking, etc.). One or two of her younger sisters may come to live with her to keep her company and help her in her work. Also her children, if she already has any, will live with her. Throughout the wedding, the women of various dikgotla related to the bride and groom will brew traditional beer. When it is ready they take it to the respective home (bride's relatives to bride's home, and groom's relatives to groom's home). The men of the kgotla lead and the women follow in a line behind. Each woman carries some of the beer in a white bucket with a lid (these buckets are always used to carry the wedding beer). As they near the home of the wedding they may sing, and the women of the home, on seeing the arrival of the beer, start to ululate. The beer party then remain at the home to help drink the beer, and are usually served with light refreshments.

New brides usually wait about two weeks before going to visit their own homes. According to Schapera, among the Bakgatla, when a bride makes her first visit to her mother's home after her marriage she is formally escorted by one of her husband's aunts for her first afternoon or evening visit to her own home. I did not see evidence of this, but did see a bride making her first visit to her own home with one of her husband's sisters. After this first visit she is free to visit her own home at any time, although apart from when she has her first confinement she will not usually sleep there. Her children will of course frequently visit their maternal grand-parents and stay with them. When there are several children one or two may go to live for some years with their Malome to help their Malome's wife. It is not uncommon for a child to be "given" to its maternal grand-parents to "look after them in their old age" when all their own children may have grown up. Several of my students lived with maternal grand-parents or with their Malome. There is a very close link to which are attached many rights and obligations, on both sides, between children and their mother's Kgutla. The whole of the relatives in that Kgutla are usually referred to by an individual as his Bo-Malome.

The Sekgoa Wedding (English Wedding)

Another type of wedding, the Sekgoa (English Wedding) is becoming increasingly common. It contains all the parts of the Setswana
wedding but has some additional ones that are fully described in Volume 2. One of the most striking differences of this type and the Setswana wedding is the bridal clothes - the bride wears a white wedding dress and veil for part of the wedding. There are also bridesmaids.*1

Although the types of marriages may differ in detail, they still fulfil the same function. Bogadi is still presented and seems as important now as ever. A marriage without Bogadi is not recognised as a proper marriage, one where the couple just sign at the District commissioner's is certainly not recognised and such couples are not allowed to take part in other people's marriage as married people (e.g. such wives may not go with other married women "to ask for a wife" or enter the lolwapa with the other married women). Although forms of dress may have changed, they are only modifications of traditional kinship obligations, such as the bride's "change" outfits (see Volume 2). The same relatives are invited and expected to be present for the same reasons. All marriages are protected against Boloi. Married and unmarried alike play their usual roles. Marriages are still occasions with much feasting and enjoyment and not a time to economize. They always involve the slaughtering of beasts and this "spilling of blood" is the crucial part that, although it may not be stated openly, attracts Badimo to enjoy the company gathered together. As Setiloane writes:

"Badimo ba rata modumo." - Ancestors like noise.*2

They are pleased when kin are gathered together for feasting and drinking. On these occasions many people are served with food, for example choirs, (who always increase greatly when the time comes for them to be served!!). This is also believed to please Badimo, especially when poorer people are given food as, when they are satisfied by food, the goodwill they feel towards those holding the wedding is believed to attract Badimo to continue to help their descendants.

One superstition should perhaps be mentioned. Throughout the wedding the bride is not supposed to eat sweets. If she does, this will bring rain during the marriage, which is obviously very inconvenient, especially as she is supposed to be outside displaying her various outfits. So if rain spoils a marriage, people say it is because the bride has eaten sweets!

*2 Setiloane (1976) page 66.
Sekgoa Wedding of old people in lieu of lomini.

A potter decorating her pots before firing them. The pot resting in the metal bowl is the size used by women to carry beer to the Chief's kgotla during Dikgafela.

A bride (No.2, behind the child) being taken to her husband's home in procession. Her married female relatives are carrying her possessions.
Death, Funerals and Burial

Traditionally a man was buried in the family's cattle kraal, women and older children were buried in the yard, and young children (i.e. those without teeth) were buried either under the cow-dung floor in one of the houses or in the lolwapa (in the stoep of the house itself, or in the walled area surrounding the house). Dead people were buried in a sitting position, the body being put into this position immediately the person died. They were always placed in the grave facing the East, from where Man is believed to have originated. The body was usually dressed in the favourite clothes of the deceased and then wrapped in the wet skin of a cow that had been specially slaughtered for that occasion. Men were always buried with their weapons and women with their hoe and a few seeds from each of the staple crops. It was believed that after earthly death people joined the older ancestors in the spirit world, where they lived much in the way they had lived on earth - the men hunting and herding cattle, and the women cultivating crops in their fields - hence the significance of the weapons and the seeds. They were believed to retain their earthly characters. Setiloane mentions that they were traditionally buried with a section of ant hill. This, he says, is a symbolic prayer for the continuation of their community on Earth - that the dead person's off-spring may continue to live in the community when he himself has gone. The idea of burying men in the cattle kraal was so that they could continue to keep an eye on the cattle after they were dead. As is seen later in this Chapter, Badimo (ancestors) were and are believed to have great influence over the lives of their living descendants.

In 1938 Bathoen II passed a new law that all the adult dead should be buried in graveyards. The Christians had been buried like this for some time, since about 1910. From the Tribal Records it is clear that Bathoen did not make this change without first obtaining the consent of the Bangwaketse in kgotla meetings. Schapera quotes from the tribal records, part of a kgotla meeting for 20th August 1938:-

"Chief: It is our custom and habit to bury in cattle kraals and backyards. I myself feel that nowadays such a mode of burial is not proper, and I say we should consider having sites for graves outside (i.e. the town). Bangwaketse: We see no hindrance to burying (adults) outside, but we say that infants should be buried at home,
because they are "blood" (lit. madi; i.e. ritually impure and adversely affecting the rainfall if buried in open ground). The sites of our burial places are at Motshwedi and Okanakanku.

Chief: I hear and now this is the law: 'People must no longer be buried at home, but only at the places on which we have agreed'.

Although modern burials have undergone a certain amount of modification, still many of the traditional beliefs and practices surrounding death have survived. Anyone who is closely related to the deceased is still believed to be unclean - this is because death is believed to bring sesila (uncleanness), and those closely related to the deceased are believed to be especially unclean, particularly the spouse, but also the parents, siblings and children. Because of their uncleanness they are not allowed to mix freely with other people, who could be contaminated, until after they have been purified. Those with weaker seriti are particularly endangered.

Immediately a person has died, messengers are sent to inform all relatives and neighbours. A messenger is sent to announce the death to the local Headman and at the Chief's Kgotla. People immediately begin to collect at the home of the deceased, the men sit in the Kgotla on Kgotla chairs and women in the lolwapa. Older women comfort the female members of the family, and younger women undertake all the work. The Malome of the dead person is the one responsible for all the arrangements for the burial.

In modern times the body is usually removed to a mortuary as it is usual for funerals to be held at the week-end following the death, or, if the person died at the end of the week, during the following week-end. This gives relatives who may live or work far away a chance to travel to the funeral. All kin and neighbours are expected to attend the burial, the women help to prepare food, fetch water and clean the house and yard. The younger men help to bring loads of wood and chop it, and the older men sit in the Kgotla.

Immediately her husband dies, a woman is kept outside her house in

*1 Quoted in Tribal Innovators p. 29, Schapera.

*2 Obviously in the case of an old person their mother's brothers are likely to be dead, but the son, grandson or even great grandson inherit the responsibility from their father. Therefore an old person is probably buried by their mother's brother's grandson.
a special shelter made of tarpaulin, other women sit with her continually. She spends much of the time lying down and is always covered with a blanket and wears her head scarf like a Motsetsi (a woman in confinement). She does not enter her house again until after she has been purified after the burial. Nor does she visit other homes, she is attended by old women as they "know death" and are therefore less likely to be contaminated.

I was unable to witness the confinement of a widower, but I was told that they are also confined outside their houses. A mother who has lost her child is confined inside the house. It should perhaps be noted that the person who is confined is the chief mourner for the dead person.

During the days leading up to the burial the bereaved are always in the company of comforters and neighbours, relatives and friends come to help with the household tasks. They sweep the lolwapa and the houses, fetch water, bring wood and cook food for the household and the close relatives who are expected to stay at the bereaved household. It is customary for such a comforter not to greet people on arrival, just to enter and sit down quietly; similarly on departure a person does not say the customary "go siame" (O.K.) they just leave silently. Everyone who comes to sympathise contributes what they can, either a gift of money, flour, oil, sugar etc. for cooking. All such contributions are carefully recorded in a notebook kept by a trusted helper. This formal visiting and contributing following a death is called Matschediso (consolation to the bereaved). During the evenings there may be communal hymn singing to give courage to the bereaved. All work in the nearby households (and even throughout the main kgotla area) is supposed to cease until after the burial, apart from necessary daily tasks such as fetching water, cooking and washing (i.e. such work as building, thatching and repairing fences is supposed to cease).

At sunset of the day before the burial, the body (in a coffin) is

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*1 A widow who lived in a modern, tin-roofed house with several rooms, was not confined outside the house but in the large sitting room. Therefore perhaps one can conclude that the widowed person should not enter the room where they slept with the dead spouse where their "bloods were constantly being mixed".

*2 Compares with Zion Matschediso service briefly described in Part 3 and in more detail in Volume 2.
collected from the mortuary. Certain close relatives go in cars (lent freely by relatives or neighbours for the purpose) to collect the body. Or if the person has died away from home, for example in the mines, the body is brought in a specially hired vehicle by a burial society (see below).

As the vehicle carrying the body is driven into its KgKata, the driver of the vehicle will blow the horn repeatedly in a slow way which always signified death and the arrival of the body.*2 The relatives and neighbours then begin to collect in large numbers at the house of the deceased and the coffin is carried into one of the houses where it is laid on chairs. If it is the head of the household, his wife or child, it will be put in the main house. If it is, for example, the wife's mother, it must be put in a house behind as not to do so is believed to bring harm to the head of the household. Curtains (usually made from sheets) are suspended from the ceiling to hang around the coffin, and lighted candles are placed all round it. For this reason it is a taboo normally to use more than one candle to light a room at night, many candles are associated with death, therefore people do not wish to be reminded of death.*1 The coffin may be left open so that those who wish may bid a last farewell to their relative or friend. Throughout the night people sing hymns and pray and even preach. This type of wake is common whether or not the deceased was a practising Christian in his life-time. People will go to rest for brief periods in nearby houses but everyone from the neighbourhood is expected to co-operate during death. Tea, fat cakes or porridge may be served to the mourners during the night.

At sunrise the next morning, the singing stops and people prepare themselves for the burial. Nowadays it is becoming increasingly popular for women to wear black to funerals (black dresses or skirts and blouses). But even if they do not wear black, most women cover their hair with hats or head scarves and their shoulders with jerseys,

*1 This is the case with many taboos, an object or practice is avoided because it is something that is used or done during death. For example one should not walk through a door backwards as this is the way a coffin is carried through a door, nor should a room be "cut" with curtains in a right angle as this is how they are hung around a coffin during the wake.

*2 Sometimes women holding lighted candles may form a "guard of honour" either side of the coffin as it is brought into the yard.
jackets, blankets or shawls. Men wear either jackets or cardigans. Members of churches often wear their church uniforms. All these forms of "correct" dress are to show respect for the dead.

The actual burial service starts at the home of the deceased. The coffin of an adult is brought out into the Kgotla in front of the kraal and placed on chairs. The pall bearers will be relatives (male). Then a short service is held in the Kgotla. Men stand together in the Kgotla and the women stand together outside the meeting place. The Malome of the deceased is the organiser. In Kanye certain groups of ministers have been assigned to each group of dikgotla to pray at and lead funeral services, and they are always present. Usually there will be a few hymns and prayers. Certain people such as one of the deceased's comrades will speak about the deceased. The Malome will announce the circumstances and nature of the death. One or two groups such as religious groups or a Football Club that the deceased or the family was (are) a member of may sing a hymn for the dead person. For this, the group will often be dressed in their uniform, if they wear a special uniform, for example, at one funeral the deceased had been a member of a local Football Club, "Pirates", so at the funeral club members dressed in their club tee shirts, sang a hymn.

If the deceased was a church member their church membership certificate is placed in the coffin at this point. This is so that at the Day of Judgement God will see that the person was a registered Christian. At the funeral of a Traditional Doctor I attended his bones were put inside his coffin. This would appear to be a modification of the traditional practice of burying a person with their weapons or seeds and hoe (see p.184). At this point the lid of the coffin is firmly screwed down, although at one funeral those who wished were given the opportunity to view the face of the deceased for the last time.

The Malome then announces the arrangements for the rest of the funeral and the order in which the cars will follow the procession carrying the mourners. He announces those cars that are reserved for the close relatives, who are usually assigned to the more comfortable cars. Those who are not closely related ride on the backs of lorries or tractors. If there are not enough vehicles they walk. It should again be emphasized that owners of vehicles are expected to lend them freely to help at death. In the old days if there was death anywhere
in the village any ox wagon owners who had their wagons and oxen in the village at the time were expected to bring them to help, failure to do so could lead to the fine of an ox at the Chief's Kgotla.

The coffin is then loaded into one of the vehicles, a pick-up with a canopy fitting or even a hearse rented from the mortuary.\(^*1\) A widowed spouse or other chief mourner rides in the front with her special attendant and the driver, and other very close relatives ride in the back with the coffin. Often the coffin is placed on a cow skin which may even be wrapped around the outside of the coffin. This is obviously a modification of the traditional custom of wrapping the body in a cow skin. A car leads the procession (nowadays this is usually the mortuary car and it has a flashing red light). The other cars follow the car carrying the coffin according to the order announced by the Malome. No one is supposed to pass through one of these processions as it moves through the village. Other road users are expected to pull off the road, and pedestrians to stand respectfully to one side. If the deceased was a church member the procession may drive direct to the church, where a church funeral service will be held. Mourners enter the church first and then the coffin is carried in surrounded by the Chief Mourner and other close relatives carrying lighted candles that have been left over from the wake. These people stand around the coffin throughout the service. Other close relatives sit at the front of the church. Then everyone goes to the graveyard in the same order of procession.

Graveyards are situated outside the village. The use of them is obviously a modern convention as is the use of coffins and burying people in a horizontal position, as traditionally people were buried in the lolwapa, or cattle kraal in a sitting position (see above).

By sunset of the day before the burial, the Malome will have chosen the site of the grave which will then have been dug by volunteer grave diggers during the night. Before they started to dig, the Malome will have marked the grave with a cross.\(^*2\) The grave diggers may

\(^*1\) Before cars were commonly used, the body was loaded on to an ox wagon or sledge.

\(^*2\) I am not sure of the significance of this cross, whether or not it signifies a Christian cross. It should be noted that crosses are used in a number of traditional contexts, for example, the traditional doctor instructed the owner of the bewitched bull to make one (see Chapter 5) also a person arriving fresh from a death must make a cross with ash on the umbilical cord of a baby still in confinement (See Chapter 8 section on Botsetsi). Therefore maybe this "cross" has some traditional protective significance.
not leave the grave until after the burial is completed; they are sent refreshments from the home of the deceased and they only leave with the mourners at the completion of the burial.

When the procession with the body arrives at the graveyard the mourners group around the grave, with the close relatives at the front next to the grave. The other men stand together behind the grave and the women stand together in front of the grave. The hole is usually surrounded by artificial green grass owned by the mortuary, and placed by the mortuary attendants. The widow and close relatives then follow the coffin to the grave side. There is then a further service of prayers and hymns, and the coffin is lowered into the grave (either with cattle skin thongs, or with equipment and straps hired from the mortuary). The chief mourner, followed by other close relatives, (and anyone else who wishes) then throw a handful or shovelfull each of earth into the grave. At this point, i.e. on seeing the coffin at the bottom of the grave, there is usually much hysterical weeping, some people even faint and have to be revived with water that is always brought to the graveyard for this purpose. Then to the accompaniment of further hymn singing the grave is filled in by men taking turns, with all the earth that was dug out of it. Young men will in the meantime have fetched a load of stones on a tractor and trailer. They then hand these out in a human chain, to cover the mound of earth. The close relatives are then called forward to present their flowers. These are elaborate arrangements of plastic flowers bought through the mortuary. Each has an inscription, often very sad and including a Bible quotation or a psalm. The inscriptions are all read out by some man with a clear voice. After each is read out the relative holds it up and places it onto the grave.*1 The remains of the candles used at the wake are lighted and placed on the grave together with the paper which was wrapping them, which is also set alight.

After this "Our Father" and another closing prayer are usually said by the officiating minister, and then often a special closing hymn is sung. Each line of this hymn ends with "Robala Sentle" (Sleep Well).*2

*1 Some churches, notably the Seventh Day Adventist Church and some Pentecostal Churches disapprove of, and ban, these wreathes.
*2 This is hymn number 444 in the L.M.S. hymn book. Hymns from all hymnals are used at all funerals.
During the last line of the last verse, everyone raises their hand and "waves" (a farewell to the deceased).\textsuperscript{1} Everyone must then return to the home of the deceased where the men gather in the Kgötlwa, either sitting on Kgötlwa chairs or squatting, and the women sit in the lolwapa. Various men may get up and speak about the life of the deceased, or otherwise people speak quietly amongst themselves. If a beast has been slaughtered for the death, it is served with samp or porridge to those present. Usually there is a big metal bath at the entrance to the yard where men will rinse off their hands in the water into which has been poured the special herbs for cleansing at death. When every man\textsuperscript{2} has had an opportunity to "wash off death", the water is thrown straight out. Normally it is a taboo to throw water straight out from the house as this is only done during death.

After sitting for some time either in the Kgötlwa or in the lolwapa, it is announced that people are now free to leave for their homes, although those who have come a long way will probably be invited to partake of the refreshments. It should be noted that when people go to the church and the graveyard in the procession, and return to the Kgötlwa from the graveyard, they are expected all (whether in a car or on foot) to follow the same route. None of the implements that were used to dig the grave must be brought inside the houses until after sunset.

If a person does not die at their own house, for example in the case of an old lady living with her married daughter dying at her daughter's married home, the body must, before being taken to the graveyard, be taken to the Kgötlwa where she was married. Here a further little service will be held in front of the kraal in the kgötlwa. It is formally announced to the people of her kgötlwa how she died and where. The people of this kgötlwa then join the funeral procession to the graveyard.

If a person dies away from home it is believed to be very

\textsuperscript{1} It should be noted that this may be a modification of a traditional practice described by Setiloane. He writes that in the past every member of the family would throw some chyme of the animal slaughtered for the funeral into the grave with the words "O re roballe" (May you sleep for use). Setiloane says this was probably to make the deceased "Rest in Peace" and not become a ghost and haunt the living.

\textsuperscript{2} At a funeral I attended in the Bangwato area for a colleague killed in a road accident, everyone, not just the men, washed their hands in this bath on returning from the graveyard.
important to bring the body back for burial at its home, for example if a person dies at the Lands or Cattle post, as soon as possible after the death they are brought back to their home in Kanye, and the funeral will centre around that home. Miners working in the South African mines are encouraged to join Burial Societies, for example there is a Bangwaketse Burial Society with branches in the various South African mines for the Bangwaketse working there, and also for the women who work in "kitchens" in South Africa. This Burial Society sees to the transport of, and correct arrangements for, the body to Botswana for burial. A bus is hired and fellow miners/workers accompany the body and attend the service in Kanye. Such a Burial Society also collects the personal effects of the deceased and arranges for the parents to receive them, together with any compensation due, through the local Mine Labour Organization. As many of the miners and their families are illiterate or have very little education, this very practical bureaucratic help is very helpful, especially as many certificates are necessary for the release of a body from South Africa.

Those soldiers who die in service with the Botswana Defence Force are given military funerals similar to those in England. The body is brought by a B.D.F. guard to its home for the wake. Then during the burial service the coffin is draped with a Botswana flag. Fellow B.D.F in their dress uniforms carry it and a "last post" is sounded by buglers and rifles are fired over the grave in respect; in all other ways it is like any other type of funeral.

Funerals of children differ slightly from those described above. As has already been stated children "without teeth" are buried inside the house under the cattle dung floor or in the lolwapa of a house. Usually if these children die as very small infants (i.e. they still have the umbilical cord or are prematures) they are only buried in the presence of older women. All older married women and relatives and neighbours should be informed and then they witness the burial. This is important as such bodies are believed to be useful and potent ingredients of Boloi, so their proper burial should be witnessed. The little body is wrapped in cloth and put in a box in a hole dug in the cattle dung floor of one of the houses of the yard. The hole is then filled in and the floor (or stoep) is resmeared. This is done very soon after death, usually the same day. As this is a burial carried out by old women to avoid Boloi (and indeed the death is usually attributed to Boloi) it was difficult to investigate the reason for this, but it appears to be so that the spirit of the dead child may be born again to its mother. *1

*1 See below for further details.
Older children who die (i.e. those with teeth) are buried in the yard, usually in a shady area. Pauw explains this is because such bodies can be an abomination and are "hot" so could "spoil" the rain, therefore to "cool" them they are buried in the shade.\(^1\) The burials of these older children also take place very soon after death - but are witnessed by older men and women. There may be a wake and some hymns and prayers. An acquaintance of mine lost a premature baby - she was working in Kanye but came from another area of Botswana - because of the taboo on moving such a body she had great difficulty in burying the little baby. It could not be buried in the graveyard as it was too young, in the end she had to ask her Kanye friend to allow her to bury it in their home.

The Royal Family have their own graveyard. Whilst doing my fieldwork Chief Seepapia's Rrangwane died (i.e. a younger brother of ex-Chief Batheon II). During the period leading up to his funeral various Regiments of women were called to prepare for the funeral, for example some were called to fetch mud to prepare the walls of the houses, others to stemp sorghum and cook porridge for all the men gathered in the Chief's Kgotla who had come to pay their respects (Matschediso), others had to fetch water and brew traditional beer, etc.

The funeral followed the same pattern as those described above except it was very much bigger. In the Royal Graveyard many of the graves have special monuments over them. This is obviously a departure from tradition. Traditionally the bodies of Chiefs were often hidden in an unmarked grave if it was not buried in the kraal. This was because the bodies of Chiefs were believed to be an especially potent ingredient for making Boloi. However, the grave of Seepapia's Rrangwane was "protected" from Boloi with special medicines, to prevent exhumation. Then four witches were caught about two months after the burial. They were found "stuck" to the grave in the morning. This led to a big witch hunt. (Described in more detail in Chapter 6, p.141-2)

**Cleansing**

After the burial is over various people connected with the deceased must be cleansed. A surviving spouse is not believed to be "clean" until about a year after the death or until the new rains have fallen, and because of the danger of contaminating others, such spouses

\(^1\) Pauw 1960:34. 
are subject to certain taboos. Other close relatives must also be cleansed. It is believed that young children could be "called" by their dead parent to the Spirit World. Pauw states that it is believed that if this cleansing is not carried out the sehíhi (shadow) cast by the dead person will trouble the children, i.e. haunt them. He also describes a further rite that was performed for the children of a dead mother about two weeks after burial. Their father had to take them to their mother's home. They entered the home through a special entrance made in the fence at the back of the yard. A sheep was provided by their father and it was slaughtered for them. Then the moswang (contents of the stomach) of this animal was placed at intervals from this special entrance to the front entrance and as they entered they walked on it. The meat was then eaten by all present and the children's hair was shaved. It was not until after they had had this rite performed that they were again able to visit their maternal relatives. If it was not performed they were believed to become senseless.

At one funeral, for a man, that I attended, immediately after the burial and the return from the graveyard, all close relatives - the widow, children and children's children were given a special herbal medicine to chew and then spit out. This was to make them forget their father and not follow him into death.

Setiloane refers to a traditional practice called go rola thapo (to wear thapo). Thapo is a strip of plaited grass that is worn around the necks of those closely connected to death, i.e. spouses, parents, siblings and children, and whilst it is still worn all the wearers were subject to certain taboos. The plaited grass is dipped in the gall of the animal that is slaughtered for the burial. I never saw anyone wearing thapo and it would appear to be more customary in Kanye at the present time to wear black. Widows dress completely in black made for them by a dressmaker. This includes a black dress, head scarf, shoes, shawl and necklace etc. and these are provided by the family of the dead husband. Widowers wear a black patch pinned to the left sleeve, as do children and other close relatives. Women relatives may also wear a black head scarf or pináfo (especially the mother of a dead child or one daughter for a deceased surviving parent).

These signs of association with death, especially those of the

*1 Pauw 1960:25.
*2 Pauw op. cit. page 25 1960:25
surviving spouse are worn for the year of mourning or until the new rains have fallen. At the end of the period the wearers are again "cleansed". It should be noted that among Batswana black has most definitely NOT been a fashion colour.

Usually the day after the burial (still with the Malome of the deceased officiating) the floor of the house used for the coffin and its surrounding lolwapa are freshly smeared with cattle dung - to "cleanse" them. Many women will probably help with this, just as many women will have helped with all the sweeping. Normally it is a taboo for more than one woman to sweep or smear a house at a time as, again, many people participating in these jobs can signify death. At this time a traditional doctor may be called to purify the home. This includes "washing" the upper parts of the bodies of the close relatives with medicated water and sprinkling the possessions of the deceased; the door posts, entrances to the houses and the yard may also be sprinkled with the same mixture. A goat may be slaughtered as part of this "cleansing" and the contents of the stomach may be used as an ingredient of the medicines. Also the hair of the close relatives may be shaven.¹ (This is another practice associated only with death, normally it is a taboo to cut more than one member of the family's hair on the same day). Pauw emphasizes that this must all be done during the part of the day when there are shadows (i.e. not midday), because the aim is to purify the shadow (sehihi) cast by the deceased when he dies. If it is not done at this time of the day then the survivors may be troubled by the shadow. All hair which is cut at this time has to be buried in a special hole or one made by ants. This is because it is believed that such hair is a useful ingredient of Boloi and can be used to bewitch the owner of the hair.

Healing of a widowed person

Healing a family after a death obviously varies from place to place and healer to healer. I did not manage to observe all of this in Kanye as it is a secret, but it was described to me by various informants. The surviving spouse is the one for whom purification is most complicated and who is subjected to the most taboos whilst being purified, and the period following until entirely cleansed. It is believed that the surviving spouse is dangerous before purification as during their

marriage to the deceased their "bloods had been joined and during sexual intercourse were constantly mixing". Therefore now the blood of the survivor misses that of the deceased and so becomes "hot". A person's blood may become "hot" (maoto a molelo) for various reasons (see Chapter 4) and whilst an individual is in this condition they are subject to various taboos. A surviving spouse is in this condition for about one year after the death or until the new rainfall. During this period it is a very strong taboo for them to sleep with a member of the opposite sex. If this taboo is broken the partner will become very ill (and develop symptoms similar to a venereal disease, this disease is traditionally believed to be caused through sleeping with a person with "hot blood.".) An even more serious result, as it affects the community at large, is that breaking this taboo affects the rain. For example in the 1978-9 season there was a very bad drought and one of the causes was supposed to be because widowed people were breaking this taboo.*

The healing of a widowed person is a very complicated process. It is performed in various stages by a traditional doctor who is specialised in this. In Kanye there is a well-known woman who specialises in healing widowed people, such a person is called a Moalafe (healer). First the newly widowed person is given special medicines so that they are able to enter the house again (it will be remembered that immediately their spouse died they had to be kept outside the house in a temporary shelter made in the lolwapal).* The first stage of healing is called go alafa (to heal). It takes place just after the burial, the surviving spouse is taken with the other close relatives in a procession to the home of the wife. A goat is provided by the family of the husband and some blood is taken from it by a traditional doctor or healer whilst it is still alive. This blood is mixed with some of the contents of its stomach after it has been slaughtered, and this mixture is used to treat the widowed spouse. The healer keeps the rest of the meat for himself. On arrival at the home the surviving spouse's hair is shaved off by another old widow (because such people are believed to "know" death), the other close relatives' hair will be shaved by the Moleme's wife. During the procession the surviving spouse wears a long blanket that sweeps the ground. Then they return to their own home in

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*2 See Botswana Daily News articles.
*3 Schapera 1953: 60 States that traditionally all newly bereaved people were smeared with the juice of irritant bulbs used in rain making so that they would not "spoil the rain". Informants reported that the medicines they were smeared with itched.
procession and on the way back they have to throw away bits of the intestines of the goat and kick off one shoe,\(^1\) and without talking throw it away. For this reason it is a taboo for a person to wear only one shoe because this is another practice associated with death. It should also be noted that when the hair is shaved off, the children's hair is cut first and then the adults'. First the children are supposed to be given a special herb to chew and then spit out. This is to make them forget their dead parent (i.e. so that they do not die as well).\(^2\) It is after this that the widow wears black and others wear black patches.

On this occasion when the hair is cut, several relatives and neighbours will be called to witness it. The women will usually bring with them a little corn (mabele) from their fields. The bereaved spouse will then take a few grains from each person, bite them and spit them out, this is to stop them from endangering their neighbours' fields when they pass by them at the Lands.\(^3\)

During the next stage of the healing all the possessions of the dead person are thoroughly cleansed. Women from the kgotla come to do this, to help fetch water, to wash and to fold up. The possessions may all have to be sprinkled with medicated water by the healer. All the possessions are then carefully packed away and stored until the later distribution. Setiloane states that the surviving spouse is supposed to sleep in the same house in which these possessions are stored. Certainly they are not supposed to move out of that yard until they are distributed as formally, this is not allowed to happen during summer/it is believed to "spoil" the rain.\(^4\) The formal distribution of the possessions of one of my dead neighbours had not taken place and the possessions were always kept inside the house, even when a modern cement floor was being made to replace the traditional cattle dung floor, and they never lent any of these things even when some wire cutters were requested by their cousins who were trying to repair the fence of the yard. The washing and cleaning of the deceased possessions usually seemed to take place a few days after the burial.

\(^{1}\) On these occasions the traditional Tswana sandals are supposed to be worn.

\(^{2}\) As has already been stated healing appears to vary from healer to healer, as at one funeral I attended this part was done immediately after the return from the burial. (see above).

\(^{3}\) See also Schapera's description of a similar custom among the Bakgatla 1940: 281–2.

\(^{4}\) Pauw op. cit. page 24.
The next stage of healing is called go kopano le dikgomo (to meet with the cattle). The surviving spouse, accompanied by the healer and certain relatives, is taken a few days after the burial to their Cattle post "to meet with their cattle". They have to enter the cattle kraal at the Cattle post while the cattle are still inside, and the healer gives them special medicines to throw into the kraal. Then the healer washes them with medicated water. On their return to the village they will be allowed to mix more freely with people, but are still subject to certain taboos, for example, such as not taking part in marriages. The aim of this is probably to stop the dead person calling his cattle to him (i.e. to stop them dying).

Throughout the purification the widowed spouse should not call out or shout as if they do so they will not be properly healed. If the purification is not done properly or not performed at all it is believed that that person will go senile in later life. An example of just how important people still believe this to be I observed in 1980. One woman had recently been widowed in South Africa, where she had gone to live about 40 years previously with her husband. They both came from Kanye before going to work in South Africa. During the whole time they had been in South Africa they had never visited Botswana nor did their relatives hear any news of the couple, or even know if they were still living until she came to Kanye, to her husband's kgotla, to have this purification performed. As she had never had her hair shaved (as described above) her hair was shaved, which was witnessed by all the appropriate relatives and neighbours. She was given black clothes to wear, and then taken to the Cattle post/go kopano le dikgomo (to meet with cattle). After this purification had been performed she returned to South Africa. Another example will perhaps show how important the performance of this purification is considered to be. The maternal aunt of one of my informants was somewhat confused in her old age. Her in-laws were commonly blamed for her condition because apparently, following the death of her husband, they had never made sure she was completely purified.

A healer is usually paid a goat for these services. Mention should perhaps be made of Mosiama, the "Holy Tree". This is an evergreen plant that grows around the base of other trees and bushes. It is reputed to be an important ingredient of the medicated water used to wash those who have been in contact with death.

Even after the cleansing and purification in the family, those who have been in close contact with death are not supposed to enter
other people's houses unless they are given permission to do so. The first time they enter a house they should first take cold ash from the fireplace, or wet cattle dung, and make a cross at the entrance before entering. This is believed to prevent them bringing death with them to that house. This particularly applies to widowed people and mothers of dead children, or women who have had miscarriages. These people should not touch other people's children, particularly on the head, as this is believed to cause them to die. They should particularly not visit a Motsetsi or, if they do, they must make a cross with the ash or cattle dung on the baby's umbilical cord. Many people will not allow a woman who has lost many children into their house because they really fear she will bring death there. As will be seen below a woman who has lost a small baby may not visit others until after she has started to menstruate again and then been cleansed by a Moalafe. Such people, especially widowed spouses do not take part in marriages as has been seen already (i.e. a widow still wearing black) may not go and "ask for a wife", or help to bring a bride with her possessions, or enter the lolwapa with the other married women or attend the giving of laws.

The End of Mourning

The final stage of the purification takes place during the removal of the black clothes of a widow and the black patches of those other close relatives of the deceased. This is a ceremony that Setiloane refers to as go tlhatswa sesila (to cleanse off or work off the contamination). *1

Again the healer officiates, and those who wore black patches are "washed" at the same time. The cleansing is the most complex for the surviving spouse. The Malome of the deceased is supposed to assist, and is expected to provide a beast for slaughter, and the new clothes for the widow. The Malome is the one who slaughters the beast and then he may mix some of its gall, chyme and blood with the cleansing herbs. Then he takes off the black patches and clothes of the widow and "washes" each person in turn with the cleansing medicines. Setiloane further adds that, as he does so for each person, he spits into his cupped hands murmuring: "Badimo ba rona ba le roballe" (May our Badimo sleep for you).*1

*1 Setiloane 1976:69.
Inheritance

Setiloane then describes a further ceremony that he says takes place at the same time. This he calls go ntsha dikobo (to share out possessions). On this occasion the personal possessions of the deceased are shared out.

This takes place in a modified form in Kanye and is called Boswa. For the first part the relatives of the deceased are cleansed and the black patches and widow's black clothes are removed by the healer in the Malome's presence, and a beast such as a sheep is supposed to be slaughtered. After the cleansing and the widow dressing in her new clothes provided by the Malome of the dead person, other relatives are called to come and eat the meat.

Tatolo

In Kanye there is a ceremony called Tatolo.*1 During this ceremony, which is for a dead man, his relatives, especially his brothers or his sons, are "telling" his Malome that he is dead. To do this they must bring the Malome a bull*2 and all the dead man's possessions which up until that time will have been kept in his house where they would have been put after cleansing a few days after his burial. (See p.192). The Malome then slaughters the bull. This beast is called tatolo because this is the thing that "tells" the Malome that the man is dead. The meat is cooked and the relatives are called to eat it. All the meat should be eaten at that place on that day, i.e. the usual customary gifts to those not present are not made. Also the meat is cooked without salt so that it is not enjoyable, because of the association with death this is a sad occasion. The men sit or squat in the Kgotla, (in fact traditionally no one used chairs, they all squatted). After the meat has been eaten, the Malome calls all the close relatives to witness the distribution of the deceased's possessions.*3 All these possessions technically belong to the Malome but he is expected to share them generously. Cattle are technically all inherited by the

*1 Tatolo should always be held even if the man has been dead for several years. During my fieldwork, I observed 3 of these. In one case the man had been dead for about 6 years, in another he had been dead for about 8 years, and in the third for about 50-70 years (no one seemed to be able to remember accurately). In cases where the man has been dead for so long and the possessions have probably long rotted, a kgotla chair is brought to symbolise the possessions. N.B. Schapera notes that traditionally a tatolo ox was given to the Chief by the family of an important man. This practice
was abolished by 1885 by Chief Caseitsiwe.

*2 In fact nowadays, due to modern agriculture and the castration of bull calves, bulls are in short supply, so an ox or a cow may be used instead.

*3 Traditionally widows and daughters were not entitled to inherit anything. If there were no sons, then the nearest male agnates inherited. However, following the lead of Khama I of the Bangwato, Seepapitso I encouraged the practice of the rights of widows and daughters to inheritance.
oldest son but again he should allocate them generously to his brothers, mother, sisters and his Malome. The yard is inherited by the youngest son, but it is supposed to make sure that some of the houses are allocated to his mother and unmarried sisters to live in for their lifetime. So the actual personal effects of the deceased are allocated by the Malome to the deceased's children. Cooking pots and household utensils are allocated to girls, clothes, according to sex, and any old or useless things are burnt on this occasion.

A dead woman's Malome is responsible for allocating her things in the same way, except that no bull is taken as Tatolo. It should be noted that inheritance is frequently, as in this country, a cause of family squabbles and jealousies, and in very serious cases may even result in Boloi and death. Examples of such cases are included in Chapter 6 but perhaps one of the examples may be briefly referred to at this point. An old man had died in the 1950's; there had been terrible quarrels between his sons over the inheritance of cattle that had mostly been originally bought by the son who inherited them whilst he was working in the mines. The quarrels got so bad that there were several cases at the Chief's Kgotla, then Boloi started. The son of one of the brothers was killed in a road accident, this was "seen" by the doctor called on the occasion to have been caused by the other brother (this death happened in 1979. In 1981 the accused brother died of Tswana poison. This was "seen" by his family doctor to have been caused by the father of the dead son.

Purification of the Mother of a Dead Child

Before continuing with a few other customs associated with death, the treatment of and purification of a mother who has lost a small child should be described in greater detail. I myself witnessed a case of this in 1980, when the daughter of one of my neighbours lost her 3-day old baby. Some mention has already been made of the burial of babies without teeth earlier in this section. More is included about this particular case in Chapter 6. The birth of this baby had been difficult and the hospital believed it had suffered brain damage during delivery. After 3 days the baby finally died. On the day of the death, the death was immediately announced to relatives, and the old women, including the mother's aunt (her own mother was dead), went to the hospital to collect the little body. The mother herself was sick so could not be discharged from the hospital. The girl's grandmother, with
whom she lived, stayed behind at their house as a house where there is death is not supposed to be left empty.

While the women were at the hospital the house was tidied. When they returned from the hospital the little baby was wrapped up as described above, but they could not bury it until the late afternoon when there were shadows. This is presumably for the reason Pauw mentions (see p. 195). As the house had a cement floor, the little baby was buried in the stoep of the house in the lolwapa surrounding the house.

As the baby had died during a difficult birth, the woman in charge at such a burial is supposed to be a relative who always has easy births. In this case it was a maternal aunt of the mother. She had to make a cross with cold ash on the baby's chest and then she was the one who had to wrap it and put it into the little grave, resting its head and buttocks on little grass kgaris (grass rings usually used to carry head loads and rest clay pots). Not many people are supposed to attend this burial as that would attract the tragedy to happen again.

When the mother was brought from the hospital she had to make a cross with wet cattle dung over the place where the baby had been buried. (The stoep had been remade and the place was indistinguishable so that Baloi could not steal the corpse for boloi.) She was then given the laws of her condition by her aunt, who would be the one to be in charge of her. She was then taken to her aunt's house. Here the same woman (who had easy births) made a cross with cold ash over her umbilical cord. The idea of this woman helping on this occasion is to try to attract easy births to this girl in the future so that she will not lose further children.

The mother was then confined inside the house like an ordinary Motsetsi (see above) She was instructed by the woman in charge of her, of the taboos to which she was subject. For example she was not allowed to touch children, especially on the head, or she would cause their deaths. In fact the children in the yard were "washed" by the family traditional doctor to protect them from her. Also she was not allowed to touch beds or chairs as she was a danger to men, and of course not sleep with men as men are believed to develop symptoms like venereal disease through contact with a woman in her condition.

In this particular case this girl was not confined at her own home, but at that of her aunt, as her grandmother was crippled and so unable to take care of her. Therefore for the next few weeks her
grandmother and aunt slept at the girl's home to keep the spirit of the dead child company.

After about 2 1/2 months, after she had started to menstruate again, she was cleansed by the family traditional doctor and allowed to move around freely. However, as the mother of a dead child, she had to ask permission to enter people's houses and when entering for the first time she had to use wet cattle dung (see above).

While she was confined another daughter from her aunt's home (her cousin) also became a Motsetsi. This child was normal, but the Botsetsi had to be in another house in the yard as the other girl had lost her baby. The mother of the dead baby was not allowed to enter the house of the other Motsetsi, only talk to her from outside, nor could she share food cooked specially for the other Motsetsi in the same pot.

One of two other customs associated with death should be mentioned. Occasionally when a very old person is ill and does not die they may request the guardian of their cattle to kill one of their cows for them. This happened to an old acquaintance of mine in 1979. People who make such a request believe that by the cow being killed it will please their Badimo and allow them to die in peace. Relatives will be called to help eat the meat which pleases the living relatives which in turn pleases the Badimo who are also pleased by the spilling of blood. In the case mentioned above, immediately the meat had been finished, the old lady concerned died in peace, although she had been ill for many years and had several times requested one of her sons, who had the care of her cattle, to kill one for her. It was said that because he kept putting it off (because he presumably did not want to "waste" one of his future inheritance) she did not die. Immediately he had granted her request and the meat had been finished, she died in peace.

Another custom that should be mentioned is that performed following the death of the surviving spouse. Normally it is a very strong taboo to put cattle dung on the walls of a house or lolwapa, it is only smeared on the floor. Although bricks and plaster contain cattle dung, the mud is mixed with it, before the bricks are moulded or the plaster is applied. However when the surviving spouse dies a horizontal line of cattle dung is smeared along the wall of their house and lolwapa. This is a sign that they are now both dead. The entrance is closed with a thorn bush as another sign. For this reason either to smear the
walls with cattle dung or to close entrances with thorn bushes is a big taboo. Although people frequently fence their yards and kraals with cut thorn bushes, they never close the entrance of a house or yard with one. To break either of these taboos is not only to remind oneself of death, but also even to encourage it, causing the death of a relative.

There are numerous omens of death that are still widely believed. For example if a chicken lays an egg with a badly deformed shell or eats its own egg, the owner will usually kill it as these are widely held to be omens of the death of a relative, as is a worm crossing a person's path in bright sunlight. Again in some families if there is family discord or quarrels, or a member of the family breaks a pot or a piece of crockery, these are also believed to be omens of the death of a close relative. There are certain taboos which, if a person breaks them, are believed to cause death. Besides the two mentioned above, in Kanye it is a taboo to plant citrus trees in the yard, as to do so would cause the owners of the yard to die before they mature. In fact in Kanye very few Bangwaketse do plant citrus trees in their yards although they plant peach, apricot, "apple" and banana, and despite the fact that people very much like eating oranges. Many of the yards where they do grow belong to non-Bangwaketse. Another avoidance taboo is that women who have reached the age of menstruation should not step over the traces of an ox wagon (these in fact are often lying around the entrances to people's homes, and spread out over several metres, especially if the oxen are about to be in-spanned or have just been out-spanned). To break this taboo could cause harm and even death to the owner of the ox wagon whilst he is travelling in it.

Another taboo that is widely followed in many very traditional dikgotla, especially in main wards, is that women are not supposed to carry water or cattle dung that they have been fetching, through other people's dikgotla. To do so is believed to challenge the protective power of those dikgotla that was put there by the original traditional doctor who placed the kgotla. Such a challenge could result in death or serious accident to the residents. In the area where I was living this practice was followed by the main kgotla and two of the neighbouring sub-dikgotla, and before I was aware of the taboo I was even stopped whilst carrying water through the main kgotla from a far off water tap, and a woman from the main kgotla even wanted to confiscate our water.
However in some of the other sub-dikgotla the paths from the water taps pass straight through them and their owners do not object. It is all according to the rules of the original doctor who protected the kgotla.

All the rites performed following a death are really to achieve healing and purification. For example the children have to be healed so that they do not follow their father, as must be the cattle for the same reason. All close relatives, but especially the widowed spouse, must be purified so that they do not contaminate others and bring death to their households. During the purification of widowed people the aim is to "cool" their "hot" blood so that they can again (when their blood is "cool") take part in everyday life. If they break the taboos which they are subject to whilst impure they can harm others and "spoil" the rain. For example in 1979 the drought was widely attributed to widowed people breaking the taboos.

It should be briefly mentioned that death is seldom believed to be due to natural causes or even accident such as in the case of road accidents. When a person dies or even when he is ill a traditional doctor is called to divine the cause or causer. This is a topic that is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 6.

**Badimo - the Ancestors or the Living Dead**

Setiloane gives several examples*1 of how important Badimo still are today to Africans, for example, he quotes one Ghanaian woman on the staff of the World Council of Churches (a daughter of a highly placed Christian Minister) - "To take the ancestors away from an African is robbing him of his personality." He gives an account of a personal experience in a crowded Soweto train when a pickpocket robbed him of his wallet and then dropped it on the ground. Other passengers, even after seeing his clerical dress which he was wearing as he was on his way to lead a Sunday service, remarked "Badimo ba gago, ba na le wena" (Your Ancestors are with you.) i.e. rather than saying "God was by your side".

He quotes his own words from his meditation "I am an African"

Ah.... yes...! It is true

They are present with us...

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*1 Setiloane (1978) "Traditional World - views of the Sotho-Tswana" in *Christianity in Independent Africa.*
The dead are not dead, they are ever near us;
Approving and disapproving all our actions,
They chide us when we go wrong,
Bless us and sustain us for good deeds done,
For kindness shown, and strangers made to feel at home.
They increase our store, and punish our pride."

The World Council of Churches omitted these words when it was published.

Before the introduction and the spread of Christianity, people believed in an all-powerful Modimo -God- who was approached by man through Badimo. (More details are given in Chapter 4 about the traditional beliefs concerning Modimo.) Traditionally each family group revered the spirits of its own dead ancestors who were approached via the senior male living relative. When people died they became Badimo, who were believed to be hierarchically ranked in the spirit world according to their social ranking whilst alive. That is the dead older brother had higher status than his dead younger ones and men were higher than women, Paramount Chiefs having the highest social ranking both whilst living and as Badimo. Therefore when praying to Badimo approach had to be made taking this hierarchy into account. Thus "a young man, wishing to make an approach to Modimo, approaches his elder brother, who approaches his father, who approaches his father, who approaches his grandfather.... and the request is passed up the hierarchy of 'Badimo' until it reaches one sufficiently senior to address Modimo direct."*1

As was seen in the section on death, that traditionally people were buried in a way that indicates that life after death was believed to be very similar to life on earth. A man was traditionally buried with his weapons and a woman with her hoe and some seeds from each of the crops cultivated on earth so that, in the words of one of Schapera's informants:- "... they (dead people) were equipped for their journey to the world of the dead, where a man would continue to herd his grandfather's cattle and a woman to cultivate the soil."*2

Badimo were believed to retain the same character traits they had had whilst living and continue to take an interest in their living descendants, rewarding those who treated them with respect and obedience with good health and prosperity, and punishing those who

*1 Sheddick quoted in Setiloane (1976) page 65.
*2 Schapera Married Life in an African Tribe, page 274.
neglected or offended them or the prevailing social code, with sickness, economic loss or misfortunes. Thus it can be seen that the traditional belief about Badimo and their position and influence was a very functional way of promoting social control.

Even though nowadays Christianity and the belief in the Christian God is widely accepted, the belief in Badimo still appears to be widely held. People still believe that their own family ancestors have a great influence over their lives. To take two examples to illustrate this: one of my former students had just started work in 1981, and when he received his first month's pay, to bring success in his future working life, he gave each of the three brothers of his mother (his Bo-Malome) the customary P2.00, the rest he gave to his parents who then returned some to him. This was to please his Badimo, who it is believed like this customary allocation of the first salary cheque, so that they could give him future success. The second example concerned the older brother of the father of one of my informants. For some years this man had lived in South Africa, where he had originally gone to work in the mines. He had married a South African wife and their children had been brought up there. Although he wanted to return to Botswana with his family to live permanently, his wife had not agreed. He had then died in 1975. Then, when two of his children died in 1979, (one in August and the other was stabbed by ditsotsi (delinquents) at Park Station during the Christmas Rush) it was said by the traditional doctor that the dead father had called his children to him.

As has already been seen in the preceding section, the whole family is cleansed after the death of a parent or close relative to try and prevent the dead relative "calling" his children after him. The cattle of a dead man are also protected so that they do not die as well - being called by their dead owner - the beast that is slaughtered at the funeral of a dead man is part of this prevention.

Although in Kanye (but not in Botswana as a whole) there are no ancestral cults and much of the traditional beliefs were thought to have disappeared, many examples of the influence of Badimo can still be seen even in everyday activities. Setiloane calls the behaviour that Badimo expect from their living descendants - Tirelo - service. In return for this Tirelo they will show a benevolent interest in their descendants, but failure in this service leads to their punishments. In considering the everyday effect of Badimo on people it is useful to use the four categories into which Setiloane divided Tirelo. His first category of Tirelo is Tirelo in the lolwapa, the next is Tirelo in the household, the third is Tirelo in the kgotla and the last - Tirelo in
Examples of all these categories are seen in Kanye. Tirelo in the lolwapa is seen in such common customs as always leaving a little food when cooking, "so that Badimo may find food when they visit at night". This is also the food that will be given to hungry unexpected visitors, but by feeding them it is believed that Badimo are also fed. Similarly children are taught from an early age to share with others and never be the only one of a group to eat. Whenever a person slaughters a beast or cooks a special meal, relatives, friends and neighbours will be given a share of the meat, or children will be sent with covered plates of cooked food to neighbouring homes. Whenever beer is brewed it is never drunk alone, but others are always invited to come and help drink it.

Botsetsi parties are not now attributed to a direct connection with Badimo, although they may once have been one of the ways a child was introduced to Badimo. However, when children are given names they will often be named after successful Badimo, hoping that they will also develop that particular good quality of that Badimo. Those customs that are connected with Badimo associated with death and burial and the end of mourning have already been mentioned, i.e. the washing of the bereaved and of cattle to prevent either being "called" by the dead person.

Examples of Setiloane's second category - Tirelo in the household - are also seen. Some very traditional families may still perform "go ntshaphatsa matlaka" - the annual springtime renewal of the incision marks, but I never heard of this. However, Badimo feasts are reasonably common. Any feasts of course, please Badimo, as the shedding of blood and the feasting of a large number of kin and friends is believed to be much appreciated by Badimo, for example, at weddings, Botsetsi parties, house-openings (for new houses), feasts to celebrate successes etc. However, a Badimo feast is held specially for Badimo and the two traditional ones I observed were conducted in the following way:

Badimo Feasts

The first Badimo feast was being given as thanks to Badimo for the safe recovery of a teenager, whom the traditional doctor said had been bewitched to die by jealous relatives. In 1978 he had been a student at a private secondary school in a nearby sub-village. One
night two boys, with whom he shared a rented house, for no apparent reason had come into the house where he was asleep, and poured paraffin over him whilst he slept and set fire to him. He was very badly burnt but fortunately, although he was scarred, he made a good recovery at the local hospital. His family then, on the advice of their family traditional doctor, decided to hold a Badimo feast for him to thank their Badimo for protecting him and for his recovery.

The second Badimo feast I attended was being held to thank the Badimo of the husband and wife of one of my neighbouring families. Recently they had completed several successful marriages for their children. The two oldest sons were both prospering in the mines. They had had good harvests at their Lands, and their cattle were multiplying well at the Cattle post. So their feast was to thank their Badimo for their success so that they should continue to prosper.

At a Badimo feast a bovine beast is usually slaughtered early in the morning. It is slaughtered in the usual way by the men in the kraal (in both the above-mentioned cases the feasts were held in Kanye, so the beasts were slaughtered in the kgotla kraal), the men then cooked the meat in the kraal, and the women the accompanying food (samp, rice, salad etc.) in the lolwapa. When the meat is cooked at such a feast, certain ingredients are added to it. On the second occasion, I was informed that their family traditional doctor added earth from the graves of the particular Badimo being thanked, this earth had been mixed with certain traditional medicines and this was added to the pots as they were cooking. Traditional beer is brewed by the women and the same additives are poured into this.

When all the food was ready, everyone around was invited to the lolwapa to share the food and beer. As many people as possible come because at Badimo feasts the food and beer must all be finished on that day, none can be saved or taken away from the lolwapa. Setiloane states the reason for this is: "That the purpose of pha-Badimo (these feasts) is to gather Badimo round one place to feast, round one person (or family) to show their favour. Sharing the beast outside the motse (household) might distract their attention."

Another feature of Badimo feasts is that all the left-overs for example, bones, blood, scraps, dregs of beer etc., have to be collected together. At the feasts I attended they were all scraped

*1 Setiloane (1976) op. cit. page 71.
off the ground into a wheel barrow, into which people scraped their plates. Dogs, who are always present on these occasions, were kicked away, as it is a taboo for them to eat these scraps which are for the Badimo. These scraps were then emptied into a pit at the back of the yard that had been specially dug earlier that morning. Even the washing-up water used to wash the dishes was tipped into this pit, and the wheel barrow was washed out into it. When all the scraps had been put into the pit, it was set on fire. When the fire had gone out, the pit was filled in again, later in the evening. Throughout, the family traditional doctor officiated.

At both of these feasts, all the family came to attend. At that held by the second family even the sons working in South Africa attended, and the married daughters, and the daughter-in-law at college also came.

Perhaps one further Badimo feast that was held should be referred to. This was held in June 1981, I did not personally manage to attend, but it was held for a young man who was wrongfully arrested by the local police and falsely accused of having committed several thefts from local shops. As he was only just returning from a mines contract in South Africa when he was arrested, and the charge was for thefts that had occurred over a period of several months, when he was in South Africa, he was obviously innocent. However, during police interrogation he was badly beaten before they realised that he was innocent.

When he was released, the family traditional doctor, who had been called to find out the cause of this bad luck, found that it was caused by discontented Badimo whom the man had not pleased. The family were then advised to make a Badimo feast. Two weeks later the family made this feast at their Lands as this took place during the ploughing season. It was made in the same manner as is described above.

At this point attention should perhaps again be drawn to the fact that Badimo can have influence over the length of a person's life. This can be seen in the case of a very old sick person who does not die. I observed such a case in 1979. People believed, as did the old lady herself, that her Badimo would not let her die. The old lady wanted to die, all her comrades were dead, and also many of her children had already died of old age. So she asked the guardian of her cattle, one of her sons, to slaughter a cow for her to please her Badimo so that they would let her die, she claimed that she could see them in the spirit world and they were telling her that a cow must be slaughtered for them before she could die. When eventually a beast was slaughtered and the meat had been finished, the old lady then died peacefully.

* Fuller details of this case are included in the preceding section, p.203.
Another example of the power attributed to Badimo has already been referred to in Chapter 5. When a certain traditional doctor wanted to retire from his practice due to ill-health (asthma) in 1974, he had consulted a traditional prophet from a sub-village of Kanye, a certain woman. Amongst other things such as reducing his ditaola set from 8 to 6, she had warned him not to retire, but to continue his work because the Badimo of the people he cured, and he is a very well-known 'powerful' traditional doctor, wished him well and they were helping to keep him alive. That is the Badimo of his patients were showing their gratitude to him for helping their descendants.

Setiloane's third category of Tirelo is Tirelo in the Kgotla. He quotes the example of someone who offends an elder and then suffers bad luck and this bad luck is caused because "Badimo ba mo hularetse" (Badimo have turned their backs on him) and the offender has to provide a beast to be slaughtered in order to bring back the favour of Badimo and drive away the bad luck. This is the causal category called Dikgaba and seems to be related to a similar custom called Bojalwa jwa marogano – beer of insults. This beer must be brewed when a person insults an older person. (It should be emphasized that it is a terrible taboo to insult an older person, and to do so is believed to attract the disfavour of Badimo, resulting in much bad luck and failure.) So, if a person does insult an elder, in order to avoid the resulting bad luck he must brew beer and all the comrades of the person who was insulted are invited to drink it. The beer pleases them, and because they as elders are pleased, the ill-fortune that Badimo would have sent is averted.

The final category of Tirelo is Tirelo of the Morafe (tribe). Setiloane gives seed-cleansing, First Fruits and Rain making as examples of this category. Seed cleansing and First Fruits are now not public ceremonies in Kanye. However Dikgafela is probably in this category (see Chapter 9 and Volume 2). Elements of this are obviously to thank Badimo for the last harvest and to please them so that they may try to ensure that Modimo sends good rains for the new season. As the official religion is Christianity, when the rains fail everyone is called to the Chief's Kgotla for a day of prayer. These prayers are led by Christian priests from the various denominations and are addressed to God and Christ. However, much of the format, for example, that
everyone should be present and the fact that prayers are held at the kgotla not at a church, appears to be similar to those traditional rain making ceremonies described by Setiloane and Schapera.*1

Perhaps one or two further examples of the activity of Badimo can be mentioned, as they illustrate the power of Badimo and also show the effect of Badimo in social control. One of my informants suffered from talking in her sleep. She had been told that the cause of this was Badingwana (little Badimo). She was supposed to be disturbed in her sleep by the Badingwana of one of her sister's dead children, and it was this disturbance which was causing her to talk in her sleep. The cure for this, according to the family traditional doctor, was to hold a Badimo Feast for these Badingwana. As my informant did not believe strongly in this she did not perform the cure - she continued to talk in her sleep!

It can thus be seen from the above example that Badimo and the Tirelo that Badimo demand are very powerful agents/forces for maintaining the status quo, for example, respect for elders, general politeness and generosity, and also for maintaining and conserving long established practices. It should further be emphasized that an individual who pleases his Badimo will be well protected and live a good and prosperous life. The Badimo are thus truly the underpinners of the society, typical of the type of religion often found in traditional African and other similar societies.*2

*1 See Setiloane (1976) page 72-3.
Schapera Rain making Rites of Tswana Tribes (1971).
Even the washing-up water and the cooking pots are emptied into the pit dug at the back of the lolwapa. The wheelbarrow of scraps is also emptied into this pit.

Any scraps and left overs are collected together into this wheelbarrow.

When all the remains have been tipped into this pit, it is burnt under the supervision of the traditional practitioner.
CHAPTER 9:

TRADITIONAL PRACTICES AND BELIEFS ASSOCIATED WITH AGRICULTURE AND THE TRADITIONAL YEAR.

1. Masimo - the Lands
   a) Introductory remarks

Traditionally the timing of all the agricultural activities was controlled by the Chief. Each activity would only be commenced after he had first announced it was the right time, and the activity had been commenced at the Chief's Masotla fields (the fields cultivated by the tribe specially for the Chief). Bathoen I abolished the practice whereby work had to be completed in the Masotla fields before it could be commenced in the family fields. He also abolished the practice of the Chief inaugurating each agricultural activity by a kgotla announcement. However in 1930 this was restored by Bathoen II, for ploughing, reaping and opening the stubble fields to cattle after harvest. To transgress led to the fine of an ox.*1 By the late 1970's and 1980's formal announcement is still made at the kgotla for the beginning of the ploughing season.

The Lands are areas located some miles from the village, the nearest being about 10 miles and the furthest about 50 miles. Therefore families, especially the women, tend to live at their Lands for the ploughing, planting, weeding, harvesting and threshing season.

The agricultural year really starts with the first rains, which usually fall around September, October and November. People then leave their homes in Kanye and go to live at their Lands.

Fields are typically 8 acre plots that have been granted by the Chief (although nowadays it is the Land Board) to the head of the household. Fields are not bought nor can they be sold, the person to whom a field is granted has the right to use the land. Traditionally a field would be ploughed and planted for each wife by her husband, then the wife with the help of the other women and children would cultivate, weed, harvest and thresh. The harvest was then brought back

*1 Schapera *Tribal Innovators* (Chapter on Economic Life).
to Kanye to be stored in granaries in each yard. It was from their fields that a family obtained their main livelihood. Nowadays, for various reasons (e.g. other opportunities such as migrant labour to South Africa, or employment in the ever growing wage economy in Botswana) this is no longer the case. But fields are still very important, and, perhaps due to opportunities for cash crops and the encouragement by central government to local food producers, they are becoming increasingly important.

Perhaps it should also be mentioned that members of the same kgotla i.e. patrilineal kin, were originally granted Lands in the same area.*1 In the main, families still plough near their fellow kgotla members although some have their Lands located in different areas for various reasons. For example some families who feel they have been bewitched by kgotla members often move to other areas, others ask to be granted fresh Lands because their fields are infertile, near hills so are always raided by wild animals such as baboons, or successful farmers ask for extra Lands to plough. There did not appear to be any shortage of ploughing land in the areas I visited.

b) The Agricultural Year

As has already been stated the Agricultural year begins with the first rains when work at the Lands begins. However mention should first be made of Dikgafela.

(i) Dikgafela

This is an annual traditional ceremony (except after a bad harvest) and is usually held in September. After having been discontinued for several years it was revived around 1970 by the present Chief, Seepapitso IV. It is a harvest offering of tribute after a good harvest, but also it contains elements of rainmaking for the coming season. People are not supposed to leave for their Lands until after this ceremony has been held. *2

The idea of Dikgafela was that Badimo are pleased because beer is brewed to be shared freely. As Badimo are pleased they will ensure good rain which will wash away the dirt on the ground from the old year, and also allow people to plough (which will give them food) and give the livestock water and grazing.

*1 All the family's fields are "put" by the family traditional doctor so that they will be protected and the crops may grow well. People from the same kgotla of course use the same traditional doctor - the one appointed to look after that kgotla.

*2 In 1979 this was very inconvenient as Dikgafela was postponed due to the death of the Chief's Rrangwane. It was held about 6 weeks late.
During the ceremony, every married woman from each kgotla must take a basketful of mabele (sorghum) to the Chief's kgotla then after brewing beer, they take a sample to be drunk at the Chief's Kgolga, returning to drink the remainder during the following days, in their own dikgotla.

From the description in Volume 2 it will be seen that Dikgafela is an important custom, and as many of the songs refer to rain, and the Chief as a rainmaker etc., it can be assumed that there is a certain element of rainmaking for the coming agricultural year. The "merry-making" whilst the beer is being drunk creates conditions that please Badimo. Badimo, particularly the Chief's Badimo, are believed to have the power to withhold rain if they are displeased. The use of the moologa branches put onto the top of the baskets of corn is a wish that the last year's corn (mabele) should not run out before the new crop is harvested, and "beating" people with these branches and shouting "pula" is obviously to call the rain.

It should be noted that it is a serious offence not to take part in Dikgafela, to fail to attend or to contribute corn, or not brew the beer. Dikgotla who failed to organize their contributions were fined a bovine beast. After these fines were paid these beasts were immediately slaughtered at the Chief's Kgolga and the meat was eaten by those present.

Traditionally the mabele contributed during Dikgafela was stored in the tribal granaries, and then when families' crops failed they could buy it cheaply to feed their families until their new harvests. So the ceremony is also a functional way of providing against famine.

During my fieldwork three Dikgafela Ceremonies were held in four years. In 1977 it was held and there was a good harvest in 1978. It was held in 1978, but due to the death of the Chief's Rrangwane was postponed until late October. It ended on October 31st, on the last day the first rains came. On November 11th there was heavy rain, but by December it was obviously a year of drought, in fact it was one of the driest years on record. Later in 1979 the government had to organize drought relief. The drought was popularly explained as due to Baloi and their activities, and also to widowed people breaking the taboos (see Chapter 8 - section on death). In 1979 there was therefore no Dikgafela as there had been no harvest in that year. In 1979-80

*2 Such fines were levied during my Fieldwork.
Each sub-kgotla gathers at the main kgotla with baskets of sorghum to take to the Chief's kgotla. Each married woman is expected to provide a basket. N.B. Men sit in the kgotla on their folding kgotla chairs, and the women sit outside on the ground.

The Headman and Elders record the contributions of each sub-kgotla.

Man with moooga branch. People hit each other jestingly with these branches and shout "Pula!" ("Rain!") to bring rain for the new ploughing season. Women also put a branch on top of their baskets of sorghum during this stage, as a wish that the sorghum should be everlasting.
SECOND STAGE OF DIAKAPELA (about 2 weeks later)

A sub-kgotla arriving at the main kgotla with its contribution of beer.

A kgotla arriving at the Chief's kgotla with their beer.

Drinking their beer in a kgotla group at the Chief's kgotla.
there were good rains and a good harvest, so Dikgafela was held in September. However there was some discussion in the Chief's Kgotla that it would not be held, for one reason it was the year Sir Seretse Khama had died and it was thought to be disrespectful to his memory to hold such a festival, also people accused the Chief of using the Dikgafela mabele for himself. The Chief in anger wanted to abolish it, but there were many protests and it eventually started on September 24th. The sub-dikgotla's beer was mainly strained ready for drinking on October 24th, and on that day there was some rain. Where I lived, the beer was brewed from November 1st to November 5th, when its owner came to drink it. It was brewed late due to a family death, and had in the end to be drunk "silently" due to the death of a neighbour. There were good rains in 1980-1 and the harvest, in June, looked promising. The 1981 Dikgafela was therefore held during the last three weeks of October. People remained during most of November in Kanye as the rain failed to start properly. Finally, on 24th November 1981, at a kgotla meeting at the Chief's Kgotla to which all were told to come, it was announced that people should leave to the Lands and no new marriages would be registered until after ploughing had finished. Generally the 1981-82 saw a poor harvest and in 1982-83 there was a serious drought.

Dikgafela is usually celebrated in September and in a normal year often coincides with the Independence celebrations, which are held on September 30th, to commemorate Botswana's independence on September 30th, 1966. This too is made into a tribal occasion. Schools, local groups (e.g. "Lands Choirs") and choirs from the sub-villages do sketches or songs both traditional and choral in front of the Chief at the Chief's Kgotla where people gather for the occasion. Sports events, especially football matches, are held at the various grounds and "feasts" are cooked at primary schools for the primary children, and some richer families may slaughter a beast and hold a feast.

Once Dikgafela and Independence are over it will be announced in all the dikgotla that people are free to go to their Lands.

(ii) First Rains

These usually fall in October and November and people make preparations to go to their Lands. Men may go earlier to the Cattle posts to prepare the oxen that will be used for ploughing at the Lands, and also to prepare the fields at the Lands, for example clearing stumps
from fields, or bushes from new fields. These first rains soften the soil so that the land can be ploughed and the oxen fatten on the new grass.

(iii) Ploughing and planting

When the rains start in earnest the Chief traditionally announced formally in a kgotla meeting that it was time for people to go to the Lands, this was called Letsema. People go in ox wagons, cars, buses or any other transport that they own or hire, or may even go on foot. They take with them food and seed and personal effects. Nowadays most children attend primary school and some are at secondary school so they remain in the village, possibly with an old grandmother. If their family Lands are near enough the children may visit to help at weekends, and certainly do so during the school holidays.

Ploughing involves much hard work. Families who own cattle plough with their oxen. Usually six oxen are used to one plough. A woman or child may lead the two front oxen, and a man drives them and steers the plough from behind. A rich family may be at a tremendous advantage as they can have more than one set of oxen and plough going at a time. Poorer families who have only one or two cattle for ploughing may get together with other people (usually relatives) to make up a ploughing team. In this case they will plough one family's field and then move to the other family's.

Today richer families may even own tractors. Poorer families who do not have any cattle may have their field ploughed for them by a relative. First they help their cattle-owning relative and then after he has ploughed his field he comes to do theirs. Or they have to hire someone to plough for them. In 1980 the fee was P20 per acre to hire a tractor, which often works out cheaper than hiring oxen as, according to Tswana tradition, hired workers must be fed while they are working for you. To plough 8 acres with oxen will take about 2 weeks but a tractor will only take about 1½ days.

After the field has been ploughed the seeds are planted. Some people still use the broadcast method but many now use row planting. A planter is pulled by 2 oxen or a tractor. It takes about 3 days to plant an 8 acre field with oxen. Again it should be noted that families that do not own cattle are at a disadvantage as they have to wait until cattle or tractor owners have planted their own fields. For example
those who own their own draught power may finish planting in November, whereas families who have to hire may not even be ploughed until after Christmas. Not only is this very disadvantageous as early frosts in May could kill crops planted late, but also if the rains are late or early they may miss them. Owners of draught power may plant or re-plant several times if rain comes at the wrong time, but still manage a harvest; for example 1978-9 was a very bad year but some farmers planted up to 7 times and so managed to harvest a little.

Once ploughing has started there are several taboos that are observed, and failure to respect them is treated as a serious offence and may even result in fines of cattle at the kgotla. For example livestock may not be driven through the Lands area from one area to another. If one has to drive them at this time (other than cattle to be used for ploughing/planting etc.) a wreath of a plant called mothanthanwane must be put around the animal's(s) neck or head. Failure to do this is believed to attract hail which will follow the path that the animal(s) took, and it will destroy the crops in the fields, particularly those that are just beginning to germinate. I observed this taboo being practised on two occasions during the 1979-80 season. The first time was when the family I was visiting for Christmas bought a goat from another part of the Lands for the Christmas feast. When the goat was being driven, a wreath of mothanthanwane had to be placed around its neck. Also, during the same season we had to transport a goat from Kanye to the Lands, and, although it was going to be taken on the back of a pick-up, the wreath still had to be placed around its neck.

There is a great fear of hail during the growing season, and various other practices are avoided as they are believed to attract hail. For example bulls may not be killed during the growing season, as this can attract hail and early frosts. During the 1977-8 season there was a very early frost and hail storm in April and it destroyed many people's crops in the area where I was visiting. Many farmers in that area were very angry with a certain man who had recently killed a bull "out of season".

There is a taboo against cutting certain types of wood for the same reason - it attracts hail and frost. In the old days it would be publicly announced at the Chief's Kgolla when these things could again be done. Even if an individual does not really believe these tabooed practices do in fact have any link with frost and hail they
will not deliberately break them, as if there is this destructive weather they can find themselves being fined at the kgotla.

It should be mentioned that many traditional families will have their seeds doctored by their traditional doctor before planting them, this is to make sure that the seeds are not bewitched and also to protect them against destructive weather (see above) and pests when they finally germinate and are maturing. Again, certain mothusa (helper) leaves and plants are used in fields. One such mothusa tree is modubatsipe. A branch of this tree may be put in each corner of the field and perhaps in the middle, this is believed not only to have the power to protect the field against hail and early frost but also against lightning, Boloi and attack from pests (locusts etc.). Another taboo is against destroying swallows' nests, even when they have built inside a house. It is believed that if these are destroyed the rain will be driven away and drought will be caused. Several times I observed these inside people's houses, causing great inconvenience, but because of the taboo they were left.

After the crops have germinated the women weed the fields. Traditionally they used to use hoes and would weed by hand, but nowadays with the introduction of row planting many of the richer people have purchased weeders that can be pulled by two oxen. The agricultural demonstrators recommend that there should ideally be three weedings a year, and although not everyone can do so many, even those who do not actually own a weeder themselves often hire the services of an owner and so manage to do at least one weeding. Using a weeder probably takes about two to three days for some 8 acres instead of a matter of weeks (according to how many women are involved) to hoe by hand.

Daily life at the Lands is much the same as in the village. The homes, however, are much more scattered, as they are usually beside the owner's fields, but they are not isolated from one another. People

*1 I saw this in the 1979-80 season when having a lift in an ox wagon for a short distance to the Lands, a man had several branches of this to put in his fields. Again in 1980 a school child tried to use this on her Agricultural Science plot at school, much to the dismay of the other students. In 1982-3, a woman who always had successful crops, consulted a traditional doctor when her field failed to germinate properly. He found that her jealous neighbour had used mothusa on her own fields and this had adversely affected this woman's.
visit each other frequently. They go together to fetch water (which may be one and a half hours away) and socialise generally. There is the same "social round" of Botsetsi parties, beer drinking (many brew kgadi - a spirit) and for younger people, gumba gumba parties, which are not banned at the Lands as they are in Kanye.

At Christmas and New Year there is a relatively modern social occasion. In various parts of the Lands richer families may have Christmas or New Year celebrations. For weeks beforehand the young people from each area of the Lands will practise songs. These songs are the same type as those at weddings, sung and danced to in a semi-traditional way but with modern people and events being mentioned in the words. Each Christmas choir will have its own "uniform".

As many as can afford the uniform have dresses made with one pattern of dress material bought at one of the stores, or they may even buy similar dresses from a postal order catalogue. These uniforms are kept secret until the day of the singing. Then on Christmas Day at about 3.00 p.m. the choirs from one area of the Lands go to a family's Lands in the neighbouring area; they are challenging the other area. They may go in lorries or on the back of a tractor. The choirs then take it in turns to sing for about 15-30 minutes at a time. Each choir tries to outdo the other in friendly rivalry. They may carry an emblem such as a piece of their dress material on a pole.

The family where Christmas is being held will have decorated their houses and walls (as is done for marriages and Botsetsi parties etc.) A beast may have been slaughtered and rice, salad etc. (the type of food prepared for a feast) is cooked. Traditional beer will have been brewed and the choirs and certain invited people will have food dished for them, and just as at any other feasts other people will be given fat cakes, tea etc. (See descriptions of wedding feasts and Botsetsi etc. in Volume 2).

The singing usually continues until about 8.00 p.m. or even into the night until sunrise. Everyone in the district tries to go to "Christmas" and they will wear their best, or even new, Christmas clothes. This is an occasion when young people may show themselves to their best advantage for the benefit of members of the opposite sex with a view to future relationships, and maybe even marriages.

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*1 In 1977-8 one choir even ordered its dresses from Johannesburg - this was a great talking point that Christmas.
After the singing has finished the visiting choir returns to its Lands area and the return challenge will take place at its Lands either on Boxing Day or at New Year. This is certainly a very festive occasion and there is a great deal of enjoyment\(^1\) and self-advertisement to people one perhaps does not see for the rest of the year.\(^2\) Presumably also this is the type of traditional feast that attracts the Badimo, as described by Setiloane, "Badimo ba rata modumo" (Badimo like noise). They are pleased when kin are gathered for feasting and drinking even if this is not overt. People usually explain it as from the Bible, that Christmas was a time for giving freely, but also it may have a traditional idea such as "pha badimo\(^3\) mixed with the idea of the feast.

(iv) Tasting the first fruits - Molomo

Traditionally as the crops started to ripen no one was supposed to eat anything from their fields until after the Ceremony of the First Fruits. Schapera describes this custom in "A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom".\(^4\) Although the custom is no longer strictly followed with the first tasting by the Chief's family, I did observe that it is probably quite widespread in a number of families. Once the new agricultural season has started and people have begun ploughing, members of families who keep the remnants of this custom do not eat any of the types of foods that are grown in their fields for example, maize cobs, sweet reed, melons pumpkins, beans etc., until they have first tasted them in their families. It is particularly a custom that is observed by women with small children and also by mothers whose sons are working in the mines. It is believed that if they were to eat these new crops before their children they will cause their death; for example, a small child will sicken and die or a miner will be caused to have an accident in the mines. The fact that the mother had broken a taboo, so causing the death of her child, would be discovered by the traditional doctor who would, according to custom, be called to "see" the cause of death.

\(^1\) The day may even be closed with prayer or on one occasion the National Anthem, strangely "God Save the Queen" was sung, not "Lefatshe leno la rona"!!
\(^2\) For example migrant workers are often present on leave from the mines.
\(^3\) "pha badimo" Setiloane op cit. page 70 and see above p. 208-210.
\(^4\) "A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom", Schapera page 57. See also Schapera Married Life in an African Tribe page 156.
The Setswana name for this custom is Molomo (from Golo ma - to
taste.) Ideally the family gather together and an early pumpkin or
melon is taken and cut up, then, starting with the youngest first, boys
before girls, and lastly parents and old people, each person in turn
bites off a little piece, chews it and spits it on to the ground. They
then take a second piece, chew and swallow it in the normal way. Then
the next person does the same and so on through the family. If a
family's crops are later than most and they want to be able to start
eating the new crops, for example, gifts from friends and neighbours
etc., they will "taste the first fruits" with pumpkin or melon leaves in
the same way as described above.

After they have tasted in their family, the members are free
to eat new crops at other people's houses. The crop that was tasted
represents all of the new year's crops, it is not necessary to "taste"
each one. Apparently this "tasting" is considered so important by some
traditional families that if people give their children any crops to eat
for example, pumpkin, even if it has been bought at the shops, that
person could be reported and fined at the Chief's kgotla.

Although I would agree when Schapera writes that: "Today the
public eating of the first fruits has long been abandoned,..." I would
not necessarily agree with the rest of his sentence: "... and the
succeeding domestic rite is also no longer observed except by a few
magicians and other conservative people."*1 I certainly found that a
number of my acquaintances on being offered certain foods for example
honey dew melons from the local fruit shop, would refuse, and on
further enquiry would reveal that they had not yet "tasted" within their
families.

(v) Traditional doctoring of crops and preparations for harvesting

Before continuing with a description of the agricultural year,
perhaps the traditional doctoring of crops should be mentioned in more
detail as it is probably fairly widespread and, even though people may
have turned increasingly to accept the advice of modern agriculture from
the demonstrators, many still in addition doctor their crops in the

*2 Honey dew melons are not grown in Botswana but may be bought in
the shops around January i.e. before the time of the start of
"tasting of the first fruits".
Reference has already been made above to the fact that people doctor their seeds. They ask for traditional medicine from their traditional family doctor and mix it with their seeds before planting them. Use is also made of certain mothusa plants such as modubatsipe (see above). When the crops have germinated the owner will doctor a small part of his field again with the same traditional medicines to encourage good development of plants and then a third time when the grains start to appear, so that large seed heads will form and they will not be adversely affected by "natural" conditions. These medicines and mothusa plants are believed to help the crops germinate and have a big harvest, for example large maize cobs and sorghum heads, and protect them from the destructive pests and birds and adverse weather conditions.

Some people protect their fields from thieves. Fields are not fenced as cattle are not usually kept in the Lands areas. Normally an individual does not enter another's fields unless invited by the owner to do so. Owners who wish to protect their fields from thieves put certain traditional medicines in the fields mixed with the seeds. If someone steals crops from the fields the thief is supposed to become mad, and, instead of stealing small things like the odd maize cob or melon, will grow up to become a bad criminal. Stealing from the fields does not seem to be a big problem, but often adult criminals were explained as having become so after stealing from a certain Mr X's fields when still a child.

Another practice commonly followed is that a passer-by does not greet people working in their fields unless greeted by them first. This is the opposite of the normal practice of the one who is arriving being the first to greet. This is because it is believed that to do so will attract birds to come and eat the developing crops, for example sorghum grains are particularly at risk.

While the crops are growing, and in between weedings, the women will prepare the threshing floor, this is usually made within the compound behind the houses. It is called a seboana. An area of about 10-15 metres square is enclosed with a low mud and cattle-dung brick wall and a floor is made of the same material and sealed with a final layer of cattle dung.

The threshing floor is protected from all people with "hot blood" i.e. widows, women who have lost their children, or suffered miscarriages
etc., by making a cross with sekaname (a sort of wild onion, which is also used by potters to protect their pots from the same group of people, from cracking). Smearing this plant in a cross on the threshing floor not only protects the floor and the crops when they are being threshed, but also the crops as they are developing in the fields. Such people as those mentioned above can, if they walk across the floor, destroy the crops or make the harvest much smaller than expected if the floor is not protected in this way.

(vi) Harvesting and the return to Kanye

The traditional way of planting a field at the Lands is to plant in strips of the different types of crops, the main ones being mabele (sorghum), mmidi (maize), and dinawa (beans of various varieties), pumpkins or watermelons.

Nowadays some cash crops have been introduced, for example sunflower, groundnuts and green Indian beans called lotlhodi. These crops all ripen at different times. The earliest will start to ripen around late February or March, and some people may even start to have watermelons and pumpkins in late January. Setswana beans (dinawa) are the first of the main crops to ripen, maize that is to be eaten fresh is another early crop, and also sweet reed. Around May and June, groundnuts (ditloo) and peanuts (matonkomane) and the green Indian bean (lotlhodi) are harvested. The bulk of the maize crop which is allowed to dry out first is also ready for harvest. Sorghum (the basic) is harvested after the first frosts, usually around late May and June.

Most harvesting is by hand and obviously requires as much manpower as possible. School holidays coincide with the main harvest season and school children come out to the Lands to help. Also any working member of the family who works near enough will try to come at weekends. Harvesting beans is back-breaking work. The dried pods are collected into sacks and then threshed with threshing sticks on the threshing floor and then winnowed in the wind to separate the dried pods. The beans remaining are stored in sacks. Dried cobs are gathered and then allowed to dry out further before threshing off the cobs in specially constructed structures called serala. Sorghum heads are picked off or cut off with a knife and then dried in another flatter type of serala. When maize and sorghum are dry enough they are threshed. Great care is taken not to mix the different crops or different varieties of, for example, sorghum. There are various taboos (apart
from those applying to the tasting of first fruits) attached to different crops. For example, lotlhodi (green Indian beans) may not be eaten until after the beginning of winter, which is signified by the first frost.

Until fairly recently tribal laws forbade the selling of surplus crops to outsiders, today people sell their cash crops and any surplus of the staple ones. In a successful year farmers may make much money from their fields, for example, two rows of sorghum grown according to modern methods of row planting and three weedings will yield one bag (50 kg) of sorghum. As it takes the average family about 4-6 weeks to eat one sack there will therefore be a large surplus, this can either be sold locally or to the Cooperative in Kanye or the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (B.A.M.B.). Therefore ploughing can be a viable way of making money in a good year. For example, in 1980 50 kg sorghum sold for P14, dinawa P20 and lotlhodi P34.

When all the harvesting has been completed, threshing has been finished and the crops are sewn into their sacks, people start to return to Kanye. This will be around late July or August. It is at this time of the year that weddings usually take place, also kgotla meetings, building of new houses etc. So the main social and community life now moves back to the main village. It should be noted however that an increasing number of people are practising winter ploughing as advised by the agricultural demonstrators. A certain number of families, and the number is probably increasing, do tend to spend much of the year at the Lands and even to live there permanently. As agriculture improves, and self-sufficiency in agriculture is increasingly emphasized as a development policy, no doubt an even larger number of people will live permanently at their Lands, thus affecting traditional life, and ceremonies such as Dikgafela that are centred in Kanye.

2. Moraka - The Cattle-post

Growing crops is traditionally the responsibility of the women, the Cattle-post and livestock on the other hand is the traditional domain of the men. Ownership of cattle is traditionally very important as not only do cattle represent the family wealth and draught power but

*1 In fact Bathoen II encouraged this practice from as early as the 1940's. Tribal Innovators, Schapera.
they are used on a variety of family occasions and cement a network of social relationships. Their important role in Bogadi and marriage has already been demonstrated in Chapter 8, their milk is of obvious importance both as fresh milk (mashi a lobese) and the very much liked sour milk (mashi a madila). Slaughtering a cow involves a number of customary gifts of meat to cement relationships with kin and also please Badimo (see Chapter 8). Certain parts of the bones can be important to Dingaka for their ditaola (see Chapter 5). Cattle skins are used for sleeping mats and at death (those from specially slaughtered animals at a funeral were traditionally wrapped around the body for burial). Bulls traditionally were presented to the owner's Malome and also used in Tatolo to "tell" a man's death, before his property was divided (see Chapter 8). Disputes over cattle frequently lead to kgotla cases and Boloi (see Chapter 6). Even today a person with any spare money, for example, money earned in the mines, will still invest it in the purchase of cattle.

Cattle are kept at the family Cattle-posts, which are located outside the village but are entirely separate from the Lands.*1 Traditionally Cattle-posts of paternal kin from the same kgotla are located in the same area. The men of the family supervise the young boys who herd and water the cattle by day and kraal them by night in the family kraal just outside the homesteads. The herd boys milk the cattle when they are in milk, and look after the goats, which are kraaled in a separate kraal adjoining the cattle kraal.

Because of the water problem, particularly during the dry season, groups of cattle owners (or even individual richer farmers) will construct a dam that is used during the dry season. These are constructed in river courses and usually enclosed with a thorn bush fence. Other people may use bore holes, these vary from the well-type, where the water is wound up bucket by bucket, to the modern diesel-pump bore holes. Experiments are being conducted using windmill pumps, and bio-gas (from cattle dung) pumps.

*1 In 1928 Bathoen II enforced this separation by a decree: "Fields in grazing areas must be moved away and Cattle-posts in arable areas must be moved away". This repeated earlier decrees made by Seepapitso I and Bathoen I.
The day at the Cattle-post starts early. The herd boys let the livestock out of their kraals (calves and kids may be left behind in special kraals) whilst the main herds are taken out to be watered and grazed. The herd boys spend the days not only herding the cattle but also hunting small animals with their catapults, at which they are renowned for their prowess. Towards sunset the cattle are returned to the kraal, and milked. Some milk will be drunk fresh, and the rest made into sour milk that can be sent to the relatives in the village or at the Lands. Excess milk and sour milk is often sold, particularly by those who are lucky enough to have Cattle-posts near to the village. This can be a lucrative supplementary income, for example, in 1980 fresh milk sold at 25t a bottle.

Cattle-posts are of course "put" by the kgotla traditional doctor and protected by the family lenaka (medicine horn). Women may stay at the Cattle-posts, for example this is a favoured location for a woman to do her Botsetsi because of the availability of milk, sickly children are often sent to live at the Cattle-posts so that they may drink milk. But there are certain traditional beliefs and practices that are followed regarding women and cattle. Although the women from a family are usually allowed to enter their kraal there is often a taboo against women who are not family members entering a kraal, also women do not enter the kraal when they have maoto a molelo "hot blood" — (menstruating, pregnant, widowed etc.)

A widowed person is always brought out to their Cattle-post as part of the curing rituals (see Chapter 8). If cattle have accidents or miscarriages or the bull does not make the cows pregnant the traditional doctor will be called to see what is wrong with them (see Washing the Bull, Chapter 5). Again a family's cattle is frequently the target for Boloi (see Chapter 6).

Cattle are often used as payment to a traditional doctor for different cases or a certain colour and type of cow may be demanded as part of a cure.

Besides cattle, goats and sheep are kept at the Cattle-posts. Whilst these are not so socially important as cattle, sacrifices, payments etc., may be made with these, for example, a sheep is given to and slaughtered for a mother when she becomes a Motsetsi by the baby's paternal kin; a sheep is also slaughtered during the curing of a widowed person by the husband's family etc.
It is still true to say that possession of a large number of cattle is greatly respected and has not been superceded by large sums in Bank Deposit accounts.

Today, as noted in Chapter 1, cattle breeding is one of the main economic pursuits, cattle products forming an important export. This has not always been the case as there were traditionally laws against selling cattle, particularly against selling breeding stock. These tribal laws had become necessary because by 1890 livestock and hides had replaced ivory and hunting spoils as commodities most bought by European traders. The law controlling the selling of the breeding stock was introduced by Bathoen II in 1939. In 1911 a law had been introduced to try to control stock theft - this law forbade the selling of livestock in the veld, all such sales had to take place in Kanye.

**Cattle dung - Boloko**

This has a special significance. It is not only used as one of the main building materials for traditional houses (walls and floors), malwapa, and for mixing with the different coloured muds for decorations, but also plays a big part in various rituals. For example it must be used by those closely connected with death when entering a house for the first time (See Chapter 8). It is smeared on a wall and house to signify the death of a surviving spouse (see Chapter 8). There appears therefore to be a strong connection between Boloko and purification and/or protection, particularly that connected with death. Cattle dung is not considered dirty like other animal or human faeces, between which a big distinction is made.

Perhaps it should be emphasized that traditionally men were buried in the cattle kraal and the dried cattle dung in the kraal was said to be the blanket of Badimo. The purification of a widow where she is taken to go *kopano le dikgomo* aimed to prevent her dead husband "calling his cattle after him".

**Maitimela Cattle - Lost cattle**

Every year around the end of April to May or June there is a round-up of Maitimela (lost) Cattle. Employees of the tribal administration visit each Cattle-post asking if the owners have found any cattle that are not theirs. (It should be noted that cattle theft is a serious offence).
All the Maitimela Cattle are brought to Kanye during the month and kept at a large kraal by night and taken to water or graze by day by specially employed herdsmen. Then they are displayed up at the Chief's Kgotsa in the cattle kraal and cattle owners from the whole of the tribal district who have lost cattle come ward by ward to look for their beasts among these Maitimela Cattle.

Owners are not allowed to take their found cattle away until they have paid all their taxes. After a month those Maitimela Cattle that are not claimed are taken to a Cattle-post beyond the village, at Kwakwe. Owners now have to pay an additional 10t grazing fee for every extra day before they claim them. The remaining unclaimed cattle are then auctioned. Therefore it can happen that those who do not have cash to pay their taxes and grazing fee lose their cattle. These poorer people are also those who are most likely to have cattle that have gone astray as they are less likely to hire people to look after them and, with the increasing popularity of education, those sons who would traditionally have been herdboys are now attending school, thus cattle of small cattle owners are often left for long periods to fend for themselves and frequently go astray. The auctions of Maitimela Cattle are on the other hand certainly a cheap source of cattle for those with ready money.

It should be noted that as people come from all over the district to "spot" their lost cattle and whilst in Kanye stay with relatives, this is a time when kin separated at other times of the year are re-united.

The kraal where the Maitimela Cattle are kept at night is a very welcome source of boloko at a time of the year when boloko is very scarce in Kanye. As this is usually a dry time of the year, it can be a time for repairing houses and walls for those not at their Lands.
PART 3 ZION RELIGION IN KANYE

CHAPTER 10:

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1) Introductory Remarks

In Part 2 an account of traditional practices and beliefs, with special reference to protection and healing, was presented. It was also noted that in a microcosmic society such as traditional Kanye, what could be classified as religion (which included medical services) was very closely interwoven with everyday life. For example, traditionally incidents such as human sickness, stock death, bad luck, crop failure etc., were often seen as mere symptoms of a deeper underlying cause. Attention was drawn to such causes as dissatisfied Badimo, boloi, dikgaba, meila (see Chapters 4-7). All of these causes, such as has been noted by other research in microcosmic societies, (see Chapter 2) can result because of severed human relationships.

It has frequently been noted that the total requirements of a belief system are not fulfilled by "modern" usually Western-orientated medical services nor by the orthodox Western-orientated version of Christianity. (The orthodox, Western-orientated, Christian Churches are those originally introduced by foreign missionaries.) This not only applies in Botswana but also elsewhere in Africa and other non-industrial societies, especially those experiencing rapid social change. The traditional religions of such societies on the other hand, provided a comprehensive system that enabled the individual members of a microcosmic society to face and understand the incidents they were likely to encounter in their lives.

However, traditional religions, may fail to present adequate systems suited to "modern" Africa where the former isolated microcosmic societies have become increasingly affected by, and absorbed into, the large scale macrocosm. These are the background circumstances in which new religious movements have developed. Exploratory research has tentatively suggested that these may well provide a more suitable

*1 See Chapter 2 page 43-4.
belief system to fulfil the local needs of a belief system and at the same time the needs created by the "new" situation that has resulted through social change.

In Part 3 an account will be given of some Zion churches in Kanye. These churches appear to belong to Turner's fourth category of new religious movements - independent churches - and to the second sub-group - Zion churches.*1 The account will focus on Zion practices and beliefs with particular emphasis on Zion methods of protection and healing. It will be seen that unlike the more "orthodox" Christian churches, and "modern" health services that only provide for a fragment of the Tswana requirements of a religion, the Zion churches provide an almost complete system, including (as does traditional religion) a health service. Like traditional religion for such incidents as mentioned above (e.g. human sickness, stock death etc.), Zion religion is able to provide a comprehensive action system to help the individual to cope with such adverse incidents and also to provide protection for the individual against future adverse conditions and to ensure a "good" life.

2) Foreward on Methodology

The methodology used in collecting the data for this section has already been outlined in Chapter 3, so here only brief mention will be made.

My initial contact with these churches was made when I took up the invitation of a Zionist kgotla neighbour to visit his church. Although his church was not in fact the first I visited (my first visit was to the church of the brother of his Bishop) it was with the churches of this group that I had my main contact and collected the majority of my data.

For the second church I visited, Episcopal, I was taken to a Sunday service by another Zionist kgotla member. She first asked her Bishop, so when I arrived at the Sunday service the congregation was already expecting me. After this service the Bishop then invited me to their 1978 Easter services. He told me a little of the history of his church both in South Africa and in Kanye and how he himself had been first attracted to the movement. Then I was invited to a special Botsetsi service being held by this church, to which several other churches were invited. At this service I was introduced briefly by

*1 See Chapter 2 page 43-4 for Turner's categories.
one of the leaders of Episcopal who explained my interest and the fact that as I did not know Setswana I would be recording the service and also taking photographs. Following this service I was invited to several other churches whose members had been present, which I then visited. At this stage I was invited to churches on most weekends and it was impressed on me that I was welcome at any time. I also attended services during the week but, as I had a full-time and demanding job, I limited these latter visits to the school holidays where possible.

It should be noted that I had by now found suitable permanent accommodation in the village. It had become obvious from the first that it would not work if I lived in the modern house provided for me at the school where I was a teacher. As will be seen in Chapter 15 most Zionists have little or no experience of the formal educational system and showed great hesitation in entering the school compound. Once I was living in a kgotla in a traditional house members often visited me informally to hear the tapes of the services and to see the colour slides. These social visits were very useful for collecting more information from members about why they personally had joined the church. Often after a long all-night or most-of-Sunday Service, when everyone was tired, it was difficult to collect the necessary qualitative information from members about individual case histories.

Living with a Tswana family in the village and going with them to their Lands, being seen participating in everyday tasks (for example fetching water, re-plastering walls, collecting the necessary coloured muds, gardening, etc) meant that over the years people would discuss with me in a natural way their ordinary everyday Tswana problems and how in each case they attempted to cope with them from a Zionist and/or traditionalist viewpoint. In this way, i.e. participant observation, I was able to collect much valuable information.

In an attempt to quantify some of this I developed some interview schedules for guided interviews. One was used to interview church leaders with specific reference to their church, and themselves, another was for church secretaries, and another one for members. The separate one for church secretaries was not found to be very useful, so I used it merely as an additional one, where necessary, to that for members. As already mentioned in Chapter 3, the questions included in the questionnaires aimed to gather comparable information to some of that gathered by West on Zion members in his Soweto study.
Mention has been made of the taping of services. I should perhaps repeat how very useful my interpreter was. Not only did she accompany me to the services but she also translated the tapes. Here I was particularly interested in the format of services, the Biblical references, and the subject matter of the sermons and prayers, any favoured hymns, and of course - the prophecies. As my interpreter was a local resident and usually accompanied me to services she was often able to give me much very valuable background information on individual prophetees, and prophecies that referred to absentees. This again was an invaluable asset.

The data I collected and the analysis I applied, aimed to present fairly descriptive information on the Zionist system of practices and beliefs as compared to the traditional system, with particular reference to protection and healing, both of which appear to be largely ignored by the orthodox Christian churches, and only partially covered by the modern medical services.

3) History of the Zion Church Movement

General Background

The Zion churches, despite their name, are black Christian churches, which although they seem to have grown rapidly in the 1920's and 1930's, have much earlier roots. Sundkler gives a good outline of their very early history, some of which he took down from information he obtained from "first-hand" informants during his study of these churches in Zululand during the years following 1937. He states that the Zion movement can be traced back to an apocalyptic church in the United States, the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion founded in 1896 by John Alexander Dowie, who held the title of "First Apostle and General Overseer". The main teaching of this church was "divine healing", Triune Immersion" and that "the Second Coming of the Lord was near at hand". In 1906 there was a split in this church following an argument between Dowie and his second in command, W.G. Voliva - who believed in a flat earth, amongst other things. This church eventually split into six different American groups.

The overseer of one of these American groups, Daniel Bryant, baptized the first group of 26 Africans on May 8th 1904 in Johannesburg, and P.L. le Roux, a white man, also joined this church, which aimed "to save the African lingering in utter darkness".*1 Whilst still in

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*1 Sundkler Bantu Prophets in South Africa page 48. N.B. Sundkler's informants included le Roux.
its early stages, three missionaries arrived from the U.S.A. in 1908, it was claimed that "Zion taught immersion and divine healing, but not Pentecost". When Le Roux received his Pentecost (or baptism in the Holy Spirit) in 1908, the Africans in the new Zion Churches soon followed suit, and the Pentecost became an additional feature of these Zion Churches.

From 1915 le Roux started to concentrate on conversion of whites while the African Zionists concentrated on converting blacks.

Sundkler states that most of the present day Zion Churches can be traced back to off-shoots from this first church between 1917-20, and he gives the leaders of these five main off-shoots as Paulo Mabilitsa who founded the Christian Apostolic Church in Zion in 1920, Daniel Nkonyane of the Christian Catholic Apostolic Holy Spirit Church in Zion, J.G. Phillipps of the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion, Elias Mahlangu of the Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa and Fred Luthuli whose church was an off-shoot of a Seventh Day Adventist church.

The name Zion comes from an idea originating from Zion City, Lake Michigan, Illinois, U.S.A., but members claimed that it is from Mount Zion in Jerusalem. Again according to Sundkler, by including the name "Zion" in the name of a church, the leader of a Zionist Church "defines it as a New Testament church which in minute detail carries out the religious programme supposed to have been laid down by the central figure of the Zionist's Bible, John the Baptist." *2

In fact very few of my informants were aware of these early beginnings and never mentioned any of the above-named American or African leaders. They all explained to me that Zion Churches became popular in the 1920's and 1930's because life in the locations and mines was very dangerous. For instance in the mines there were many accidents, and off-duty there was little recreation other than drinking, there was much stabbing and fighting. Life in the over-crowded locations was little better.

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*1 Sundkler Bantu Prophets in South Africa page 48.
*2 Sundkler op. cit. page 59.
*3 Locations are the segregated urban areas of South Africa, also known as townships.
Black workers were worried about the conditions and some started Zion Churches, which were totally organized and run by blacks. The Bible is claimed to be the absolute authority but, as will be noticed traditional doctors and Zion prophets seem to perform many of the same functions. Although it would be an over-generalization to say that "traditionalists" use the services of a traditional doctor whereas Zionists use those of a Zion prophet, there is undoubtedly a certain amount of overlap, particularly in the case of the healing of sicknesses (more especially stubborn ones). For example, if a person is sick and does not receive successful help from a traditional doctor he may consult a Zion prophet/healer and subsequently be cured through Zion treatment. Although he may later go on to become a Zionist this is not necessarily the case.

However a Zionist is unlikely to seek the help of a traditional doctor in the case of sickness, as the use of traditional medicines, particularly the "horned" ones ¹ is forbidden by the Zion Church. If a Zionist does use these he may later decide to leave the Church, finding that the power of the traditional doctor is stronger. But Zionists take part in certain traditional ceremonial occasions in their role as members of dikgotla, for example, when they build a new lolwapa:.

It should be mentioned that in many ways the "ritual" and behaviour of a Zion prophet is probably influenced by that of traditional doctors. This will be seen in more detail below in the descriptions of the various services and "curfes'n", which may be compared with those of the traditional doctor, and the other traditional practices described in Part 2.

Many of the Zion Churches are quite small and may only have one congregation of 20-50 people, whereas others may have several branches in South Africa and the surrounding countries and may total several hundred or even thousands of members. Although they may be independent of one another, there are certain basic similarities. West ² refers to seven fairly distinctive features of Zion Churches which distinguish them from other types of the so-called mission churches ³ and the other

¹ Those stored in a lenaka (horn) usually the so-called black medicines.
² West, Martin Bishops and Prophets in a Black City page 19.
³ Mission Churches; here is meant those churches originally introduced by foreign missionaries and still today often falling under their control.
independent churches. His seven features are as follows:

1. Faith Healing.
2. Presence of prophets.
3. Use of drums.
4. Dancing and spirit possession during services.
5. Insistence on River Baptism.
6. Holy Communion services at night only.
7. Wearing of special uniforms.

Background to Zion Churches in Botswana

The Zion Churches were introduced into Botswana by returning migrant workers, particularly those who worked in the mines. They had joined a Zion Church whilst working in South Africa and so when they came home to Botswana they would either start a branch of their South African parent church or may even start their own church in Botswana.

At first these Zion Churches were outlawed in Botswana. In Kanye neighbours would report Zionists to the Chief. They were disliked by mission church members, who believed them to be more heathen than Christian, and by traditionalists, who feared that their Zion protections were causing problems in the kgotla (e.g. the Zionists use of Zion Holy Water to protect their houses, families and property, rather than traditional medicines, was believed to attract lightning and misfortune to the whole kgotla.

At one time Zionists were even banished from Kanye in much the same way as Baloi had been exiled. There is, for instance, a village called Metlobo on the edge of the Southern (Bangwaketse) District, that was originally started by Zionists who had been banished. Other Zionists decided to move to sub-villages because of the persecution in Kanye. In the sub-villages they were freer to practise their religion unmolested and undisturbed, for example, in Lotlhakane, there is an area composed of Zionists.

*1 Independent Churches are churches which were usually started by blacks and are led and run by them.
*2 Lotlhakane is a sub-village of Kanye, its name means "you are mixed", because it is a mixture of peoples; some being refugees from the nineteenth century wars and are descended from those who were left behind when the Matebele armies moved north; others are Bakgalagadi; others moved from Kanye to escape Baloi who were troubling them in Kanye; and others moved there because they wanted more space. etc.
Since independence persecution has stopped. People are now free to practise Zionism and in the same way as traditional doctors are able to register at the Ministry of Home Affairs so also may Zion Churches. Registration is what each church strives to achieve. In Kanye there are many different Zion Churches, some are branches of churches in South Africa while others may be branches of churches which have started in Botswana, others have only one church, in Kanye. Some, whilst being independent, join together into associations for joint services and activities, as will be described in more detail later. Although all the Zion churches have most of the seven features outlined by West, it is perhaps convenient to distinguish three basic types:-
1. Zion Christian Church (Z.C.C.)
2. Zion Churches that do not use drums or have very much dancing.
3. Those Zion Churches that do use drums and do dance. These may be further sub-divided into:-
   a) Those that believe in sacrifice.
   b) Those that do not believe in sacrifice.

3.a) and 3.b) are classified together because, although they do not agree over belief about sacrifice, they often join together for certain special services, whereas they do not join with category 1, and 2. for joint services.

All these Churches with regard to their form and content can be classified in Turner's fourth category - independent churches - and in the second sub-division - Zion Churches. With regard to their social structure most fall into the Religious Society category, although the Z.C.C. is perhaps closer to the Total Community category. B.U.C.Z. in some ways exhibits the characteristics of an Ancillary Cult with regard to its relationship to Kanana. *1

In Chapters 11 and 12 fuller details will be given of Types 1 and 2 respectively. Then in Chapters 13 - 15 will follow fuller details of Type 3.

The rich ethnographic detail that was collected during my fieldwork, although not all strictly relevant to my thesis, appears unrecorded elsewhere. This is particularly with regard to the services. Therefore in Part 3 brief descriptions will be included with fuller details following in Volume 2, to which references will be made.

*1 Turner's categories are outlined in Chapter 2, p.43-4.
CHAPTER 11:

1. ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH (Z.C.C.)

This is the biggest of the Zion Churches and is believed by other leaders whom I interviewed to be the forerunner. Its early history is fairly typical. During 1910-15 Engenas Lekgonyane, a Northern Mosotho believed he was sent by God to discover Zion. As has already been mentioned in Chapter 10 most of the Zion Churches can be traced back to this period, which was a time of general social upheaval in South Africa due to population displacements following the Boer War. There were also various Apocalyptic interpretations inspired by Haley's Comet, which was seen over South Africa in 1910.

Lekgonyane was led in his wanderings to a valley in North Eastern Transvaal about 30 Km from Petersburg, the Byrne Valley. There he found a Holy Stone which was his confirmation that he had reached the end of his wanderings in the wilderness. Here he also found a Holy Mountain which he called Moria after Temple Mountain in Jerusalem, and for the remainder of his life he received visions from God. A town developed around the area, called after Moria the Holy Mountain. The total membership of the Z.C.C. is reputed to be about 200,000 members and local congregations try to make pilgrimages two or three times a year to Moria, which is considered a holy place.

In fact there are two types of Z.C.C. churches: those that wear a silver badge in the shape of a star, and those that wear a badge in the shape of a bird. Both badges are attached to black ribbon.

The "bird" church was formally founded in 1924 by Bishop Engenas Lekgonyane. The other church - the "star" church - was started by his son Bishop Edward Lekgonyane in 1945, following a disagreement that led to secession. Bishop Engenas died in 1948 but the church has remained divided.

However both churches are similar. In both the men wear khaki military-style uniforms and caps. These are to show they are soldiers of Christ. On their feet they wear outsized (often greatly out-sized) white leather hunter boots with enormous car tyre solves. They jump and stamp during hymn singing to make a sound like the beating of a drum during dancing at services.

The women wear their ordinary clothes, but always cover their hair at services and do not wear jewelry. They may also wrap around
their ankles, up to the knees, seed pods strung together into dance rattles. These make a beautiful rhythmic sound during dancing which accompanies hymn singing.

The Z.C.C. is probably the largest independent church in Botswana, with branches throughout the country. The home of the Lekgonyanes at Moria is believed to be a Holy Place and the Lekgonyanes are believed to be intermediaries with God, rather like Badimo. Pilgrimages are made by congregations to Moria, especially at Easter and during the Botswana Independence holiday, and miracles are believed to happen there; cures, punishments etc.

Many of the articles used in the ritual at services are brought from Moria or have been specially prayed for there. For example little pieces of green paper with purple stripes that are burnt and dropped into water as part of the ritual to render it Holy, are from Moria, as are the special little cloths (rather like yellow dusters) that are used when making Holy Water or whilst praying on people. A short pole about six inches long, that is used by Prayers (Barapedi) whilst praying, is also obtained from Moria. At one Z.C.C. branch I saw a whip, like an ox whip, that was cracked to drive away lightning during a terrible thunder storm, and later held by the Moruti in the centre during much of the service, this whip had been presented to that Moruti by the founder of the Z.C.C. church and so was obviously much revered. Uniforms, badges and dance rattles may be prayed for at Moria.

The Z.C.C. services.

Services are held during the day every Sunday and on two or three evenings a week. In Lobatse there is a Z.C.C. church building, but in Kanye and Lotlhakane, where I attended services, the regular services were held in a home or under a tree. The congregation stand in a circle with the men at one end and the women at the other. This is so that the women are not trampled on by the big boots (so it was explained to me). If people dropped out or joined in, the circle formation was kept by dikhosa. The services always start with hymn singing, hymns being led by members from the church choir. Then after everyone is there all kneel down to confess sins and pray simultaneously. Then everyone gets up and hymn singing continues. The women dance, shaking their dance rattles, into the centre of the circle on their side and

*1 Dikhosa - (lit) door keepers (see later.)
the men jump hard with their boots. These actions together with the singing make a most beautiful sound, especially in the otherwise silent night air of the Cattle-post or Lands. Everyone must then be purified. This purification can reveal Baloi. The water is put into a bucket or can in the middle of the circle and then prayed for by waving the Holy cloth over it and dropping in pieces of burning Holy Paper and tapping the container with a Holy stick. Then everyone is sprinkled, in turn, first on the face and front of the body. Then everyone turns around and their backs and soles of the feet are treated. Last of all, the water is sprinkled on the palms of their hands and then they each drink a little.

In this church no drums or other musical instruments are used. At times men may come into the centre of the circle and do individual dances. For example, at one service one man came into the centre and walked on his hands, others may somersault etc.

Individuals get possessed with the spirit of prophecy, and then an interpreter will call out of the circle the person they want to prophesize, and they will be given their prophecy in secret. At the end of the service the women leave the circle but the men often continue to sing and dance alone.

The method of dancing is very similar to some traditional dancing of the type that is danced in a circle, and from time to time individuals come into the centre to perform "specialities".

Besides the regular church services there are certain special services held at an individual's home. These may be held at a particular family's home after a Botsetsi, wedding, or for special prayers, or even a sacrifice may be held for troubled homes. I attended two such special services held by Z.C.C., one was a Badimo and the other was for a wedding. In addition I attended part of a Christian wedding held for an elderly couple formerly married by a Setswana wedding.

The Badimo Service*1

This service was held by a family who were not themselves Z.C.C. it was being held for their grandfather, who had died 12 years before and it was he who had been a member. He had told them that every year on the anniversary of his death they were to kill a fat ox for him as a

*1 For a fuller explanation of Badimo see Chapter 8, p. 205-12.
sacrifice to the Badimo to please them so that they would remain and even become more prosperous. This service was held at the family's Cattle-post.

When I arrived the ox had already been slaughtered. But first Holy Water had been sprinkled on it and its throat was cut. Then it was cooked in the usual way in a big pot. There was a very bad thunderstorm when we arrived during the afternoon, so we all took shelter in the house. Then one of the Baruti*1 took the Holy whip (see above) and cracked it around the yard, reciting a special prayer to drive away the lightning. He then took water from a bucket of Holy Water and sprinkled the fence posts and entrances, inside the houses, and all the people therein with this water.*2 This was to protect us and the Cattle-post from the lightning. All the time he was reciting a special prayer. Then he took pieces of Holy paper (see above) from his Bible in his breast pocket. He set these alight and then dropped them around the house and the yard, again all the time reciting the prayer.*2

During this thunderstorm one Moruti had a prophecy that one of that family was to be struck by lightning. When we returned to Kanye the next day it was found that one of the married daughters' houses had been struck and totally destroyed. She and her husband were not Z.C.C. members themselves, but when they later consulted a traditional doctor they were told that the land where they had built was bewitched and he advised them to move away from the kgotla completely and build in a different area. They did this. From this example it can be seen that Baruti and traditional doctors are working in the "same area of concern".

Later in the evening we returned to this home for the service. On arrival, before entering the yard, we had to be purified with Holy Water. First the Moruti sprinkled it on each of our faces and fronts, then on each of our backs. Then we each had to cup our hands to be washed and afterwards each had to drink some. Only then were we allowed to enter the yard, where we waited the arrival of the rest of the congregation.

*1 Church leaders
*2 There are obvious parallels here between the method of this Moruti who sprinkled the entrances, and the traditional doctor cleansing a bewitched yard when the same areas will be doctored. Similarly whilst the Moruti was reciting his prayer it was comparable to when a traditional doctor recites his incantations, people continued with their social conversations, they did not reverently remain silent.
They did not arrive until after midnight and then the service started.\(^1\) It was held outside the entrance to the enclosure, the men standing to one side of the circle and the women at the other. After a few hymns we all knelt down to pray and then singing and dancing continued (as has been described above). This was interspersed with privately given prophecies throughout the night in the customary way. One one side of the circle there was a big fire on which there were two enormous 3-legged pots, in one was black coffee and in the other black tea.\(^2\) By morning both had been completely finished.

Then after sunrise, about 7.00-8.00 a.m., the family were called into the centre of the circle. Various Z.C.C. members stood in front of and behind them. Then the Moruti in charge of the service announced what the service was for, i.e. praying to God and Badimo. Each member of the family, in turn, was then purified with the Holy Water, in the same way as the rest of the congregation had been the night before. Even the small babies, amidst much screaming, were washed and made to drink some of the Holy Water. Next, each of the family was "dusted" with a Holy Cloth. Finally a small Holy Pole (about 3" long) was moved over each family member. The last two actions were carried out by the two leading Baruti.\(^1\)

After this was finished we had one more hymn and then we, women, were dismissed. However the men reassembled in a semi-circle and continued with an all-male hymn singing and dancing session. The prophecy pole and the whip were put in the centre of this semi-circle. Then the Moruti came to the middle and they danced and sang as described above in a very traditional formation. Every now and then one of the men would give a great stamp with his big boots.

In the meantime the ladies were fed with tea and breads. The men did not stop until about 9.30 a.m. - it should be noted that they had been dancing hard since midnight!

Then we (my companions and I) went to rest at a neighbour's Cattle-post. When we returned at about 1.30 p.m. the Z.C.C. members had mostly been fed with the Badimo meat and some samp with a spicy gravy.

\(^*1\) A full description of this service appears in Volume 2, page 38-40. but it should be noted that in these churches the Badimo are still given a similar position as in traditional religion.

\(^*2\) There is one brand of coffee that is available in South Africa, on the wrapping of which is a picture representing Lekgonyane and Moria.
Other people who were not Z.C.C. members and had not attended the service arrived and were fed. Then traditional beer was brought out (N.B. Zionists do not drink alcohol). Non-members drank this special Badimo beer.

Unlike at a traditional Badimo feast*1 where no food leaves the yard, and all scraps are collected, at this Z.C.C. feast many people including ourselves (my interpreter was a relative) were given parcels of raw meat to take to absent relatives. Also dogs were allowed to help themselves to scraps and bones etc. Apparently the scraps had been specially treated by Z.C.C. Baruti to allow this.

The Lotlhakane Moruti explained to me that they do not have Setlhabelo like other Zionist churches, but when they slaughter a beast they invite all Z.C.C. congregations in the district to attend the service at the house. This pleases Badimo, who can then mediate between God and Man. This is obviously reflecting a traditional attitude to Badimo and slaughtering. At these services, because God is pleased, the Prophets are given Spirit to "see" problems. Fuller details of this service can be found in Volume 2, p. 38-40.

The Z.C.C. Wedding Service.

The wedding I attended had started with a church service at the Z.C.C. Church in Lobatse, then had continued for another 2 days at the bride's home in Mmathethe.*2 The final part was held at the groom's home in Lotlhakane.*2 (This was the part I attended and it lasted two days). The parts of the wedding service which are the same as a Sekgoa wedding will not be described in great detail. When I arrived at about 2.30 p.m. on the Saturday afternoon, the groom and his choir were leaving in procession to meet "half-way" the bride and her procession. For this stage they were dressed in bridal clothes as for a Sekgoa wedding, except that many of the Z.C.C. men attendants were wearing special Z.C.C. black blazers trimmed with green braid and with large Z.C.C. badges on the breast pockets. The two choirs were singing the usual wedding songs. After the two processions had met the combined choirs brought the bride and groom back to the groom's home, where the couple, bridesmaids and attendants were led to an enclosure at the back of the yard. The old women ululated to greet the bride.

*2 Mmathethe and Lotlhakane are both sub-villages of Kanye. Lotlhakane, which means "you are mixed", has an area where only Z.C.C. live. It was in this area where the bridegroom's family lived.
Then there was a short service led by the Moruti. The speeches and prayers of this are interesting as they are comparable to the words a traditional doctor is reputed to use whilst doctoring a couple - i.e. cursing those who might part the couple. Here it is not Badimo who will punish such people, but God.\(^1\) After this the bride and groom were taken inside a house to eat. Outside the entrance of the yard the two choirs started singing, alternating in the usual way, and after eating the bridal party were escorted outside to see the choirs. For their first appearance they wore their wedding clothes (white dress and veil etc.) then changed into their "change" clothes. The choir singing continued until about 8.30 p.m., by which time both choirs had been fed, then the bridal party left with the bride.

At about 10 p.m. the Z.C.C. service started with hymn singing. This was held inside the yard by the entrance. The Dikhosa placed us all shoulder to shoulder with the men nearest the entrance. The Moruti in charge announced the arrangements. A large 10 litre tin of water was placed in the centre of the circle and the Moruti made it Holy (see p:240). Everyone then knelt and prayed aloud their own prayer. Then we were all purified (see p:240). The hymns became more spirited and the dancing started.

Other congregations started to arrive. As they arrived each entered the middle of the circle following their leader, the women in the middle and the men at the back. They danced around and then their Moruti announced the name of the congregation and they joined the outer circle. One leader announced that immediately he arrived he could see a skull (i.e. buried boloi). In all six congregations arrived.

The service continued during the night, from time to time prophets received prophecies and those to whom they referred were called out to be given the prophecy in secret. Other prophets "saw" boloi and tried to dig it out. Non-members had also come with their private problems, including one father with a sick child that unfortunately died during the night before its sickness could be brought to the attention of the Baruti.

Baloi were also apprehended. For example my companions and I were given permission to sleep for a few hours. The house where we lay was used at times to give prophecies in secret. Just before dawn I was awoken by a terrible clattering noise. Apparently a non-member woman was

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\(^1\) These words are given more fully in Volume 2, page 40-4.
being accused of boloi. As the prophets touched her with their poles, her tins of boloi secreted about her person, fell to the floor! Those of us who were sleeping in the house seemed to be then liberally sprinkled with protective Holy Water.

Prophets found the home to be badly bewitched. At one point during the night, one female prophet was feverishly digging by the entrance to find buried boloi. When I arose at dawn, another man was digging within the dance circle where he eventually found in a hole about two feet deep, boloi items.

Just about sunrise the bride and some women and girls were put in a line in the centre. In another line the groom with men and boys was placed. The Moruti of the Lobatse main branch then announced the purpose of this service and then those in the centre were each washed and prayed on with the Holy duster and stick (see above).

These two groups next joined together into one inner circle and one of the Baruti took a piece of Holy Paper and burnt it in the centre of this circle, holding it up as it burnt for all to see. The bride and groom, now dressed in "ordinary" smart clothes, were taken into one of the houses. All the women were dismissed from the circle and the men and boys continued singing and dancing on their own.

While the men continued, more boloi was dug up, at the threshold and entrance of the lolwapa of the house where we had slept, a male prophet dug with his hands and a metal prophesy stick. All items - pieces of wood, bits of skull and the porridge (i.e. dibeela) were carried away for later public display before they were rendered harmless and destroyed.

Whilst this all-male service continued one of the women's choirs held a practice. Another small group of men and boys who wore Scottish kilts instead of uniform trousers, and had seed bead dance rattles around their legs, danced in a separate circle. They carried various prophecy sticks for example, one had a small wooden axe with a silver-painted blade. The bridegroom was among them. They danced in a circle but from time to time one of them would go to the centre to perform a "Speciality". It was later explained to me by one of my informants, himself a member of this group, that these uniforms are called MaScotch. When they wear them they are given special power to "see" the position of Boloi. Apparently this costume was adopted just after World War II when it had been noticed that Scottish soldiers were particularly brave.
Nowadays they buy these kilts from soldiers and then they are purified at Moria.*1

In the meantime, we ladies, were served with light refreshments of tea and fatcakes. Then at about 10 p.m. the men led off in procession to the Chief's kgotla. The men marched in two lines with those wearing kilts at the back linking the two, the Baruti led. Next followed two female choirs, one wearing bright turquoise dresses with silver Z.C.C. buttons and green woolen hats with matching dark green ties. The second wore dark green skirts, bright yellow tops and matching green head scarves. Behind the rest of the women followed.

On the way we stopped several times for the men to do some special singing and dancing. Eventually at about 11.00 a.m. we arrived at the kgotla where the Chief and Elders were already seated on their kgotla chairs. A service followed and money that had been collected from the congregation was presented to the Chief. The idea of this gift was to please the Chief because by pleasing him Badimo would in turn be pleased and they would mediate for good rain. In addition the Chief would also pray to his Badimo for rain. The idea behind going to the kgotla was to formally introduce the visiting congregations to the Chief—a traditional courtesy.

At about 1.00 p.m. we returned from the kgotla and the visitors were given wedding food. During the afternoon the boloi items were displayed.

Z.C.C. Sekgoa. Wedding for old people in lieu of Lomipi

This was held in the main kgotla where I lived in October 1981 (the usual period of weddings). It was held for a Z.C.C. couple who had been married several years previously (they were now in their 50's) by a Setswana wedding, and it was in lieu of a lomipi service as they are church members. They wished to 'complete' their own wedding so that one of their sons could have his wish for a Sekgoa wedding.

This wedding started at the Z.C.C. Church in Lobatse, where the bride wore a white dress and large white picture hat. The first part, which I did not attend, was held at her home in Kanye. Then on the

*1 In the old days warriors were always doctored by tribal traditional doctors to protect them (part 2, Chapter 4). Maybe it was believed that the unusual clothes—the kilts—gave the Scottish soldiers particular power and protection.
Saturday it came to her husband's home. As will be seen, this part is exactly the same as the Sekgoa wedding described in Volume 2. At about 1.30 p.m. the husband was taken half way to the edge of our kgotla to meet his wife. She was being brought in procession from her kgotla. They both wore the usual Sekgoa wedding clothes, he in a suit and she in her white dress and white picture hat. Both wore white gloves and were sheltered from the sun by umbrellas.

When they returned to his kgotla, the whole way the processions - from both his home and hers - were singing the traditional wedding songs. The procession went first to the Headman's yard to "show the 'new' bride" to the senior lady of the kgotla - the Headman's mother. As it was a Z.C.C. wedding there were Z.C.C. Baruti as they entered the main kgotla, one on each side, and as the people passed in front they raised their hands to the Baruti.

After dancing around in the Headman's lolwapa, they then moved to the husband's home (which was opposite). Here during the preparations for the wedding the grass had been cut in front of the yard, and a new Tswana house had been built, as well as a pole and tarpaulin construction for the bridal couple to sit under. The wedding continued in the usual way, the couple changing into "change" clothes during the course of the afternoon.

During the night a Z.C.C. service was held at this home. The format was exactly the same as the one held at Lotlhakane (see pages 242-246 & Vol 2, 40-51). Throughout Saturday and Sunday beer was brought in the usual way - in a line of women carrying white buckets of beer, led by the men of their kgotla. As they arrived at the kgotla they would start singing traditional wedding songs as usual. Then there would be ululations from the women of the wedding home.

The all-night service was held by the Kanye congregation. They arrived at about 12.30 midnight, singing hymns as they walked, sang and prayed throughout the night, and then on Sunday morning went to baptism. Then they returned to the wedding home to continue the service, which finally finished at about 5.30 p.m. on Sunday afternoon.

It will be seen from the descriptions of these three services that there are many similarities between Z.C.C. practices (rituals) and those previously described in Part 2: For example Z.C.C. greatly respect Badimo. Prophets frequently, although stating
that their prophecies are from God, also say that they receive them from their Badimo. The Lekgonyanes and their Badimo are revered rather like the Badimo of the traditional Chiefs. Chiefs are also greatly respected, as was seen at the wedding in Lotlhakane when all the congregations which were visiting to celebrate the wedding went to greet the Chief. In the wedding for the old people the "new bride" was taken to the Headman's home to be formally "shown" to the senior lady. At Lotlhakane a collection was even made for the Chief and special dances and songs were performed for him.

Again there is a strong belief in boloi and the purification at the beginning of the service is to protect against baloi and boloi. In the same way that a traditional doctor washes all the family, so with the Z.C.C. practice where all the family will be called into the centre of the circle. Just as a traditional doctor may wear special beads to discover boloi and the position of buried boloi or to protect himself against its harmful effects, so also do Z.C.C. (as is seen in Volume 2) when some wore the Scottish costumes and carried little wooden axes and poles so that they would be able to "see" the boloi and be protected.

Pilgrimages to Moria

Reference has already been made to the Z.C.C. Holy Place, Moria. As noted at the beginning of this Chapter, this is the place at which the founder eventually settled, believing he had been led there by God.

Z.C.C. congregations try to go to Moria two or three times a year. The most popular times for congregations from Botswana to go are Easter and Independence (September 30th). Buses are hired for the journey, the Southern congregations starting in Lobatse. In 1979 the return fare was P10. There is often some rule given out in advance based on a prophetic warning. For example in 1979 word came from Moria that no one was to eat meat on the journey, only after they had arrived.

On arrival at Moria, all the buses bringing the pilgrims had been searched by the special Moria Z.C.C. police who guard Lekgonyane. One man from the North of Botswana had smuggled meat in the roof of his bus and apparently a gun and a knife were hidden inside it. It was not found by the police and when he entered Moria he was directed to the car park. Suddenly his brakes had failed and he had knocked down six people (2 of whom were killed), before he smashed into another bus. He
was arrested and imprisoned in South Africa. Apparently the weapons he had concealed in the meat were to assassinate Lekgonyane. Lekgonyane had been warned of this by his Badimo and that is why the rule had been made. The accident was caused to the assassin because of Lekgonyane's ancestral protection.

In 1971 there had been a similar case. That year loaves of bread had been forbidden, only buns and sliced bread were allowed. Apparently the person who had disobeyed this and brought a loaf had had a gun hidden in the loaf.

At the entrance to Moria there is a large green cord, under which everyone must pass, and anyone intending harm to Lekgonyane after passing under this rope will have the "harm" reflected back upon himself.

It is at Moria during these pilgrimages that the special uniforms, Holy papers, poles, prophesy sticks, "dusters" etc. are prayed for. From non-Z.C.C. members I was often told that there were rumours that a person is sacrificed on these occasions to make the Z.C.C. Holy protections.

**Concluding Remarks**

The Z.C.C. seems to include 6 of West's 7 features of Zion Churches. The Z.C.C. does not use drums. The Z.C.C. firmly belongs in Turner's 4th category of independent churches as use is made of the whole Bible and, as is shown by the sermons quoted in Volume 2, Christ is important. The Z.C.C. can further be classified in the 2nd sub-group of this category as an important emphasis is obviously laid on healing and prophecy.

With regard to its social structure, the Z.C.C. was at first a Prophet Movement at the early stage when an initial congregation gathered around the founder at Moria. Today the Z.C.C. has really developed from a Prophet Movement and exhibits many of the characteristics of a Total Community, for example Moria is a Central Headquarters and provides a great range of activities providing for many of the needs of its members. Branches try to gather at Moria for the major festivals such as Easter and Independence.

*1 See Chapter 2, p. 43-5).
The men singing and dancing at the end of an all-night service. The women have already been dismissed. The Moruti is in the centre and is holding a prophecy stick. As the men jump to the rhythm of the hymns, they stamp and their boots make a sound like a drum. N.B. the Z.C.C. khaki, military-style uniforms that signify they are soldiers of Christ.

The special uniforms worn by the prophets whilst trying to locate boloi. This uniform is called "MaScotch", and was adopted after seeing the bravery of the Scottish soldiers.
A prophet digging out boloi after "seeing" its location in his prophecy from Moya (Spirit). Some of the things he has already dug up can be seen in the foreground. They consisted of various twigs and bones (dibeela) buried by baloi. The rest of the congregation is singing hymns to increase his powers. N.B. his boots, these are the special Z.C.C. oversize boots.
CHAPTER 12:

ZION CHURCHES THAT DO NOT USE DRUMS OR HAVE MUCH DANCING

I did not have much experience of this type, but in many ways they are similar to the third type apart from the fact that they do not use drums nor is there much dancing during services. Below will be described a visit I made to one of these churches and it will be seen that there is much that is similar to the third type.

St. John Zion Church

In early April 1978 I visited a regular Sunday service of this church. The service took place in a tin-roofed house in our kgotla. The leader of the church, the Bishop of the Kanye branch, was the local Secondary School Bursar. He had worked for several years in South Africa, where he had joined the church. Another important leading Moruti was the brother of the Bishop of Kanana Church (a church that belongs to the third category). In fact this same man had started the latter church in Kanye before joining this church.

We arrived at the service at about 11.30 a.m. About four women and a sick toddler were already present, also two men. The women were all wearing their Church uniforms (blue skirts and white blouses and head scarves). The men's uniform was short or knee-length white jackets over trousers. Both men and women wore white and blue sashes. Some of the men also wore pale yellow lace rosettes.

Benches had been placed in rows, and the table was to one end of the small oblong building. On the table was a metal candelabra, holding 7 white candles.

The Bishop and his wife arrived late after more members had arrived. As people came in they knelt in front of the table and said a prayer, and when the Bishop and his wife entered the congregation bowed their heads as they passed by. Another leading Moruti (the one mentioned above who in fact had invited me to the church) and the Bishop
and his wife all sat behind the table. However, before they arrived another leading male member wearing a uniform and a yellow rosette had led hymn singing, and we had all knelt down, facing the outer walls, to pray aloud our own prayers. After the arrival of the Bishop and his party, who were the last to come, there was hymn singing, prayers and Bible readings. On this particular Sunday it was a special service to collect money for candles. People made presentations of 25t, 50t and even Pl, which they placed on the table with the candles. In between each person doing this we would have a hymn and then another person would present money and speak.

Eventually the Bishop lit a green candle and joss sticks. Then followed a Bible reading about how God is pleased by people burning things. It was revealed that during this service the Bishop's wife would burn, on a sacrificial fire, a loaf of bread and milk powder, as a sacrifice. All this she had been told to do in a dream. The Bishop and his wife then went outside to make the sacrifice where a fire had already been prepared, while the rest of us continued the service inside.

When they returned the table and the benches were moved back to the edges of the room. We started singing a livelier hymn. Water which had been previously blessed was brought out from under the table and the Bishop washed his hands with some of this water. Then the other leading Moruti sprinkled it around the room. The Bishop's wife knelt down on the floor and the Bishop and the other leading Moruti joined hands and danced around her twice in each direction. The rest of us meanwhile sang hymns and clapped the rhythm. The Bishop then took his prophecy stick and put it on her head, he also said a prayer asking for her sins to be forgiven. She got up and the same was done to each of us kneeling down in groups of 2 or 3, the church leaders being first. The woman and the sick child were also treated in this way. First water was sprinkled on an individual by the leading Moruti, then he, the Bishop and his wife danced around the small group who were kneeling. Then the Bishop prayed on an individual with his prophecy stick, the leading Moruti used his hands, another Moruti who assisted, used a wooden stick and finally the Bishop's wife used her sash.

After this had been done to everybody, the Bishop washed his hands again. This presumably was to cleanse them after touching sinners. Then we all drank Holy Water given to us in very small tankards by one of the important women who had been standing close to the table. After
drinking, we all passed under the arms of the Bishop, his wife and the leading Moruti who again touched us with their sticks etc. When we had all drunk, the Bishop drank the remainder of the water.

The altar and the benches were restored to their original positions and we sang one or two more hymns, between the verses of these we all knelt down to pray our own prayers aloud. Then everyone made 5t and 1t contributions, if anyone had no contribution other people would give them money to take up and contribute (e.g. ourselves who were given 5t each by the Bishop's wife.) A few more hymns followed and we dismissed at about 4.00 p.m.

During the service it should be noted that anyone seemed to be allowed to start a hymn. Only at one part of the service was there anything approaching spirit possession, when the leading Moruti suddenly started doing a possessed sort of dancing following the drinking of the Holy Water. During this service no one fell on the floor or showed any of the signs of possession as will be described in the churches of the third category in Chapter 13.

Perhaps at this point it should also be noted that the owner of the home where this service was held had in fact moved from his main kgotla following his house being struck by lightning about 5 years previously. He had been told this lightning was sent by bewitchment. Since he had moved he had had no trouble.

The Bishop and his wife frequently have sick people staying at their home to be cured. This practice is similar to that of traditional doctors. The cures involve washing in Holy Water, special prayers etc. The Bishop's wife, who had the gift of prophecy, was said to charge P10 for her prophecies. Generally, this seemed to be a very money-oriented church.

Perhaps brief mention could be made of two other churches of this category with which I had slight contact. One was referred to as "Lekgowa's Church" after the name of its owner and leading Moruti. Again this appeared to be a very money-oriented church. I knew the "owner" slightly as he was the builder of the house where I lived. He was a prophet-healer who had joined Zionist Churches while he was working in South Africa. When he returned to Botswana in the early 1970's he established a reputation for being a successful prophet-healer and his house was always full of people coming to him for help. Not only did his church have regular services similar in format to those
of St. John, but he also ran frequent "surgeries" (according to demand) usually in the mornings and evenings. People requiring help would be washed with, and/or drink Holy Water, or be given enemas. For this they would pay various amounts ranging from about 50t for what was considered a simple case, to P10-20 for a bath.

One non-Zionist informant who had accompanied a patient in 1982 told me they had each had to fetch two buckets of water and chop a pile of firewood before this prophecy and treatment. In this case the patient was going to ask for protection from boloi, because among other signs of his troubles, the tin roof had been blown off his house during a storm. (It should perhaps be noted that this prophet sells bundles of chopped firewood and vegetables from his vegetable garden, so there is perhaps an element in his Holy work of free labour for his various economic enterprises.)

Another church that falls into this category is called "Apostle 12: Pula molentsa" or the "Putting on socks Church". At this church members must wear shoes and socks to attend services. From 1977-80 it held church services in a community house that it rented in a neighbouring kgotla, but from 1981 I do not know where it met. It drew a number of members from my kgotla as its prophecies were believed to be helpful and powerful.

Concluding Remarks

The three churches referred to above had six of West's seven features - they did not use drums. However, although there was some dancing during services, dancing was not nearly so frequent as in those churches of the third category described in Chapter 13. Similarly spirit possession during services is not a characteristic.

Like the Z.C.C., these churches obviously belong to Turner's Fourth category - independent churches - and the second sub-division - Zion Churches. St. John Zion Church and "Apostle 12: Pula molentsa" as they are branches of South African Zion Churches, could be classified in the Religious Society category. "Lekgowa's Church" appeared to be based on its founder prophet, Lekgowa, so it is perhaps

*1 Although I only attended one actual service, informants verified that this service was typical and that drums were never used, nor was dancing and spirit possession usual during services.
better classified as a Prophet Movement. However, as already noted, these churches did not form the major part of my fieldwork, so it is possible that further research would result in re-classification. For example it is possible that as so many non-members consult the Bishop and his wife of St. John and Lekgowa, at "surgeries" where there is no member-to-member contact, that they show some characteristics of a Clientele Movement.
CHAPTER 13:

ZION CHURCHES THAT INCLUDE DANCING AND USE OF DRUMS

These churches can be further sub-divided into two sub-categories but otherwise are very similar to each other. The major difference is over their attitude to sacrifice. Those churches that do not believe in sacrifice explained that they believe that Jesus Christ was the final sacrifice and so it is wrong to continue to make them. Those that believe in it, say that sacrifices help to please God so that he can give the prophets the gift of prophecy to "see" what is wrong in a case. (This is more similar to the traditional attitude to sacrifice, that the spilling of blood pleases the ancestors.) However, as will be seen, the sacrifices are always carried out according to procedure laid down in Leviticus. It should be noted that although they may disagree over sacrifice, they frequently associate for other types of special services. I became accustomed to five of these churches. They were:

- Episcopal Apostolic Church in Zion of Africa - (Episcopal)
- Bethlehem City of Christ Church in Zion of Africa - (Bethlehem)
- Botswana United Church in Zion - (BUCZ)
- God is Love/Kanana - (Kanana - it was renamed during fieldwork with the latter name)
- Apostolic Africa Christ Church in Zion - (Africa)

All these churches had a basically similar pattern of ritual but first it is perhaps interesting to look at each in turn and at its leading Moruti.

Episcopal Apostolic Church in Zion of Africa - (Episcopal)

This church is known as Episcopal for short. It is led by its founder Arch Bishop Johannes Moliti who founded it in 1958 in Kanye. The Arch Bishop had been working in the mines in South Africa at Carltonville where he had been introduced into, and joined the Morian Episcopal Church, which had been started by a Motswana, Daniel Kwape from Mochudi, in 1936. Arch Bishop Moliti had joined because he had seen the terrible conditions in the mines - the fighting, killings, deaths and terrible accidents. When he had returned to Botswana in 1958 he joined another Zion Church, called the Holy Catholic Zion Church. He had found that in that church the members believed in sacrifices. They believed that if you sacrificed a goat, a cow or
a chicken, through its blood you would be saved. As he did not believe in sacrifices he had not stayed in this church but had then decided to start a new church. He had named it after the Morian Episcopal Church which he had belonged to in South Africa.

In this church there was to be no sacrifice of animals' blood as this, he believed, could not save a person, only the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. In addition, just as Christ and the Apostles moved around healing people quite freely, so should they in their church, not charging for cures like some prophets did in other churches (see Chapter 12). In that church they believed that whenever they prayed for someone that person would be saved or healed through the power of God.

When he started his church in 1958 he had faced many difficulties, as this was the period when Zionists were still being victimized by other residents such as neighbours (relatives) and Headmen. He had been reported seven times at the Chief's Kgotla and had even been imprisoned. The older established churches did not like Zionists and were very suspicious of churches started by blacks. But after Independence (September 30th, 1966) conditions had improved. Freedom of worship had been introduced and he had even registered his church in 1971 at the Ministry of Home Affairs in Gaborone.

Today*¹ Episcopal in Kanye has 360 members, 200 women and 160 men (most of the latter are working in the mines). The regular church services are held in a rondavel in the Arch Bishop's lolwapa: which has been prayed for to consecrate it. The door (half doors) is decorated with a cross and as it is Holy inside, members take off their shoes (this was a practice in all but one of the churches I studied).*² There were poles in the roof of the church to protect the church.

Members of the church wear uniforms (this is West's feature number 7). The standard women's uniform is green skirts, white blouses and head scarves; the younger girls wear long white dresses and white head scarves with appliqued green crosses. The men wear short or long white coats with white trousers. Both men and women wear green and white sashes. People become members by being baptized as, according to Mark Chapter 16 v. 16-24, this is when the devils are cast out. Baptism is by total immersion in one of the Kanye dams (total immersion Baptism is West's feature number 5). A new member is baptized after it is

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*¹ This refers to 1979.
*² This is justified in Exodus 3:5 where God forbade Moses to wear shoes on Holy ground.
judged that his behaviour is suitable. A candidate must show that he
can abide by the Zion rules, i.e. no drinking, no smoking, no fighting,
no stealing, no stabbing and no trouble-making.

After baptism a new member is given a new uniform at the church.
They buy the material and then the Bishop's wife, who has been specially
prophesied for this, makes it up. New uniforms are given at special
uniform services. Some members wear specially prophesied additions to
their standard membership uniform. For example they may wear long or
short cloaks with special decorations, such as a long blue cloak covered
in little white stars, or a red head scarf with a green cross. Sometimes
when a prophet "gets the spirit" in a service he may "see" in the prophecy
that a certain member should have a certain article for protection or
to cure, for example for a headache or aching legs. Other members wear
special cords next to the skin around the neck, trunk, waist, legs or
wrists. Again these have been specially prophesied for protection or
healing of certain sickness (N.B. this is very like the strips of
animal skin that a traditional doctor may prescribe for treatment,
and just as a traditional doctor's treatment must be worn until they
either drop off through old age or the doctor takes them off, so too
with these Zionist cords). These cords are put on a patient at the
church and are usually sprinkled with Holy Water. According to West
the different colours are supposed to have different significance,
however when I asked about this I did not find this to be the case
with Kanye Zionists, except red (cords or cloak etc.) may be used
in cases of diseases and sicknesses to do with the blood.¹ According
to the Episcopal Arch Bishop, cords are justified in the Bible in
Jeremiah 13 v. 1-12.

The uniform has a large thick cord with tassles tied around the
waist, in this church it is green. As will be seen later this is
frequently stroked by a prophet whilst prophesying, and is used to dip
into the Holy Water to sprinkle it when people or buildings etc.,
are washed (this is very like the way a traditional doctor uses his
animal tail to wash patients etc.)

As has already been stated some members wear specially prophesied
additions to the standard church uniform. The Arch Bishop told me
these appliqued decorations have a special significance. For example

¹ Pauw's research among the Bathlhaping (Tswana) people also found no
colour correlation. It would appear colour connection is more an
Nguni custom.
the Cross represents Jesus Christ, a hand or hands means hands in prayer, and stars represent the Star of Bethlehem - as we all live by light and this reminds us of the source of all light.

It should be noted that there are similar taboos to the traditional ones, associated with this church uniform. For example a menstruating woman does not wear her uniform nor touch other people's cords, or enter the dance circle.

There are other branches of Episcopal in Gaborone, Molopole, Thamaga, Moshopa, Jwaneng, Selebi-Pikwe and also some branches in the mines in South Africa. There is supposed to be a membership of 2,000 plus.

In Episcopal there is one Arch Bishop, one Bishop, two Vice-Bishops, seven Baruti (sing. Moruti), Deacons (Motiakone - pl. Batiakone), Evangelists (Moegele - pl. Baefangele), Preachers (Moreri - pl. Bareri), Prayers (Morapedi - pl. Barapedi), and Door Keepers (Khosa - pl. Dikhosa). The Arch Bishop is the head of the church and the Prayers are the lowest of the "priestly" orders. Other than Dikhosa, all these offices are held by men although sometimes women may preach and pray for people. During a church service all people are placed according to the position they hold in the church.

There are also other positions, the lowest of which is Khosa, or door keeper. These people stand at the door and make sure that people do not enter at the wrong time, for example during prayers, they have to make sure that people are in their correct position and keep order in the church. They make sure there are candles at the service, and at special services, where food may be prepared, they look after the pots and supervise the serving of food. They also have to warn mothers when their babies are crying (the babies are usually left to sleep in another house in the yard.)

Above the Khosa are the Secretaries. *1 They look after the church books and records. During the services they are responsible for reading the Bible readings as directed by the Moruti in charge. At special services where money is collected, for example, Botsetsi (see Chapter 15) they collect the money and organize the contributions. Church dues are collected by them (these are the annual fees used to buy candles, and also the weekly offerings). Secretaries must therefore have had some education.

*1 N.B. Women or men can be Khosa and Secretaries.
and at least be literate.

Most of the priestly orders are as their names suggest. For each of these church positions a person is promoted at a special church service and specially prayed for at the church. There is usually an addition to the basic uniform that denotes the promotion and office held.

Not all the Baruti\(^1\) are literate (the Arch Bishop is literate but has never had any actual formal education). Some can only "read" (they at least know) the Bible and may tell you that the whole of the Bible was revealed to them in a dream when they were "saved". In all organization and actions in the church the Bible is taken as the absolute authority and especially during the special services (see Chapter 15) the relevant part(s) of the Bible are read out as directions and justifications for the conduct of the service.

It should be further noted that none of these Baruti are full time. They all, including the Arch Bishop, work in their own jobs (he is a mechanic at the local Seventh Day Adventist hospital) or are farmers.

The histories and organization of the other four churches are very similar so they will be described in less detail.

**Bethlehem City of Christ Church in Zion - (Bethlehem)**

This is another church that does not believe in sacrifice. It is led by Mr. Kgomotsso Seakolo in Kanye. He holds the position of Mookamedi (Vice Bishop). He finished Standard 4 and did an apprenticeship with a building contractor in South Africa.

Bethlehem is a church which was started in Swaziland in 1939 under the name of "Jerusalem Betheda Church of Christ in South Africa and Rhodesia". Bethlehem in Kanye is a branch of this church, and there are various branches in other parts of Botswana under this name. It is registered in Gaborone at the Ministry of Home Affairs. In Kanye alone there are reputed to be over 1,000 members.

Mookamedi Seakolo became a member of this church in South Africa in 1962. He had never belonged to any other church. In 1964 he had become a Moruti. He explained that he had become a Member in the following way. In 1952, when he was 11, his mother had died and his father had

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\(^1\) The term Baruti here and elsewhere can refer to all the priestly orders - Arch Bishop to Morapedi.
disappeared. Even up to this day it is not known if his father is alive or dead. He (Mookamedi Seakolo) had been brought up by his Malome and grand-parents but had never been happy. He had led a bad life—had left school and spent a great deal of time at gumba-gumba parties, chasing after girls for himself and for others,*1 and generally wasting time. Then he had become very sick and started to have dreams. In his dreams he had seen the future and had started to be able to predict people's futures. For example, he had seen that a person would have an accident or would die and then this had later happened. During this period of his life he had been very unhappy. Then he dreamt that he should become a Christian and that it was God who was revealing the future to him, so he decided to join the church. (This is a typical example of the type of life story described by West of how people become prophets.)

Today Bethlehem is a flourishing church. The church is a large tin-roofed oblong building built by the Mookamedi himself, with the help of members, in his yard. Inside there is a platform at one end with a pulpit in the middle, on which is placed a large candelabra for seven candles. There are shelves on the platform for all the church records and correspondence. People come to stay with him to be healed. They come from all over Botswana, staying in his house until they are cured. It should be noted that this practice is very similar to patients staying with traditional doctors for the duration of their cures. Perhaps a typical case of such a patient may be outlined.

In 1978 I met a certain young woman who was staying with the Vice-Bishop. She told me she came from Barolong Farms and had started to suffer from terrible fainting fits. During one of these she had even fallen in the fire and her leg had been very badly burnt. She had previously been a Roman Catholic but, when she became ill and failed to find help at the hospital, her family who were also Roman Catholic, had advised her to try this church as the Mookamedi was well-known for being able to help people. The congregation had prayed hard for her, and now her fits were much less frequent and less severe. When I saw this young woman early in 1979 she told me that her fits were now rare and only slight, maybe occurring once in two or three months.

The church organization of Bethlehem is similar to Episcopal except that the basic uniform is blue and white rather than green and white.

*1 Intermediaries are often used in "love affairs".
Botswana United Church in Zion (BUCZ)

The history of this church was rather unclear. It is led by Keorapetse Ntoko who was born in 1945 and has the position of Moruti. It started in Kanye in the early 1970's and this Moruti and some of his members had in fact previously belonged to Kanana (see below), but there had been a disagreement so they had left to start a branch of BUCZ. The leader had joined Kanana whilst working in the mines in South Africa. He had become a full Moruti in 1978 (it was probably as late as this as he did not finish all parts of his marriage until 1979, and Baruti are expected to be married).

There are several branches of BUCZ in Botswana, with a membership of about 1,000. The Bishop of the church comes from Francistown and the Headquarters in Botswana is in Lobatse, where the Bishop works.

This church is organized very much along the same lines as Episcopal. The basic uniform is green and white.

However in this church, unlike the others, there are frequent baptisms and purifications (when those who have already been baptized go again to be purified by total immersion). This is also a church where they believe in Sacrifice and these services seem to be frequent. Also the Dikhosa are very strict about church discipline. People are not allowed to drop asleep in the church and are prodded awake by a Khosa. The Moruti himself often reprimands the congregation during services for not singing loudly enough or for not clapping their hands properly.

When I first started visiting this church they were meeting in a small square house uphill belonging to a member, but later in 1978 they began building a mud square-house with a tin roof in the Moruti's own yard. By 1980 this building was nearly complete. Cords, a flag and bottles of Holy Water are hung on the roof and rafters to protect the church.

Kanana (formerly known as "God is Love")

This is another church where sacrifice services may be held. It is led by Arch Bishop Boitshewarello Motse. His brother is the man who is reputed to have introduced Zionism into Kanye (other than the Z.C.C.). However as has already been stated (Chapter 12) he has now left this church and has joined St. John, which belongs to a Type 2 category.

Kanana was started in Johannesburg in 1965 by J.J. Maseko, and
the Arch Bishop had been introduced to the church by his elder brother who had then gone on to start a branch in Kanye. He told me that they had both joined the church because they were interested in it and not because they were ill. He worked as a policeman in the mines in South Africa, where there are three other branches. There are five branches in Botswana. He said that in Kanye there are about 102 members and between 100-200 members at each of the other branches.

In 1978 he had started trying to register the church in Gaborone at the Ministry of Home Affairs and it was then they had changed the name to "Kanana" as they had been told that "God is Love" was too long a name. *

This church has its own square, mud-walled, tin-roofed church in the Arch Bishop's yard. The mud walls are decorated with stars in white mud. At one end there is a platform with a small pulpit and some chairs and benches.

The church uniform follows the same general pattern of the other churches although it was changed in about 1979 from the old uniform which was basically green and white, to a new one of blue and white. *2

Africa Apostolic Church in Zion of Africa - Africa

This is a branch of a church which was started by Mr. J.J. Mosididi Dlamini at Klerksdorp in South Africa in 1959. The present Bishop in Kanye who is called Left-Right, became a member in 1959 following a bad mines accident in South Africa. He had been trapped under rocks and had ended up having to have a leg amputated below the knee. Before this time, he told me, he had been a "wild young man", drinking, gambling, stabbing and attending gumba-gumba parties. He had also been using traditional doctors for protection in the mines but he felt they had failed him, and so he had decided to join this church. He became a Moruti and had started having the gifts of healing and prophecy in 1968.

In 1972 he had introduced this church into Botswana. At first it

*1 I had helped them with the typing of their constitution so had seen some of the problems of registration. For example the constitution has to be in English, in semi-legal language. There have to be several copies of it, so it is a difficult task for people who are largely illiterate and non-English speaking.

*2 It should perhaps be noted that the adult women have a special way of tying their head scarves, unlike the younger girls who wear "flowing" head scarves. In Kanana when the uniform was changed the women wore white hats. Even non-members are expected to cover their hair at services and not to wear jewellery.
met in a rondavel in the yard of another Moruti, but in 1980 he built his own house and the church started to meet there.

The services of this church are not very regular, and there seemed to be a relatively small membership. He told me there were 71 in Kanye, but that there are other branches in Botswana with a total membership of about 350 members (he did not know how many in South Africa). The Bishop spends quite a lot of his time travelling to the other branches, which are mostly in Southern District.

The Church organization and services follow the same pattern as the above four churches. The uniform is basically blue and white. This is also a church which believes in sacrifice.

Concluding Remarks

In these five churches all 7 of West's features were found. The main distinction was whether or not sacrifice was practised. As all of these churches had branches, their social structure has developed beyond that of a Prophet Movement to that of a Religious Society. The special relationship that seemed to exist between BUCZ and Kanana churches indicates that in some ways BUCZ could be said to be an Ancillary Cult of Kanana, its members attending services at both. As there is no development as yet of a Holy City or New Jerusalem (as, for example with the Z.C.C. and Moria) these five churches have not developed into the Total Community Type. Special services where all the branches of one church come together for a joint service, such as at the annual church conferences, normally rotated between branches, who take it in turns to act as hosts (see Chapter 15).
CHAPTER 14:

THE LITURGY

Dress

Mention has already been made of the various individual churches' standard uniforms. These uniforms are always given publicly at special church services (such services will be described in Chapter 15 and more fully in Volume 2). These uniforms also denote rank.

It should be noted that several members wear specially prophesied articles of dress at services, for example, cloaks (short or long), of certain colours or with specially appliqued decorations, head scarves, or various other types of head gear (such as a mitre-like hat, or sack cloth), some wear different dresses or trousers. These may be specially prophesied for the member to protect him from individual problems, for example at one service I attended a woman "got the Spirit" whilst dancing and then when she had recovered she revealed that the Spirit had shown her that a certain member of the church, a man returning from the mines, had been sick for a long time. He had been sick because he was "having Spirit" and would end up being a prophet. She said that the Spirit had shown her that this man should wear a long red clock and it should have a picture of a moon in white on the right hand side. If he did not follow this she herself would suffer because, whenever she met this man, she would prophesy the same thing. The man replied that this was indeed the case, many times he had felt like crying and tearing his clothes, and other prophets told him it was because he had too much Spirit and had not yet learned how to handle it.

At the same service a male prophet revealed that the Spirit had shown him that a certain male member should wear a blue gown with a white cross on the back and this would help to protect him because the prophet had seen that he had been bewitched by being given poison. He could "see" while he was dancing that this poison was in the man's stomach. Another of my female informants wore a specially prophesied long blue dress and yellow head scarf to protect her. Some wore red head scarves for ailments such as headaches etc. These are only a few of the examples

*1 This is similar to those who are to become traditional doctors. They often start by being ill. This is believed to be caused by their Badimo wanting them to be traditional doctors.
of special clothing that might be prophesied for individuals to add to their basic uniforms.

Cords

In addition to specially prophesied parts of uniform an individual may be prophesied to wear cords. These are usually worn all the time and, as will be described in more detail in Chapter 15 and Volume 2, may be put on an individual at a special Healing Service. These are commonly of blue, red, green, yellow or white wool, or they may be made of combinations of these colours or a mixture of all of them. Most of my informants stated that the colours were not necessarily significant, although some said that red was often prescribed for troubles with the blood.

To make these cords, lengths of wool are twisted together and placed around the wrists, ankles, waist, neck, like sashes, next to the skin. They are placed according to an individual's prescription, from a prophecy.

Cords may be tied around the rafters or the doorway of a member's house to protect it. Bicycles, cars and babies also often have protective cords tied on them by their Zion owners.

Prophecy Sticks/Poles

Prophets often carry these as part of their church uniform. Individual prophets have different poles. These are believed to help them to prophesy; and while they are dancing they will dance with them. These come in all combinations, again according to an individual's instructions from the Spirit. For example they may be a bundle of bamboos wrapped with different coloured cords, a single metal stick, a knob-kerrie with or without decorations of coloured cords, a shepherd's crook, or one Moruti had a palm frond decorated with cords. These can perhaps be compared with the ditaola (bones) used by a traditional doctor, as poles (like ditaola - bones) are believed to assist the prophet to "see". One Moruti told me that these poles are justified in the Bible

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*1 Unlike in West's findings.
*2 This is a very wide definition and includes problems of, and connected with maoto a molelo (see Chapter 4).
*3 These positions are similar to pieces of animal skin that may be tied around children for protection, or the beads traditionally put on young babies to protect them and show their growth rates.
in Numbers 17 v. 11 (the story of Aaron) and also in Exodus 7, v. 9 ("the rod became a serpent").

These poles may be used whilst praying upon people as will be seen later. Or they may be used to stir Holy Water during a special healing service, or to touch the sacrificial animal whilst it is being prayed for before being slaughtered.

**Candles**

Candles were used in all the services I attended. Usually one is put in the centre of the dance circle and on the table/altar (if used). At more prosperous churches there may be a 7-branched candelabra and, even at an ordinary service, all 7 candles may be lit. At special services such as Setlhabelo or Ditapelo (see Chapter 15 and Volume 2) many candles will be burnt. The person making the service will provide several packets. Candles may form part of the sacrificial items. Informants explained that these candles assist the prophets to receive their prophecy from the Spirit, but none mentioned Badimo in this connection, as stated by West's.1 Probably this is another example of a church practice learnt in South Africa, which has developed out of South African traditional religions and then been introduced into Botswana where, like drums, it is not part of traditional religious practice.

**Music, Musical Instruments and the Sacred Dance**

Although hymns from other mission churches may be used as well as those from the Z.C.C. hymn book, hymns used in these Zion churches are given quite another tune and rhythm. The congregation sing the hymns, accompanying the tune with clapping (all churches had church choirs), and the commonest musical instrument, which is a drum. All the churches I visited use drums. This use of drums is an interesting feature because, although they are traditional in South Africa, apart from one minority Tswana tribe in the North (Hambukushu), traditionally they are not used in Botswana. The Church practice has been imported from South Africa. Men or women who are talented at this may beat the drums, which are commonly made from cow skin stretched tightly over half of a tin drum container. Drum sticks are often made of short lengths of hose pipe.

Bells and rattles are also used in Churches, but not so commonly as drums.

*1 See West page 182.
Members dance to the hymn, usually around a candle placed in the middle of the floor, they dance in a line following the lead of a senior member. Unlike the Zion churches described by Sr. Aquina,*1 in Karangaland, men, women and children dance.*2 As the dancing becomes more spirited the dancers twirl around, hissing like snakes and may even jump up in the air. However, as will be seen in Chap. 15, sometimes at special services held to find the cause of particular problems, only the more experienced prophets will dance.

Ways of Dancing

(Dots in centre represent the candle plus those being prophesied)

Preaching and the Bible

The Bible is the absolute authority in the Zion Church. It is believed to be the Word of God. Passages from the Bible are always read at the regular services as a basis for the Baruti to preach on. Usually a Moruti will call upon the Secretary to read the appropriate part of the Bible according to the Christian calendar and then preach on those verses, emphasizing what has been said in the Bible. At special services the appropriate part of the Bible is always read as a justification for the service and as instructions for the conduct of the service. Services are described in more detail in Chapter 15 and Volume 2, where it will be noted that appropriate parts of the Bible are always found. Reading the Bible as instructed by the Baruti is part of the Secretary's job. Both men and women preach, usually spontaneously, guided by Moya - the Spirit.

Holy Water

This is used in all Zion churches. It is water that is specially prayed for at the service, by an important Moruti, to render it Holy. It may have certain additives, as will be seen at the Healing Service.

*1 Aquina "Zionists in Rhodesia" Africa 39:2, 1969 page 124.
*2 Menstruating women do not dance, this compares to the traditional attitude to menstruation, when a woman is believed to suffer from "hot blood".
Members may drink, or be sprinkled with, Holy Water as part of a regular service, and it is also sprinkled (as will be seen) at special services to protect and heal.

Members commonly have their own supply, their own bottles being re-filled at ordinary services. Such personal supplies may be used daily to wipe on the face, hands, or add to washing water. Again this is for general healing and protection. Zionists may "put" new houses by burying bottles of Holy Water under the plot or hanging them from the rafters. This is in much the same way as a traditional doctor will bury traditional medicines to protect a new house. Members with special problems often hang small bottles of Holy Water with wool cords from the rafters or above the entrances, again this is for general protection and/or healing.

Such bottles of protective Holy Water will be referred to in more detail further on.

Prayer

Prayer is believed to be very important. This takes various forms; for example, when members enter the church at the beginning of the service there is a time of confession. In some churches individual members kneel down in turn and publicly confess their sins, individual troubles and temptations. In others, everyone simultaneously kneels down and then confesses their sins.

People being prophesied and answering the words of prophets often request members to pray for them to help their problems. As in Type 1 and 2 Churches, the Lord's Prayer is usually said at the end of sessions of confessions.

Usually there is a point towards the end of the service when the Baruti, especially the Barapedi, will pray on all individual members (this will be described in more detail in Chapter 15 and Volume 2). Members kneel in turn or in small groups, before the Morapedi, who will lay on hands on different parts of the individual's body, and pray on each person in turn, asking God's help to protect and heal the individual. This type of praying always has a part during special services, as will be seen below. Even individuals receiving their new uniforms will be prayed on.
Particular words are used in services to punctuate preaching, prophesying, or confessing. They have set responses from the congregation; here are some examples of common ones:

*1 Speaker: Khotso/Kagiso ene le lona (Peace be with you).
Congregation: Amen.

Speaker: Leina la Modimo a lebakwe (Let's praise the Lord).
Congregation: Amen.

Speaker: Tshwarelo (Forgiveness).
Congregation: Amen.

Speaker: Modimo o nne mo go rona (God be in our hearts).
Congregation: Amen.

In conclusion it could be stated that all parts of the Zionist liturgy aim either to protect or heal the users or to strengthen the powers of the prophets, for example, dancing, singing, drumming, using sticks etc. In this way the aim is similar to that of traditional Tswana medicine and other African religions - to promote potent force.

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*1 Khotso is Sesotho and Kagiso is Setswana. Either may be used, both mean "Peace". This is also used as a greeting between Zionists, who always shake hands with one another saying either of these two as they do so.
Bishop and other Prayers pray on members at close of a Sunday Service. Members come in turn in small groups, to be prayed on (usually starting with the youngest). They come to the centre of the dance circle to be prayed on whilst the other members sing and dance hymns around them.
Zion flags and cords hung in the roof of a house to protect the house and occupants. Bottles of Holy Water may also be hung up for the same reason.

Protective red cords that have been prophesied for this girl to cure her stomach pains. They were also tied on her wrists and ankles.
Congregation dances around their Bishop and Baruti who are re-filling members' Holy Water bottles, at the end of a Sunday Service. Members may drink or wash with this Holy Water as a daily protection against sickness and misfortune.

Seed Service The bags contain seeds that have been brought to this service to be prophesied, purified and prayed on, so that their owners may have a successful harvest. The Secretary (the lady in green) is reading the appropriate part from the Bible to justify the service.
CHAPTER 15:

THE SERVICES

1. Introduction

The services in all churches of Type 3 follow the same general pattern. All such churches hold regular weekly Sunday services during the day and week-day evening services (from about 5.00 - 6.00 p.m. until about 9.00 - 10.30 p.m.) In addition on Thursday afternoons the women hold prayer meetings. Attendance at all services varies according to the time of year. (As has already been noted in Part 2, people are absent at various times of the year due to agricultural responsibilities at the Lands/Cattle-posts or because of migrant labour.)

In addition to these regular services there are Special Services. These may be divided into two groups - those held at the church and those held at members' homes. These Special Services are held for various reasons. For example some are held to celebrate Christian Festivals (Easter and Christmas being the most commonly celebrated), others although Christian based services, have traditional elements, such as Holy Communion, Baptism and Purification, Healing, New Uniforms and Promotion Services, and the Annual Church Conferences. The Seed Service (located at the church) roughly coincides with Letsema and its associated activities (see Part 2 Chapter 9). (However it should be noted that Western Churches, especially in agricultural communities often hold a similar service - Rogation Sunday.)

The second group of special services are those held for a special occasion for an individual member. These may be sub-divided into two groups. Firstly are those held to commemorate a particular occasion corresponding with an event in the Life Cycle. Zionists have special services for all the occasions commemorated traditionally, for example, they have a special Botsetsi Service, Wedding/Lomipi, Matshegiso, Funeral and Badimo Services. (Baptism could be argued to have certain parallels with Initiation. This is located at the church not at an individual's home, in the same way that the traditional Initiation was held at a tribal not individual level.)

Secondly are those special services held in times of individual trouble. Here are included the special services held for Ditapelo (Prayers), and/or Setlhabelo (Sacrifice), of which there are many types. In all of these the individual who hosts the service will be specially
prophesied and then treated. The individual member is not treated as an individual but together with his family even if they are not themselves members.

It is usual for churches who associate with the individual's own church to be invited to attend these special services of the second group.

It should be noted that at all services members and non-members with special problems were given the opportunity to ask for help in the form of prophecies (i.e. prophets would divine the causes of their problems), healing by Holy Water, and prayer. Many services included general prayers, generalised healing and generalised protecting with Holy Water.

Examples of all these services are described briefly below and more fully in Volume 2.

2. Regular Services.

A fairly typical weekly service is one that was held at Episcopal on a Sunday. Not everyone arrived promptly at 9.00 a.m. when the service was due to start; before everyone entered they removed their shoes and left them outside the rondavel church. Members were dressed in their uniforms. The service started with singing of Zion hymns, accompanied by two drums. Anyone could start a hymn although the church choir led the singing if necessary. There were some Bible readings. As late comers arrived everyone stood up and sang a welcoming hymn. Late comers, especially those holding church offices, often started a hymn outside and then this would be taken up by the congregation inside. The entrant would bow down in respect, and move to their correct place. The Khosa made sure that people stood in the right place - people of the same position stand together. Those with priestly orders stood by the altar (or on the platform) if there is one, wives of Baruti stand together with other women holding offices, the rest of the men on one side and women on the other, the church choir, and children. The Dikhosa stood near the door and closed it when a prayer was in progress to make sure no one entered.

Before the service gets under way properly there is usually a time for confession. At two churches this was the time when every member in turn knelt down and prayed aloud, asking forgiveness for individual sins and/or for special prayers for a particular personal problem or
individual. At the other churches everyone faced in one direction or outwards towards the walls and prayed aloud simultaneously their own prayer or confessions. This would gradually subside into the Lord's Prayer, then everyone would rise to their feet and start singing. From this point hymns would be accompanied by dancing.

The Secretary would be called upon by the various Baruti to read an appropriate part of the Bible (either on a particular theme on which he wanted to preach, or for the time of the year). Each Moruti would be given a chance to expound on his particular chosen Bible reading. These sermons would be interspersed with hymn singing and dancing.

Dancing is described more fully in Chapter 14. Here it should be noted in addition that sometimes whilst dancing, a member with prophetic powers will "get the Spirit" and then the dancing is stopped and the prophet(s) reveal any prophecy(ies). These may be for individual members, present or not present, requiring special protections, or even about non-members, for example, one Kanana Moruti at two different services in 1978 prophesied the death of the Chief's Uncle.*1

If members of the congregation (or even non-members) have come to ask for a special prophecy, they are given a chance. This takes place both at regular and at special services. In some churches the person requiring the prophecy is put in the middle of the dance circle, usually kneeling, and members dance around. If an absent person is being asked about, the father, relative or spouse of that person may bring some personal clothing belonging to the absent person and place it in the centre in the same way. At some churches the inquirer would just stand to the side whilst the dancing is in progress. Usually after a few hymns (as one finishes another is taken up) as the dancing becomes faster and faster, dancers make a hissing noise and whirl as they dance, the leader changes the direction from time to time, the dancing maybe sustained for 20 - 30 minutes at a time, until the various prophets start to "get the Spirit". Inexperienced prophets may even fall on the ground and roll around, scream or faint. This is because they have not yet learned how to control the Spirit. The dancing is then stopped and they reveal their prophecies. Dancers may continue to walk briskly around the candle or inquirer whilst this is happening.

*1 At a setlhabelo sa kgomo service held in mid-September 1978 by B.U.C.Z. and a week earlier at another special service held by his own church.
After this part of the service, there is often a time when the Baruti, especially the Barapedi, pray on the congregation. The Barapedi enter the dance circle and stand in the centre. The dancing and singing helps them to have power from the Spirit to pray on people. People who have asked for special prayers and prophecies are often prayed for first. They kneel in front of the Morapedi and he places his hands on them - on their heads, necks and backs. Sometimes the Spirit may make the Morapedi shake an individual quite violently back and forth and even throw him to the ground. There may be 2-3 Prayers praying on people. After the special people have been prayed for, then other people enter in small groups of two or three and kneel before the Barapedi, usually babies are first, then children, then ladies, men and ending with those members with positions. From time to time a Morapedi may enter the dance circle for some time, this was explained as being when the Spirit became weak, so they dance with the main dancers to make it stronger. When it is renewed they rejoin the other Barapedi.

During this period, prophets may continue to receive prophecies. So, after the praying has finished, they reveal any prophecies. Following this there is usually a time for offertory. A bench may be placed in the middle of the dance circle - a member starts a hymn then people start to dance around the bench. Individuals come forward and make their offerings (usually 1t - 5t). It is common for members to supply people without money with small coins to donate. When everyone has had a chance to make an offering, the amount may be counted by the Secretaries and then a thanksgiving hymn is sung.

Services are long, many I attended ended at sunset, although I had been told they should end by 2.00 p.m.

3. Special Services held at the Church
   (i) Special Christmas Service

   This special service I attended during Christmas 1978 at God is Love Church (later renamed Kanana). New uniforms and positions were also issued at this service. People had come to Kanye from the Lands although it was during the ploughing season, and miners had returned from the mines in South Africa.
The service started at about 9.30 p.m. on December 24th. The more junior members were singing hymns and dancing but the main Baruti had not yet arrived. For this service the church, a square, mud brick, tin-roofed building in the Bishop's yard had been resmeared and white mud stars had been decorated all over the walls. I was called outside to greet the Bishop's wife (at that time a Motsetsi) and did not re-enter until about 11.00 p.m. By this time more people had arrived, then after about another half an hour the Bishop entered. He started a hymn outside that the rest of us took up, and we bowed to greet him. He joined the dance circle before retiring to a chair on the raised platform.

The first part of the service was for the new uniforms to be issued (this will be described later). Then one of the Baruti asked for a prophecy. Then after this the Christmas Service was held. Because this involved the Virgin Mary and the birth of the infant Christ, this part of the service was placed in the hands of the women. This Christmas service differed from regular services in that all the Bible readings and preaching was on the Nativity and Christmas Story. (The service is described in greater detail in Volume 2, p. 53-55).

This service is interesting as it is seen that women had the main organization as the whole Christmas story is believed to concern women's business. Women also preached, although Aquina states that this does not happen. This could be accounted for by the fact that in traditional Tswana society, women have a rather more important position than would appear to be the case in Karanga society, probably because of migrant labour and agricultural obligations (e.g. men absent at the Cattle-post) women have to be given more responsibility.

(ii) Good Friday Service

I attended two of these, one in 1978 at Episcopal and the other in 1979 at Africa. They were basically similar in format. The service differs from regular services in that all the readings and preaching refer to the Last Supper, the Betrayal and the Crucifixion. A fuller description may be found in Volume 2, pages 55-6.

(iii) Easter Sunday Service

I attended this special service at Episcopal in 1978. In this church Easter is one of the three times a year when, as the Bishop

*1 Aquina, 1969: 127. West's research in Soweto also implies that women have a less central position in services.
had told me, Baptism is held; Baptisms also being performed at Christmas and Ascension.

This was an all night service leading up to Baptism in a dam at sunrise. It started at about 10.00 p.m. on the Saturday night, although I arrived at about 2.45 a.m. as I particularly wished to attend the Baptism and was not yet at this stage of my fieldwork accustomed to staying awake all night. The service differs from the regular services in that all readings and preachings are directed towards the story of the Resurrection. Fuller details of this service follow in Volume 2, p. 56-7.

(iv) Holy Communion Service

One of the features of Zion Churches is the practice of celebrating Holy Communion at night. *1 This is because the Last Supper, on which this service is based, took place at night. Communion is usually only taken 2 or 3 times a year on special occasions.

During my fieldwork I attended a service where Holy Communion was celebrated at B.U.C.Z. This formed part of the annual B.U.C.Z Church Conference and the Kanye B.U.C.Z. branch acted as host to the other Botswana branches. This took place during Independence in 1978.

Besides celebrating Holy Communion new uniforms, denoting promotions, were presented but this, which proceeded Holy Communion, was led by different Baruti. This part of the service commenced by a Khosa being called to light the candles on the altar/table at the front. Then a Secretary (from the Gaborone congregation) was called to read from the Bible - she read Numbers 8 v. 1-7 while the candles were being lit.

The service was formally handed over to another Moruti who told everyone to place in a pile their prophecy poles, cords, capes and cloaks that had been specially prophesied. These were collected in the centre of the room. In fact people took off everything that was red, the only red thing should be Christ's blood - the wine. While this was being done hymns were sung, but there was no dancing. The congregation were reminded that when they ate the body of Christ, they should experience Christ's agony - they should lay down all those things that gave them power. Three benches were placed facing the altar.

*1 West, 1975:19 and see above p. 235.
*2 This part of the service started just before dawn and ended at about 7.00 a.m.
Communion is treated very seriously, in fact only a few people actually took it. Those who fear they are not fully confessed should not celebrate it, nor those who are menstruating, or have recently had intercourse (i.e. those who have "maoto a molelo" (ritually hot)). The Communion service also includes Foot Washing which precedes the bread and wine. For this the Bishop (representing Christ) took off all his Bishop's robes, while John 13 v. 4-5 were read. Dressed only in the standard church uniform he washed the feet of three of the leading Baruti (who represented three of Christ's disciples) with a bowl of water brought by a Khosa. Then he took a towel wrapped around his waist, and dried the feet. All his actions matched the reading from John 13 v 3-7. Then he handed the towel to another Moruti (representing Peter) who proceeded to wash the feet of all those celebrating communion. While this was being done for each person, the Secretary read from John 13 v 3-7 repeatedly (the appropriate part for each action). When it was her turn to be washed another Secretary took over the reading.

After this, Communion was distributed in the same way. The Bishop started by giving it out to the same three Baruti, first giving them wafers and then wine from a glass wrapped in a blue plastic bag. While he did this the Secretary read from Mark 14, v 22-24, the reading matching the actions. Then these three Baruti took over to distribute communion to the remaining celebrants, men first and then women, to the accompaniment of the appropriate part of the reading from Mark.

When this was completed a very ecstatic hymn was sung accompanied by dancing around the prophecy poles and clothes, and when this ended members took back their property.*1

(v) New Uniform and Promotion Service

New uniforms, which often imply promotions may be given out at individual church services or, if the church has several branches, at the annual church conference, so that the promotion will have a wider recognition. All the churches held church conferences once or twice a year, Easter and Independence being the favoured times as that is when there are long holidays.

*1 This important service is described fully in Volume 2, pages 70-73.
I attended two services at which new uniforms were presented. One at Kanana which formed a part of the special Christmas service and which was attended by members usually absent in South Africa, the other at B.U.C.Z. formed part of the annual church conference. Both these services are described in greater detail in Volume 2, but in both the format was similar. The uniforms were placed in the centre of the dance circle, and the congregation danced around them singing hymns. Those to receive new uniforms or promotions entered the dance circle and were danced around. Then they were dressed in their new uniforms, women dressing women and men dressing men. Each individual was prayed on.

At both services the names of each newly promoted person was entered in a book by the appropriate Secretary. At the Kanana service one of the Baruti leading the service revealed his uniform had mistakenly been washed in bleach, a taboo, by non-members at his home. This caused some people, particularly women, on whom he later prayed, to receive Moya (the Spirit) very strongly - they leapt high in the air and tore off their head scarves and fell amongst the men. In fact his uniform had been washed by his new non-Zionist wife, who was pregnant and therefore suffering from maoto a molelo (ritually hot), in which condition she should not have touched his uniform.

The Biblical justification for this service is taken from the story of Joshua where Joshua's filthy clothes were replaced (Zechariah 3, v 3-4). Those receiving new uniforms were warned about the good behaviour expected from them and that these clothes formed a communion with God and should be worn at certain times, for example Church Conferences, for Communion and when visiting other churches.

At Kanana an "argument" broke out at one point when one woman's new uniform was missing. The Moruti in charge of the service explained that this was because she was not suitable to receive it (i.e. she was menstruating).

Preaching during the uniform services indicated the importance attached to Zion uniforms. For example at the B.U.C.Z. service members were reminded that their uniforms were white like those of angels, and they would be recognised at the Day of Judgement as those who were saved. They were further reminded that these uniforms were given through the power of God, and would thus protect them from disease and bad luck. (Obviously this has parallels with traditional protections).
Also in the same way that traditional doctors were not afraid to wear their earrings, beads and necklaces, but respect them wearing them into death, so should they.

In Volume 2 this service is described in some detail and it will be seen that it keeps closely to the Bible, at every point passages from the Bible being read to justify the procedure. The comparison with traditional doctors at one point (not being afraid to wear their earings and beads so should members not be afraid to show their uniforms that give them power and protection) is also a significant comparison as it shows how the Zion clothing holds a similar place to traditional articles that are believed to give power.

The various Baruti's sermons are interesting as they can be seen not necessarily merely to paraphrase the Bible readings as stated by Aquina.*2

(vi) Healing Service

As will be seen in Chapter 16 healing is an important aspect of the Zion Churches. Healing implies something wider than that available from the "modern" health services. For example it includes the healing of livestock, property and crops. A sufferer is not necessarily treated as an individual, nor a particular problem as an isolated random event. As with traditional religion the sufferer is often treated together with his family, and an incident may be seen as a symptom of a wider social problem.

The aim of many of the Zion remedies is similar to that of the traditional ones, to strengthen and protect the seriti. As with traditional medicine this involves treating the family as a unit. This is seen in the various special services referred to in this study. During prophesying, when a prophet "sees" the problems, the causal frame of reference and aim of remedies is similar to that outlined in Part 2 in connection with traditional medicine.

Although general healing of members took place at many individual services, a special Healing Service may also be held. I attended one such service at Apostolic Africa Christ Church in Zion in March 1979. This was held for sick members and it was explained to me that this was their "hospital", sick members attending this special service like patients attending a hospital clinic.

The particular individuals requiring healing at this service were the secretary's three children, the Bishop's two sons and two lady

*1 Volume 2, p. 57-63 (Kanana) and p. 63-70.
*2 Aquina 1969: 125.
Holy Water being prepared. Bishop stirs in ground powders from various bags. He stirs these in with his prophecy stick or cord (hanging around his neck). Another Moruti holds a special red candle whilst this is done. The Bishop also chews and spits matches into the water. He also dropped in three lighted matches.

Sick children are then washed with the mixture. Later they were held in the air in turn, by the Bishop as he prayed on them. Throughout the congregation stood in a surrounding circle, holding lighted white candles and singing hymns. Protective cords were then tied around the ankles, waists and wrists of the sick children.
members. Both of the latter had previously been prophesied and at this service they both received their appropriate cords and duek (head scarf). The cords had been "seen" as necessary for one lady to relieve the pains in her arms, and the head scarf for the other to cure headaches.

Brief details of this service are included below, fuller details may be found in Volume 2 pages 73-80.

A large bath of water was placed in the centre of the dance circle with a small bowl at either end. Five candles (provided by their parents) were lit for each child to be healed. These lighted candles were held by the members of the congregation who stood in a circle around the Bishop, his assistant, the children and the bath. While we sang hymns, the Bishop poured various substances from papers into the bath, stirring them in with the tassle on his waist cord (i.e. he was using it in the same way as traditional doctors use a seditse (whisk)). Whilst doing this the Bishop chewed matches, he lit other matches and threw them into the water. He also spat in the chewed matches. Each of the children was then undressed and washed in turn by the Bishop, water being poured over their heads using the small bowls alternately, as pourers. The childrens' screams were drowned by the singing.

The Bishop then prayed on each of the children and wrapped cords around their waists, wrists, necks and ankles before they were dressed. Then the women had their cords and duek tied on.

The Bishop then asked if anyone had received prophecy. He described what he had "seen" concerning the children and one of the Baruti. Both of these prophecies referred to the same problems dealt with by traditional doctors. For example one of the Secretary's children had bolei bo peto from its paternal relatives because the Secretary's engagement to the child's father had ended. Kgotla cases over the children and engagement presents were foreseen. The Moruti had similar problems - he was being bewitched by a girl who wanted to marry him. She was a member of another Zion Church.

(vii) Baptism/Purification

The only type of Baptism recognised is total immersion. Even those from other types of non-Zion churches who have been christened must be re-baptized by total immersion, although one is not re-baptized if transferring from another Zion Church.

Baptism is carried out in the various dams near Kanye. I was
invited to attend these services several times but on all except one occasion baptism did not take place due to a prophecy of dangerous water during the pre-service. For example at the special Easter service at Episcopal, it was prophesied that the waters would be too dangerous on that occasion for baptism. It should be noted in passing that when churches were asked the times and frequency when baptism took place, they either stated that baptism took place as necessary when there were baptismal candidates or that it took place two or three times a year, Christmas, Easter and Ascension being popular times. However the above example from Episcopal shows this is only an "ideal" and did not necessarily happen, because still the service held prior to the baptism might reveal adverse conditions for that occasion.

B.U.C.Z. was one of the churches where I was informed baptism took place as necessary. On July 28th, 1978 I was invited to a baptism service where 5 new members were to be baptized at dawn at Mmakgodumo Dam on the Northern side of Kanye. We arrived at the church at about 8.30 p.m. (they were still holding their services in their temporary church uphill) for an all-night service which was to culminate in the baptism.

This service is described fully on pages 80-85 of Volume 2. In fact this baptism did not take place either. During the pre-service when the baptismal candidate (the other candidates were absent) was called to kneel in the middle of the dance circle and the congregation danced around her, the prophets "saw" that she was not fully repentant and it was therefore impossible to baptize her. One prophet even mentioned that if she entered the waters of the dam to be baptized in this unrepentant condition she would be taken by the snake.

I finally managed to observe a baptismal service the following week at B.U.C.Z. This service is described on pages 85-87 of Volume 2. The form of baptism used is taken from Matthew 3. The story of Naaman in 2 Kings 5 v 9 - 14 was read and used as a basis for preaching which emphasized how Naaman was ordered to wash in the River Jordon to cure his leprosy. Also the preachings compared baptized members to the 5 wise virgins who had spare oil for their lamps, unlike the foolish ones who did not. In this way members would be ready for the Day of Judgement. However members were advised that baptism alone did not guarantee they were saved from Hell - they should also keep the Zion laws.
During the all night service held prior to the actual baptism in the dam at sunrise, the candidates were called in turn to the centre of the dance circle so that the prophets could "see" that it would be safe for them to go to baptism. During this pre-service the prophets were trying to ensure not only that the candidates were fully repentant of their sins, but that the waters and the water snake would not be dangerous. At the dam itself, the Evangelist prayed before he entered the water to start baptising, that they may all be protected from the snake.

A Khosa escorted each candidate in turn, out to the Evangelist, who submerged each one at least three times. Then each was brought back to the water's edge and prayed on by the two Barapedi. At this stage many of the candidates and those being purified, became strongly and uncontrollably possessed. They leapt high in the air, shouted, and some even fainted.

In the meanwhile the rest of the congregation sang hymns at the water's edge, beside a large fire. Those who were wet changed and warmed up by the fire. The short closing service included a prayer of gratitude for protection from the snake. Then we all returned to the village.

This total immersion during baptism and purification is believed to strengthen and protect the individual against adverse conditions that can result from a weakened seriti. This is therefore another example of Zionist remedies of protection and healing.

It should be emphasized that the prior prophesying of candidates is taken very seriously and also it is believed to be dangerous to be ritually impure or disobey prophetic warnings about the water. In February 1979, the Moruti of B.U.C.Z. told me how his church had recently been to baptism and one girl was told in the prophecy before the actual baptism that she should not go because she was not truly repentant, but she still went. Then at the baptism she disappeared under the water whilst being purified. They had all prayed hard and the Moruti himself had entered the water and found her in an underground cave where she had been taken by the water snake.

In April 1979 they had again gone to baptism. When one of the Baruti entered the water one candidate came out to him to be baptized. Then the water suddenly started rising in big waves and they ran away and left their things. This dangerous water was the snake. They had not consulted their Spirit properly or they would have "seen" the snake. Apparently on this occasion the Moruti in charge had insisted on going during the late afternoon instead of the very early morning when the snake is supposed to be sleeping. In the afternoon it is dangerous because this is when the snake goes to Kwakwe on the other side of the village, to visit its wife who lives in the caves on that hill. (There is believed to be a tunnel under the hill which it uses to pass from the
The Moruti prays before starting to baptize, that the water snake will not disturb them.

Baptizing. Each person is dipped at least three times, and the Moruti prays: in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.
One of the duties of the Khosa (the woman in green) is to help at Baptism. She takes each candidate to and from the water. The Morapedi (prayer) is praying on the newly baptized person. This new member, like many during baptism and purification, has Moya (Spirit), which she cannot control.

Praying towards the East thanking God for his protection from the snake during the baptism and purification, at the end of the service.
Again, at the end of November 1978, a big memorial service was held in Kanye Hall following the deaths of Zionists in a road accident. They were from a church called Head Mountain (one that associated with B.U.C.Z). Many churches attended to make Matsheiso contributions. The B.U.C.Z. Moruti told me that one woman who had died from this church had been prophesied that she should not go on this particular trip as she would die, but she had insisted. The lorry carrying them had been taking them to baptism; on the way back the lorry had over-turned and she had been killed.

(viii) Seed Service

This special service is roughly equivalent to the traditional practices connected with the planting season, which include the doctoring of seeds. Traditionally, before planting, individuals take their seeds to a traditional doctor so that the harvest may be successful. A traditional doctor casts his ditaola (bones) to ensure the seeds have not been bewitched, and to protect them as necessary from previous or future boloi - typically by "washing" them. (See Chapter 9 and Volume 2 for fuller details.)

I attended a seed service at B.U.C.Z. on November 1st, 1978. It was held during the week and had kept being postponed. It was supposed to last between 5.00 - 9.00 p.m., but did not in fact start until about 9.30 p.m. It was held uphill at B.U.C.Z.'s temporary church, before they had finished their own in their Moruti's yard.

A fuller description follows in Volume 2. At this point certain similarities between Zionist and traditional practices may usefully be noted. In the same way that seeds may not be treated by a traditional doctor without the household head's authority, so too with the Zionists. This was actually announced formally during this Zion Seed Service (see Volume 2, page 88 ). Traditional doctors divine with their ditaola (bones) any problems connected with the seeds (past, present or future), so too do Zion prophets prophesise seeds brought to them. This was carried out by all the seeds (in bags) being placed in the centre of the dance circle. During the following dancing, prophets received Moya (the Spirit), which showed them the individual problems.

In the service I attended prophecies revealed a similar belief system, for example, one person's Lands had been bewitched by dibeela (in this case a buried foetus). Just as traditional doctors often "wash"
seeds to protect them, so too the Zionists' method includes washing, in this case with Holy Water which was poured in to each bag of seeds.

4. Special Services held at an individual's home

The second group of special services will now be described. As has already been stated, these can be further sub-divided into those held to celebrate a particular occasion corresponding with a life cycle event and those special services held in times of particular troubles.

Those of the first group include Botsetsi, Wedding/Lomipi, Matschediso and Funeral, and Badimo. Those of the second group include Dimpeleo and Setlhabelo.

a. Life Cycle Service

(i) Botsetsi Service

A traditional Botsetsi has already been described in Part 2. Zionists have the same belief that a woman who is newly confined is impure and she is treated in the same way by being kept inside the house. Instead of a traditional doctor "closing the house" a Zion cord may be hung over the door and Zion cords may be tied around the baby's wrists, ankles, neck and waist,*1 and Holy Water sprinkled by a Zion Moruti to guard the mother and baby from people who intend boloi, or from people in dangerous conditions—menstruating women, people closely related to death etc. etc. At the end of her confinement, a Zion Motsetsi may hold a Botsetsi service at her home to formally close her period of confinement.

I attended two such services, one at Episcopal and one for the Bishop's wife of Kanana. They both followed the same basic format. Animals were slaughtered (in the former case a sheep, and in the latter, 2 cattle) to provide meat for the feast and feast food was cooked (samp, rice, salad etc.) At both traditional beer was brewed*3 although it is not drunk by the Zionists, the non-Zion guests "took care" of it.

In Volume 2, the service held at Episcopal is described in more detail, as this service although smaller than the one held for the

*1 Like traditional cords of skin put by a traditional doctor.
*2 i.e. those suffering from Maoto a molelo.
*3 This is traditional.
Mma-Bishop of Kanana, included some extra parts.

As is shown by the prophecies, this Episcopal family were suffering from boloi and a moloi had even tried to tamper with the baby's clothes during the formal display of these the afternoon prior to the service. As a result the 3 women responsible for bringing in the mother and baby had to be purified before leaving to bring them. This was to protect the baby from Herod (boloi) and also to protect them, either from the harm directed to the baby being reflected to them by the baby's protections or from being falsely blamed at a later date, by traditional doctors or Zion prophets, for doing harm that might come to the baby. (It was this same mother whose clothes had been brought by her husband to be examined by the prophets, when she was pregnant of this child, which is referred to in the Episcopal Easter Service (see Vol.2, p.146)).

The Zion Botsetsi service includes the same ideas as traditional Tswana religion. This service marks the end of the period of confinement, prayers and Holy Water cleanse the mother and baby, so following it the mother is free to walk around the village, as she is no longer "ritually hot" and hence a danger to peoples' livestock and crops and the ritually weak.

During the service the new baby is formally introduced as a member of society and presented with gifts. The Zionists protect the mother and baby from harm and those with evil intent. The Biblical justification for this service is the Nativity, with the baby representing Christ and the parents Mary and Joseph. The presentation of gifts (which as will be seen takes place in a light-hearted competitive manner) is based upon the gifts made to the infant Christ by the Wise Men. Reference was made in the preachings to Herod's attempts to kill Christ leading to the Holy family's escape to Egypt. Just as God had protected the infant Christ from the evil intentions of Herod, so the aim of Zion remedies at this time is to protect the infant and mother from boloi.

The instructions in Leviticus 12 for the days of confinement and purification of a women following confinement, is the Biblical justification for the practice of seclusion and purification. Luke 2, 25 - 35, describing the infant Christ being brought to the Temple, is the justification for bringing the child to the church. *1

(ii) **Weddings**

Zion weddings are no different from those described in Part 2, & Vol.2. They are either Setswana or Sekgoa weddings. The female Secretary for

*1 Fuller details of these services may be found in Vol. 2, p. 92-105.
Kanana was married in 1981 to a Moruti from her church and she had a Setswana Wedding - her mother's Bogadi had not yet been "cooked for" (lomipi) so they could not have a Sekgoa wedding.

The sister-in-law of the B.U.C.Z. Moruti married a Kanana Moruti in 1980, and they had a Sekgoa wedding. The Evangelist of Africa married an Episcopal girl that same year and they too had a Sekgoa wedding. These weddings showed that Zionists are still subject to the same traditional practices and customs in weddings. Bogadi is given and received, traditional beer is brewed and presented and drunk (though not by Zionists) etc. However Zionist church members do ask each other to assist at their weddings and also invite their fellow Zionists as guests.

However, Zionist Holy Water, instead of traditional medicine, is used by a Zionist family to protect the pots and it should be noted that Holy Water could be used to "help a person to be married". One of my informants from B.U.C.Z. borrowed an empty bottle from me to collect Holy Water that she needed to use to protect her from the Boloi that she had been told was stopping her from being married. She had to "wash" with a little bit every day, sprinkling some onto her hands and then rubbing it over her face. This was in September 1978. The following year, 1979 she did not return to school as she was pregnant and had moved to the home of the father of the child-to-be, from where the baby was born that year. In 1981 she became pregnant again but unfortunately had a miscarriage at 8 months due to Boloi. By now she lived with her future in-laws and by the end of 1982 the marriage had still not taken place. (To live with in-laws whilst being unmarried is most unusual.)

In October 1982 one of the Evangelists at B.U.C.Z. married a church member by a Sekgoa wedding, the wedding celebration commenced at the bride's home on a Friday. The previous night a special Ditapelo (prayers) service was held at the groom's home, where the couple were put in the centre and prophesied. This can perhaps be compared with the way in which a traditional doctor is called to divine when a couple first show they would like to marry.

(iii) Funeral Services

B.U.C.Z.'s Moruti's sister-in-law died. Before the burial there was a wake that lasted the whole night (this was exactly like a non-Zion one - see Chap.8 - except many more Zion hymns were sung.) The body was brought in the same way from the mortuary at sunset the night
before the burial, and laid in one of the houses for the night, surrounded
by candles and sheltered by temporary curtains. The burial was also the
"normal" kind, except that, as the dead girl was a woman, the body was taken
care of by women (according to Zion practice). The six women carrying
the coffin were all members of either B.U.C.Z. or Kanana and all dressed
in their special church uniforms. The Bishop of Kanana led the pro­
cession from the house and the Assistant Moruti of B.U.C.Z. followed.
The coffin was put on two chairs in front of the entrance to the yard.
Then followed the "usual" preliminary service of hymns, prayers and
preaching. The Mma Bishop of Kanana was asked to pray, which she did in
SiNdebele. Then the Zion Church members (Kanana and B.U.C.Z.) carrying
lighted remains of the candles that had been standing around the coffin
during the night, walked as an escort of honour around the mortuary car
carrying the coffin to the nearby Pentecostal Church. (The Church is
attended mainly by Maburu who live near by). We all entered first, then
the church members and Baruti escorted the coffin. The Zion Baruti and
other Baruti attending (including the Leburu Moruti of that church) sat
together on the platform. The church members stood around the coffin
holding their lighted candles, throughout the service. Then we went to
the cemetery where the procedure was "as usual". At the cemetery the
"usual" men took over carrying the coffin. When we returned to the home,
where the people were served with the funeral feast, many church members
were helping with the work, as they had been ever since the death had taken
place.

(iv) Matshediso Service and Kanolo (to sympathise and to take off mourning
clothes)

As has already been stated in Part 2, it is believed that those
who have been closely related to death are dangerous and at the end of a
period of mourning (after the new rains have fallen) they must be cleansed,
during which the signs that show they are connected with death are
removed. (It has already been stated that in the case of a widow these
signs are the black clothes, and the other relatives wear black patches
pinned on the left sleeve above the elbow.) I did not have the opportunity
to attend the cleansing of a Zion widow but did witness the special
Kanolo and Matshediso Service held for a brother and sister whose parents
had both died the year before. Zionists wear blue instead of black for
death so they had been wearing blue patches of cloth to show their
connection to the deaths, and the woman was also wearing a blue duek.
This service was held on a Saturday evening like other special services, in August 1978. It was held by Episcopal at the home of the bereaved son, and other churches were invited to attend. This was an all-night service. (Fuller details of the service can be found in Volume 2, pages 105-112.) During the services the main celebrants were obviously the brother and sister. As will be seen from the Mookamedi's introductory address (Volume 2 p. 105-7) this did not seem to be a very usual service which supports the idea that Zion ritual is dynamic and although it was originally introduced from South Africa, the Kanye churches are still developing their rituals for the various Tswana ritual occasions.

Presumably without such a Zion service, Zionists would have to be cleansed by a traditional doctor, as if untreated they would remain ritually hot and therefore endanger livestock, crops, ritually weak etc.

The Biblical justifications that were used and were read as the brother and sister had the signs of mourning removed, were Zechariah 3 v 3-4, which refers to Joshua's filthy garments being removed from him by the Angel on the instructions of God. Also Exodus 40 v 10-13 was read to justify the celebrants being washed. Job 42 v 11-16 was read prior to the part of the Matshediso Service where the offerings were made by each Church. This latter reference is to the time when people came to Job with gifts as a sign of sympathy for his problems.

Following the service food was served (tea and fat cakes) provided by the brother and sister who held the service.

As will be seen in the fuller description in Volume 2, this service appears to be very rare, as during the part of the service where the gifts were to be presented there was a long interruption and "argument" as to the correct procedure of the method of offering the gifts. This discussion shows that "correct procedure" is very important to Zionists and if mistakes are made they try to correct them.*1

(v) Badimo Service*2

As is seen in the Matshediso Service, there is some evidence to support the theory that members not only believe in Badimo but Badimo are given a place in Zion beliefs*3 (see the owner of the Matshediso's speech and the thanks for the money—Volume 2, p. 111).

*1 See also Episcopal Botsetsi Volume 2. pages 96-8.
*2 Maybe this should be included under Setlhabelo Service. November 1982, I received information that Zionists call it Ditlhabelo but traditionalists—Badimo.
*3 This is unlike in orthodox Christian Churches where "officially" such beliefs would be covert.
I did not attend a Badimo Service at this third type of Zion Church, but such a service was held in June 1982 by B.U.C.Z. The son of the home had for some time been having a lot of problems where he works in the mines in South Africa. He was told in a prophecy at his church in the mines that he needed to make a Badimo at his home in Kanye for his dead father as that was the cause of his troubles.\(^1\) Subsequently he came home to Kanye to make this service, and on the Friday afternoon the cow was killed in his yard in the Zion way, i.e. Holy Water was sprinkled (see Setlhabelo Service below) and Zionists began to collect for the service. Parts of the animal were burnt on the fire during the all-night service. However on this occasion no drums were beaten at this service as they had a Motsetsi in the house and did not want to disturb the baby. Zionists were fed at sunrise on the following day, Saturday. Later that day people of the Kgotla were called to eat all the meat and food as in a traditional Badimo Feast (see Chap. 8).

b. **Services held in times of special trouble**

**Setlhabelo and Ditapelo Services (Sacrifice and Prayer Services)**

It has already been mentioned that the Zion Churches of the third category can further be sub-divided into those that do believe in sacrifice and those that do not. Of the ones that I particularly visited Bethlehem and Episcopal did not practise sacrifice services, whereas the others did. Both sub-categories however, held special Ditapelo services. These services would be held at a family home when the family was suffering either from illness, bad luck or other types of misfortune. The family would then request the church to visit their home to find out what was wrong. Services would involve the usual praying, singing and dancing, only on those occasions the prophets would particularly request the Spirit to show them what especially was wrong in that home. Often other churches would be invited so that more prophets would be present. Examples of these services will now be described.

(i) **Ditapelo held by Bethlehem**\(^2\)

This Ditapelo service was held as part of a Sunday service that had started in the customary way as described above. It took place on August 4th 1978. After a short Sunday service it was announced that we were going to pray at a member's home where there had been a great deal of

\(^1\) N.B. This man was from a Kgotla already mentioned in Part 1, where all the men are dead - the wives have bewitched them.

\(^2\) Fuller details may be found in Volume 2, p. 112-118.
trouble. For example the children who were educated were refusing to look after their family. We then left in procession with the men at the front, then the baptized women, followed by the unbaptized women and the children. The drum was carried on the back of a bicycle and as we moved through the village we sang hymns while the drum was beaten, and members danced.

When we finally arrived near the home (it was at the far end of the village) the leader (the Vice-Bishop) came to the front and led with his prophecy stick (a palm frond). He led the singing and we all fell into single file in the above order. He led us around the kgotla outside the man's house a few times in a "zig-zag" fashion, (see diagram below) and we then entered a rondavel at the back of the yard which had been newly
smeared with cattle dung. There was a table with a candle stick to the left of the door. Everyone then took up their usual positions i.e. the men to the left of the altar by the door, baptized women to the right of the altar. The Moruti (Vice-Bishop) stood behind the altar with Mma Mookamedi sitting on his left, and the main men to his right.

The owner of the home then stood up and formally told everybody that things were wrong at his home and he was glad they had come to help him. *1

The service was conducted by the Vice-Bishop of Bethlehem who drew parallels between the Church as Jonah and the home as Ninevah. He said that if like Jonah they had refused to help, they could have been punished like Jonah. Most of the Bible readings and preaching were directed towards comforting the owner of the home by telling him that God will never desert him.

Following these comforting words and Bible readings, the congregation moved into the lolwapa where there was more room to dance. The family were put in the centre of the dance circle and they were prayed on by the Barapedi to strengthen them.

Here again, as in traditional medicine, healing is aimed at repairing the obviously broken family social relationships, reassurance is given with the special prayers to make those who are suffering feel stronger to face their problems. The difference is that the protection is from God.

(ii) Setlhabelo (pl. Ditlhabelo) (Sacrifice) Services

Sacrifice Services can be of many types and are based on the various sacrifices detailed in Leviticus. In each case they were made because the family holding the service was suffering from various problems and on asking for a special prophecy at their church had been told that such a service was necessary. The prophet had "seen" the type of sacrifice needed.

The churches that practise these services justify them by claiming that the burning of the sacrificial items pleases God, and hence the presence of Moya (the Spirit) is strengthened to allow those with the gift of prophecy to "see" and so analyze the problems of the family. (This is not unlike the philosophy of a traditional Badimo feast which aims to gather the Badimo's attention around one family, thus all the food must be eaten in that home, and the leftovers are buried and/or

*1 This compares with traditional doctors, where the owner of the home must formally give permission.
It appeared that a Setlhabelo Service is often held after other methods had failed. For example the family that held the Setlhabelo of unleavened bread had previously held a Ditapelo, which although helping them, had not effected a complete cure. Data collected from the interview schedules suggested further evidence to support this, i.e. a recourse to remedies of increasing complexity - Holy Water may be prescribed first, then cords, then special services of increasing complexity. Ditlhabelo services themselves can involve increasingly larger sacrifices, for example the sacrifice of unleavened bread, obviously involves a smaller sacrifice than the offering of a beast (sheep or cow). At one of the services I attended not only a cow was sacrificed but also unleavened bread, oil, spirits, tea, coffee, sugar and salt.

Once a Setlhabelo Service has been prophesied as necessary, preparations are made. If the family do not have a suitably large house, a temporary shelter of poles and tarpaulin is erected in their yard. Church members help with this and with the preparation of the sacrificial items and cooking the food to be eaten after the service.

The Church organizing the service is the first to arrive, as a congregation. (When I went with B.U.C.Z., we collected at the Moruti's home at about 10.00 p.m. where a short service was held, then we walked through the village singing hymns. The Moruti walked at the back sprinkling our footsteps with protective Holy Water.)

Whilst awaiting for the arrival of the other invited congregations the service would start in the usual way and the host congregation would be warned to be polite to the visitors. As each visiting church arrived, it would enter in the usual way, in a line behind its leader, starting a hymn outside which was taken up by those inside. After being formally welcomed, the visitors would move to their various positions (women together, Secretaries with Secretaries, Dikhosa with Dikhosa etc.)

When all the visitors had arrived the owner of the home would be called upon to explain the reason for the service and give his formal permission. Before continuing, the prophet's would dance to "see" if it was possible to hold the service.*]

Next as a Secretary read from Numbers 8, v. 1-3 (about God instructing Moses to tell Aaron to light 7 candles) 7 candles placed on a table

*]This is comparable to traditional doctors throwing their bones before commencing work on a case, to "see" if they may continue.
next to the Baruti would be lit. After further hymn singing, Bible readings and preachings, the sacrificial items would be displayed as the relevant parts of Leviticus that described that particular sacrifice, were read. More packets of candles would be opened, lit and distributed to the church choirs who would lead the congregation outside to the sacrificial fire that had been lit by the Dikhosa.

The family would sit in a semi-circle near the fire and the candle holders and rest of the congregation would stand surrounding them and the fire. Next, while the congregation sang, clapped and drummed hymns, the sacrifice would be made. Usually this was conducted by two or three Baruti, whilst the prophets danced around the fire and the family. Usually only experienced prophets danced, clutching their prophecy poles. Those who could not control the Spirit or who were impure were advised not to dance because of the "power" of the sacrificial fire - on one occasion a prophet caught on fire and on another, a prophet rolled into the fire.

Before each item was sacrificed, the family was liberally sprinkled by the sacrificers with Holy Water from a bucket, the item (cows liver, kidneys, bottle of oil, cakes etc.) was raised three times and thrown into the fire. After all the items had been burnt, the candles were collected in bundles and thrown on as well. Any remaining Holy Water was added too. Hymn singing continued until the prophets started to receive Moya. They were called upon one at a time to reveal their prophecies. The singing was stopped for this, although the prophets often walked briskly around the fire. Some would be whistling, another twirled a string, and several appeared to have private conversations with Moya. For example they would say words such as "Wareng, Moya?" (What are you saying, Spirit?"), or they used non-Setswana words, probably S. African languages or the special mines language. One prophet delivered his prophecy whilst kneeling in front of the family, speaking in a high, whining voice. - They each had their own style.

The subject matter of the prophecies was very similar to the divinations of traditional doctors, typically physical symptoms, were described - aching legs, coughs etc., caused by boloi; bad luck, livestock deaths, kgotla trials etc. The offending boloi were commonly relatives whose motives were jealousy of cattle, marriage, inheritance etc. Remedies would be prophesied.*1

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*1 Full details are given in Volume 2, p. 118-141.
After prophecies had been given the family were prayed upon by
the prophets and/or Barapedi. At one service each family member had to
hold first their hands, then the soles of their feet over the smoke of
the dying sacrificial fire. (This appears to be similar to some
traditional remedies where patients may bathe in the smoke of burning
herbal remedies.)

If prophecies had revealed the location of any buried boloi and
powerful specialists were present, it would be dug out. The service
might then return inside or continue outside in the lolwapa. Prophecy­
ing would continue and if there was time individuals requesting prophecies
would be attended to.

At the conclusion of the service after sunrise, a meal would
be served to all. This would consist of the non-sacrificial parts of
the slaughtered animal (if it had been an animal sacrifice), feast
food and/or tea and fat cakes.

I attended four or these services, three of which will now be
referred to briefly and in more detail in Volume 2, p. 118-141.

a. Sacrifice of unleavened bread*1

This service was organized by B.U.C.Z. for a Moruti of
a very small church that often associates with B.U.C.Z.
The Moruti's family had become ill, the sons who were working did
not help their parents, sisters and young children of the household. The
Moruti, himself revealed he had been very ill.

The sacrificial items were based upon Leviticus 24, v. 1-8 -
that is it was a sacrifice of unleavened bread and no animal was
involved. During the sacrifice cooking oil, methylated spirits, tea,
coffee, sugar and salt were also burnt. As in all these services
Biblical instructions were carefully followed - as the Church Secretary
read from Leviticus the appropriate item was held up, and when she read
Leviticus 24, v. 6 referring to the 12 cakes being set out in two rows
of 6, so this was done with the sacrificial cakes.

When I saw the owner of this home about a year later, he told
me he had been greatly helped by this service. Although his sons
were still a problem, there was now much more co-operation in the
family.

*1 For fuller details see Volume 2, page 118-129.
b. Setlhabelo sa kgomo service (Sacrifice of a cow) and other items

The second service I attended involved a much larger sacrifice being offered. At this service I also had the opportunity to observe the preparations of some of the sacrificial items, these being based on the types of sacrifices described in Leviticus 4, v. 1-11 and Leviticus 24, v. 1-7.

This service was held in September 1978. The family where it was held had been prophesied to make this sacrifice as they had been having many problems. The particular problem was that the mother of the family had become very confused and kept disappearing into the hills. She had been taken to the hospital and then referred to the Mental Hospital in Lobatse but in-patient treatment there had failed to work. The family had also tried traditional doctors but this too had failed.

At about 3.00 p.m. on the Saturday afternoon I was called to witness the slaughtering of the cow. The oldest son, a South African
miner, was the one who had provided the cow, a red one. The cow was tied up and secured on the ground **inside the yard**. This may have been because it could not be slaughtered in the kraal as that was protected by traditional medicines and, as will be seen, this slaughtering involved the use of Zion Holy Water. Only men were taking part in this and they were not wearing their uniforms. Women were busy preparing the food.

The B.U.C.Z. Moruti (B.U.C.Z. was the Church holding this service) was wearing his ordinary clothes but had his prophecy cord tied around his waist and held his metal prophecy stick. The Evangelist was holding a Bible, from which he read from Leviticus 3, v 1-2. A knife was used to slaughter the cow by cutting its throat. There was a disagreement as to who exactly should do this. Then one of the new members was told to do it as the others claimed they did not know how to do it. First the knife was prayed for. The Moruti held the cow's nose with his prophecy stick while the Bible was read, then he went around the cow sprinkling it with water from a bowl. To sprinkle the water, he used the tassel from his prophecy cord. Then the beast's throat was cut, the blood from the wound was collected into basins and bowls.

Next the animal was skinned and the parts to be used for the sacrifice were separated according to the instructions in Leviticus. The rest of the meat was then cooked for the "feast". This sacrifice also included the sacrificial items of Leviticus 24, v 1-8 (oil, cakes, flour etc).

Many churches attended this service with their prophets and, as will be seen in the fuller description in Volume 2 pages 129-137, besides the family being prophesied and prayed on and sprinkled with Holy Water, boloi items were actually dug up by the Zion specialists.

By December 1978 the family were much better and in July 1979, I was told that the mother was normal again and completely cured of her mental problems. In November 1982 one of the sons was building a new house, but it was being built on the edge of the village, well away from his kgotla to avoid boloi.

(c) **Setlhabelo sa Kgomo Service (Cow Sacrifice)**

This was another sacrifice involving the sacrifice of a cow, but no other items were sacrificed. The format of the service was the same as the ones already referred to except that it was held during the week due to the shortage of Saturdays before people would be leaving
for their Lands.

The family had been having many problems and had already had other special Ditapelo services. They had bottles of Holy Water and cords hanging from the rafters of their house as protection. The most recent disaster had been that the woman of the house had been burnt all over the face when a paraffin stove had flared up suddenly. This service is described in more detail in Volume 2, page 137-141.

In my follow-up inquiries to the people who held the above services, they all felt that they had been helped.
The sacrifice and its form had been previously prophesied as necessary for the bewitched family. Here the Moruti sprinkles Holy Water with his prophecy cord onto the bullock before it is slaughtered. As he does this he prays.

Later that night, the parts of the bullock and the other items to be sacrificed, were brought into the service which started inside one of the houses of the family's lolwapa. As each of the articles was mentioned in the Bible reading, it was held up by the officiating Moruti.
The service then moved outside to the sacrificial fire. The family were seated near the fire, and the congregation stood in a surrounding circle. The Church Choir are holding lighted candles.

Prophets dancing around the fire and the family while the congregation sing hymns—this is to call Moya and prophecy. In the background a sacrificer is sacrificing a bottle of oil. N.B. the prophet clutching his prophecy stick while he dances.
After the family have been washed with Holy Water, they put their hands and then the soles of their feet in the smoke of the sacrificial fire.

A prophet prophecying the family. Each prophet has his own style - this one always kneels before those he prophesies.
CHAPTER 16: CHURCH MEMBERS AND MEMBERSHIP

The method by which people join the Zion churches and become members is described in the Baptism and Uniform Services. In this section an attempt will be made to explain the attraction of these churches and the type of people who are attracted to them. Information for this was collected by means of a survey. Members were interviewed either after church services or when they came to visit at my house. Thus in no way could the respondents be called a random sample. In fact to obtain a truly random sample would have been difficult as people are seasonally absent at their Lands, Cattle-posts, on contracts at the mines in South Africa, or working in the various urban areas of South Africa. The congregations are thus very fluid.

It should also be noted that as one of the main aims was to try and find out what attracted members to their Zion Churches, a certain rapport was necessary in order to gather reliable, often quite personal, information as the question on why they had first joined often involved personal explanations of witchcraft. This survey was therefore not conducted until members were well used to seeing my interpreter and myself at their services.

However, for all its difficulties and shortcomings, I believe that this survey does reveal some useful qualitative results. It, too, can be compared with West's, which was conducted in similar circumstances in Soweto. Whereas his was administered to members in three churches, mine was administered mainly to five different churches. His survey covered 60 members, mine covered 66. Table 1 shows the numbers interviewed from each church.

Table 1: Distribution of members from different churches in survey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.U.C.Z.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanana</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z.C.C.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*2 West 1975. Chapter 5.
*3 West 1975. See Appendix 1, Survey C.
*1 Details of this follow in the Appendix, Vol. 2, p. 155-160.
It has already been stated in Chap. 10 that Zionist churches were originally banned in Kanye until after Independence. The main mission church, particularly of the older generation as it was the one to which the Chief's family were converted, is the U.C.C.S.A. (originally called the L.M.S.), which was established in Kanye in the 1840’s. The other mission churches represented in Kanye are Seventh Day Adventist (1920’s) which has a large following as it also owns the hospital, and the Lutheran and the Roman Catholic Churches which both started in 1972. There are numerous types of Zion and Pentecostal churches. Although very few people deny being Christians and, as has already been shown, even Pagans will be buried with Christian prayers and hymns by Christian ministers, people tend to regard themselves only as members of churches once they have started paying membership dues and have been baptized/confirmed (as appropriate) in that church. So although many of my respondents (76 %) stated that they had no previous church membership this should not be taken to mean that therefore they were necessarily Pagans. Whereas West notes that 73% of his respondents had joined a mission church before, and 27% an Independent Church, only 24. % of my respondents had previously belonged to other churches. Of this 24. % only 14. % had previously belonged to Zion churches and 10. % had belonged to mission churches.

Table 2: Previous Church Membership of Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Zion</th>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L.M.S.</td>
<td>S.D.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.U.C.Z.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanana</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z.C.C.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>76. %</td>
<td>14. %</td>
<td>10. %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perhaps at this point mention should be made of the composition of my respondents according to age and marital status. Respondents were asked their marital status but this was not really a very good guide.

*1 West 1975: page 79.
*2 All percentages in this Chapter are corrected to the nearest decimal place.
to their true marital status. Some detail has already been given on
marriage in Kanye. It should be noted that although a few people will
admit to being engaged, engagements are usually secret due to fear of
bewitchment, so many people who stated they were single were really
generated and supporting or supported by a fiancé/fiancée. However all the
leaders were married and, as West has stated,* a Moruti should not remain
unmarried and leaders and their wives are usually given their promotions
as a couple.

Age of Respondents

34 (52%) of my informants were in the 16-25 age group.
11 (17%) were 26-30, 8 (12%) were 31-35, 4 were 36-39 (6%) and
only 9 (14%) were 40 or over. There were various reasons for this.
Many men over 18, were working in the mines in South Africa, so they are
greatly under-represented in my sample. The usual church services in
Kanye are dominated by women and children. Africa Church is also
greatly under-represented as it had only a small following of regular
attenders, and many people, including the leader, were often absent at
the mines, their Cattle-posts or Lands.

Reason for Joining

My respondents gave as their main reason for joining their church
as bewitchment. The symptoms of this were the usual traditional ones,
for example, personal sickness, sickness of children, problems at the
Lands etc. were all seen as evidence they were bewitched. They
would often say that they had tried traditional doctors or the hospital
but had failed to find help either from traditional or Western methods.
Here are a few examples of the replies to the question "Why did you
choose this church?"

Mrs. K.M. (a widow), Bethlehem: "... I was sick with stomach pains. I
tried the hospital and traditional doctors but they were no good. Then
I heard from a friend that the Moruti of Bethlehem was very good at
helping people and he cured me. I do not know what caused my sickness."

Mr. M., Bethlehem: "I was sick and the whole family was sick, we had
been given sejeso (Setswana poison) by Baloi. We tried the hospital and
traditional doctors but were not helped. We heard this Moruti was good
and were cured by him."

*1 West 1975: 53.
Mr. S.M., Bethlehem: "I was sick and my children were always dying. I tried the S.D.A. church and the hospital to cure them. I also tried traditional doctors, then I was healed by the Moruti of this church." (This respondent now has 5 young children.)

Miss R.C. - former Methodist from a Methodist family in Barolong Farms, now a member of Bethlehem: "I found that only this Moruti could cure me. I was sick and had high blood pressure that caused me to become dizzy and faint. I would even fall into the fire (her leg was badly scarred from such a burn). I tried the hospital and traditional doctors but no one could help me. Then my mother heard of this Moruti. They prayed for me at the church and now the dizziness and fainting has been reducing."

Miss E.K., Bethlehem: "I was very sick with heart trouble and would often go astray. The hospital failed to help me. Then one night my mother (an L.M.S. member) dreamt that she should bring me to Bethlehem to be healed. She did, and I have been cured."

Mr. M.R., B.U.C.Z: "I was sick with heart trouble and felt like hanging myself. Lobatse (Mental) Hospital failed to cure me, also traditional doctors were no good. My mother brought me here when she heard that this Moruti was good. I was prophesized and told my problems were caused by the continual quarrelling of my parents, who had been bewitched. I was healed by this Moruti."

Mr. C.J., B.U.C.Z: "I was sick, and had been given Setswana poison which was in my stomach. I saw someone who had been sick like me, and he told me that he had been healed by this Moruti. So I came to this church and was healed."

Mr. K.J., B.U.C.Z: "I was sick... I was bewitched so that I was paralysed and could not even eat. I went to the hospital and even fainted there but they could not help me. Then I had a dream that I should join this Zion Church and if I was prayed for by the Moruti I would be healed. This is what I did."

Mr. O.O., B.U.C.Z: "I had swollen legs, the swelling even spread up to my waist. The hospital failed to help me. My sisters were members of this church, so I tried to ask for help from this Moruti and was cured."

Miss N., B.U.C.Z: "I was bewitched in the stomach and eyes. The hospital and traditional doctors could not help me. So a cousin told me about this Moruti, and I was cured."
Miss M.R. Kanana: "I was ill in the stomach and always dizzy. The hospital
could not help me. I had been given Setswana poison. I was brought here
by my mother and cured."

Miss K.M. Kanana: "I was sick with heart trouble. Traditional doctors
could not help me, so I was brought here by my brother who is a member."

Miss B.N. Kanana: "I was sick in the stomach. The hospital failed to
help me and then I heard from a friend that this church was helpful."

The above are just a few of the typical answers that were given
by respondents. Table 3 presents the results for all the respondents.

Table 3: Respondents' reasons for joining

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>B.U.C.Z. Kanana</th>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Episcopal</th>
<th>Bethlehem</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Healing</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (including teachings)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage/Family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N.B. One respondent gave more than one reason.)

These figures obviously show healing as the chief reason for
joining. They are lower than West's, but it should be noted that Kanye
is a rural area and 8/66 (12%) of the respondents joined their church on
marriage (only 2 because of family membership). Marriages are still
often arranged by parents in Kanye and it is understood that a wife joins
her husband's church. This might not be the case so much in an urban
area like Soweto and would help to explain why the percentage I obtained
is lower than West's.

Another question that is connected to the reason for the member
originally joining, was that about the use of cords, specially prophesied:
parts of church uniform, and use of Holy Water. All respondents used
Holy Water either regularly or periodically. These are the common
remedies given at the Zion Churches. The Holy Water, as explained in:
Chap. 14, is either drunk daily, or used for washing, or periodically
for example during special individual healing or at general healing
services. The cords and uniforms are always individually prophesied as

*1 West's figures for Zion churches were 83% joined for healing. (West
op. cit. page 80.) Daneel found that 70.3% of his Rhodesian MaShona sample
joined for healing, either for themselves or a close relative. (Daneel 1971:
167) Mullings' research on a similar new religious movement in Ghana found
similar results - 3/3 of members had originally come for healing.
remedies and mention has already been made of this. Table 4 shows the use of cords and specially prophesied parts of uniform.

Table 4: Respondents use of cords and specially prophesied uniform

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.U.C.Z.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanana</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N.B. as Z.C.C. do not use cords at their church nor the same type of uniforms, they were excluded from this table.)

The question that is also connected with healing is the one about Zion Special Services: - "Have you or your family ever had a special service at your home?" However, here it should be remembered that in many families they would not host a Zion Service if they were using traditional medicines as well, i.e. in such a family where the owners of the home might be traditional and the children or younger generation are Zionists. Problems in such a home would usually be solved by a traditional doctor. For example a traditional Badimo was held by one of my neighbours as the owner of the home was not Zionist, although their sons and daughters were. However, their daughter and one son had both held Botsetsi Services. Also if traditional doctors have failed to help a family, the Zionists may be called in, for example one Setlhabelo Service described in Chapter 15. was held in a family where the mother was not a Zionist and the father was dead. It should also be remembered that special services usually involve a certain outlay in food for the feast and/or sacrifice, therefore it would be more difficult for them to be held by poorer members. Table 5 summarises the results of the answers I received to this question.

*1 See Chapter 14, p. 163-5.
Table 5: Respondents holding Special Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.U.C.Z.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanana</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It has already been stated that these churches were originally banned in Kanye and in fact they originate from South Africa. A question to try to show the correlation of a family connection with South Africa, and hence a more positive attitude to joining something originating from South Africa, was the question "Do you have relatives working in South Africa?" It could be assumed that those who have relatives in South Africa would probably be more receptive to the idea of being Zionist i.e. when they were having problems they would be more likely to have friends and relatives who would successfully advise them to obtain help from the Zionists, after they may have tried other remedies unsuccessfully. Table 6 summarises the results.

Table 6: Respondents with relatives in South Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.U.C.Z.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanana</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>62</strong></td>
<td><strong>94</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Therefore it can be seen that the overwhelming majority of members have relatives who are working in South Africa.

Zionists are usually said to have a lower educational level than other church members. This is not a church usually associated with highly educated people. During the interview respondents were asked about their
education level. Table 7 summarises the results.

Table 7: Educational level of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>5-7</th>
<th>Std.7</th>
<th>Part (J.C.)</th>
<th>Part (J.C.)</th>
<th>Part (C.O.S.C.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.U.C.Z.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanana</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Therefore it can be clearly seen that the largest single group of 45.5% have never been to school, only $\frac{16}{66}$ (24%) have passed Std. 7 (the final primary leaving certificate) and only $\frac{10}{66}$ (15%) have received any secondary education. There is little correlation between educational level and church leadership. Only one of the leaders had been to school, although all except 2 were to some extent literate. However the Secretaries were of necessity literate as their duties included keeping the church membership books and dues, and of course reading the Bible as directed by the leaders during services.

Therefore this leads on to the question as to what is the main quality of leadership. Other writers have already referred to this and it is this that appears to be the most important factor that attracts a new member to this type of church in the first place - the ability to heal. Healing always includes prophesying. More detail of the methodology of this is given in Chap. 14. Preaching is also important. Some people who were able to preach could not prophesy, but all the prophets were able to preach. Table 8 summarises the numbers of respondents from the different churches with the gift of prophecy.

Table 8: Respondents with gift of prophecy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.U.C.Z.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanana</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% 19. 11. 29.
N.B. It should be noted that these figures do not represent the true percentage of prophets present in the church. During interviewing many men who were known to be prophets were absent in the South African mines. These figures just show the percentage of those interviewed who had the power of prophecy.

Several writers have suggested the similarity between prophesying and being a traditional doctor. Members were also asked: "Do you have relatives who are any prophets in the family?" and "Do you have any/traditional doctors?" Here a fairly strong correlation was found between being a prophet and having a relative as a prophet, and also between being a prophet and having a traditional doctor in the family. Table 9 summarises the results here.

Table 9: Prophets with prophet and traditional doctor relatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Prophets</th>
<th>Prophet Relative</th>
<th>Traditional Doctor Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.U.C.Z.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanana</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15 (79%)</td>
<td>15 (79%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. 12 of the prophets interviewed have both prophet relatives and traditional doctor relatives i.e. 63%.

Attraction of Zion Churches

West among other writers mentions sociability as an important factor in the attraction of Zion churches to members in Soweto. As in West's study my informants said they had friends in their church and many (86%) had relatives as well. West emphasizes the apparent importance
of the church as quasi-kin offering friendship, co-operation and mutual aid in times of need.*1 This he says is a significant factor in an urban setting in attracting members, who further shared a common rural background. However this would be less important in a settled rural area such as Kanye where members typically live in their mainly paternal kin groups, and both maternal and paternal kin offer particularly co-operation and mutual aid, in times of necessity.

I attended a Badimo where sons were Zionists and a wedding where the bride was a Zionist. These were both traditional occasions and members of the Zionist congregation attended not as kin but as friends or quasi-kin, for example as quasi-kin they helped to cook, a job usually reserved for the true kin.

The opposite is also true for Zionist occasions; I attended a Zionist Botsetsi and a Zionist Ditlhabelo and at each non-Zion kin were present, if not for the Zion service (although some did attend this) then for the feast which followed, and especially to drink the traditional beer which was necessarily brewed for the occasion even though taboo to the Zionists.

*1 West 1975: page 85-86.
CHAPTER 17:

PROPHETS AND PROPHESYING

The importance of prophesying has already been shown in the section on church services, and the presence of prophecy and prophets in these churches has been shown to be one of the key factors in attracting new members, the majority of whom come in search of healing. Of the 66 members interviewed 19 said they had the gift of prophecy, of these 11 were men and 8 were women. Fifteen (73%) had relatives who were prophets and 15 had relatives who were traditional doctors. Twelve had relatives who were prophets and also relatives who were traditional doctors.*1 These factors would appear to support the assertion made by some writers that prophets are a version of traditional healers. Another assertion that my interviews tended to support was that of the common backgrounds of prophets and traditional doctors.

West describes the typical history of a prophet as one who had suffered a long illness that was not cured either by Western medicine nor by traditional doctors, but eventually the individual was cured by a Zion prophet.*2 Following this such individuals became members of the church, then they themselves discover a personal gift of prophecy. However, in Botswana this is perhaps as far as the common history can be taken. There does not seem to be the same ritual training of prophets. This is perhaps because the Tswana traditional doctors are not the same as the Zulu-based Sangomas. In my survey 15 (79%) of the 19 prophets said they had originally been ill and then cured by a prophet after other means had failed. Perhaps at this point it is interesting to look at some individual case histories of prophets.

One typical example of this type of case history was from a male member of Episcopal. Mr. O.E. "I was sick, suffering from Spirit. Traditional doctors told me I had Spirit. I felt as though I lived in a dream and would often fall down. At the hospital they also told me I had too much Spirit (probably they told him he needed psychiatric treatment). I had a dream that I should go to a Zion Church, but at first I did not obey and so my illness continued until I joined. I also had a dream that I should be baptized. My parents agreed although they do not belong to any church." Some time later he began to discover

*1 This supports West's findings where all the prophets he interviewed were found to have at least one relative who was a traditional diviner. (West 1975:184.
*2 West 1975:184.
prophetic powers, when praying on people he would have visions of their futures.

The Bishop of "Africa" said: "Before I went to the mines I went to a traditional doctor for protection. Then I had an accident in the mines and was buried under rocks, my leg had to be amputated. I also suffered from body pains. The traditional doctors had failed to protect me and had cheated me, so I decided in 1959 to become a Zionist. Zion protections kept me safe, and in 1968 I discovered that I could prophesy:"

The Mookamedi of Bethlehem told me: "When I was a boy my mother died and my father disappeared. He still has not returned to this day. I lived with my Bo-Malome and grand-parents but I did not lead a happy life and got into bad company. I started to get prophetic dreams that came from God. The following day the prophecies would come true. Then I had a dream I should attend the church and become a member." (Since that time his life has improved.)

Mr. S.T. of Z.C.C. "I was sick and had been poisoned by Setswana poison in the stomach by Baloi. Neither traditional doctors nor the hospital could help me. I heard that the Z.C.C. were very good and that they could also help cattle and the family. I was examined by a Z.C.C. Moruti who cured me and then I too, joined the church."

The Secretary of Bethlehem (who became a Moruti in 1981) "My mother was very sick. She could not find help at the hospital nor from traditional doctors. Then she had a dream that she should come to this church and would be helped by the Moruti. I brought her to the church and she was cured. Then we all became members."

These above examples show how prophets could be said to share a common background of illness, then after being cured by a prophet they become prophets themselves. This is particularly so with the prophets who referred to how they received prophetic dreams or "too much Spirit" before they joined the church; when they tried to ignore these they became worse or continued. This is very similar to how Badimo are believed to show a potential traditional doctor that they need him to start his training. However it should be noted that 4 of the prophets (21.1%) did not share this common background. In fact they said they had first been attracted to their church by its teachings and by the love of God. Also I did not hear of any ritual training of prophets that could be compared

*1 Bo-Malome - collective name for mother's family, particularly her brothers.
with the training of traditional diviners. What I did observe and hear
of was that when people start to receive the gift of prophecy they
usually find the Spirit hard to control and will tend to fall all over
the floor, and leap into the air, tear off their uniforms etc. A more
experienced prophet, on the other hand, does not exhibit this type of
behaviour. Frequently at special services such as ditlhabelo,*¹
inexperienced prophets were advised not to dance.

West also emphasizes the importance of the shades (Badimo) in
guiding the prophets. Although Badimo are recognised as having power in
the churches I visited, (frequent reference was made to them especially
at ditlhabelo services and the owner of the Matsbediso service
also referred to how his Badimo would now be pleased by the service)
only 3 of my prophets admitted that their powers came from Badimo. All
three of these said that their prophetic powers also came from God.

Mention should perhaps also be made at this point of how both
prophets and traditional doctors have their special languages for talking
to their Spirits or bones respectively. Examples were too hard to translate.*²

Forms of Prophecy

Prophecy takes various forms. Anyone (both members and non-members)
is free to attend church services and ask for a prophecy when they have a
problem. At all the services I attended there were always such patients
and they would be given a time in the service to be specially prophesied
by the prophets. Typically they would kneel in the centre, then the
prophets would dance around them while the rest of the congregation
would sing hymns. The singing, clapping and drumming were all claimed to
be aids to call the Spirit to the prophets. After some time the dancing
would stop and the individual prophets would reveal what they had "seen".
The prophets would answer "yes" or "no" to the stages of the prophecy.
Similarities can be seen here between the method of prophecy of the Zion
prophets and that of the traditional doctor divining with his bones. In
both cases the patient does not reveal his problems, unless it is a
generalized statement of what he is asking about, at the beginning.
The traditional bones or the prophet's Spirit then "reveal" the "facts"
to which the patient is asked to agree or disagree. In the same way as the
traditional doctor will throw his bones a number of times, especially

*¹ Ditlhabelo - sacrifice services.
*² I suspect the prophets used South African languages learnt in
the mines.
when he wants to ask for further details of particular aspects; so will the prophets begin to dance again to receive more detail from their Spirit on certain points.\(^1\) Both prophets and traditional doctors also "see" the remedies for the patient from their respective methods of divination.

Another form of prophecy is when a prophet "sees" an unsolicited prophecy. Sometimes the prophet on entering a church will "see" a prophecy for one particular member or even for people not present, for example at a Setlhabelo service the Moruti had immediately seen, on entering the kgotla, that a family of that kgotla would suffer from lightning. Various prophets at different services predicted the death of one of the Chief's close relatives in 1978, then at the end of September the Chief's father's brother became sick and suddenly died. Another example of this type of prophecy was from one of my non-Zion informants: a Zion prophet came to her home to reveal that he had "seen" that she would leave her training as a nurse before she had finished and not be able to find a job easily. As she was the only educated child from her family this was obviously bad news.\(^2\) Another prophet was cycling at the Lands and "saw" that a certain man would have a road accident in his lorry and be killed. He revealed this at the church and the congregation were called to pray hard. The man did have an accident but he only suffered minor injuries - their prayers had been heard by God. Perhaps this type of prophecy can also be connected with dreams. Traditionally dreams are believed to be prophetic and certain dreams are taken as definite signs and omens. If they are adverse ones a traditional doctor might be called to try and avert the predictions. This is what is also done in the case of this type of prophecy.

The third main category of prophecy is that which has been referred to already in Chapter 15, where a family are advised to hold a special service - the form of this service is itself seen in a prophecy for example, the type of setlhabelo needed - and several churches, including their prophets, will be called. The prophecies then will be directed towards the problems of that particular family. This type of prophecy can obviously lead to some confusion when a patient visits a Western doctor, as they will obviously expect that doctor to work in the same way and reveal to them (the patient) their symptoms, rather than telling the doctor the problems.

\(^1\) This subsequently proved to be correct.
service can be, although more rarely, held by both members and non-members. For example one of my neighbours held a ditapelos service. The father of the home, a traditional doctor, had chronic T.B., he seemed to keep failing to finish drug therapy courses. A non-Zionist son who worked in the mines, held the service for his father, even though none of the family were Zionists.

Some of the prophets I interviewed, but particularly of those from churches of Type 2 (the ones I did not study in much detail) held "surgeries". Patients (again Zionist and non-Zionist ones) would go to them for individual consultations. West claims that this type of prophet is stronger than those who do their work during church services. However, I saw no evidence to support this claim as many people would attend church services specifically to ask for prophetic help whereas they could just as easily have gone for a private consultation. It should be noted that the leaders of the 5 churches I particularly concentrated on were all highly regarded as prophets.

The Remedies

Mention has already been made in other Chapters of the various common Zion remedies. So at this point it is perhaps useful to summarise them in order to make a comparison with those of traditional medicine and to a lesser extent to the methods of Western medicine. It is perhaps here that one can draw conclusions about the attractions of Zionism vs traditional medicine and particularly as compared to Western medicine.

It has already been shown that 49 (74%) of the 66 members interviewed had originally joined for healing, and evidence was presented to show that commonly they had previously failed to find help either from traditional doctors or from Western medicine. Their symptoms too showed similarity - aching legs, body pains, headaches, dizziness, trembling, palpitations etc.*1 Much mention was also made during prophecies of such symptoms as death of livestock, accidents, lack of success at the Lands or work. Prophets, like traditional doctors, "see" all these types of symptoms as connected. Whereas a Western doctor will treat the various aspects of the symptoms for example headache with pain killers, T.B. with drug therapy etc.; he still does not explain WHY

*1 This compares with B. Margaret Field (1960: 113) and West 1975; who found these same common symptoms among patients seeking healing.
a particular patient contacted the disease in the first place. Prophets, like traditional doctors, explain who or what was the cause, for example a Moloi, a dissatisfied ancestor, a buried taboo (a buried stolen foetus), buried boloi etc. etc. The original cause is then treated whether it involves purification, sacrifice, a special service etc.

Protections are also administered. Whereas the traditional doctor commonly "washes" the patient with medicated water, Zionists use Holy Water, the prophet might "wash" the patient, or the patient might be given Holy Water to use daily as necessary. As was shown in the Healing Service (Africa) Holy Water can contain substances that look similar to traditional medications, it is also prayed on during its preparation. This is somewhat similar to the incantations used by traditional doctors whilst preparing their remedies. Bottles of Holy Water can be hung from the rafters or buried in the lolwapa to protect the home, or "put" a new house etc. This is obviously similar to traditional doctors' protections.

Another form of protection is the cords made of twisted coloured wool that are worn around the wrists, waists, ankles, necks, upper arms etc. of patients. I did not find the same symbolism of colours that some other South African writers have found. The usual answer I received was that a certain colour or combination of colours was 'seen' in the prophecy as being helpful protection for that particular case. Individuals were also prophesied to wear certain articles of dress or decorations as additions to their basic church uniforms. Again these were for protection from various complaints. Thicker cords were also used in the same way as bottles of Holy Water to hang from rafters or "close" Botsetsi houses. These protections were attributed with the same types of powers as traditional protections i.e. those challenging them (e.g. trying to bewitch the one protected) would themselves have the intended misfortune reflected on to them.

It can perhaps also be noted at this point that Zion remedies can be misused, like the traditional ones, and made to serve as ingredients of Boloi, to harm victims.

Another aspect of prophecy that should be mentioned is that of counselling and correction. The Zionists have very firm beliefs about what behaviour is acceptable and what is unacceptable. All church leaders mentioned that drinking and smoking were not allowed at their churches, nor is stealing, cheating, gossiping and rumour-mongering. All bÂlOI
activities are strongly outlawed. At several services I attended members who had broken church rules were called to the centre and prophesied until they admitted their faults publicly. Much mention has already been made of baloi, both of those who are baloi and those who suffer from its effects. Mention has also been made of how the two are connected. Very often someone will complain they have been bewitched but it will also be discovered that their problems are in retaliation for that individual's previous nefarious activities against the present causer of their problems. For example at a B.U.C.Z. Sunday Service a woman member was called to the centre. She had not asked for a prophecy but the Moruti called her and accused her of not affirming her sins properly, and this was disturbing their Spirits. He said he could "see" that at her home they were troubled by a springbok at night both in Kanye and at their Lands. The woman agreed to this. He continued that they were being bewitched by people staying close to them. (This family had originally lived in their kgotla and then because of boloi they had decided to build outside the village.) The Moruti continued that at first he could "see" they had lived in their kgotla and then left it to escape the boloi from their relatives. But he could "see" that this boloi had followed them to their new home. He could "see" that this woman suffered from headaches and aching shoulders. He could "see" that when they lived in their original kgotla they had been bewitched and gone for help to a traditional doctor, who had reflected the bewitchment. However this traditional doctor had been a Moloi and had actually made those reflective medicines for them by killing a child. His medicines had then caused the death of a child in the family they had bewitched. The woman said she could not understand which child this was, as at that time many children had died in that kgotla*1 and that was why they had decided to move away. Other children had become useless or drunkards.

The Moruti then continued to describe the particular traditional doctor they had used and how he had even ended up not only working for them but also for their enemies against them. He could even "see" in his prophecy how this particular woman had been invited to the Botsetsi party for a child of their enemies. She had taken boloi from her traditional

*1 My kgotla informant told me that many people had left that particular sub-kgotla because they had all been bewitching each other and many children had even died at that time referred to in this prophecy.
doctor and gone with it to the Botsetsi and the next day the child had
died. Although she had done this before she was a Zionist she had not
confessed it properly, and that was the reason that she continued to
have problems now and the Spirits of the prophets were being disturbed.

This type of prophecy obviously has the effect of correcting
adverse behaviour. Certain types of behaviour to do with boloi were
frequently condemned in these types of prophecies, and one would
expect that this would therefore have a discouraging effect on those
who tried to misuse the Zion remedies.

Perhaps one more example of this type of prophecy can be taken.
At one of the Baptism Services I attended a member asked for a prophecy.
That afternoon her husband had tried to commit suicide by hanging
himself and had only just been discovered and cut down in time. The
lady asked for a special prophecy to find out the cause of these problems.
After she had been put in the centre and hymns had been sung to call the
Spirit, the Moruti started by saying that his Spirit showed him a person
having problems with her legs, with the pains reaching up to the spine.
This person always had pain between her shoulders and a headache. He
could also "see" her feeling dizzy and frightened. This person had these
problems because of worry and this also made her suffer from palpitations.
The woman agreed to this. Then the Moruti continued that he could "see"
there was a baboon and a cat walking in the home of that woman at night
and the door of her house always opened when the baboon walked about.
The woman agreed that this was also true. The prophet continued that
his Spirit showed him a group of people that toured the village at
night and this group of people always called for this woman - it was a
group of Baloi. When she slept at night she always heard herself
being called, then she responded by going to join them (i.e. she is
being accused of belonging to this group). She admitted to this. Then
he continued that he could "see" that these nocturnal activities made her
tired, so that when she got up in the morning he could "see" that she
suffered from a painful chest and arms. This was because of the heavy
duties she did at night like lifting heavy bodies out of graves when she
went with the group of baloi, to obtain human parts for boloi purposes.

By this time the Moruti was very angry with the woman. He said
he could even "see" that she had a flat tin, (like a floor polish tin)
in her house where she kept her boloi that she had obtained from a
traditional doctor. He could "see" that this tin contained very strong and
evil medicine and unless she disposed of it everything in the family would fall apart. He could "see" that she had just got this medicine from a traditional doctor without telling her husband, and this was what had that afternoon endangered her husband's life and caused him to attempt suicide. (According to Tswana custom the head of the household must be consulted and the whole family or sub-kgotla be treated together. If individual members of the family use different protections from various traditional doctors, then the medicines are believed to fight against each other, causing accidents, illness, misfortune etc. to those protected by the weaker medicines.) The woman agreed she had such a tin containing boloi. The prophet continued that he could "see" that when she opened this tin it gave off a terrible smell that made her husband sleep, so that he would not notice when she left for her nefarious practices. He could "see" that both the wife and the husband had their own tins. This was what was causing the problems in their home. They were both using their own traditional doctors and the wife's one was more powerful. She was, he could "see," a moloi.

By this time the Moruti was very angry and was shouting at the top of his voice and even jumping high into the air. He even said that the Spirit told him to take her on his shoulders and smash her against the wall because she was a liar. She then said she had had boloi before, but that was a long time ago and she had thrown it away. But he continued that she was a liar. He could "see" in his Spirit that they were always calling traditional doctors to find the cause of the problems at their home, and their bones always showed that she and her boloi were the causes of the problems. She tried to deny this, insisting that this was all a long time ago and she had since destroyed that boloi, but he again accused her of lying, saying that the Spirit clearly showed him the bones of a traditional doctor accusing her, he could even hear the words of the traditional doctor, who was a well-experienced and powerful one.

At this point the woman's sister-in-law, who had accompanied her to the church, was called forward and also accused of helping to cause the problems because she too, was an active Moloi.

This form of public accusation hopefully has a very positive effect of discouraging people from bad activities, and this aspect of Zionism is comparable to that where boloi acts as a form of social control.
Prophecy can also be supportive and reassure an individual. Like traditional medicine it hands out answers for causes and protections against commonly feared dangers. An individual can ask for it before embarking on long and maybe dangerous ventures such as when going on mines contracts. Brief mention has already been made of this. At one Episcopal Sunday Service two miners returning to South Africa asked for prophecy. They were put in the centre, prophesied, sprinkled with Holy Water and special prayers were said over them to protect them from accidents and misfortune in the dangerous South African mines. Traditional doctors also protect people against the same dangers.

In times of troubles the congregation is called for special services (see above) and special prayers to strengthen the family, and prophecies, are directed towards helping that particular family. At such occasions the family or individual's problem is made public to the congregation, who share a common belief, and this collective sympathy can be supportive in the sense of "a problem shared is a problem half solved."

In Volume 2 further examples of prophecies made to individuals during services may be found in Part 2, page 142-154.
A Zion prophet holding his prophecy stick. With his other hand he is stroking his prophecy cord. Both of these may help him to receive prophecy.

This prophet is communicating with Moya (the Spirit). Hymn singing (including clapping and dancing) have helped him to receive Moya. Prophecy sticks vary between the individual prophets. This prophet's consists of a rolled, red flag.
SICKNESS AND HEALING

In this section an attempt will be made to show the similarity between certain traditional beliefs and practices and those of the Zionists. This comparison will therefore try to show further an aspect of the attraction of the Zionist Churches.

Causes and Types of Sickness

It should be noted that sickness includes misfortune. Many examples have already been given of this in different Chapters. Zionists and traditionalists obviously have very similar beliefs about the causes and types of sicknesses. One main cause is bewitchment. Many examples of this have been given where a patient is told during prophecy that the cause of their problems - aches, pains, T.B. etc. - is boloi. Another common cause of sickness is contact with maoto a molelo, impure blood, for example, menstruating women, this is believed to cause such diseases as V.D. Menstruating women are subject, as has been seen, to certain taboos, for example, they may not dance or touch the cords or the prophets etc. This was almost turned into a joke during one of the Botsetsi Services (see Volume 2, p. 102) where a menstruating woman was teased to try and make her reveal why she was not dancing. Other common causes of sickness are Badimo and Dikgaba. This again is a common traditional cause where ancestors are dissatisfied with the behaviour of a living descendant and so punish him with sickness or misfortune. Similarly with dikgaba, where a living person, particularly an elder or disadvantaged person, has been disappointed by an individual, then misfortune that may follow to that individual is believed to be caused by their disappointment. Meila - breaking of taboos can be another cause. Besides this, just like traditionalists, Zionists believe that some sicknesses such as measles, 'flu etc. can just happen i.e. the residual explanatory category mentioned by Seeley (see Chapter 4, page 81).

Therefore it can clearly be seen that Zionists share the same beliefs as traditionalists concerning the causality of sickness and misfortunes.
Types of Sickness

It can be seen that Zionists, like traditionalists, do not believe in merely isolated individual physical or mental illnesses. The many examples of prophecy given in Chapters 15-17 clearly show how they see a whole series of circumstances as related, for example, in one of the Setlhabelo services, although the service was being held because of the mother's mental sickness, the prophecies touched on a whole series of symptoms seen as related to this, for example the aches and pains of her children, trouble at their Lands and Cattle-post, misfortune in the relationship between one of the daughters and her fiancé and future in-laws, and possible future misfortune and lightning. All these were believed to be symptoms of the same cause of bewitchment following a weakened seriti.*1

Therefore the aim of healing is often not merely to heal one particular symptom or series of symptoms but also to protect against the original cause - usually boloi, and so strengthen the seriti. This is obviously the same as with traditional doctors, who also aim their work at the same, not just to relieve and cure symptoms but also to protect against the causers and ritually strengthen the individuals and family seriti.

Methods of Healing

Similarity between Zionists and Traditionalists can be seen in their methods of healing. West and Monica Wilson have noted that in the traditional mission hospital healing and worship played an equally important part. The mission hospitals were in fact centres of conversion, for example historically in Botswana, Livingstone did this and in more modern times it can be seen at the mission hospitals in most of the major villages (Molepole (L.M.S.), Ramotswa (Lutheran), Kanye (S.D.A.)). However, as modern medicine became more complex there has been an increasing separation of healing and worship, in Zion churches this tendency has been reversed. West found that in the 194 churches he studied 100% had healing services, 88% prophet healers and 83% of the members had first come to the church to be healed. As has been seen these results were very comparable to mine, at all the services I visited both members and non-members had come for healing.

*1 See Chapter 4, page 79 and Volume 2, Part 2, page 129-137.
Some detail has already been given of the actual method of healing and here a great similarity can be seen with traditional methods. Prophets work in a very similar way to traditional doctors, with the healing falling into 3 main stages: first divination takes place, where the symptoms and causes are divined - traditional doctors consult their bones, Zion prophets their Spirit. Both have secret languages for talking with their bones or Spirit. The second stage is the prescription to effect the cure. Again there is a similarity. Traditional doctors are "shown" this by their bones and prophets by their Spirit. Unlike with Western medicine, individuals suffering from the same symptoms will not necessarily be given the same remedies; as the individual causes are different so the remedy differs. The third stage of healing is protection. Both traditional doctors and Zion prophets will prescribe the necessary protection for further prevention of the symptoms recurring, i.e. both aiming to strengthen the seriti and make it less susceptible to attack.

Several examples have been given of various remedies. Common Zion ones are the wearing of cords for protection and cure, wearing specially prophesized parts of church uniforms, (such as a duek of a certain colour, or certain designs appliqued on to the basic uniform). The use of Holy Water is a very important prescription, all members who were interviewed had used this at some time. As has already been stated this is either drunk, used for washing daily, or an individual is actually "washed" with it at a service. There is obviously a great similarity here between Holy Water and the use of medicated water by a traditional doctor, it is prepared in a similar way and as is seen from the example of Healing Service at Africa, can contain similar looking herbal constituents. Holy Water, like medicated water, is also used to wash livestock, homes, entrances etc., for cure and protection. Zion protection in this way is believed also to have the same effect of reflecting intended harm to the causer.

Another similarity that should be noted, connected with remedies, is that as in traditional medicine Zionists also treat the whole family, not just the individual sufferer. Examples of this are seen in the many special healing services, for example Dithabelo, Matsediso, Ditapelo etc. The whole family would be prophesied and washed. Mention should again be made as to how these special services often correspond with traditional ones, for example Zionists have a Botsetsi service for ending the period of traditional confinement for the mother and infant.
They also have Seed Services to cure and protect the seeds that will be planted at the Lands, to bring about success in the ploughing season. Setlhabelo services can be held to appease dissatisfied Badimo. Buried Boloi is also neutralised and/or dug out by specially strong prophets etc. etc.

**Similarities between Traditional Doctors and Zion Prophets**

These similarities can be summarised. Both often have a common history of initial illness that was cured only by a prophet or a traditional doctor. Then at a later date the patient joins and becomes either a traditional doctor or prophet as appropriate.

Not much similarity was found in their training, but in their methods of work there were many similarities. They recognise the same sorts of causes of disease, for example, boloi.*1 Disease and misfortune are often believed to be connected, with the whole family often being treated together. Their remedies are very similar, as are their methods of divining the problem, divining the remedy and the protections given that are believed to reflect the troubles. Both have their special languages for talking to their Spirits or bones as appropriate.

It should also be noted that at all the churches I visited patients often stayed at the home of the prophet healer until they were cured. This is again comparable with traditional doctors, who often have patients staying with them.

Zionists also often have a substitute service for most traditional ritual occasions, for example, Botsetsi, Matshediso, Setlhabelo, Seed service, putting new houses, protecting families, Lands, Cattle-posts etc.

Thus when a new member joins a Zion Church he does not find a whole set of new values and practices. The church is operating with the same beliefs and practices that he is accustomed to in traditional life. This is surely one of the great attractions.

*1 Dikgaba, Badimo etc.
PART 4 : A CONCLUDING ASSESSMENT

Opening Remarks

In part 2 an account was presented of traditional beliefs and practices with particular reference to protection and healing. In Part 3 an account of Zion Churches and their activities has been presented. It was noted at the beginning that this thesis does not attempt to produce theory, but is rather at the level of producing primary information on protection and healing in a Tswana village - Kanye, the Bangwaketse capital - with specific reference to traditional and Zionist practices and beliefs. In this section some of the findings will be examined, and an assessment of their implications will be attempted. This will include summarising how far the Zion churches, like independent churches elsewhere (especially in Africa), have evolved a system of beliefs and practices that encompasses many of the traditional Tswana needs and requirements of a religious system. The orthodox Christian churches originally introduced by the foreign missionaries (and evolving in macrocosmic societies) have not been able to do this, because these churches are international organizations and therefore have to provide a more universally applicable religious system.\(^1\) The "modern" health services are also based on a more Western medical philosophy that does not usually take account of the Tswana religious medical philosophy.

Also throughout this last section reference will be made, where relevant, to show how far this research may be fitted into the wider perspective of similar research.

\(^1\) As they were originally introduced by foreign missionaries they are also referred to collectively as Mission Churches.
CHAPTER 19:

ATTRACTION OF ZION CHURCHES

Perhaps first one can best summarise the findings by trying to assess the attraction of these churches. In the literature review reference was made to the various alternative systems of health services and religion available in Kanye. Then in the body of the research these have each been described in greater detail. In Chapters 16 - 18 in Part 3, it was emphasized that the main attraction of these churches (i.e. what first attracted members to the churches) was the search for healing. Many such members had already failed to find this previously either from traditional doctors or their "Western" counterparts. The importance of healing as an initial attraction of members to these churches, that I found during my study, was also found by West in Soweto - to which a comparison was made - and by several other researchers in their studies of similar movements.

The healing offered by these Zion churches is of the type that provides a continuity with that available in traditional Tswana religion. It is much broader than that available through the modern Western-oriented health services, which tend to be oriented towards a Western idea of sickness. The Zion religious beliefs and practices do not question the traditional religious value system which, like other traditional African religious systems, developed in a self-sufficient type of society termed by Horton as the microcosm. These societies, as already noted, characteristically had a this-worldly religious orientation. In the Zion churches, as in traditional religion, religion and medicine are inseparable and interwoven with all aspects of life. They are not separated as is characteristic of "Western" societies of the macrocosm, from whence has been introduced into the community of this study, orthodox Christian churches and "modern" health services.

In the Zion religion, as in traditional religion, the aim of the healing is to strengthen the supernatural seriti of the suffering individual to protect him/her and dependents against the causer(s) of the problems that have necessitated healing. - In the words of Placide Tempels, the aim is to promote "vital force". * In Zion healing

*1 Horton see above Chapter 2, page 48.
*2 Seriti - (roughly) personality, for explanation see Chapter 4, p. 79.
*3 Tempels see above Chapter 2, pages 47-48.
as with traditional and "modern", remedies are administered to relieve conditions, for example T.B., headaches, broken legs, bodily pains; but unlike in "modern" medicine but as in traditional medicine, such conditions may be seen only as symptoms and so the healing must be directed at the cause.

In Zion religion the traditional Tswana causes of sickness are not questioned, they are still often the same - boloi, badimo, dikgaba, meila. The methods of diagnosis and remedies are also not dissimilar. As already mentioned in the chapters on 'Sickness and Healing' and 'Prophets and Prophesying', there are several similarities between the Zion use of cords, Holy Water, prayers, and the traditional doctors' methods of healing. Prophesying is in many ways not dissimilar from the traditional doctors' methods of divination and the Zion prophet, like his traditional counterpart often names the disease and its causer. This naming is, as stated by other researchers, an important aspect of the curative process in Africa. The special services for sufferers have their traditional equivalents.

Therefore a Motswana in search of healing finds at the Zion churches that in many ways traditional means are used to accomplish healing, protection against boloi. Because the beliefs are similar, i.e. the aim of the supernatural protecting and strengthening for the individual so that he can withstand attack from malevolent forces, individuals can at these churches also be helped to this-worldly success. The aim of the healing is, like traditional religion also aimed at the reduction of interpersonal tension and conflict. Just as in traditional religion such problems as a breakdown in the social relationships of the individual with his social environment (this includes any of the Tswana causes above - Boloi, Badimo etc.) is seen as the cause of the problems, or as the explanation of the individual's lack of success in enterprises. Much of the above has shown similarities between traditional and Zion health services, that may make Zion religion attractive to Batswana.

Now reference will be made to the "modern" health services, to show why Zion religion may be preferred. Attention has already been drawn to the similarity between the Zion prophet healer's methods of cure and those of the traditional doctors, also the fact that the Zion prophet will often treat the whole family together, not just the individual

\*1 E.G. Uyanga see Chapter 2, page 61.
sufferer. This is obviously different from the method of Western medicine. A Western doctor will, for example, question the patient about his symptoms. On the basis of this and further tests (e.g. examination and/or lab tests) he will make his diagnosis and prescribe. The symptoms are not usually seen, except in the case of infectious diseases, as caused by other individuals or circumstances. For example, there is not a belief of "sent" disease by boloi, Badimo etc. nor directed lightning, nor is human disease seen as related to lack of success in agriculture, sickness of livestock etc. Thus Western medicine is a different system. Although visiting Western doctors is not outlawed by Kanye Zion leaders (as found in Sundkler's (1948) & Murphree's (1968) early research) patients often do not feel that Western prescriptions are enough in themselves. The symptoms of T.B. and, even the disease itself, might be cured, but what about the causer? Both traditionalists and Zionists will probably supplement any Western prescriptions from traditional doctors or Zion prophets.

However, in the Zion religion although the traditional religious philosophy is not questioned as it may be by the "modern" health services and orthodox Christian churches, in the Zion churches this philosophy is reinterpreted within a Christian framework. As has been seen in the examples of Zion practices described in the research, Biblical justifications are found for these practices and the actual organization of the rituals. For example Leviticus for the sacrifices; the story of the Angel removing Joshua's filthy clothes, for the necessary healing after close relationship with death; the story of the Wise Men presenting gifts for the Botsetsi service etc. It should also be noted that although traditional beliefs are not cast aside, the prayers, hymns, and supplications of Zion ritual practices are addressed and offered to the Christian God. Although Badimo are not outlawed, as in many of the orthodox Christian churches, they are viewed as intermediaries with the Christian God who is far more central to this religion than the Modimo of traditional Tswana religion.

Therefore it can be seen to this extent that in the Zion religion, with its emphasis on this-worldly problems, it is closer to traditional religion than the often solely other-worldly orientation of the orthodox Christian churches.

However it must be noted that it was clear from the prayers,

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*1 nor does there appear to be any attempt at purifying a Zionist after Western medical treatment as mentioned by e.g. Aquina (1969:132), Murphree (1968), Sundkler (1961:309-10).

*2 i.e. A similar situation to that found by West in Somto (1976:118ff)
confessions and testimonies (many of which are included in detail in Volume 2) that Zion religion does have an other-worldly emphasis as well. Members often showed great concern that their names were noted (as at the New uniform and Promotion services) so that they would be recognised as Christians at the Day of Judgement, and therefore enter Heaven.

Thus, in the Zion religion, beliefs and practices do undoubtedly provide a continuity with traditional Tswana beliefs and practices which supports the view of new religious movements held by Bond et al. It can also be seen that this perhaps supports Mitchell's belief that the Reinterpretative Type of explanatory model is the most useful one for such new religious movements. Certainly from my research it seems that the Zion Churches studied retain many of the traditional beliefs and practices but reinterpret them within a Christian framework. There was no evidence that these churches in Kanye could be viewed as protests, therefore they do not really fit the Marxist paradigm, nor do they fit the Revitalization Model as cultural distortion as a result of colonialism was not very severe in Kanye. The Zion Churches of Kanye therefore seem to be much more of the norm-oriented movement type, i.e. they seek to modify the orthodox Christian system to accommodate a solution to a pressing religious problem. This originates from the traditional need for a religious system that has a this-worldly orientation like traditional religion, not merely the other-worldly orientation associated with the orthodox Christian churches. Zion Churches thus do not belong to the value-oriented type movement as there is little value change (Marxist and the Revitalization Models, on the other hand, are of the value-oriented type.) In the Zion churches another set of rituals, believed by Zionists to be stronger to deal with the traditional this-worldly problems, is substituted for their traditional equivalents.

What are other factors that attract members to Zion churches compared with other types of Christian Churches? One important factor emphasized by writers on Zion Churches in Rhodesia and South Africa is

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*1 Bond et al op. Cit. (see above Chapter 2, page 66-7).
*3 Smelser's terminology used by Mitchell (see Chapter 2, page 51-2)
*4 Mitchell (see above, Chapter 2, page 51).
the fact that these are black organized churches, unlike the Mission Churches, which are organized by whites. Another factor related to this, and much emphasized by writers, is that these churches give much more opportunity for black leadership than the Mission Churches in such a situation. However these are not very satisfactory explanations in a "tribal setting" such as Kanye in an independent country such as Botswana. In Kanye, all married men take part in leadership in the community through their positions in dikgotla. As the country is independent, colour is unimportant in this context. Even in the Mission Churches there is much opportunity for black leadership in Kanye. Outside church life there is great scope for leadership in every day life. Therefore opportunity for leadership, in the sense meant by Rhodesian and South African writers, cannot really be an important factor in attracting membership in Kanye.

One could try to argue that Zionist leaders have a lower level of educational attainment than Mission Church leaders. (The latter probably have to undergo some type of formal theological training as well as having completed at least Primary School before being appointed to lead congregations.) However again this is probably not a very strong factor as there are plenty of leadership opportunities and obligations for men in traditional life, based merely on age and kinship obligations. For example in kgotla meetings and cases both in the small and large dikgotla there is freedom of speech for all men. At a kgotla case or meeting all men have the right to give their opinions before a final decision is taken. The Chief or Chief's representative who makes the final decision is obviously influenced by majority opinion. Educational attainment is not taken into account for this. Hence it can be seen that this factor of leadership as being an attraction is not really a valid factor in Kanye.

In this section, where the attraction of Zionism is being considered, it is perhaps also valid to look at the much greater similarity of the Zion Church liturgy to traditional beliefs than to that of the Mission Churches. This could also be considered as a factor in attracting new members into Christianity - i.e. if the new system is not too different from that to which they are accustomed, new members will not feel so alienated. Modern missionaries to Africa have also been looking at this factor and there is a certain amount of disagreement within the modern Missions as to how far to go in this direction.
For example in Europe, polygamy is obviously outlawed. There are plenty of stories of Christian Missionaries persuading new converts to send away all but their first wives, refusing to baptize children of polygamous marriages, or receive into full membership junior wives. My Swahili phrase book (purchased in 1973) published for the "Lay Mission Helpers Association" in Post-Independence Tanzania, includes the Swahili "Lazima umfukuse hawara yako" ("You must send your other wife away"). Writers on the Zion movement in Rhodesia mention this factor as important, i.e. that Zion churches do not outlaw polygamy and that this was a factor in attracting members. However, in Botswana, polygamy never seems to have been very common except for the very rich, so here it is a less important factor than in Rhodesia or South Africa or other parts of Africa. Missionaries of the nineteenth century were always unsuccessful in outlawing bogadi in Kanye, which was another traditional conflict.

As has been seen in other Chapters there is much that is similar in Zion liturgy and in traditional practice and belief - a similarity that is not found in the Mission Churches. For example, it has been shown that the Zion Church leaders are also healers in much the same way as a traditional doctor. They heal the same kinds of sicknesses and in many cases their methods and remedies are the same. Zion Churches also offer protection and hold services for life cycle events that are also required in traditional practice, for example, for "closing" and "opening" a Botsetsi, the cleansing of bereaved, the curing of seeds, the "putting" of a new house etc. The Zion Churches have various special services that correspond closely with traditional practices, for example, Ditapelo and Ditlhabelo services held to cure a troubled home and family. Just as traditional doctors will often cure and protect the whole family, not just the individual who has the manifest symptoms, so too with Zion healers.

Most Mission Churches usually offer none of these services or practices. Mission members therefore either have to call in traditional doctors (use of whom is often banned by their church) or leave these practices completely. This is a hard decision. In Kanye my attention was drawn several times to instances of the disadvantage of following the latter course. For example one primary teacher often became confused, this was commonly attributed to the fact that the family as

*1 E.g. Aquina 1969:119-20, Murphree 1971: 178; also in South Africa e.g. West 1975:28-9 and 36.

*2 See Chapter 8, page 172-3. However the L.M.S. mission was successful in ending initiation.
Seventh Day Adventist members had not protected their home. As all the other members of their kgotla used the kgotla's traditional doctor they were at a constant disadvantage and "weak". Several of the family were confused, and they had lack of success in marriages, etc. etc.

A certain widow had all her possessions confiscated and sold as a result of bankruptcy. She was a member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. When her husband died she had not worn black, nor followed the year of mourning, nor been cleansed. This bad luck in business was attributed by traditionalists to the punishment of displeased Badimo.

In Chapter 2 one of the points raised was that such new religious movements as the Zion church are usually associated with the urban areas. Therefore what is the attraction of the Zion Churches in a traditional rural tribal area such as Kanye? Most of the recent research (West, Kiernan etc. in South Africa, but also that in Zambia and Rhodesia) has shown how these churches are typically a feature amongst rural immigrants into urban areas, helping them to cope with the anarchy of city location life. Why therefore are Zion churches attractive in a rural area such as Kanye?

Here only speculations, not conclusive answers, may be offered. I suggest that as has been shown in this research, most of the members are connected with labour migration. In the case of the men all those interviewed had worked in the South African mines. Therefore it would be reasonable to assume that they are the typical kind of members. As mentioned by several members and leaders, they themselves had started attending because of the violence and general anarchy they had found in the mines and which they were unused to from Kanye. The women members all had close relatives who had been migrants. However one has to be careful here because labour migration is widespread in Kanye and therefore nearly all (if not all) families would have members who worked in South Africa.

Whilst in South Africa, these migrants had experienced the ways of the macrocosm. The old ways of the microcosm could not deal with these new problems. Therefore they needed new solutions, which perhaps led them to adopt a new religion. The orthodox Christian churches, such as the London Mission Society, that they had in Kanye, did not satisfy their

*1 e.g. West found that 81% of the members had been born outside Johannesburg, the majority in rural areas. op. cit. page 77.
needs for security in protection and healing for the reasons cited above. Traditional security from traditional doctors was not the type of religion providing the communitas to help them face their problems jointly in a community of believers. Therefore they turned to the Zion-type churches. Once they had joined whilst abroad, because of the rules of the church against use of the traditional methods of security, it was difficult for them to revert to the use of these without leaving their new-found community, which had performed the functions of helping them to cope with life in the mines or South African locations. Therefore arose the need for the branch of their churches in their home village.

There is an obvious social attraction about this religion for its moral code. It outlaws the use of alcohol and smoking dagga, which are becoming increasing problems. The services are undoubtedly interesting, enjoyable and colourful. The church music and dancing is attractive. Many of the services do provide entertainment value (such as botsetsi), and there are other joint services where social contacts with like-minded people may be made. All these factors undoubtedly aroused the interest of new recruits who had at first come for healing and protection. These rural recruits, at first coming in search of security from their problems, found an attractive community with rules that sought to solve the common social problems, rules against boloi - where its practitioners were exposed and its victims protected, - rules against bad social habits - gossiping, drinking, smoking, particularly against dagga, also generally bad behaviour was criticised, for example, fighting was condemned. On the other hand positive traditional values, such as respect to elders, and general orderliness, were encouraged.

Since the introduction of Christianity, traditional religion no longer offers a feeling of communitas to its adherents. The great tribal assemblies of rain making, First Fruits etc., have largely disappeared. The main remaining one is Dikgafela. But traditional religion, whilst offering security, though it is not secretive, is done largely on an individual basis. There are no regular communal gatherings as with the orthodox churches except on special mainly family ritual occasions, for example Badimö, Botsetsi, weddings etc., or the tribal Dikgafela.

*1 Dagga - the local name for marujuana.
However it should also be mentioned, although I did not study this aspect intensively, that Mission Churches are perhaps beginning to change their historically negative attitude towards traditional beliefs and practices. The choice between secret practice of these, or to risk consequences by non-practice has obviously been a hard decision for many members of Mission Churches. For example if your church outlaws beer what do you do during dikgafela when your kin call upon you to assist in the brewing and offering of dikgafela beer? If a Motsetsi, miscarried woman or new widow must be cleansed before walking outside her yard, or risk being accused of killing other people's children or causing drought (in a country where famine caused by drought is fairly common) what real choice does an individual have?

The Seventh Day Adventists do. now have a way of cleansing Batsetsi, i.e. the Pastor and church members come to the Motsetsi's house and pray on and for the mother and baby, after which she is considered cleansed.

In the Catholic Church there is a seed service where seeds are blessed. Holy Water can also be given to protect new houses, and a new house can be specially prayed for.

The U.C.C.S.A is largely under Batswana leadership and members do seem to blend the two systems of belief.

To summarise, probably the Zion Church liturgy and its similarity to traditional practices and beliefs is not a main factor in attracting new members but, because it offers more of a complete system by providing services for traditionally important crises and occasions, it does mean that there is much less chance of members being forced to operate within Christianity and at the same time within the traditional system, as they would with the Mission Churches. In the Zion religion, it has already been noted, there is no separation of medicine and religion, they are closely interwoven. Therefore a Zionist is not forced, as are his U.C.C.S.A., Lutheran, R.C. or S.D.A. counterparts, to go to his church for his religion, to the modern health services for medicine, and traditional doctors for protection.
CHAPTER 20:

THE FUTURE

The Zion Religion as an alternative system of Protection and Healing

So far most of this section mainly refers to the Zionists, i.e. the full members of the church. It has been seen how this religion has attracted them initially, and its possible advantages over the various other alternatives available in Kanye.

However Zionists are obviously a minority of the population in Kanye. Also, although Zion religion, like traditional Tswana religion, can provide a complete system of protection and healing, this is obviously an ideal-type situation, and in practice members do utilize the modern health services for healing. It has also been noted that non-members use the Zion churches for healing and protection. These non-members may be either traditionalists or members of orthodox Christian Churches. The questions that arise as to why such people should utilize the Zion system were outside the scope of my study. However, although I did not quantify data on this which I collected from informants the following case would appear to be fairly typical.

The informant was a member of the Seventh Day Adventist church, and had completed five years of secondary school, obtaining passes in the C.O.S.C. exam. Her mother died in Princess Marina hospital to which she had been referred. The diagnosis was cancer of the liver. Traditional doctors called by her father's family found she had been poisoned by one of her brothers, who aimed to kill the whole family. About three months later my informant's younger brother was killed in a road accident.

The 'Western' medical cause of death was multiple injuries resulting from the accident. The traditional doctors connected the accident with the Malome's actions.

My informant then took some of her dead brother's clothes to a Zion prophet of the church to which two of her sisters belonged. The Zion prophecy agreed with the traditional doctors'. Her father, a traditionalist, then arranged for a traditional doctor to protect the family with vengeance magic - he provided a black goat for slaughter, and earth from the graves was mixed with the sacrifice to protect the
survivors, and reflect any further boloi to the Malome. This is a probably typical case where in the plural situation of alternatives that exists, members of a family who belong to the different alternatives, utilize these concurrently.

Another case has already been referred to in Part 3. In this the family - who were traditionalists - had a Zion Ditapelo service held by Bethlehem Church for the father, himself a traditional doctor. He had failed to complete several drug courses for his T.B. This had culminated in his near death, when he had actually disappeared for several days in the hills around Kanye. Here again the Zion alternative was tried after the traditional and "modern" had both proved inadequate. This is an area where there could be fruitful, future research! Both these examples refer to the situation outlined by Mitchell and referred to in Chap. 2. the search for the most effective way of promoting "vital force".

As already stated, although lack of access to modern health services is a possible explanation for the continued use of the traditional means, this may be valid elsewhere but is not so in Kanye, where modern health services are adequate. Even for the parts of the year that people spend at their Lands and Cattle-posts, this is not a valid reason as in this part of Botswana the government policy of developing health services in rural areas is well advanced. It has also been noted already that a recent health report showed that over 90% of the population have at some time received modern health care. This fact leads on to the question as to why then people feel they need to supplement modern health services. In Chapter 19 suggestions were made as to the attraction of these churches, and it was shown how they often display a continuity with the traditional philosophy, unlike the modern health services. Future research directed specifically to this point would probably show findings similar to those of Swantz's among the Zaramo of Tanzania. These found that although there is undoubtedly an increase in usage of modern health services there is also an increase in usage of traditional practitioners and/or Zion-type healing.

Thus in Kanye the majority of people undoubtedly visit the modern

*1 Chapter 2, page 50-1.
*2 Tempels' term see Chapter 2, page 47-8.
*3 Chapter 2, page 57.
*4 Chapter 1, page 27-37.
*5 Swantz see Chapter 2, page 60-1.
health services and take their remedies, but, because of the traditional beliefs, the modern health services are not/sufficient, healing what are perceived as mere symptoms but not the causes, nor do they offer future protection. Therefore a patient must resort to additional health services. There are two alternatives - traditional practitioners*¹ and the Zion healers.*²

Therefore people, especially non-members, probably try the Zion alternative either because they have failed elsewhere and perhaps feel this is a more powerful alternative, or they prefer, as Christians, a system that uses Christian beliefs but, unlike their own church, can understand traditional problems. In this way therefore, the Zion religion is an alternative system of healing and protection.

This is perhaps the point where one can try to speculate about its future. Several researchers*³ believe that what now exists in many societies similar to Kanye is what may be described as the Contemporary Folk Religion. This is perhaps a useful way of viewing the present and future position of Zion religion in Kanye - as part of Contemporary Bangwaketse Religious Beliefs. Zionism is no longer outlawed. The Chief himself has called the Zionists to official kgotla activities, at the local level they are always present at funeral wakes, where their hymns are sung with those of the various other denominations, their leaders take part with other church leaders on these and similar occasions. Many Bangwaketse who are non-members still go to their services for prophecy and healing, and to Zion prophets for private consultations, much as they would visit a traditional practitioner. Zion religion is therefore perceived to be an alternative source of protection and healing.

An attempt should also be made to answer the question as to why non-members in need of protection and healing do not find the traditional system sufficient, i.e. why is there a need for a new religious movement such as the Zion churches. At this point one can perhaps usefully

*¹ One of the cases referred to in Part 2, the girl was being washed by the traditional doctor, after she had been cured at the hospital of a fracture, to afford protection against the cause.
*² In the two cases cited in this Chapter, one of the informants was an S.D.A., and in the other the sufferer was himself a traditional doctor who had tried the two other alternatives and was now trying the Zion one.
*³ Chapter 2, page 67.
refer to Turner's causative factors of new religious movements*1 to suggest an answer. Many of these causal factors are or have been present in Kanye. The society has been and still is undergoing increasing exposure to and influence from the macrocosm. This has certainly been happening since the nineteenth century (situational and acculturative factors). Of the 6 contributing factors Turner lists, 3 have been, or are, present in Kanye. Firstly, the social change has led to feelings of confusion, frustration and powerlessness, that are causing psychological stress. Secondly, because of social and cultural disintegration of aspects of the traditional life, the Zion church does perhaps give people a feeling of security, for example, the communitas aspect (see above) which has been largely lost in traditional religion. Thirdly, the Zion churches do not usually overthrow the traditional ways like the orthodox churches (e.g. Badimo still have a place, and necessary traditional rituals have been 'zionised'). The other 3 contributing factors are not relevant in Kanye, i.e. new religious movements providing opportunities for leadership; that they arise because of economic deprivation or exploitation; or because of the colonial situation.

The third type of causative factors, the precipatative ones, have perhaps had some importance at different times, for example, the first independent church was indeed formed because of the secession following the disciplining of a mission agent, who subsequently left to form his own church. *2

The fourth type of causative factors, the enabling factors, are also valid for the situation in Kanye. The invasive religion - in this case Christianity - possesses many features suitable for application to, and reinterpretation by, the traditional religion. Traditional Tswana religion, at the same time, possesses many beliefs and practices that have been suitable for adaptation in the light of Christianity. Many examples of this have been given in the text - traditional and Zion Botsetsi, divination and prophecy, Badimo and Zion Ditapelo and Ditlhabelo, traditional washing and Zion healing etc.

Thus it can be seen that this society provided the conditions for a new religious movement to develop. The traditional religion was already

*1 See Chapter 2, page 53-56.
*2 Chapter 1, page 20-26.
subject to change (e.g. when Chiefs became Christians this often led
to the abolition or Christianization especially of the public traditional
rituals) and because of the increased contact with the macrocosm that
had been taking place in the society the traditional religion could no
longer provide a totally sufficient system.

Looking forward, one can only speculate about the future of the
Zion religion. Obviously access to formal education is increasing annually.
In Botswana there is now free primary education, which is universally
available in this local district. The government is resolving the
problem of children being unable to attend school when they are required
at the Lands and Cattle-posts by building schools in these areas.
Secondary education and other types of post-primary training such as
brigades and artisan craft apprenticeships are also increasing. As more
Bangwaketse are involved in the formal education system, where maybe
little account is taken of the traditional Tswana values, it could
perhaps be expected that the traditional beliefs will disappear, and
"modern" medical philosophy would be more acceptable, so that religion
and medicine would become increasingly separated. This is very
uncertain. The indications from the research in other parts of Africa*1
are that education does not necessarily eradicate traditional beliefs.

Perhaps therefore one can now return to the view held by researchers
such as Murphree*2 with regard to the Buedja, and MacGaffey and Janzen,
with regard to the Kongo.*2 The situation in Kanye is indeed much as
Ranger describes.*3 The majority of Bangwaketse are neither Zionists,
orthodox Christian Church members, nor traditionalists, but live in a
situation of religious pluralism, where they move as necessary between
the various religious (this includes medical) alternatives. The con­
temporary beliefs of the Bangwaketse therefore include elements of
traditional Bangwaketse and other Tswana beliefs, orthodox Christian
beliefs, Western medical beliefs and Zion religious beliefs. This sit­
uation is being recognized by the Government, and it is a policy
objective of the Ministry of Health to find a way of integrating the three
options of healing. However there is still a long way to go before
this objective may be fully achieved. Fako and others have raised the
problems of the integration of traditional medicine;*4 the effective
integration of Zion healing has not really been tackled yet, other than

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*1 e.g. Maclean, Jahoda. See: Chapter 2, page 57-63.
*3 See Chapter 2, page 68.
*4 See Chapter 2, page 65.
by some Zion healers in some areas attending joint health seminars. This has not yet happened in Kanye. Another probable reason is that, as there is a fast turnover of foreign doctors at the S.D.A. hospital - the main modern health service in Kanye - the doctors have little opportunity to study Tswana traditions.

However, in conclusion, although an official integration may pose problems for the policy makers, this situation of religious and medical pluralism does not necessarily pose a problem for the clients, who appear to choose according to their empirical observation. If one alternative appears to be effective for solving a particular problem that is the one they will choose. Although they may use medicines from the hospital to cure conditions that the hospital is reputed to be successful in tackling, they may for the same problem additionally consult traditional practitioners and/or Zion churches to be protected against the cause. For other conditions that a certain traditional healer may be renowned for curing, e.g. alcoholism or tlhowana, they will turn to him or her. If a certain Zion prophet or church has been observed to be successful in curing a certain condition they will go there. For the majority the final decision will probably be based on empirical observation of the various alternatives available in Kanye. It is this situation of plural usage based on plural beliefs which will probably continue to persist in the future.

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*1 For examples of these see Chapter 1, page 27-37.
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# VOLUME 2: CONTENTS

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## PART 2: ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON ZION RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND SERVICES

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PART 3: APPENDIX

The interview Schedules.
Introduction

The main thesis has been presented in Volume 1 from which were made cross references to further details that are available in Volume 2. This volume includes ethnographic data that was collected during fieldwork, and which to my knowledge is not recorded elsewhere. Volume 2 has been divided into 3 parts.

Part 1 includes further details and case studies of Tswana, particularly Bangwaketse, traditional life.

Part 2 concentrates on further detail of Zion religious practices and particularly of the services which I attended during my fieldwork. Although Kiernan has recently begun to publish comparable ethnographic descriptions of Zion church services and special services in Natal, I have not encountered such detailed written accounts elsewhere.*1 As one area of fruitful future research may be to attempt to trace the roots of various Zion religious practices to their different South African traditional cultural origins, such descriptive data would need to be available for such research.

Part 3 is an Appendix in which the schedules used to interview Zion respondents during fieldwork are included. Explanations of some of the questions used are also given.

*1 Kiernan's articles in Journal of Religion in Africa - see Bibliography.
The Presentation of Bogadi

After the registration of the marriage at the Chief's Kgotla both families will return to their respective homes. The men lead and the women follow with the bride. When they arrive at the bride's home, there is much ululating and the women may be singing traditional songs such as "Coco (knock) we are arriving with a bride." The men return to sit in the family Kgotla whereas the women return into the yard and sit in the lolwapa of the house to be used for the marriage, this should be the home of the bride's mother. At the groom's home, his mother's own house is used as the focal point of the wedding in the lolwapa, as a child is supposed to be married from its mother's own house.

Later in the morning (between 7.00 and about 9.30 a.m.) men from the groom's family arrive at the bride's Kgotla with the groom. They enter her family Kgotla, where her married male relatives will be seated in their meeting place, in front of their kraal, on chairs (the special so-called Kgotla chairs). When the groom and his male relatives approach the bride's relatives, they kneel before them. Then all the men take off their hats and there may be a prayer. One of the groom's senior male relatives, who acts as the spokesman, asks for a bride from that Kgotla (this of course is all a formality). When one of the bride's male relatives replies that there is a bride for them, the groom and his relatives stand up and leave the Kgotla. They shortly return with the Bogadi (these will have been waiting with other relatives outside the bride's Kgotla area). As they arrive in the Kgotla area they shout: "Ee! Ee! Ee!! Re a tsena mo ka kgomo ya re re e tshisana" (We are arriving with a cow without horns). On another occasion all the cattle were "red" except for one that was "yellowish"; in another the odd cow was black. The calls were thus: "Re a tsena mo ka kgomo ya ga re re etshetla (yellow)" and "Re a tsena mo ya ga re re entsho (black)". One of the Bogadi cattle is always a special one. Sheep but never goats may be used to make up the Bogadi. For example in one Bogadi I observed 5 cattle (4 red, and one black) and 3 sheep.

As the women who are inside the lolwapa see the cattle arriving and hear the men bringing them shouting the words quoted above, they come outside the yard and start ululating loudly. The Bogadi beasts are
then driven into the Kgotla and shown to the men from the bride's family. The men from the groom's family again kneel before the bride's male relatives and formally announce the arrival of the bogadi beasts. Then the beasts are driven into the kraal. At this point, the ululating from the women is deafening. Next all men, the relatives of both the bride and the groom, sit on Kgotla chairs in the bride's Kgotla. After sitting there for some minutes, they all come into the lolwapa and are given light refreshments. (The bogadi beasts usually stay in the kraal in the village for about a week, being taken out to graze and to be watered every day. This is so that everyone will have a chance to admire the bogadi beasts.)

All this time the young female relatives and friends of the bride, who have been specially invited to do so, will have been preparing the bridal feast. The bride herself will have been sitting with the married women in the lolwapa; her Malome's wife is always at her side.

Go kopa segametsi — to ask for one who will fetch water

At about 1.30-2.00 p.m. the married women from the groom's family arrive to "Go kopa segametsi" — to ask for one who will fetch water. It is called this because in the future the bride will be helping her mother-in-law to fetch water. These women arrive at the bride's Kgotla in a procession in single file. They will all be wearing their best clothes and all wear head scarves, with lightweight blankets around their shoulders. If they come from a long way away they might be brought in a lorry, on the back of a tractor, or even in an ox wagon. The wife of the groom's malome leads them into the lolwapa of the bride's home. They sing all the way. On arrival at the lolwapa, the Malome's wife will say: "Ke a nyorilwe, re batla segametsi." (I am thirsty, we need one who will fetch water.) The bride will then bring the Malome's wife some water in a glass, then she serves all the women with traditional beer that has been specially brewed for the marriage. During this part of the marriage only happily married women may take part; no divorcees, newly widowed (i.e. those still dressed in black), baloi or those who have quarrels with their husbands, are invited to attend this part. Throughout the wedding people in these categories and unmarried people are not allowed to enter the lolwapa where the married women sit.

*1 At one ceremony I observed, the bride brought some traditional beer.
The rest of the afternoon is spent in eating and drinking the wedding feast. This is served by the younger unmarried relatives and friends of the bride to the visitors who have come from the groom's home and to the senior relatives of the bride. The men sitting in the kgotla are also served.

Towards sunset the women from the groom's family return in procession to his home, singing traditional wedding songs*1 as they go. This procession is no doubt assisted by the traditional beer that has been drunk - the singing being very loud and joyful! It should be noted that the parents of the couple do not play a prominent part in the marriage and they do not, for instance, go up to the Chief's Kgotla, nor do the mothers go with the other women in the processions to the homes of the in-laws.

**Bringing the Bride to her new home**

Relatives of the groom collect early at his home. The houses will already have been replastered and mud walls redecorated, but the yard and houses will be scrupulously cleaned. The men will slaughter the beast (or beasts) in the kraal - for a Setswana wedding this is usually goats or sheep. Then the men cook the meat for the feast in the kraal. The women will prepare the other food to be cooked - samp, rice, porridge, salad etc. Pots and food are usually protected by the family's traditional doctor with medicated water. The doctor sprinkles the beast(s), food and pots, to protect them against poisoning by baTôî.

At the bride's home, her married relatives will collect. She will be dressed in her smart clothes, and all the women will be wearing their best clothes and the customary head scarves and blankets (the latter around the shoulders). Then they leave in procession (if it is a long way to the groom's home they will have transport to the edge of the groom's Kgotla. The women usually arrive at the groom's home around 2 p.m. They walk in single file with the wife (or wives) of the bride's Malome (or Bo-Malome) leading the procession. The bride walks behind the leader(s), and the rest of the women who have been invited to take part behind her.*2 All the women (except the bride) carry one

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*1 They sing songs that mean such things as: "We've seen a bride" or "We're arriving with a bride." or the song used at Dikgafela (See Volume 2 page 33 )

*2 No recent widows (those still wearing black), divorcees, unhappily married women or unmarried women may take part in this procession.
of her possessions on their heads. These are such things as suitcases, blankets, pillows, cooking pots, water buckets. At least one woman will be carrying a traditional basket full of sorghum (mabele) which is the seed she will use in the field her husband's family will plough for her in the coming ploughing season. The bride herself does not carry anything on her head, but will carry either a traditional Setswana broom (as one of her first jobs the next day at her new home will be to sweep) or, more usually nowadays, she will carry a hurricane lamp, as she will be the source of light.

As the women walk in procession they will sing a special song for this occasion, especially as they enter the groom's Kgotla:

Ngwana wa rona o a ya
(Our daughter is going, is going) Repeat once
Ngwana o ya gobeleketsa
(The child is going to know about the ways of marriage and being a wife)
0 a go tewa gotwe o legotswana
(She will be called a thief)
Ke baruakgomo
(By people who have cattle (are cattle herders))
0 ya go tewa gotwe 're a go amoga" ke baruakgomo
(Shes will be told "we welcome you" by people who have cattle.

This song is sung very sadly, and is not nearly as lively as the songs that are sung by the groom's female relatives as the procession with the bride arrives.

While they are awaiting the bride's arrival, the groom's married female relatives will be practising singing traditional songs- "warming up" - for the arrival of the bride. As it is announced that the procession with the bride is arriving these women will gather outside the entrance of the groom's home. Some will hold hoes, others stempers and kikas, brooms, threshing sticks, rakes, axes - each woman pretending to be doing a job with these tools, singing all the time. One woman will be lying on the ground wrapped in a blanket and wearing a scarf like a Motsetsi, holding a piece of wood wrapped up like a baby, she may even have a bowl and be pretending to drink soft porridge (as is drunk by Batsetsi). Each of these women are representing the different roles and jobs that are expected of the new bride as a married woman. Other
people who have gathered to watch the arrival of the bride ululate loudly. As the bride arrives, her procession continues to sing their sad song, whilst the relatives of the groom are singing joyful, lively songs and ululating. The married men in the meantime will be sitting on their Kgotla chairs in the Kgotla.

As the bride's procession enters the groom's yard, the women are shown to the lolwapa of the house of the groom's mother. The bride's possessions are unloaded into the house by the groom's female married relatives. As each woman is unloaded, she sits with the bride's female married relatives inside the lolwapa on one side. The bride will sit in the middle of her female relatives with the wife (wives) of her (Bo) Malome next to her. Her mother of course, is not present. The groom's female married relatives will sit on the other side of the lolwapa.

All the women must sit down properly like women sit, either with their legs straight out or to one side. They are not allowed to stand up or to squat as those positions are believed to make the bride feel unsettled and want to go away. Then as they are sitting like this the "Motsetsi" brings the "baby" to the bride and hands it to her. She kisses the "baby" and then cuddles it inside her blankets like a real baby. Then all the women enter the house of the groom's mother, where the bride in front of all the women taking part is given the "laws of marriage".

Only married women may witness this part. In fact unmarried women, men, divorcees, recent widows and those with unhappy marriages are not even allowed to enter the lolwapa of the house during this part of the marriage. These "laws" are never told to unmarried people, but I was informed that the new wife is told her duties towards her husband, his mother and his other relatives. She is warned about the terrible consequences to her husband of her being unfaithful (i.e. her unfaithfulness will cause her husband to have an accident or become very ill etc.) This law-giving continues until sunset when the bride is taken to her new house and shown where to sleep. The groom's Malome brings the groom and they are "put to bed" in front of witnesses and later consummate

*1 The bride's relatives in the weddings I observed sat to the left of the house's door-way.
the marriage. The other people retire to enjoy the feast and the beer, then the bride's relatives return in a procession to the bride's Kgola. As a certain amount of beer will have been consumed, they are usually singing loudly!!!

The next stage usually follows next day, when the bride is shown her house and the possessions provided for her by her in-laws in front of witnesses from both families (this is described in Volume 1, page 181).

Examples of Bogadi presentations recorded in one Kgola

Unfortunately I failed to record the bogadi presentations for all the marriages I observed. However, the following examples do indicate typical numbers and compositions of presentations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Wedding</th>
<th>Type of Wedding</th>
<th>number</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<td>Nov. 1979</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1979</td>
<td>Sekgoa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1979</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1980</td>
<td>Sekgoa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(6 cattle, 2 sheep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1980</td>
<td>Sekgoa</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(5 cattle, 1 sheep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April. 1981</td>
<td>Sekgoa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(8 cattle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1982</td>
<td>Sekgoa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(4 cattle, 4 sheep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 1982</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(5 cattle, 1 sheep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 1982</td>
<td>Sekgoa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(4 cattle, 4 sheep and 1 kid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 1982</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(6 cattle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sekgoa or English Weddings

This type of wedding is becoming increasingly popular. These weddings are first registered at the Chief's Kgola, then at the District Commissioner's and, if it is to involve a church service, also at the church at which at least one of the couple must be a member. Bogadi (bridewealth) is paid in the same way as for a Setswana one. Often

*1 Presumably before they are "put to bed" inside their house, the couple are doctored by a traditional doctor - their "bloods are joined" Pauw describes this custom among the Batlhaping, where it is called go apaya banyadi (to cook the bridal couple). He says they both kneel with the upper parts of their bodies uncovered. The doctor then sprinkles the couple with medicated water and then makes incisions on the outer sides of their wrists, he then rubs black medicine in these from a lenaka, and then they both drink tshitlho. I do not know the Bangwaketse method as it is secret.
this type of wedding takes place on two succeeding weekends. The pro-
gramme for a specific wedding will now be described as this one was
typical of Sekgoa weddings.

The couple had been engaged for some years. The groom worked in
the mines in South Africa and had never had any formal schooling but
had learnt to read and write in the mines. He had paid for the education
of his fiancée, who had passed Junior Certificate and had been working
for the past three years as an unqualified Primary Teacher.

He returned from the mines for his marriage on July 13th. The
walls had already been built and decorated around the houses at his
family's home by his female relatives. Also that year he had sent money
for builders to build his two-room, cement-brick, zinc-roofed house in
his parents' yard. His "choir" had just started to practise singing
every night outside his home. On July 17th relatives collected in the
morning in their best clothes to go and register the marriage at the
District Commissioner's, and on the 21st July they gathered again to go
and register the marriage at the church. The groom then returned to the
mines. On August 9th he returned. His female relatives left without him
to "go and ask for a wife". On the next day, August 10th, the groom
and the male relatives left for the paying of Bogadi, and his "choir"
left on the back of a tractor. Then on August 11th the feast was
held at the bride's home; during the morning they were married at the
District Commissioner's, and then at the Church. After lunch the choirs
competed against each other.

On August 12th the groom and his relatives returned to Kanye. The
following weekend, August 18th, the feast was held at the groom's. On
August 19th the bride was brought with all her possessions and on August
20th she was shown her house.

The main difference between Setswana Weddings and the Sekgoa
Weddings is noticed on the Wedding Feast Days. As has already been
stated goats and sheep are usually slaughtered for the feasts at
Setswana Weddings, but at a Sekgoa Wedding a cow is slaughtered. In
addition following the signing at the District Commissioner's or church
the bride will wear rings like English brides. She will be given one
ring like an English "engagement" ring and another like an ordinary
wedding ring. These will both be put on at the same time. As

*1 The groom was from Kanye and the bride from a sub-village, so each
family had to arrange to go and stay in the other's village (but
not at the other's home) for the different parts of the wedding.
engagements are usually secret because of the fear of Boloi, an engaged woman does not advertise the fact with an engagement ring. Brides married with a Setswana wedding do not wear rings. Also at this type of wedding the bride is always married in a white wedding dress with a veil, and usually has bridesmaids in "English-style" bridesmaids' dresses. The groom wears a dark suit, as do his best man and other attendants, and both the bride and groom wear white gloves. The chief bridesmaid carries a white umbrella and shelters the bride from the sun and the best man carries a coloured umbrella to shelter the groom. The best man usually carries a clothes brush and will brush dust from the groom's clothes at various stages. As the bridal parties return to their respective dikgotla from the church or the District Commissioner's office they may travel by car; as the cars drive into the Kgotla they will hoot loudly in a way that is always understood to be an announcement of the arrival of a wedding party. After the cars have driven round the Kgotla a few times, hooting, the bride or groom are helped out by their attendants and enter their home before continuing with the next stage of the wedding.

The bride usually arrives at her own home before 11.00 a.m. Some time later, usually about midday, the groom's party arrive. When they are seen to be near by, the bride is taken in procession by her bridesmaids and attendants and other relatives. Her head bridesmaid holds the white umbrella over her, and she walks on the arm of one of her male relatives. The groom's party forms a similar procession. He is similarly shaded with his umbrella held by one of the bridesmaids from his side of the family. He is led by a young female relative. Both processions sing traditional songs as they walk - they are usually accompanied by some of their respective choirs. The two processions usually meet somewhere on the edge of the bride's main Kgotla area. As they meet the singing from each becomes very loud as each choir is trying to impress the other one. At one such procession in which I took part the choir was singing in Setswana the following well-known traditional wedding songs:–

"That flower of the Germans looks like a star, our daughter is wearing a star."

"This child is like a coloured" (i.e. she is very beautiful - light-skinned)

"A Baboon is the one that jumps into a tree, we want cattle."
"An ox wagon of the one who's getting married. A person who's getting married is taking a lead."

As the bride and groom meet they both come forward from their processions and kiss, and then the groom takes the bride's arm. Both processions then combine and return to the bride's home, still singing the above songs. As they approach the bride's Kgotla they sing:-

"Knock, Knock, Knock! We are arriving with a married couple."

The older women come out to ululate loudly as a welcome. Spectators rush to witness the arrival. The couple then enter the lolwapa and are led with their bridesmaids and attendants to an area that has been specially prepared for the marriage. It usually consists of a little decorated square or oblong walled area, sheltered from the sun (and sometimes rain) by a tarpaulin. The seats where the couple will sit are often covered with white material. They sit here looking very solemn (as they did whilst in their processions). The bride has her hand in that of the groom's. The bridesmaids arrange the bride's dress and veil and sit at her side, and the groom's best man and attendants arrange him and brush the dust off his suit as he is sitting. Various close older relatives of both of the couple will sit in this enclosure, the men sit on chairs and the women often sit on the ground. These relatives include Bo-Malome, their wives, paternal and maternal aunts and uncles.

The wedding cake or cakes (like English ones and often ordered at great expense from South Africa) are commonly on display on a table in front of the couple.

After sitting like this for sometime, there may be prayers and hymns or "mini" choirs may come and sing to them. These latter usually sing religious songs. They will eventually be taken to the bride's mother's house to eat. Here they sit together at a table, and are usually accompanied by special relatives and the bridesmaids and attendants.

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*1 Kissing is definitely a Western custom. The traditional attitude towards kissing is similar to Sidi's in the "Lion and the Jewel" by Wole Soyinka -

"... I tell you I dislike this strange unhealthy mouthing you perform. Every time your action deceives me Making me think that you merely wish To whisper something in my ear. Then comes this licking of my lips with yours. It's so unclean. And then, The sound you make - 'Pyout!' Are you being rude to me?" P. 9
They are served by relatives of the bride who have been specially chosen to do so. The usual wedding food is served - meat in a delicious soup, rice, potatoes, cole slaw, beetroot salad (and sometimes two or three other salads as well). There may in addition be a dessert such as jelly and custard; cold drinks will be served to the women and men may be served with Western beer or even spirits. The bridal couple are always served first and then the male relatives, female relatives, the male attendants and lastly the bridesmaids. Meanwhile other relatives are served in the shelter outside, or special visitors may be called into one of the other houses to eat at a table. Other "lesser" people may be served with meat and semp or sorghum porridge. Sometimes the wedding cake may be cut by the bridal couple, otherwise it is cut up and served out by the servers.

In the late afternoon, around 3.00 p.m. - 4.00 p.m., the choirs will gather together and start to sing. The bride's choir will start, and after singing and dancing a few songs, the groom's choir will take over. They will alternate like this until after sunset. Sometimes the girls of the choir may dress in identical dresses, or they all wear dresses of the same colour, or wear matching head scarves. Usually the girls dance at the front followed by the boys, one of whom often carries a decorated branch or pole which is that choir's "flag". As time goes on more and more people join one or other of the choirs even if they have not been practising - both choirs will be served with refreshments or cold drink, fat cakes and scones!!

The choirs sing outside the entrance of the bride's home. The men of both families gather in the Kgotla on Kgotla chairs whilst some of the bride's male relatives cook the meat inside part of the kraal and serve the men with the special roasted "men's meat" (backbone). Spectators (no one is turned away at a wedding) gather around to watch the choirs and chat and meet. The songs sung by the choirs are semi-traditional. Before white wedding dresses and veils, couples used to wear the lomipi*1 (peritoneum) of the slaughtered beast around their necks in public, each of the couple had its own choir that sang alternately. This type of wedding therefore appears to be a modern modification.

Choir songs usually challenge the other choir in a good-natured

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*1 This custom has been described in more detail above (see page 16)
way. For example in one wedding which I attended the bride's choir sang a song which said: "You (the other choir) are lizards, the things that hide among the bark of trees, but we ourselves are not afraid of people, and do not hide like you." The groom's choir then answered with a song that said: "We are not afraid of you because you are not Badimo (ancestors). Instead of that we are only afraid of our teacher (i.e. the leader of their choir)." This light-hearted challenging is a feature of choir singing; the choirs dance and sing the songs and may accompany themselves with whistles. There is usually one girl or small group of girls who leads the singing and then the others answer or repeat the lead, in a chorus.

During the latter part of the afternoon, towards sunset, the bridal couple are brought out to see their choirs. They are led out of the house by some of the female relatives who sing the following song:- "Ula-lay! Make way for the bride. She's wearing white shoes." Usually a female relative leads and as she sings she claps her hands in time to the rhythm of the song. The bridal couple follow immediately behind and then the bridesmaids and other attendants. The couple are sheltered by their umbrellas which are held over them. They are led to the side of where the choirs are singing, and sit on chairs and skin mats that have been placed for them. The bride's dress is again arranged for her by her chief bridesmaids, and the groom is "dusted off" by the best man with the clothes brush. The bridal party sit outside listening to the choirs for a while. Spectators have the opportunity to see them - it is a way of advertising that they are now a married couple. The couple are expected to look very solemn and even look down; the bride especially should look very sad and even try to manage a few tears to show she is sad to be leaving her family. They are then led back into the house, where they will change into "change clothes". These are outfits (particularly those of the bride) that have been given to her by her husband, Bo-Malome, brothers etc. They are complete outfits, including underwear, hats, shoes, bags, jewelry. The nearest English equivalent is the "going away" outfit worn by English brides leaving for their honeymoons, and the custom is probably an adaptation of this English custom without the honeymoon. Ones I saw are certainly not practical clothes suited to everyday life. For example one bride changed into a blue satin and chiffon dress and coat outfit, with a matching "picture" hat with a little veil, very high-heeled stiletto
shoes and long gloves, and wore a pearl necklace and earrings. Her
husband changed into a different three-piece suit and hat. The brides-
maids changed into another set of "Sunday best" type clothes. The
couple are again led out in the same way as before, the woman leading
them singing the same song.

After sitting outside for some time near the choirs they will
again be led in, and will change again. The bride who had worn the above
blue/turquoise outfit, for instance, changed into a bright pink chiffon
dress and jacket with a diamante trim. She wore a hat with a feather
which was a slightly darker shade than her dress, a red bead necklace and
earrings, cream gloves and bag, and high-heeled cream shoes. The groom
changed again into yet another three-piece suit and hat. They were
then led out for a third time.

It is quite common for a bride to change into at least two
other outfits besides her white wedding dress. At one wedding I attended
the bride changed seven times. These outfits are in no way "practical
clothes" that she will have the opportunity to wear on other occasions,
especially the hats, gloves and other accessories, but it should be
noted that they are given to her by her various kin who are, in doing
so fulfilling traditional kinship obligations on this traditional
occasion. Other guests at the wedding have the opportunity to give
wedding presents, usually in the form of money. All such presents
are recorded at a special table in a special notebook, with the giver's
name and particular gift.

After sunset (probably between 7 - 8.00 p.m.) the groom is taken
back to his home. The first part of the journey is always on foot.
The bride accompanying him "half-way", both of them surrounded by their
choirs, who will be singing loudly. On the way they part and the groom
continues to his home with his choir. If it is far he will probably be
taken by car. Such a choir usually sings: "Knock! Knock! We are
arriving with a bride(groom)."*1 As the cars carrying the wedding party
arrive at the groom's Kgotla they usually drive all round the Kgotla
hooting loudly.

The next part of this type of marriage take place at the groom's
home. As has already been stated this may take place the next day or
the next weekend. The bride is usually taken at about 11.00-12.00 a.m.

*1 The Setswana words are: "Coco, Co
Re tsena go.
Ditlo, Ditlo."
in the same way as the groom was taken to her home as is described above. She will be wearing her white dress and wedding veil again. The couple's processions will again meet half-way and kiss on meeting. They will again both be sheltered by their umbrellas. The procedure is exactly the same as at the bride's home. They sit first, on entering the yard, in the specially built enclosure and then go into the groom's mother's house to eat. There is another wedding cake (or cakes), and in the same way they are led out to see the choirs singing in the late afternoon, and wear their various "change" outfits. A beast will have been slaughtered at the groom's Kgola and be cooked in the same way by his male relatives. Again after sunset, the bride is taken back by her choir to her home, the groom accompanying her "half-way".

Then the next day at about midday, married relatives of the bride collect at the bride's home to take her in procession with her possessions to her husband's house. This is done in the same way as with the traditional Setswana wedding. She dresses in ordinary smart clothes and wears a head scarf and a blanket, and carries a lamp or a broom. All the remaining parts of the marriage are the same as the Setswana Wedding. The bride is given the laws of marriage and shown her house in the same way. Various relatives on both sides make the traditional presents in the traditional way of traditional beer.

A non-Bangwaketse Wedding

A Mobirwa and Matebele Wedding 1982 (included for comparative purposes)

A description of this non-Bangwaketse wedding is included for comparison only. As it will be noticed that quite a few of the practices differ from Bangwaketse weddings, this description perhaps demonstrates the necessity for the inclusion of the ethnographic detail included in my thesis, and particularly that in Volume 2.

The bride is a Mobirwa - a grouping originally from Transvaal but now living under the Bangwato of Central District. The groom is a Matebele from North-East District on the Botswana-Zimbabwe border. The bride and groom had met through their church, the Seventh Day Adventist Church, to which both families belonged. The couple both worked away from their homes, the bride in Kanye and the groom in Gaborone.

The part of the wedding I attended was that at the bride's home. As both families belong to the S.D.A. church the wedding was celebrated on a Sunday of a Public Holiday long weekend. I arrived on Saturday afternoon, but preparations had been suspended because of the strict
Sabbath observance. The bride had arrived the previous Tuesday and since then, apart from attending church on Saturday, had been confined inside one of the houses in her yard. This, she told me, is a common practice in the Bangwato area - to hide brides. The bogadi of 6 cattle had been brought on the Wednesday.

After sunset on Saturday, cooking continued throughout the night and a cow provided by the bride's family for the feast was slaughtered. Early on Sunday morning we were all given the special stemmed backbone meat. (Among the Bangwaketse this meat is only eaten by the men.)

Just after sunrise men from the groom's family arrived to ask for a bride. As in this village there are no family dikgotla they came into the lolwapa of one of the houses. They knelt down to make their request. They were then served with refreshments. The cow they had sent for feeding their family at the feast was slaughtered (In fact they had sent money for one to be purchased locally as they came from so far away.)

At about 9.00 a.m. the ladies from the groom's family arrived with the wedding dress and the change dress the groom's relatives provide for the bride. These clothes were packed in suitcases. They entered in a line, and were taken to the house where the bride had been concealed. They were also served with refreshments.

The female relatives of the groom dressed the bride and the bridesmaids (2 adult ones who wore pink and a child in white). At about 11.30 a.m. the groom's relatives brought the bride and the bridesmaids out of the house. The bride and the bridesmaids walked all the way from the house to the car which was at the entrance to the yard, on two skin mats. These mats were put in front of each other alternately so that their feet never touched the ground.

Next we all drove to the church, where we met the groom's procession. Here there was an S.D.A. marriage service with an American "Sloppy" love song, during which the best man, groomsmen, groom the bridesmaids and finally the bride entered.

After the service we returned to the bride's home, the bride and groom riding together in the same car, which was decorated with streamers. Outside the yard the bridal procession were joined by the groom's male relatives, who entered dancing and singing a Sindebele wedding song. They danced all round the yard, surrounding the couple and at times threw some mabele (sorghum) over the bride - this was a wish
After this the bridal party were seated with special relatives in a tarpaulined area in the yard, and food was served to them. Everyone else was given plates of food. Some S.D.A. trios, quartets, quintets etc. sang S.D.A. hymns to the couple as they ate. After eating they were led by the Matebele men dancing and singing the same Sindebele song, into a lolwapa where they sat for some time, before going to dress in their change clothes. Unfortunately I had to leave to catch the train at this point, but the bride later told me that she was taken to the groom's home that night by his relatives. One of her sisters accompanied her there and remained for a few days.

Dikgafela (Volume 1, Chapter 9, page 214-216)

The Bangwaketse appear to be the only tribe to retain this traditional tribal custom. This is held to thank the Badimo (ancestors) for a successful harvest, and also to inaugurate the new ploughing season. Every Kgotla and every household should take part. A description follows:-

Very early in the morning, before the sun rises, messengers are sent from the Chief's Kgotla to the edge of the hill to announce that it is the day for Dikgafela. They call:-

"Dikgafela, tseo a ditle." (bring Dikgafela).

Then men who have heard this call, in each Kgotla, call the same words throughout their Kgotla to warn all the women of the sub-dikgotla to prepare their baskets of mabele. The married women from each of the small sub-dikgotla collect together in their own meeting places with their baskets of corn. These baskets must be the traditional Bangwaketse ones. When they are ready the married men who are present lead them in procession (single file) to the main Kgotla. The men carry their Kgotla chairs. The women are all dressed in their smart clothes, and wear head scarves and blankets (the special light ones worn like shawls), carrying their baskets of mabele on their heads. As they go they sing:

"Mogoga - goga o lere
Thokolo ya metsi a pula."*1

This means "We wish for rain to come and clean the ground." "Mogoga" is the type of rain that washes everything from the ground and so cleanses it.

The sub-dikgotla collect at the main Kgotla where the men of that Kgotla are already seated on their Kgotla chairs.

*1 These words appear to be similar to the ones sung by young Bakgatla girls as they sprinkle the fields during rainmaking. See "Rain-making Rites of the Tswana Tribes" Isaac Schapera. (1971) N.B. Schapera was writing about old rainmaking customs.
When all the sub-wards have collected, arrangements are formally announced and they set off for the Chief's kgotla with the men at the front carrying their kgotla chairs and the women in single file behind carrying their baskets on their heads. As they go they sing. When I observed them they were singing the following three songs:

"Mogoga - goga o lere
Thokolo ya metsi a pula."

or:

"A ye co co co
A ye tshopotshopo
Pula pula."

This means "Rain do come and cleanse, waters of the rain do come and give us heavy showers to cleanse us." "Tshopotshopo" is the type of rain that falls in heavy showers, the word makes the sound of heavy rain drops falling. (This type soaks into the ground softening it for ploughing and/or enabling good germination and growth of crops.)

or:

"Pula e telele Everlasting rain,
Pula e tsana e tshwanyana Rain that is black and greyish-black
Ngwana ya metse Child (i.e. Rain) of the water,
ke le ke tla Do flow.
Pulawe." O Rain!

Another song means something like this: "The cattle of the black girl are going and they are going to look for rain, everlasting rain. The mother of rain do flow with water. Do they have a polished girl? We are looking for everlasting happiness."*1

This last song is interesting because it is a very old one and it refers to using "black" children to make rain medicine. People believed that if these children were killed in the hills this would bring rain. The rain is usually seen to approach from the hills and when the rain is coming the hills are seen to go dark (the black children were believed to be like the colour that the hills are seen to go when the rain is coming). However this is also a song used in marriages when the women from the boy's family "go to look for a wife" (see Volume 1 Chapter 8 and Volume 2 page 19) In this case the "everlasting happiness"

*1 Unfortunately I failed to record the Setswana words.
means the wife, whereas here it refers to the rain.

Many of the women put branches of the Moologa tree (an evergreen tree) on top of their baskets of corn and both men and women carry them in their hands. The idea of this is that just as the tree is always green, so is the wish for Badimo to make sure that the harvest should be enough.

On arrival at the Chief's kgotla, they enter in a line, with the men at the front singing the special songs. At the kgotla there are many other dikgotla represented from different parts of the village, some dikgotla may go straight to the special house where the Dikgafela tribute is stored and others go around the kgotla first, singing. When I observed, one ward even went around the lolwapa of the Chief's house singing. There was much ululating. As each kgotla arrived at the Dikgafela house their name was recorded in a book and each woman handed in her basket of corn, which was emptied out onto a heap of mabele inside. The different types of mabele are separated onto different piles (red, hybrid, white etc.) All the time there is a lot of ululating and singing at the kgotla, and people playfully beat each other with their moologa branches and simultaneously shout "Pula!" (Rain!).

When all the women of the kgotla had emptied out their baskets, they returned again in procession to their own dikgotla carrying their baskets and singing the Dikgafela songs on the way. Before leaving to their homes they then sit for some time at the kgotla before being dismissed - the men sit in the meeting place on their chairs and the women on the ground outside. In their homes they start to prepare momela for making beer. On a certain day after the tribute has been collected from all the dikgotla a call will come from the Chief's kgotla, before sunrise "Dikgafela tseo a di a negwe", i.e. the momela should now be put in the sun to dry. A day or so later the call goes out again "Dikgafela tseo a di thugwe" - the dried momela should now be stamped to make the beer.

About two weeks later messengers are again sent from the Chief's kgotla to call out from the top of the hill, before sunrise, that that is the day for stamping the rest of the Dikgafela corn for making the special Dikgafela beer. They call "Dikgafela tseo a di thugwe". On this day all the married women of each sub-kgotla come together to start brewing the Dikgafela beer for their kgotla. It is compulsory

*1 See page 35.
to do this, if for any reason a mother is absent, for example, as a migrant worker, she will tell her daughter to do it on her behalf. Failure to "give" Dikgafela was, particularly in the past, treated as a serious offence, and could lead to the confiscation of all a family's cattle and property. This is because it is a thanksgiving to the Badimo for last year's harvest and a wish to bring a good harvest for the coming year.

For example, in the ward where I stayed there were three households; in one, the family have moved away; in another one the owners are dead; so the beer was brewed in the third house, but children from the other two, contributed corn and helped to fetch water for making the beer (this is not an easy task, especially when the water taps nearby are not working!).

On the next day those from the local headman's ward start to brew their beer, the sub-wards do not start theirs going until the following day as theirs will be drunk a day later.

Beer takes 3 days to brew. Stemped or ground mabele is added to a large cooking pot full of boiling water and cooked on the fire to make a thick porridge. The mixture is boiled for about 10-15 minutes in the usual way, stirring and whisking it with the usual 3-pronged stick to get rid of the lumps. This porridge is then poured into a clay pot containing some cold water, and left to cool. Later, when it is cool, ground or stemped germinated mabele (known as momela) is added to the mixture with more cold water, to make a thin consistency. This is now left to ferment. At this stage it is called "ting" - sour porridge.

Fermenting takes about two days. The mixture is then poured back into the black cast iron cooking pots and boiled again. At this stage it is called mogetlo. Then it is poured back into the clay pots and left to cool, later being diluted again with cold water.

The next day it is strained with a traditional beer strainer woven from basket-making grass. After straining, which is also hard work, it is returned to the clay pots. The dregs (called moroka wa bojalwa) are given to dogs and donkeys. As the beer is being strained women start to ululate. As this straining is also being done in all the surrounding dikgotla at once this is a happy time, especially as the men are given small pots "to taste"* in the meeting places. This is

* The main beer is not supposed to be drunk until after the beer from the main kgotla has been taken to the Chief's kgotla.
a time of much jubilation and singing of traditional songs!!

The next morning, very early, the messengers from the Chief's kgotla again call "Dikgafela tseo" from the top of the hill, and then a man from each of the dikgotla calls the same. Each of the sub-dikgotla come in procession as before, to assemble at the main kgotla. This time they bring small clay pots for carrying the beer, and each person also brings a calabash drinking vessel. At about 11.00 a.m., when all the sub-dikgotla have assembled at the main kgotla, the Headman or another senior man from the kgotla announces all the arrangements, then any questions are answered. (When I observed our kgotla, there was then a Christian prayer for rains led by one of the kgotla men).

Then each woman carries in their own small pots, some of the beer brewed by the women in the main kgotla. Next they all set off in procession as before to the main kgotla - men at the front carrying their kgotla chairs and the women behind in single file, each carrying a small pot of beer. As they walk they sang the Dikgafela songs (see above) also on this occasion they added another song:-

"Kgos Seepapitso o ka re pulawe."
Kgosi Bathoen pulawe a ye tshopotsho."

This means 'Chief Seepapitso can shout and call the rain (ie. because he is the Chief, he is the chief rainmaker) also Chief Bathoen (the Chief's father) can also say "Pulawe" and then heavy showers can come!' The idea is that if ordinary people shouted to call the rain Badimo would not answer, only Chiefs can call the rain.

Some of the men carry a very big empty clay pot. On the way up the hill one or two of the men picked branches of the moologa tree and these were handed out to everyone in turn. Then at the top of the hill they rested and two of the men went ahead to the main kgotla to announce that their kgotla had arrived and was awaiting permission to enter the kgotla.

On arrival at the Chief's kgotla, each kgotla collects in its own group. The men put down the big beer pots and each woman empties her small pot of beer into the large clay pot for her kgotla. About 4-6 small pots of this beer are taken to where the Chief or his representative is sitting in the main meeting place, and emptied into a big pot in front of him. In the local kgotla groups people take out their drinking

*1 This drinking calabash is called "paana".
calabashes and men pour out the beer using a special pouring calabash. There is much ululating in the kgotla, which will be filled with people, both those who have come representing the different dikgotla and also people who have come to "help" drink the "free beer". People playfully beat each other with the mooologa branches, shouting "Pula" as they do so.

The kgotla groups in turn go up to the Chief and his group, and dance and sing traditional songs for him and "beat" him with mooologa branches. Then, when they have finished drinking all the beer in their pots, they return to their own dikgotla, again going in procession and ululating loudly. As they have drunk a lot of beer by this time the returning procession is somewhat spirited! For example our kgotla returned at 3.45 p.m.

The next day the men of each kgotla are called to the other sub-dikgotla to drink the pots of beer that were not taken to the main kgotla - the ones that were brewed in the sub-dikgotla. For example one man from the main kgotla (and the other men of his household) owned the beer in our sub-kgotla, so he came with his friends to drink it. The men from our kgotla owned a pot of beer in a neighbouring sub-kgotla, where the men owned beer in another sub-kgotla etc. When the men go to drink their beer they go with their own calabashes, and continue drinking until they are satisfied. Other people may also drink the Dikgafela beer, but it is given to these men first. Usually finishing all the beer in all the dikgotla and sub-dikgotla takes a week to two weeks.

*1 The pouring calabash is called "sego".
PART 2: ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON ZION RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND SERVICES

In the following parts of the Zion services - addresses, sermons, prophecies, hymns - are given more fully. These services have all been referred to in Volume 1, Part 3, where some parts may already have been referred to in some detail, but in order to provide a more comprehensive account of Zion practices they are described more fully in this Volume.

Z.C.C. Badimo Service (Volume 1, Chapter 11)

The first part of this service was described in Volume 1, pages 240 - 242. The description here is commenced by quoting the words of the Moruti in charge of the service, when he formally announced the purpose of the service after sunrise (following the preceding all-night service). His words show just how closely related to certain traditional practices and beliefs are those of the Z.C.C.

"Ladies and gentlemen, we all understand the law we have been given. We are coming to give thanks to God on behalf of our friend who died about 12 years ago. We should all be vivacious so that our friend who is dead may be forgiven, and God will see we are trying our best to please Him." He then made sure the circle was properly formed and went on to explain to the non-Z.C.C. who were present that in their church they had to do certain things. If they could do something to satisfy their God and their dead friend, they would feel it in their blood (i.e. that they had satisfied him). For this reason they should all try to do things properly. He then continued:

"We are not supposed to lie about God. We should not tell people we are doing right when we are not. Everyone should pray and ask for forgiveness. Whenever we are dancing, if we are not doing it properly then we will not please God. If we are not doing whatever we are supposed to do, our Lord has already seen it from the "third sky"\(^\ast\) We have been saved by the Cross and we should confess our sins."

There was then a hymn. Then I was introduced to the congregation, with the following words:

"I am grateful for Badimo (the occasion) as without this and the dead owner of the home asking for it we might never have met this lady." He then continued that in the history of their church, when one of the Baruti forgot his hat, he went back home to find it because without it he could not cross the sea. This illustrates how this man loved his

\(^\ast\) N.B. According to traditional belief, Modimo (God) is in the third sky.
that if anyone had tried to bewitch the home they would be found out in
the prophecies of the Prophets during the service. The man who had
died 12 years before was a very good man and because of his peaceful
spirit his family had had a lot of Rain (i.e. good harvest). He then
explained how they hoped in this service to take the Badimo of that
home and place them together with the Badimo of the founders of Z.C.C.
He said everyone had seen what had happened the afternoon before (i.e.
the lightning) but it was only God who could see the future (i.e. he was
threatening those witches who had sent the lightning).

Then we all knelt down and prayed. The prayer was for everyone in
Botswana and all over the world. He prayed for rain and people in the
refugee camps, for prisoners, the owners of the home and the dead man
who was now a Badimo, he prayed for the children and those yet to be born
and absent members. He prayed for the leaders of the country. Then he
again prayed for the owner of the home and his children. Part of the
prayer was as follows:-

"Let's pray for the old, the children, let us pray for the rain.
Let us pray for the one who died 12 years ago and pray for pregnant
people and children."

It should be noted that whenever the Moruti made an announcement,
the congregation would clap their hands. This is very similar to
meetings at the Chief's kgotla where a popular speaker would often be
congratulated during and at the end of his speech with cheers of "Pula!
Pula!"

During the next part of the service, the family were treated in
turn with Holy Water in the same manner as the members of the congregation
had been the night before, on their arrival. Even small babies were
treated in this way and amidst much screaming were persuaded to drink
some of the Holy Water. Then each member of the family was "dusted"
in turn with a special cloth taken from a small pocket Bible. Lastly
each member had a short pole, about 6" long, passed over him. These
actions were carried out by two officiating Baruti, in the centre of the
circle, whilst the rest of the congregation sang hymns (Z.C.C. ones)
such as:

"Moses has taken his people and taken them to Canaan."
"The Lord is my Shepherd"
"The cow of Mmamanare has points and it can fight with them!"
"Moria, our Moria, we were nearly eaten by a leopard on our way."
The Z.C.C. service concluded shortly after this.

Z.C.C. Wedding Service (Volume 1, Chapter 11)

Parts of this wedding have already been referred to in Volume 1. Below the various parts of the Z.C.C. service are described more fully.

Short service held following the arrival of the bride at the groom's home

This was a short service conducted by various Z.C.C. members. Relatives, guests and neighbours, both Z.C.C. and non-Z.C.C. were present. When everyone was seated either in the shelter or in the malwapa, two hymns were sung. The first was:-

"We've been saved through your spirit,
We've been forgiven through your sacrifice,
And it has made us happy."

The second was:-

"The Jordan River is filled with blood
And is the Altar of Christianity."

After these two hymns the Moruti said that that was a happy day for all those coming to see the bride and groom. He said that every piece of work that was supposed to be done was supposed to be done the way God and Jesus Christ had ordered it to be, as this work had been commenced with prayers and "putting" their Holy work with Christ. The arrival of the bride's family was like a flower coming into the village of the groom's family. The relatives and friends from Lotlhakane thanked God for the visitors who had brought them a Segametse (i.e. the one who will fetch water, cook, wash etc.) for her husband and his family. She would be the source of light and she was coming to make fire for the family where she was married. (At this point everyone clapped.)

Moruti continued that he hoped God would give her power in the village where she was married. He said that when one prays it does not mean one is superior i.e. everyone was welcome in the house of the Lord, in the Book of Corinthians Chapter 13 it is written that there is no difference between a Greek and a Jew. This book makes it clear that there should be no pride.

*1 This is a very popular text in all the Zion Churches I visited.
He went on to add that while they were doing God's work they should welcome their visitors and friends in peace and Christianity. They should have courtesy, even when they were continuing with the marriage and the service, if someone stepped on someone else's food they should ignore it and continue enjoying themselves. If they could do that work properly and well, then as soon as they had finished it they would have Rain because God would be pleased with them. When the Moruti said this everyone clapped. Next he announced that a woman was going to pray and then they would ask someone to close the service. He added that the next day they would be taking everyone to the Chief's kgotla to greet the Chief, but first they had a lot of work there and only after this was finished would they go to the Chief.

The next part of his sermon emphasizes traditional obedience, a quality traditionally revered. He said that while we are on Earth, we should learn courtesy and everything we do should be done with care and obedience. He said that as soon as the couple were married he believed they were going to make a large family for the groom's father. They would extend the family as far as the river and the hill (local landmarks). (This emphasizes the traditional attitude of a woman as a child bearer for her husband's family.) At this point he finished his welcome and handed over to the woman.

The woman was the bridegroom's mother. She started by saying that she wanted to pray. Her prayer is interesting as it again emphasizes the traditional attitude to marriage and in many respects also includes the "threats" a traditional doctor makes against anyone who tries to harm the marriage when he doctors a couple:--

"O God, the father of Jesus our Saviour, the Lord who sees everything which is still far, Our Lord who has given us luck since the day we signed for this marriage until today, still under your luck, O father, come and stay with us this afternoon, so that you can respect this marriage with us."

(It should perhaps also be noted that the beginning of this prayer is similar to a Praise Poem when speaking to a Chief or other dignitary.)

"We understand your attitude to marriage is very serious as you have told us that these two should not be parted by anyone, the one that does part them will be cursed by God. As you have said, the two of them are of the same flesh, and that is why they have both left their parents. We have left them today and they have come together as one flesh. Lord
who has made us, I am not the one who is speaking, it is you Lord, who is in Heaven.¹ We've prayed since we started this marriage, answer my word as you have answered your servants. O my God, the father of Jesus Christ, our Saviour, when I look at your work, my God, I become frightened.

My Lord who has shown the Devil he has no power, I'm sure you have shown him that today. O my father, the one whose superiority and power I have seen by the way you showed Satan that he had no power, and by letting him fall onto the Earth which is called dryness and afterwards throwing him down like that. You remain in Heaven, he left you in the Kingdom of Heaven. O Lord, we believe that You will destroy whoever tries to come between these two people to spoil their marriage and I believe that You will destroy such a person as You destroyed Satan on Earth. The Earth turned into dryness because the Devil had fallen on it. O, my Lord, I'm saying that before You, O Lord, I'm welcoming the people who have brought Segametse - the one who is coming to fetch the water for me and help me with the work.² I welcome everyone and leave them in your hands, my Lord, so that we can be in your hands and be uniform until we die. Let us live in peace, they are not the ones who made this marriage, it is God who made it. What I ask from God is this, a woman is the weak part of a husband and her husband is a Lord to her, let her look at her husband as a Lord. Let her husband take her as a light,³ and treat her with respect for ever."

She then introduced another man who was going to speak, but before he spoke the hymn "Birds have got nests where they live" was sung.

¹ This is perhaps similar to traditional belief where it is Badimo who will punish not the actual traditional doctor.

² A traditional doctor protects a wedding in the same way by cursing anyone who may come between the couple. This is of course done with traditional medicines. They also protect the pots and the house so that people cannot "steal" one of the couple and/or kill the other. (See Volume 1, Chapter 8)

³ This is comparable to the traditional belief that a wife is the source of light to the home, which is symbolized in Setswana weddings by the bride carrying a light when she is taken by her relatives in procession to her new home, with her possessions. (See Part 2 Chapter 8 and Volume 2, Part 2, page 20).
The man (a Z.C.C. member, but not a Moruti) then went on to say that when ever they came to a service of that kind, they had to know in advance, so that they could prepare themselves for what was going to happen, but as the Baruti had not yet arrived he would have to lead the service in the meantime. He would do his best. He repeated what the woman had touched on, that a man's rib was taken to make a woman and in this way God was making women so that they should be part of men. Everything that is on Earth has its own helper. For example he was sure that people had noticed that with birds, when the female sits on the eggs, the male one fetches food for the female one. God made them like that and so we can see that even birds were made by God in the same way as humans. Today children (the couple) had been brought to be made into one thing so they could work like those birds. When God had made man he had noticed that man would be lonely, so he had decided to make woman as a companion. After God had made woman from man's rib they had become friends. Therefore no one should be surprised by these things as they had been done by God, and so bad luck would come to anyone who tried to separate them and come between them. Anyone who was thinking of doing this should know that they would be considered the one at fault and would not be welcomed in the House of the Lord.

The speaker continued that when he was young people had had respect and whenever they heard that a girl was engaged they never dared to come close to her, but that nowadays no one respected this and even said how it did not matter if a girl was engaged, they could just hide their illicit relationship.

He then addressed the couple directly saying that:-

"The lucky one is you, my sister to whom God has given a husband. You, my comrade, a boy like me, you are lucky when God gives you a wife. Don't only thank God for eating by saying that if you have eaten, you don't care about anything else and saying things like you don't want to marry because if you marry, a woman will later say, 'I want food.' You cannot say that you yourself are satisfied. It is God's wish that people should marry."

Another hymn was then sung: "Those who like life and to live well, should believe in the Lord." Then there was a prayer from the officiating Moruti: - "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, come to us, even if we have sometimes sinned or done wrong when we were trying to convert our friends in their homes, O my Lord, forgive us for our
wrongs, in the name of Christ and His blood he sacrificed for us. May the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ come and stay with us the whole day, leading us, as we are nothing before Christ. In the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of Mary who was the Virgin Mary."

This was followed by a hymn chosen by one of the family members: "A prayer is the life of Christianity" (L.M.S. hymn). This "service" finished here. The bride and groom were taken to eat in the usual way whilst their choirs sang outside. After eating they were taken out to see the choirs, first wearing their bridal clothes and then two sets of "change" clothes. Then at sunset the bride left with her choir.

The All-night service attended by various Z.C.C. congregations

At about 10.00 p.m. the special Z.C.C. service started again. The different congregations began to arrive. Z.C.C. members, mostly members of the local church, started it by forming a circle in the lolwapa. Men were at one end and women at the other, and hymns were started, but as yet there was no dancing. The first hymn was the beautiful Z.C.C. hymn "With my Christianity, I'll never go astray. I trust my Lord." Then the local Moruti announced that this service had been started at the bride's home. They were now going to continue and make the Lord their pillow. He formally announced that the service was a marriage service (this was for the benefit of those congregations who were newly arrived). He added that a lot of cattle had been slaughtered using the Zion way (with a knife, Holy Water and prayer). *2

He announced that the marriage had been started at the bride's home on the 22nd and finished there on the 23rd, and they had now started again on the 24th, until the 25th, at the groom's home. He said that the best thing was to start with a prayer so that God could increase their good luck and also that of the newly married couple. He asked God to give the couple the many things that he had promised them (i.e. children). He said that there were many congregations expected but that they had not yet arrived although some of their Baruti had arrived in advance of their congregations and would be introduced when their congregations came. After everyone had prayed the congregation

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*1 For a fuller description see Volume 1, Chapter 8 and Volume 2 part 2, page 22-29.

*2 This would also protect the meat against bewitchment. This of course is comparable to a traditional doctor's protections at an "ordinary" wedding.
from Metlobo, that had already arrived, would be introduced.

He announced that one man from the Lotlhakane congregation was in charge of welcoming the congregations as they arrived, and various other men were in charge of parking the different congregations' transport, these "parkers" were also responsible for finding out where the different congregations were from and making their arrival know to the "welcomer". He warned the rest of the congregation that whenever anyone came forward with a message he was not to be despised but was to be attended to. Next the Moruti from Metlobo would be formally welcomed with his congregation. He, the Moruti in charge, would also ask for special prayers for the married couple. Then at sunrise they would all be leaving for the kgotla to introduce the different congregations to the Chief, and there would be Baptism, so everyone should remember the baptismal candidates in their prayers. The Moruti announced, too, that the Moruti from Metlobo was bringing with him sweet reed and water melons: so as it was still very early in the ploughing season, this showed that Metlobo was a very Holy Place, because it had started having crops when other places were still having drought.

The Moruti from Metlobo then thanked God for protecting them on their journey to Lotlhakane. As is usual at Z.C.C. services all announcements were interspersed with Khotso bana ba Modimo (Peace be with you children of God). He said that they had not intended to come but through the power of God they had been brought there and were glad to meet with their friends. He emphasized that the couple had been joined by God and they would pray to put those people before Christ so that no one would be able to untie their love. He said that everyone had come to God with their Spirits and Heart, and if they loved God with all their hearts and truth He would listen to them. He asked God for his protection and safe keeping of those congregations who were still on their way.

Then there was a general prayer, everyone knelt down and prayed their own prayers simultaneously and aloud! After this prayer, which ended with a general "Our Father!", several hymns were sung:

*1 Metlobo is believed to be a Holy Place in Bangwaketse district as it is where the early Zionists from Kanye were exiled (see Volume 1, Chapter 11).
*2 "Khotso" is Sesotho, the Tswana word is "Kagiso", but "Khotso" is always used rather than the Tswana word, maybe because the founder was a Mosotho.
"I've retired in Jesus Christ, His home is mine"
"The Cross is where we all hope to meet You, my Lord"
"A Child is born in poverty, pray to God that it may be converted."
"My yoke is difficult to carry."
"There is a river filled with blood at the altar of God."

The congregation from Pitsane arrived in the middle. They started a hymn called "If people will cause trouble and hate me, I will live forever." The Moruti from Pitsane then introduced his congregation by saying that they had come all the way asking for the route to Lotlhakane, and they were very happy because God had guided them. During his affirmation he also asked for Rain from God. He announced that he was accompanied by another Moruti from Pitsane. Then he started the hymn "We praise You our God, we are happy in You. You are our protection."

During this hymn some people started to get the Spirit. In this church when people get the Spirit they shout really loudly ("Aahl") and often when they are starting to receive the Spirit they start to grunt like pigs.

After the hymn the Moruti continued that, according to the Zion rule, as soon as they meet they have to do something to make everyone uniform i.e. be washed with Holy Water. He said that if a person was troubled by Spirit, they should stand aside, so that the higher Baruti should notice that person. Those people not so troubled should stand on the other side so that they may be washed. He was sure that all were coming to pray for their friend. At this point everyone clapped. The Moruti repeated that they needed rain, again everyone clapped. The water in a 20 litre paraffin can was blessed by a Holy "duster" being shaken over it.*1

Another church arrived during the singing of the hymn "Let the Spirit follow My Voice". The Moruti said that in the Bible it is written that in the beginning was the Word, and this hymn says that people should follow the Word. Another hymn followed "The Lord is my Shepherd, why do I worry. I call myself the Lord." This was the hymn that was started by the congregation that was arriving. They came into the middle of the circle with their Moruti at the front and then

*1 Non-Z.C.C. members say that when you eat with Z.C.C. members they have ground people's ashes and put them in this duster which they then shake out over food, to make it protected.
processed around, the women followed the Moruti, then the men and at the back there was another Moruti.

Next the Kanye congregation arrived. Their leader announced that they had not come with their head Moruti, but were led by Mogotsi. The hymn "I have retired in Jesus Christ and his home is mine" followed. The Moruti from Kanye continued to emphasize that he was not an important Moruti and that the other Baruti had remained behind because they had to go to a meeting. He added this congregation had brought one person who wanted to go to Baptism. The Lotlhakane Moruti replied that they had Holy Water there but they needed Holy people to assist them to wash everybody. If a person was not pure then the water would just stick to their hands. He continued that if anyone wanted to be prophesied they should see a certain Moruti inside one of the houses. The hymn "I believed in my Lord and I gave him my heart" followed. The Baruti were next all called into the centre of the circle.

During the singing of the hymn "Christ take me as I believe in you" people were washed by the Baruti. When we were washed, first our faces were splashed with water, then we turned around and our backs were sprinkled, then our hands and feet. Several Baruti were doing this at once as we were so many. They would go round a part of the circle washing faces, then when they reached a certain point, they would return the same way doing the backs. Then they would come back from where they had started doing hands and feet.

After we had been washed they started to sing the hymn "Dumela Halleujah", this is a much faster hymn, and during this people started to dance in earnest. The men jumped thudding with their oversize shoes and the women shook their dance rattles.

Then more hymns were sung: "The sun went down, and even the stars started hiding"; a non-Setswana one about Moria; "Christianity, I shouldn't leave you behind"; and "We are coming to pray for our friends in the name of the Zionists."

There was then a pause in the singing and a Moruti announced that as soon as he had arrived he had had a prophecy that there was the skull of a man buried in that yard somewhere. Then followed another non-Setswana hymn. Then the Moruti of Lotlhakane said that they had come to pray and not do anything else, but in his prophecy he could see that there were some people present who served two masters at the same time (i.e. they were Baloit), and in his prophecy he could see that some people were
coming just to play and were not really interested in the church. He said the best thing to do was to pray instead of coming to challenge the church of the Zionists. Another non-Setswana hymn followed and more prayers. During these the women kept ululating and saying "Children of a cow" maybe because they dance when they want their children, they also shouted out that they hate pork and the meat of a dead cow. *1

At about 2.00 a.m. we (my companions and myself) retired to sleep, while the service continued. At first the Dikhosa kept waking us up to go and rejoin the service. The house where we were sleeping was being used to prophesy people. *2 During the night on one occasion when we were taken outside to rejoin the service, I observed a woman feverishly digging in the entrance to the lolwapa. Apparently her Spirit had shown her that Boloi was buried there. Later during the night, while we were sleeping, a lady was brought in by the prophets and when the prophets touched her with their prophecy sticks she shed tins that were concealed about her person. These tins contained boloi to bewitch the family. It was explained that the prophets had a greater power, originating from God, that overcame this Boloi. While we slept we were all liberally sprinkled with Holy Water to protect us from Boloi.

Just before sunrise we rejoined the service, where the congregations had been singing and dancing all night. In the middle there was a man who was feverishly digging in front of the house where we had been sleeping. He had also seen in his Spirit that Boloi was buried there, however he did not find it. Apparently this Boloi was so powerful that when weaker prophets "saw" its presence they could not "see" the position accurately - "it would keep moving."

Service After Sunrise, including "washing" and praying on the bridal families

At about sunrise the bride, with some women and girls (family members) were put in the centre in a line, and the groom and men and boys placed in the centre in another line. The Lotlhakane Moruti in charge of the service announced formally the purpose of this service -

*1 Pork and the flesh of a cow that has died naturally are both taboo for Zionists.
*2 As has already been noted, in this church people are not prophesied publicly, but are taken out of the circle to be given their prophecy privately by the prophets.
a marriage. He announced that the service would take the whole day and as there were a lot of Baruti who were all going to preach they wanted to do their work and their service properly. He continued that when they (the Baruti) had arrived from Lobatse during the night they had heard that something dangerous had happened that night. A child had been left sleeping under a tarpaulin and when the mother went to check the child she had found the child had died. This child was from Kanye and had been very ill so the parents had brought her for prayers, but before they had had a chance to show her to the Baruti she had just died silently. The father of the child had immediately taken the body to Kanye in his red combi.

The Moruti continued that the marriage had started at the bride's home on the 22nd-23rd and from 24-25th it was at the groom's home, and when the main Moruti from Lobatse arrived they would continue with the service. He said that the married couples should build together and that the groom's father's kgotla would be extended towards the river and the hills with the many children that the marriage would be blessed with. After the main part of the work had been finished they would all go to the Kgolola to greet the Chief, and as soon as they came back the couple would change their clothes and they would read from the Book of Joel Chapter 2, which would be the conclusion of the service. He repeated that they were asking for Rain from God and were asking it so that the flag could stand for good.

The Moruti continued that there were many Zionists that had been married but they had been married at the registry office. People criticized the Zionists for not marrying in church, but only signing. Therefore this was a very happy occasion because that marriage was the first that had been registered by Robert Morabi at their church in Lobatse. When the names were called on the final day of the wedding there had been many people there in the Z.C.C. church in Lobatse. Morabi was going to bind this marriage to his Badimo so that they could

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*1 These repeated requests for God to give Rain is again a traditional feature, and a way of talking on traditional occasions, when there are always requests for rain.
*2 Here they are referring to the white flag that was outside the house to show a marriage was taking place.
*3 This compares with the Badimo of a Chief who are believed to be more powerful than those of commoners.
have a successful marriage. He announced that Morabi was now going to lead the service. The church choir, and the women should stand up in their positions. The Moruti concluded by explaining that the name of the village Lotlhakane means "you are mixed". I was then formally introduced and everyone clapped.

Morabi then greeted the congregations and said he had managed to arrive safely from Lobatse that day because of their prayers, but some Baruti were still to come. He announced the death of the little child but said that death to Man is like a uniform. When a person is a Christian they should know that Death can come at any time. We read in the Bible that when someone is dead we should not cry and tear our clothes, or kill ourselves. We should know that we can die at any time. If we cry like that it means that two people are going to die instead of one. Those were the words he wanted to remind them about, there was nothing strange about it. The Spirit goes to Heaven and it is only the body that rots on Earth. Sometimes people die without having a pain, even though he was with them today they might hear the next day that he was dead. He could even die while he was talking to them. He added that as soon as they had finished the wedding they would be going to Kanye to bury the child. He kept repeating that the Lord is our Saviour, to stay with us for ever. He is going to direct our way and even our Death. Jesus Christ has said He will come again to take us to His home so that we can be with Him. He will be with us and when He comes to take us He will not even make an agreement with anyone, we should remember those words that the Son of Man has said He will come and take us so that we can stay in the house of His Father. The Moruti said he was telling them that so that they should remember that Death is our friend, and not anything strange.

The prophets were next told to collect in a house after greeting the Chief. Everyone would be going to the kgotla to introduce themselves because in a small village they had to be welcomed by the main kgotla according to the law of their church, they respected the Chief. It was only after they had been welcomed by the Chief that their work could continue.

The Moruti also announced that they were going to pray for the sick and the suffering so that they could receive the Holy Water that is not sold, only given. Next the Moruti prayed for God's help that

* In some other types of Zion Churches people pay for this.
their work at that service may be successful.

After this prayer, while the congregations continued singing hymns, the families and the married couple were all washed with Holy Water. The method was the same as at Badimo (see Volume 1, Chapter 11) and the "duster" and "stick" were used. Then the two groups joined into one inner circle and one of the Baruti took one of the Holy pieces of paper and burnt it for everybody to see. The bride and groom for this part of the service were dressed in ordinary smart, new-looking clothes. After this the bride and groom went into one of the houses. The women and girls were next dismissed to the direction away from the entrance of the yard. The men, however, continued. While they were dancing boloi was actually dug out from the entrance of the house where we had slept, and also at the entrance to the small lodges for this same house. In each case the man who was digging used a metal prophecy pole and his hands. The boloi consisted of pieces of poisonous roots, bits of skull (said to be from a dead child), and porridge. After being dug out and carried away they were to be put on public display later in the day.

While the men continued to dance on their own, the women belonging to a church choir had a practice. Also another small group of men, said to be a church choir from Lobatse, continued on their own. They were dressed in Scottish kilts and khaki military jackets, with seed bead dance rattles around their ankles. They carried prophecy sticks and one or two had little wooden axes with silver painted blades. They danced in a circle (the bridegroom was among them) and every now and then, just as in traditional dancing, one would go into the middle to do extra dancing.  

The Service at the Chief's Kgotla to Introduce the Visiting congregations to the Chief

Eventually, after a collection had been made for the Lotlhakane Chief, the men led off in a marching formation to the kgotla. The male church choir (wearing kilts) were behind the main body of men, who marched in two lines with the Baruti at the front. Then the two female choirs followed. One wore bright turquoise dresses with green woolen hats, and matching dark green ties, the dresses had special silver Z.C.C. buttons. The other female choir wore dark green skirts, yellow tops, and matching dark green head scarves. Then came the

These men were wearing the so-called MaScotch uniform. See Vol. 1 p.245-6.
rest of the women. The small boys were with the men, as they had been all along - even the very small ones.

On the way to the kgotla, we kept stopping several times for the men to do more dancing and singing. But eventually, at about 11.30 a.m., we arrived at the Chief's kgotla. Here the Chief and elders were already waiting, sitting on their kgotla chairs. The chief Baruti went forward and prayed in front of the Chief. The Moruti from Lobatse introduced himself. He said that according to their custom they had to greet people by shaking hands and saying "Khotso" (Sesotho for "Peace"), but because there were so many Zionists that would make the Chief tired, therefore the best way was for them to bring him presents. The Moruti repeatedly referred to the fact that they had been taught courtesy by their founder, Lekgonyane. The collection was next presented, followed by a short Bible reading. The Moruti continued that in the Bible it says that if there is no Rain, "Let all the nation go to the Chief's Kgotla and pray, and that will make rain." Also we read in the Bible that those people who rule like Chiefs have been chosen by God. The Moruti continued that it was a good thing that the hosts at the marriage had told the Chief that his church would have visitors and would be holding a marriage in his village. He was God's chosen man. They were now coming to kneel before the Chief of Lotlhakane Village as he was their superior. They were asking him to tell them to pray. The Chief did this, everyone next knelt and prayed their own prayer. When everyone got up again they formed into a dance circle. The Chief in his reply said that there would be rain as soon as they left.

It should be noted that the Z.C.C. really believe in Badimo and the superiority of the Chiefs. They believe that the Chief is an intermediary with the Badimo and that if the Chief is pleased the Badimo will also be pleased and reward them with good rain. This was the reason why they had taken him gifts so that he could talk to Badimo.

Special women were called upon to sing for the Chief and there was much ululating. The first hymn was about "Those who have pork and a dead cow": this was a praise of Zionists and Christ's disciples.

Following the women's choirs and the MaScotch choir all the men sang for the Chief and they did special "tricks" for him in the centre of the dance circle. For example, some men did somersaults or danced extra hard, and a certain albino man walked on his hands.
After further prayers the kgotla service was concluded and we marched back to the wedding home in the same formation as before. I had to leave for Kanye at this point; the main service now being over, but later in the afternoon the Boloi items were displayed, treated and destroyed.

**Special Services held by the Third Type of Zion Churches**

a) **Those held at the Church**

(i) **Special Christmas Service** (Volume 1, Chapter 15, page 273-4)

This service was held by Kanana. Like many of the Special Services I attended it fulfilled more than one function. At this service some members were given their new uniforms which also denoted promotion, this part of the service was held first before the Christmas Service.

After the completion of the New Uniform Service (described later on pages 57-63) the Baruti in charge of that part of the service formally handed over the service to the women. As Christmas concerned the Birth of Christ to Mary, this was stated to be women's concern, and so they should be in charge of this part of the service that concerned birth.

The hymn "Hallelujah" was sung. Then the Bishop's mother (the most senior woman) preached. She said it was time they had a child and the child was a boy. They had found him in a basket and she wondered who was going to take care of it. (Here she was referring to Moses in the Bullrushes). She continued that in the Bible it says that the Messiah will be seen by the Spirit and other people will also recognise Him. She continued that a child had been found and been wrapped in linen and laid in a manger. Another hymn followed. The Secretary was called to read Luke 2, v.6-14 and Matthew 2, v. 1-11 (visit of the Kings).

Another hymn followed and another woman came forward. She apologised that she was not good at preaching but would try. She expounded on the Wise Men visiting the infant Christ. She "dried up" and so another hymn was sung to give her power to preach. Then another woman came forward to preach. She talked about people who hear the Word but take no notice. She next referred to how the Wise Men saw the Star of Bethlehem and how King Herod became jealous and ordered the death of all small boys. He had tried to send spies to Christ in the stable. The Word said that Christ was born in a stable because all the houses were...

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*1 See Volume 1, Chapter 10, page 237.
full. She asked for forgiveness, in case she also was dishonest like Herod. She herself, would have liked Christ to be born in her house. Next she talked about the scene where the Wise Men knelt before Christ. She concluded by asking for prayers to improve her preaching as she would like to learn how to do it properly.

Then a woman started a hymn "Bats have houses where they can sleep", this was followed by another woman preaching. She commenced by requesting prayers that her name could be written in the Book of Christ so that she could be called on the Day of Judgement. She repeated virtually the same sermon. Another hymn "Receive them" was sung and another woman preached. She asked for prayers to help her to preach. She was very shy and kept asking for forgiveness. She repeated the same sermon about the Wise Men from the East.

Then followed the hymn "We're making a poem about your name, O Lord", Another woman preached about Luke and emphasized the pains of childbirth, here she was drawing the attention of the congregation to Mary's labour pains. She returned to the theme of the Wise Men. Two hymns followed "If you ask me what my aim is, I'll say it's Jesus Christ", and "The soldiers of Christ are close to Him, their eyes are like weapons" and then the Church Secretary spoke about Herod, his attitude to Christ, and the way he had sent spies. This was followed by another hymn and another woman preaching, saying we had all heard St. Luke's reading and in that it said that we are going to live in Christ and die in Him. It was now the birthday of Christ but we did not know what we were expecting from the new baby, just as when a person is cooking in a pot, one does not know in advance what the food will be like. Everyone should be happy because this was the day that Christ was born.

Another hymn was sung and another woman emphasized that the Wise Men on seeing the Star of Bethlehem had been led to Christ's stable. Then later, the angel warned the shepherds, telling them not to be afraid as a Saviour had been born. The angel left them. The Wise Men followed the star and asked Herod (on their way) the way to the New King in Bethlehem. Herod had heard this, became jealous and sent his spies to Bethlehem. The Wise Men had continued on their way to greet the new King. Then a hymn "I have a shepherd' followed. The same woman continued that she wished she knew all the books of the Bible so she could be good at preaching. She always asked God to give her power to preach. She used to know how to dance, but didn't know how to any
more, so now she would like to be good at preaching so that she could preach the word of God all over the world.

Next followed hymns, during which one person had the Spirit strongly and even fell out of the door. A hymn was started by one of the miners, who commenced singing in a South African language, but the congregation continued it in Setswana: "Samuel, Samuel, Samuel, Halleujah". This was now the end of the Christmas service, so I left - 3.30 a.m. - but the service continued as an ordinary service until sunrise.

(ii) Good Friday Service (Volume 1, Chapter 15, page 274)

I attended two of these special Good Friday services, one at Episcopal in 1978 and one at Africa in 1979. The one at Episcopal, which will be described, was held during the day, commencing at about 9.00 a.m. The one at Africa was held during the night of Good Friday, starting at about 11.00 p.m. and continuing until sunrise on the Saturday. At the Africa service new uniforms and promotions were given.

When I arrived at Episcopal they were already singing hymns. Then the Bishop read from St. Matthew 27. He preached on the reading, saying that in St. Matthew we read that between 6.00 p.m. and 9.00 p.m., on the first Good Friday, there was darkness. Then Jesus shouted out "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" When some people had heard Christ shouting out they thought he was calling for the prophet Elias (Matthew 27, v. 46-50) and they waited to see if Elias was coming to save Him. Christ repeated his words and they thought he wanted to drink so they brought him vinegar. Then after the events of verses 51-53, a centurion had said "Truly, this man was the Son of God." The Bishop continued that, when we hear the words of that part of the Bible, we should think about that and feel the pains of how Christ died for us on the Cross. We should stand up for Christ and not make ourselves into a Judas. When Judas, the betrayer, heard about this he had tried to return the 30 pieces of silver but they had been refused. Nor should people be like Peter, the one who denied Christ three times before the cock had crowed. When Simon Peter had heard the cock he remembered Christ had prophesied this and he had fallen on his knees.

After about three more hymns, another Moruti, temporarily on leave from the South African mines at Carltonville, preached. After greeting everyone from the Bishop to the Dikhosa and all the congregation, he asked people to remember that when Christ was taken to the Garden
of Gethsemane, the Bible told us Christ had said that no one would keep watch with Him, they had all fallen asleep and then he had gone to a hill to pray alone. He had prophesied his death before it had happened.

Another hymn followed and then the Moruti continued, saying that when he read Paul's books in the Bible, he learnt that it was good to share when you are together. He next welcomed me and asked people to sing properly. He announced that he was just waiting to leave for Carltonville but, before he left, he would like to know what a woman, who had had Spirit, had seen. He asked the congregation to pray for his safety in the mines as a bad accident had killed people two days before he had come, including two people from Botswana, and one from Mozambique who was still buried under the rocks. He asked for prayers to prevent such situations, and that he might be protected.

There were then further hymns, one of which was not in Setswana, before the service closed; "God save our Nation"; "Jerusalem, Hallelujah, Amen"; and "Amen, Amen".

(iii) Easter Sunday Service (See Volume 1, Chapter 15, p. 274-5)

Although this was an all-night service and had been started at about 10.00 p.m. on the Saturday night, I did not arrive until about 2.45 a.m. as I was not then used to staying up all night. This service took place in 1978. In this church Easter is one of the three times a year when the Bishop informed me that new members are baptized. Therefore besides being an Easter Sunday Service, this was also supposed to be a Baptism Service.

When we arrived, there was a curious incident that should be noted. A man was hammering on the door - he was drunk and had been stabbed when thieves had chased him and attacked him at a Bar at the other end of the village. When he was admitted to the church he tried, in gratitude to present the Bishop with some money which the thieves had tried to steal from him. The Bishop refused it, but asked the congregation that if they had God in their hearts they should help the man. He (the Bishop) appealed to the congregation to help him, even if it involved danger to them to take him to the Secondary School where he was the visitor of a teacher. The Bishop said that because the Devil has his followers and helpers, like beer, the man had left his friends and gone to drink on his own, that is why he was now in the hands of enemies. But members should sacrifice themselves and guide him home
safely. (As I was also from the secondary school I was asked to be one of the party.) If those who helped him were beaten on the way they would be just like Christ.

When we returned to the church about one hour later, people who had requested prophecies were being prophesied. Apparently while the Zionists were dancing around those to be prophesied, several prophets "saw" that on that night it would be dangerous for them to go to Baptism. For example one prophet said that the water was not safe for them to go on that night to Baptism. Some people might even be taken by the Water Snake. Although they had tried to pray for the water, it was not safe on that occasion. The water where they were going had a Chief that controls it - this is the Water Snake that eats people in the water and sometimes if they go when they have "seen" it, it would be dangerous, there would be one person who would not return.

This is interesting because, as will be seen in a fuller description of Baptism, Zionists strongly believe in the Water Snake.

The Easter Service closed at sunrise after we had been reminded that this was the day on which Christ rose again from the dead - a day of great joy for all Christians.

Following this service and as the result of one of the prophecies*1 (on the bewitched clothes of the pregnant wife of one of the Baruti), the congregation was divided into two. Those in one half of the church were sent immediately after the service to dance and pray at the home of the family concerned, the remainder going home.

(iv) New Uniform Service at Kanana

This uniform service at Kanana has already been referred to in Vol. I briefly. This church does not have other branches in Botswana. The new uniforms were issued during the special service, prior to the Christmas part of the service which has already been described above in (i).

After the entrance of the Bishop, at about 11.00 a.m. the purpose of the service was announced by one of the Baruti, that is that it was a special Christmas Service but, before handing the service to the women who would be in charge of that part, some people would be given their new uniforms and a certain Moruti, called Tiro, would be in charge of this part of the service. All were very glad to see Tiro there as he

*1 This and other prophecies are described in more detail in a later section (Page 146).
rarely attended as he had been busy at the Lands. Another Moruti would help him. Those people to take their new uniforms would be called in turn and everything would be done as it was written in the Bible.

Tiro replied that he was not very happy about being in this position but he would do it because he had been told to. He had been to the Lands where there was no water at all and he had had a terrible time trying to water cattle daily. Therefore he had been unable to come to the church. A Moruti tried to start a hymn but Tiro told him to stop. This angered the Moruti, who said that they were not supposed to be talked to like that and that everyone had had trouble with rain, not just Tiro (N.B. 1978-9 was a bad brought year in Southern District). Tiro then gave thanks that the people had come from the mines to the service. One miner interrupted that it was not polite to refer to them as "those people from the mines" as this was looking down on them. So Tiro called them by another name that satisfied them, and continued that on that day they would be presenting the new uniforms. He himself only had a coat which had been washed by the people at his home in Javel (bleach) causing it to lose its colour. He was waiting for his friends to arrive from the mines in South Africa so that they could bring him a new uniform. He was afraid that as he was not wearing a proper uniform he might harm people when he helped them to dress in their new clothes. It would be difficult for him, but he would go ahead if the congregation did not object.

The other Moruti who was in charge then spoke, saying he had a headache and was coughing. He wanted to ask them to pray for him. He reminded the congregation that they should stand up properly as it was still early but they should remember that he himself was not feeling well. Then followed 2 hymns "The soldiers of Christ are close to him, their eyes are like weapons" and "Miracles can be performed because of this love". The new uniforms were placed in the centre of the room and the Secretaries were called to record the names of the people taking new uniforms, in the church register. One Secretary was called to read the relevant part of the Bible for this service; Zechariah 3, v. 3-4 about Joshua being clothed in clean clothes. Next a Moruti started a hymn. During the following hymns people danced around Tiro who was standing next to the uniforms and he was prayed on. During the following hymns the people taking the new uniforms knelt in the middle of the dance circle in groups of about 3 or 4 at a time. They were danced
around. Their old uniforms were taken off and they were dressed in their new uniforms by the various officiating Baruti. (Women dressed the women). In all about 8-10 people took new uniforms.*1

Next, during a hymn, they were prayed on by Tiro. However when this happened many "got the Spirit" uncontrollably - women leapt up in the air and fell amongst the men - tearing off their duks. Apparently this was all the ill-effect of Tiro's uniform that had been washed by his new wife who was not yet a Zionist and was even pregnant - it is a taboo for a pregnant woman to touch a uniform and this was the reason why they got the Spirit so strongly.

Another Moruti preached next. He said that some people were not known by God. Some people prepared for God but then forgot what they were supposed to do - here he was referring to the ladies who had been invited to the marriage, some were not ready and the Lord said he did not know them. Also people who were not repentant would be in trouble on the Day of Judgement. He complained that the service was supposed to start at 8.00 p.m. but it had not started until 11.00 p.m. Another girl was even pointed to and accused of being late and therefore she was not fit to take a new uniform as she was not truly repentant. Two other women were referred to here, they were two women who had got the Spirit strongly when they were prayed on. This had been partly caused because they were not truly repentant and had arrived too late to confess.

There was another hymn and then the Moruti emphasized that they should continue quickly with the service as they had a lot of work that night. He referred to the Bible readings emphasizing how Joshua had been clothed in clean clothes and left his dirty ones. The Lord had said to Joshua that on that day he was going to put on new clothes, including hats and cloaks. In the book of Revelations it said that wearing white clothes made a person nearer to God because it showed that they had committed themselves to God. He said that he himself had no power greater than the Law of God and if he said he had it would be a great sin. The clothes they wore at the church showed that they would be soldiers of the laws of the country and the law of the Chiefs. The uniforms showed they belonged to their church, and even if people insulted them for being Zionists they had the right to object to this and stand up for their church. He said "children of God, you realise

*1 As each one was dressed in the new uniform, Zechariah 3, v 3-4 was read again by the Secretary.
that your clothes are bound with taboos". He added that he was very pleased to have the opportunity to talk and he wanted his name to be registered so that on the Day of Judgement his name would be among those to be saved. Those with new uniforms were asked to come closer and the hymn "The Word is speaking and the Word is for Jesus Christ" was sung.

Those who had taken new uniforms were instructed on the laws of their uniforms. They were to wear them at the special Christmas service and other special services and during funerals and Botsetsi services of Zionists. As soon as Christmas was over they were supposed to wash their uniforms and put them in a special place. He was very sorry that names had not been listed before the service, but they had been at the Lands and were not prepared. He was very glad that they had been corrected, but they should be forgiven because they had only just arrived from the Lands.

The Bishop then asked to speak. He emphasized that this new uniform was not just ordinary clothes, but should be greatly respected. He referred to how it said in the Bible about the woman who was given a uniform by the Lord and this woman had asked herself a question. At that moment she had been marrying a man whom she was not going to divorce. Their uniforms were like that, by taking them they showed they were members of the church and were not going to lose their uniforms for example, by breaking the laws of the Church. The Word said that the woman took a long time holding the clothes she was given by her Lord and asking herself questions. She said she was not going to divorce him unless she disgraced herself. Some people unfortunately were just attracted to these uniforms without thinking carefully. It was not just a simple thing. Members should wear their uniforms properly and respect them and the Dikhosa should make sure they enforced the laws of the uniforms properly. People should not take their uniforms for granted as if it just involved buying the material simply, at a shop. The clothes were a Communion with God and if one takes them off one was breaking this link with

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*1 N.B. These were the special uniforms for some of the women with positions, e.g. wives of Baruti.
*2 Other writers refer to the confiscation of uniforms as a form of punishment. See West and Aquina.
God. When one was wearing these uniforms one should show that one is repellant, if they are taken away from one, one will lose one's link with God. The members were soldiers and they were responsible for "fighting" for God. He again emphasized that they should wear these uniforms during the following times:— The Church Conference, Communion, visiting other churches. He added that people should wash their hands carefully before dressing other people in these church uniforms otherwise the next time the uniform is worn their hands would turn to blood (i.e. before wearing these uniforms one should be repellant otherwise Judgement will come).

There was another hymn followed by confusion as one person's new uniform was not there. Then followed another hymn, after which the Bishop reprimanded people for behaving badly at the church. It was not a place to play and he was also angry because a woman who had had Spirit uncontrollably was not being taken care of — 2 senior ladies were next told to attend to her.

Another Moruti in charge of the service thanked the Bishop for his words but said that they had not refused to allow the girl (having Spirit) to wear their uniform; it was just that she had arrived very late and had insisted on wearing it immediately. She had taken the uniform before she was properly prepared for it. It was then revealed by one of the women that that girl was menstruating and so she should not have taken her new uniform — it was very dangerous to do this, and so that was why she had been pushed away by the others when she had fallen on them while having Spirit \( ^\text{1} \). But the Bishop replied that he did not like this—they all suffered from this disease so they should not have pushed her like that. If a person has Spirit strongly they should ask others to help. He even said they had forgotten that they should all pray together.

The Bishop emphasized that people were wrong but, instead of admitting their mistakes, they continued to argue. Things were supposed to be done in order and people from Kanye should not make mistakes and claim it was because they were arriving from the Lands. He started a hymn "We are going back to Canaan". A Moruti announced that if people thought they were going to start having Spirit that they could not control, they should not dance. A hymn followed, "Lord visit them".

\( ^\text{1} \) This is obviously similar to the traditional belief that menstruating women are dirty.
Next everyone was told to return to their proper positions (those who had received new uniforms were still in the centre of the dance circle). Tiro complained that the reader of the Bible, an Evangelist, kept quarrelling with him because he had not been coming regularly to the church, this was a very disappointing action during the Birth of Christ. He had told people at the beginning about the problem with his uniform jacket being washed in Javel. Then the other Moruti in charge of the service said they had now finished the Uniform service and would hand over to the women who were in charge of the special Christmas service.

At this point one of the Baruti asked to be prophesied. The Moruti in charge put him in the middle of the dance circle and told members they should dance one behind the other and copy the ones in front or they would trip over each other. Another Moruti complained that people danced too slowly and if anyone did this they would be told to rest as it was not fair to the other dancers. The woman with Spirit was still having Spirit during this time. The hymn "Halleujah" was sung, after which a prophet started by saying that when he asked his Spirit about this man, he could "see" the man in agony and a house that was not yet finished. People were still working on this house, and it was being built of bought cement blocks. He also said that he could "see" people coming to weep in that house and he could "see" that man weeping with them. The house had the window and door frames, but was not finished, he could "see" that this new house was on the outside of the yard and there was space between it and the others in the yard; he was not quite sure of the place, but the man being prophesied should say whether or not it was there.

He continued that in his Spirit he "saw" a cow that man would quarrel over, but later he would regret this and cry bitterly over it. Maybe he was going to send money to buy a cow and that money would not be properly used in the way in which he had intended. The man replied at this point that the only thing he had bought was a goat.

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*1 These discussions and arguments are interesting as they could perhaps be compared with Kgotla meetings and trials where anyone who wants to speak is given a chance to do so.

*2 Again this is like the approach of traditional doctors; patients must agree with the first part of the divination before the ngaka ya Setswana moves on to more.
The prophet continued that he "saw" the leg of that man with pains in the ankles and when he was working he sometimes got tired and hated to do his work properly. He (the prophet) could also "see" a person with spectacles. The man agreed that there was a person with spectacles. The prophet continued that his mind was confused over girls and not settled on one girl. He had bought things with his money and these things made him worried. He had a lot of things but these would disappear. His Spirit told him they should pray for this man because in his Spirit he "saw" that he would have an accident (car) and it would leave him in the dust. That was all he had 'seen', but he emphasized that that man's heart beat quickly and he should look after himself because he could "see" that he "worked for girls" who would steal his money and he would remain in poverty in the end. This was not his fault, it was because he had many enemies and they were bewitching him so that he could not succeed. He should be very careful or he would go mad. Even now he was very confused and had lost his power. When he was at the mines he always thought about a certain girl whom he really loved and decided he should marry her. But when he returned he just forgot about her and went around with a lot of girls. The man agreed to this and added that sometimes when he talked to people he felt shocked and afraid.

Then followed a hymn "All over the world, talk well of Christ's name" and as no one else wanted a prophecy the special Christmas service started.

(iv) and (v) B.U.C.Z. Church Conference, New Uniform and Promotion and Communion Service

This special service was held at B.U.C.Z. on 30th September 1978 over the Independence weekend. It included the annual church conference so other Botswana branches of this church attended, and miners had returned specially from the mines. New uniforms were issued and promotions were given. It also included Communion. As the Chief's Uncle had just died members left the service to attend the funeral.

This service was held in the new, partly finished, church building in the Kanye Moruti's yard. Previously this church had been holding

* Several prophecies had referred to this sort of thing at the various churches I attended.
its services in a small square house in a member's yard, uphill. The church was an oblong made out of traditional bricks to a height of 3-4 feet. (Members had been making bricks during the past weeks.) Sheets of zinc were used to build up the walls. The roof was made of bits of tarpaulin and plastic sheeting supported by poles cut from tree branches and trunks.

I arrived at about 10.00 p.m. The service had not yet started and the Kanye members were still busy cooking. Then at about 11.30 p.m. everyone was given food (meat and samp). After eating we entered the church. Congregations from Lobatse and Moshupa were already present. The service started with hymn singing and dancing. Many of the uniforms of the visitors were particularly colourful, for example one Moruti was wearing a long coat of half green and half yellow (and a "half hat" of blue and white stars). He had a long chain round his neck and a distinctive method of dancing - a sort of skipping step. As he danced the chain tinkled. At one end of the room there was a table, behind which sat the Bishop and his wife. They were from Lobatse. The Bishop was wearing long blue robes with a white trim and a blue and white Bishop's mitre. People were placed together by the Dikhosa according to their church rank.

After some time public confessions started. Confessions began with the Baruti. Each one took the usual pattern, first the confessor would greet the Bishop and other church officials down to the Khosa and then the general congregation, children and visitors. At about 1.30 p.m. while in the middle of confession, the church from Gaborone arrived. They were given food before they entered. They came in in the usual way with their Moruti leading, starting a hymn outside which was taken up by those inside, who bowed to welcome them as they processed in a line around the centre. Then we all knelt down and prayed simultaneously. They were formally greeted and it was explained to them that the confessions had already started.

A woman continued her confession saying that she was asking God to look down upon Earth where we are all suffering and having pains; like people being in prison, being hit by lightning. She was putting all these things before God, not only herself and her relatives but all people in trouble. The little she asked from God she hoped would be answered because Christ is the one who answers people's requests quickly. Many confessions were in this vein, being interspersed with hymns. They asked for prayers for absent (i.e. dead) friends, prayers
for their disturbed spirit. One man referred to how it was a happy day - the children of Christ were coming to wear their beautiful uniforms in the name of Christ, but that he himself was "low in Christianity" as he was "held by evil matters." He had had an accident about two weeks before and his children in Moshopa were very ill. He lived in Gaborone but had had to go to Moshopa because his children were very ill. On the way back to Gaborone his wife had lost the money to buy her new uniform. That was what let him down, there was no one who knew where problems like that come from. It was just a test from Jesus Christ trying to show that something had displeased him. He said he was asking for prayers to help him overcome his problems.

Another man (a Rhodesian) referred to the death of his brother in Rhodesia (this was during the war) but there was nothing he could do because he could not go back to Rhodesia, and even if he could he could not bring his brother back to life. He was asking for prayers to help him overcome his problems.

Another man asked for prayers for his Moruti in Mahalapye who had converted him and "delivered him from the country of Egypt where he had lived like a slave." Now he was together with different people, who were living in Christ. He was putting this Moruti before God so that where ever he goes God should be with him.

Then one of the Baruti from Kanye said that in the Bible in Matthew we read that love of the flesh may bring happiness, but the love of God is everlasting. He said he was thanking God that they had met together with the love of Jesus Christ. He thanked all their parents for allowing them to be Zionists and if it was not for the power of B.U.C.Z. they could not have met together. He now handed over the service to the person who was supposed to lead it, as it was now very late.

Next a visiting Moruti revealed that since he had entered he had had the "pains of prophecy" around his middle and legs. (When prophets may receive prophecy they feel pains). He said there was someone in the church who had those pains and needed to have a strong belt wrapped around the waist. This belt should be made of sacking and should have a white colour inside and it should also have a chain. He could "see" in his spirit that this person would be forgiven and the pains would then go, as that person was suffering from the pains within him/her.

*1 c.f. traditional idea that bad luck can be from dissatisfied Badimo.
The congregation should help to pray for this person so that they could be cured. We should all be in agony like Christ's disciples were when he was crucified. Another leader from Moshopa then referred to how Christ loves a place where there is courtesy, so during the service everyone should behave properly.

After more singing, the Bishop came forward and spoke. He said that when he read the book of Ecclesiastes 3, it says there is a time of growing and a time to harvest plants after they have grown. The time was now 2.30 p.m. and as they were about two and a half hours late they should start, as they had a lot of work to do that night. They would be having a uniform service and be giving promotions. He said that in the Book of Peter 5, v 5, it says there should not be many Baruti, therefore if there was a Moruti preaching they should let him preach alone and listen to him. They should not try to compete with each other in knowledge. There should be one Moruti and people should listen carefully to his words. In the book of Ecclesiastes 3, it says that everything has its own time. He said they were not going to read the chapters as they were supposed to have read them already. They would try and shorten them as they were short of time. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, he was now going back to his position.

The hymn "The Devil has lost his power, the Lord has risen from the Dead" followed. Then the Moruti in charge formally announced the purpose of the service, and hoped that it would not take too long as they were short of time, but they were going to be "as beautiful as the clothes they were going to wear". He called the Dikhosa to come forward and arrange all the new clothes in the centre.

By the central pole there were a lot of prophecy poles and cords, the uniforms were placed on top of these and when people came forward to take their uniforms they sat on top of them. There was very ecstatic dancing during the hymns which followed. The people to receive the uniforms entered the circle and were danced around. Baruti ladies dressed the ladies in their new uniforms, the men being dressed by baptized men. The Moruti in charge then announced that it was time to pray for the people who had received new uniforms. Next the Lady Bishop entered the circle and with her metal prophecy stick prayed over each of them in turn, when each knelt in turn before her. These people then returned to their places.
The Moruti next announced that they had reached the time for promotions. He said that in the Bible is written that, whenever you do the work of Christ, you should do it with Him and it should be witnessed by the congregation. They should take notice of how people were prayed for, because next time it may be one of them, so they should know how to behave. He did not mean that they wanted the congregation to be afraid to discuss with their Moruti, but they should also respect him. If one does not listen to what the Moruti is trying to teach one, that is when one will go astray, as it says in the Bible "the child that does not hear the Word of the Father, hears the word of the vultures". Also it is written that such a child who breaks the law will be disappointed by God, the one who breaks the law after being a member will be punished suddenly and severely. Again it is written that if one behaves badly like that, God will just break that person like a branch falling from a tree. He emphasized that everyone should behave respectfully. First he was going to call the names of the people to be promoted, and then he would call them to the centre where they would receive their promotions, after they had been registered. Members knew themselves already, and all congregations had people who were to be promoted. Afterwards they would be prayed on.

The people receiving promotions then entered the dance circle, all of the same position from the different churches entered at the same time, i.e. all the Dikhosa, then the Secretaries, then the Deacons, Evangelists, Barapedi, and Baruti etc. They were given sashes denoting their positions, for example, Baruti were given green sashes. They sat on a bench in the centre at the front. Both men and women were promoted. Even people who had been acting in their positions in their own church during the year were called, so that all the congregations would recognise their new position.

When it was the turn of the Baruti to be promoted everyone had to kneel in respect. The Moruti in charge reminded everyone that it was not a simple thing to be a Moruti and, as everyone in the church knew, whenever a new one was chosen he was selected by the congregation. So Baruti should be respected where ever they went spreading Christianity, and converting people. They should not be afraid to tell people they were Baruti and if they were teased or their church was insulted then they should stand up for their church.

Two people were promoted to Moruti (one from Moshopa and one from
Kanye). They were now to be recognised throughout Botswana. Then the Moruti in charge told the congregation that, when the Baruti were being prayed for, they should sing without beating drums, and during the hymns everyone should kneel down and start praying. When they were given their positions three Baruti were going to pray on their heads.

Then we sang the hymns "We are praising you our Lord, we are happy in you, you saved us through your Holy Spirit." and "The love is surprising, it is amazing, what can I give to the Lord in order to repay Him? The only thing to give is my Spirit to Christ".

There was one more promotion to Mookamedi (Vice Bishop). When this man was given his new position he had to be respected because it was a high position, the people who were to dance around him to call the spirit were those who were baptized and had positions in the church.

Then the hymn "Nations hate Zion" was sung, during which the Bishop prayed on the Mookamedi, and the Moruti in charge announced he would be recognized as a Mookamedi throughout Botswana. The hymn "We praise the Lord" followed.

The Moruti in charge said it was now time to read the Bible before Communion. They would read from Ephesians 6, v. 11-15 and Revelations 3, v. 1-6. A very slow hymn was sung and the Bible was read by the Secretary of the Gaborone congregation. It was then announced that one Moruti was going to preach before Communion.

The preacher, expounding on the readings, emphasized to those who had been promoted that they should behave properly and not expect to be respected when they had not earned respect. He even gave the example of how some people were given positions in the church, but as soon as they had left the service one might see a woman with a position going around bare-headed and openly breaking the laws. Others did not even bother to wear their Zion uniform to the church; some had a tendency of carrying their Zion clothes in a bag or suitcase when they went to church as if they did not like to wear them on the way from home. They just wanted to wear them at the church. But they should know that when they did this it was a sign that they were trying to hide from God and Christ. True members of the church should do what they were supposed to do without hiding. If non-members asked a member what they were wearing they should reply that it was a church uniform as ordained by the Holy Bible. This is a souvenir and members would be buried with it like soldiers were, because they were soldiers of Christ. Ephesians
tells the truth about the clothes worn by the members - Christians need to have a special uniform which is chosen by God, referred to in the Bible. Their new uniforms were given by the power of God, through Christ's love. These clothes would protect them from disease and bad luck.*1

Next he addressed himself to those who had uniforms but had left them at home; they should realise that when Christ comes He will forget them. He said that in the Bible it guarantees that these clothes are going to protect the congregation. He hates Christians who are shy of wearing their uniforms or who are shy in other ways. Those have really not understood why they took them in the first place. In the Bible it says that you should wear your Everlasting Clothes, with your rope around your waist for ever - and any other cords (e.g. waist, ankles, neck etc.)

He reminded the congregation that they were Batswana, and always saw their elders who were traditional doctors wearing their special things like earrings and beads or necklaces. Such people respected those things and may wear them to death.*2 He said that when a person is a Zionist he has vowed to be a Zionist for life and should not despise these signs of membership of the church. He complained that some people cut off their cords, but these were supposed to wear out on them. In Revelations it demands that they should wear their uniforms, he reminded them that it says in the Bible that "there is no special time when I'll come, I'll come at any time without warning". Therefore they should wear their clothes while waiting, so that they would be prepared. Then when the Angel comes they will be ready. He reminded them that the disciples of Christ even had cords around their waists. If they were very sick their parents would rush to call their Moruti and he would come with cords that have been prayed for and wrap them around the patient. His Spirit would tell him how to help the patient.*3 Again a member may be prophesied at the church to wear cords.*4

The Moruti continued that they should always "gird up their loins", as this was a vow to God that they would always be His servant. Here he concluded.

*1 This obviously compares with the traditional protections.
*2 This is an interesting comparison.
*3 This compares with a traditional doctor "seeing" from his bones. A patient may also move to live with a Moruti; as like one of my informants who suffered from milk coming from her breasts although she was not pregnant nor had a baby, had had to.
*4 As at the Special Healing Service at Africa.
A hymn followed "There's a river and it's filled with blood, at the altar of God, the river is like a tree and it's aim is for life, the evil doers destroy Christianity." Another Moruti took over this part of the service, in Sindebele. Whereupon a Khosa was called to light the candles as they were now starting Foot Washing and Communion. *1 Then the hymns "Water, Water, it's not only Water" and "Eli, Eli" were sung while preparations were being made for Foot Washing.

While the candles were actually being lit the Secretary from Gaborone read Numbers 8, v. 1-7; this is the part about Aaron lighting the candles. It was just about dawn at this time. Next Ephesians 6 v. 10 was read and the Moruti again emphasized that everyone who had taken a new church uniform would respect themselves and God. He said that if they had a uniform they should be able to object to anything that was wrong; whenever anyone comes to challenge them or insult their church, they would be able to stick up for their church. That was the time when Christ would notice them, especially when they were wearing white like His angels. He repeated that Aaron lighted these candles in the Book of Leviticus. He then said he was going to sing a hymn before handing over the service to the Bishop. He started "We praise you Lord, we live well under your protection, as we have been saved by your blood" and "Jerusalem, Amen, Messiah". The Secretary tried to read but was stopped by the Moruti, who said the work had to be done in order, she should read the part for Foot Washing not for Communion as she had tried to do. He told everyone to take off and to put down in the centre their prophecy poles, cords, capes and cloaks that had been prophesied, neither were they to wear jerseys, only their special church uniforms. They were supposed to be as simple as Christ Himself. In fact at this point they took off anything that was red, putting it in the middle.

The special communion hymn that tells about Christ and the blood coming from his side mixed with water, followed and "The Cross is the place where we are all going to meet." The Moruti repeated that they should put down their prophecy sticks and take off all their red Mabitane *2 cords. He even showed them his own that he would take off. They then took them off and put them in the centre of the room with the poles until Communion had finished. He reminded them that when they ate the body of Christ they felt the agony of His death and should therefore lay down their prophecy poles which were no longer fighting for them to give them power as they ate Christ's body. They themselves were in agony

*1 Khosa learns all the work of the church.
*2 Cords that had been prophesied.
(this is remembered in the hymn "The soldiers of Jesus Christ are close to Him, their eyes are like weapons kneeling before Christ".

Communion is taken very seriously in these churches, and in fact many people did not receive it (e.g. those who were menstruating, or had recently had intercourse). However all those present, even those not receiving, had had to put down their prophecy poles and red cords and red articles of dress. The only red thing was supposed to be the wine - Christ's blood.

The Moruti (the one from Moshupa who was in charge of the service) again emphasized that "We should be thankful for the death of Jesus Christ, we were meeting that day to remember it in the name of Christ, so we were not supposed to show any superiority. Our power had come to an end. We had to lay down our red cords and prophecy sticks, and come simply to Christ." A hymn commencing in humming was sung "If you ask me who I trust, it's Jesus Christ".

The Moruti in charge then preached that Jesus Christ had wanted his disciples to arrange for the feast of the Passover (the Secretary read Mark 14, v 12-16) He repeated after the reading that Christ had told his disciples to make the Passover, he told them to go into the village where they would meet with a person with a pot on top of his head. They should tell that man that the Lord wanted to eat the Passover at his house. He said that man would show them a room bigger that the others - an upper room. It was here that they should prepare the Passover.

Then the Secretary was told to read John 13, 3-7. The Moruti continued preaching about how Christ stood up in that room among his disciples and took off his clothes. The Secretary repeated verses 4-5 and as she did so the Bishop stood up and took off his blue Bishop's clothes (he was wearing ordinary clothes and a green uniform jacket underneath and had a towel wrapped around his waist). The Bishop took off this towel as the relevant part in the Bible was read and followed the instructions as verse 5 was read - He poured water into a bowl, and started to wash the feet of disciples - here the Bishop washed the feet of three Baruti in the bowl of water. As the end of verse 5 was read he took the towel from his waist and wiped the feet of the disciples. The Secretary kept repeating the appropriate parts of the verses 4 and 5 as the Bishop did this to each of the three Baruti. The Moruti then explained that it was written in the Bible that when Christ
had come to one disciple He told him that he would deny Him three times (verse 38) before the cock crew. He had also prophesied that there was one of the 12 who would betray him (verse 31).

The Moruti continued that after Christ had washed and dried the feet of the disciples He had said to them that they had witnessed what He had done, and they should call Him their Lord and Master (verse 13) and then they would be telling the truth. That was why He had washed their feet because He was their Lord and Master. Then He had told them to do the same to each other (verse 15). At this point the Bishop gave the towel to one of the Baruti he had washed, and then he had washed the feet of the other members of the congregation, who came up in threes, sitting on benches in front of the altar, men first followed by women. The Moruti continued preaching that Christ had said that as He had done that for them they should do it in the same way for others who were His followers (i.e. Christians). The Secretary read the relevant part of the verses for each person's feet to be washed. The congregation in the meantime sang hymns "We are praising you our Lord, we are happy as we are living well under your protection", and "It's peace that has come from Jesus Christ," "Birds have got their nests: and they live in them, even the fish have their homes."

During these hymns no drums were beaten. Many members did not come for Foot Washing as the Moruti had continually warned them that they should only come if they were sure they were pure, otherwise they would be committing a bad sin. (While the feet of the Gaborone Secretary were washed, the Kanye Secretary took over the Bible reading.)

When everyone's feet had been washed the Gaborone Secretary read Mark 14, v. 22-24. As she read how "Jesus took out bread and gave it to His disciples", the Baruti in charge took out little blue wafers and put them on a plate on a napkin and the wine was poured into a glass wrapped in a blue plastic bag. The Bishop started giving the wafers and the wine to the same 3 Baruti first; as he did this the relevant parts of Mark 14, v. 22-24 were read. Then those three Baruti gave out the wafers and wine to the other members, men first and then women, who came in the same small groups as before to sit on the benches before the altar. For each one the Secretary read the relevant parts of Mark 14. At one point one Moruti drank all the wine and more had to be poured into the glass!!

After everyone had received Communion, the hymn "Halluejah Amen" was sung and danced to very ecstatically around the prophecy sticks and
cords. Many people got the Spirit during this hymn. At the end of the hymn they took back all the sticks and cords. The Communion service had now finished. At this point the Kanye Moruti asked for a prophecy for his wife, but I left at this point as it was the day for the funeral of the Chief's Uncle – the time was 7.00 a.m.

(vi) Healing Service (Volume 1, Part 3, Page 48)

This was held during a Sunday Service and started in the usual way. I arrived with the church Secretary at about 12.30 p.m. The total congregation at this service was about 20 - 4 men, 6 women and the rest children. When we arrived the service was in the control of a Moruti but the Bishop had not yet arrived. The Moruti in charge announced the purpose of the service, which he called Ditapelo (prayers). Then individuals made their confessions in turns, starting with the oldest of the children (young children do not confess) up to the Moruti himself. This was interspersed with hymns. These were in the same format – an individual would kneel and greet everyone in turn according to their positions and then mention their problems; often explanations as to why they had not been to the church lately. Then the Moruti in charge gave thanks for all the people who had confessed, and for their visitor – me. He said that not many people would have the opportunity to preach that day. He, himself, was thinking very much that day about the crucifixion and the courageous one who had gone to fetch the dead body of Christ. "We believe that He was buried. We hear that the shepherds were there at the time and sent to guard his grave. As it is known that before Christ was crucified he had foretold this, and then arisen from the Dead, and those people who had crucified him had sent people to guard his tomb, so that his body could not be stolen by his followers."

He then announced that next they were going to sing a hymn before praying for power from God.

Next we hummed another hymn which preceded a general prayer where everyone knelt down to pray their own prayer ending with a blessing "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost". Then we sang "Let's dance Hosanna". The Secretary was called to read Matthew 13, v. 47-52 and 15 v. 10. Then we sang "Eli, Eli" and the Moruti preached, his sermon being closely based on the above Bible reading. This was interrupted by a hymn "Jerusalem, Halleujah Messiah" to help the preacher have more power. The Moruti continued saying how the Kingdom

*1 This was an appropriate address for the time of year.
of Heaven can be compared to the fish taken out of the ocean. Those fish that were not good were thrown back. Those people who do not believe will be like those fish who were thrown back, during the Day of Judgement. They should prepare themselves to be like the good fish. He emphasized Matthew 13, saying that people should try their best to be prepared for the second coming of Christ. The hymn "Hallelujah Amen Messiah" was sung. Next the Moruti announced that he was now handing the preaching over to two of the trainees followed by the Secretary and one of the Senior women (Mma Mookamedi)*1 Then we sang the hymn that we took up from the Bishop, who started it outside, to announce his arrival. "A voice is calling the voice of Christ". The Bishop spoke for a long time referring to the Bible reading from Matthew 13, v. 4-7, reminding the congregation that that is what it would be like on the Day of Judgement. Angels would be sent from God to take those who are good and leave the rest, who will be going to Hell. The Secretary was given her turn to preach. She preached on the same theme. Mma Mookamedi announced she would preach on Matthew 15, v 10. She said that Christ had called lots of people and after they had arrived he preached to them, giving examples before asking them if they had understood. Christ said that whatever they heard or is spoken from the mouth, may not itself make a person Holy. Words can easily lead one astray. They should be careful as a blind man cannot lead another blind man. Two hymns followed "A train which goes to heaven, should be pushed" and "The Son of God was noticed by his work to be the Son of God". Two trainees next preached briefly on the same theme which was followed by "Let's praise the Lord".

The Bishop reminded them that the preachers had spoken about a person who had been sent to be a true shepherd to guide the people, and the Bible stated that the Kingdom of Heaven is like the net which was thrown into the ocean. The net brought in a lot of fish when the fishermen drew it ashore and they threw back the useless fish. A non-Setswana hymn followed. The Bishop continued to preach along the same lines, that believers are like the fish that were kept, and non-believers like the useless fish that were returned to the ocean. Then he went into non-Setswana, *2 returning briefly to say that when his

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*1 All these are women. N.B. This is not as described by Aquina who states that women never preach.
*2 c.f. traditional doctors and their special language.
children were sick and taken to the hospital, they were not helped by that Moruti (maybe he was a mo løi), he then continued in non- Setswana.

He then stated that if you are a mo løi, you will suffer those consequences like the useless fish. He referred to a recent journey to the Lands during which he had picked up children who had been hit by lightning. Then he had gone to the Lands the next day and found another accident where a child had been killed by lightning. He had helped to bury the child and the parents had begged him to stay and help them with their troubles. He said that he had told those people that he was a Zionist using cords and drums and hated the meat of dead animals. He had prophesied that child who had been hit by lightning and he had revealed the woman who had sent the lightning to kill the child, he had told her to her face, not like the Z.C.C.. He told the congregation that that woman who had sent lightning to kill the child could be compared to those fish that were thrown back into the sea.

He warned the congregation not to be like those fish. He referred them to verse 10 and asked them what Christ had meant by calling the congregation to Him. When Christ had spoken these words the Pharisees had been very annoyed because they were jealous. Jesus replied that they should forget the Pharisees because they were bad preachers and their followers could be compared with the blind man leading the blind man, resulting in both falling into the ditch.

Christ had further said that any tree that grew that had not been planted by his Father would be pulled out by its roots (i.e. the bad people were like such trees). He asked the congregation if they understood - like Christ had asked Peter. He explained that some priests of high rank had in fact promoted themselves, but in their church they pray on top of newly promoted people. What is done on Earth is noted in Heaven, a person who promoted himself is a false prophet who will never reach Heaven - he is like a scavenging hyena. The way to Heaven is hard and has to be followed in proper stages. He said it would be unfortunate on the Day of Judgement when it has been well-known on Earth that an individual is a Christian and he possesses everything that has been prophesied for him as well as a church uniform, then people see that person going to Hell. The hymn "I'll meet thee during the time when I see Jesus Christ with wounds on his hands", was sung.
Next the Bishop announced that the service that day was a special Healing Service, the Secretary's children were sick and also two of his own sons. He wanted to finish the service that day and then go to the Cattle-post as he had left his cattle alone. For the service he needed to be provided with a bath, two dishes and water. The children would be washed and then prayed on. Then he started the hymn "Hallelujah Amen, Messiah" and announced it was time for prayers. He would hand over to the Moruti. He asked where the cords and specially prophesied red dueks were for some other members who were to be given them on that day. He was shown them on the altar.

The mother of the sick children explained that when she had had a special service at her Cattle-post she had been told that she should wear a red duek to help her headache. The Bishop asked her if the headache had now gone, she said she still had the trouble. Another woman also said that she had been prophesied to have a red duek, but had not been told exactly what it was for.

Another young woman explained that she had been prophesied to wear cords on each wrist for the pains in her arms.

The Bishop explained that it was now the time to light the candles and he would pray on the water. He explained that when children were to be washed like this they need 5 candles each. We all had to stand around in a circle holding the lighted candles. The Secretary was then reprimanded for not bringing her candles in a packet, but she explained that due to lack of money she had had to buy them one at a time. (If candles are in an unopened packet, there is less danger of them being bewitched.)

We then hummed a hymn and the Bishop explained that now it was the time for healing. The Secretary was asked where she had obtained the matches that were to be used: they were then prayed on.

The bath was in the centre of the circle, all the congregation were standing in a circle holding the lighted candles around the bath. One small bowl was placed at each end of the bath. The Bishop chewed matches. He lit others and dropped them into the bucket of water. He also stirred in various powders with his prophecy stick, one at a time. Then he spat in the matches he had been chewing. Next the Secretary's two children were undressed and "washed". They were placed

*1 This is very similar to a traditional doctor's method of preparation.
in the bath and water from the bucket was taken by each of the two bowls in turn and poured over their heads. The Bishop lifted up each child in turn and prayed for it. Then his own two sons were treated in the same way, and finally the Secretary's baby. We all sang hymns whilst standing in the circle, which drowned the noise of the crying children. Then cords were tied around their wrists, ankles, waists and necks and they were dressed. The cords were tied on by the other two Baruti. Next the cords and red dueks mentioned above were given to the other women.

The Bishop next asked anyone who had received a prophecy to reveal what they had 'seen.' He himself had 'seen,' when he put the children in the bath, lightning striking and also a snake appearing. He said that this showed that the mother was not happy.*1

He prophesied that one child should have cords round the waist and also another going like a sash. This would help to protect the child from the troubles he had 'seen.' He said sometimes the child grinds its teeth when it is sleeping and becomes very hot and wakes up suddenly during the night as though it is sick. He continued for a while in non-Setswana. Then continued in Setswana saying that something belonging to the child had been stolen and in this way the child had been bewitched. The child had been touched by a Moloi at night and after that the child had had trouble with a swollen stomach and severe headaches, he had become sluggish and lazy and wanted to sleep all the time.

The Secretary's mother, who was also present, agreed that this was the case and the child had complained about a headache. The Bishop continued that there was something that had happened to that baby, Baloi had touched it on the head and from then it had had pains badly.*2

He continued that the child had been touched on the head and the stolen clothes had been returned and the family had allowed the child to use them because they did not know they were bewitched. He also said the child was ill because there was disagreement in the family and maybe with the father of the child.*3

*1 In fact the woman had been engaged to the father of the two little boys, and then she had had her third child by another man.

*2 These are the kind of symptoms caused by people with maoto a molelo, (such as menstruating women, miscarried and aborted women, uncurled parents of dead children or spouses) touching children without using wet cattle dung or ash.

*3 It has already been stated that the mother had broken her engagement with their father, and so the illness was perhaps being caused by dikgaba (i.e. the child's father feels angry in his heart, causing the illness of the child).
The mother replied that there had been a time when the child had been asked to go and visit its paternal relatives and when the child returned some of its clothes were missing. She said that they had thought that as the child had been brought back by an old woman, that that was why the clothes had been left behind because they were too heavy for the old woman to carry in addition to the child. She added that there was to be a kgotla trial on behalf of the two older children. The Bishop continued that he had "seen" this also in his prophecy - that the father was trying to reclaim his children and the things he had given his former fiancée.

The Bishop continued that at some time the child's stomach would swell and he would hiccup and be abnormal, it even looked as if the child would be an asthma case.

In addition he had received a prophecy concerning one of the Baruti. He had "seen" that in that Moruti's house where he visits his girlfriend, he dreams excessively but the following day he cannot remember his dreams. Then after that he always has problems. That Moruti was ill and easily forgot things. (At this point the Moruti concerned asked me to turn off my tape recorder as he wanted a secret prophecy. In fact there was so much noise during the hymn singing while he received the rest of his prophecy in the middle of the circle that we could not have heard the words anyway!)

After this secret prophecy, the Bishop told him (the Moruti) to wear a red and white cord around his waist on his uniform (the Bishop referred to the red cord as a danger cord). He told the Moruti that he should dance with his cord and hold it during the services. The girlfriend was told to wear a red and white prophecy cord with tassles at each end.

The Bishop continued that in his prophecy he could 'see' a blanket, and he asked where it was. He told the Moruti he had problems with his heart and often talked to himself and had pains. Once when he was walking he had feared he was going to be attacked from behind. Sometimes he ended up talking to himself. The Bishop announced that we should now pray for that man on behalf of the money he had had that had once been taken from him. He asked him which church he had originally belonged to and if he had danced in a church with BaKalanga. The man agreed that at first there had been BaKalanga, but there were not any now.
The Bishop explained that in his Spirit he had "seen" a Kalanga who had belonged to that man's church. She was slightly plump and tall and sometimes wore a black skirt.*1 The Bishop then said that they should dance some more to try and obtain a clearer prophecy about that Kalanga girl. We then sang the hymn "Amen Messiah", and the Bishop continued that he could "see" that man's legs had problems and he sometimes even had painful toes as if he had cramp. He said that that girl was visiting the Sangomas*2 to try and obtain medicines to make that man love her. The Bishop asked the Moruti if he had ever promised to marry that girl, but he replied that he had not. The Bishop continued that that Moruti sometimes had pains and aches in his stomach. He had a lot of saliva and felt nauseous as though he had a lot of bile. The Moruti replied that he was afraid of these things he was being told because they were true.

The Bishop said there was a certain uniform he had been prophesied to wear at that church but if he wore it he would fall into a faint. He continued that the girl went to the Sangomas*2 to harm him so that he would marry her. She was black and was not a Mongwaketse or Malete, but came from the Francistown area. If he took that prophesied clothing when that girl was with him she would take it to the sangomas in order to harm him. He should wear cords on his ankles and wrists, and he should also take Holy Water, put more cords in its container and drink that water to protect himself.

The other Moruti, who had mentioned that he was unwell at the beginning of the service, was then prophesied. Here the Bishop did not 'see' much, he said he 'saw' he was having problems, for example he had psychological problems and an unbalanced mind. He asked the congregation to pray for his own son at the hospital, who had been given a course of 10 injections following measles.*3 He would not at present go into further details about the second Moruti's problems as it was now late (5.00 p.m.)

*1 The fact that he 'sees' the particular tribe compares with traditional doctors, whose bones can show the individual tribes of the people 'seen' during divination.

*2 N.B. The Sangomas referred to here are a type of Zionist Church which uses traditional medicine.

*3 Measles itself is not a "sent" disease, only complications. However every patient who is treated and cured by the modern medical services (such as the hospital), may still need to be protected from a moloi who "sent" the original problem.
Another hymn was sung during which the cords and dueks were put on the other woman. Then the service ended.

(vii) Baptism and Purification Services

The services described below took place at B.U.C.Z.

The service began in the usual way with confessions and hymn singing and I was welcomed by the Evangelist who explained that in that church they baptized with the Holy Spirit and Water. Then, after more hymn singing, the baptismal candidates were called forward, but there was only one present, and some baptized people for purification. The Evangelist in charge called upon the Secretary to read the story of Naaman from the Bible. He started to tell the story to the congregation about how Naaman was a leper and then a servant told him how he could be cured by dipping himself in the River Jordan seven times. The Evangelist did not want to continue to tell the story in case people did not believe him before hearing it from the Bible. The Secretary read the story from 2 Kings 5, v 9-14. While she was in the middle of it, the Moruti arrived, having started a hymn outside the church which the rest of us took up. This was followed by several hymns; then the Evangelist handed over the service to the Moruti explaining that they were in the middle of reading about Naaman.

At this point the Moruti revealed that while he had been dancing he had received prophecy that someone in the church had biltongs*1 of a man, which they well knew was banned in their church, and this would stop them from being able to do their work properly in their church, disturbing their powers to prophesy.

After another hymn the Moruti emphasized that everyone who went to baptism or purification should make sure they were Holy. He said he was handing the service back to the Evangelist, who would be in charge of the service that night, but they would first sing a hymn to help give him power.

After this hymn another prophet visiting from his own church, (a class 2 church) was welcomed. The Evangelist briefly referred to the story of Jonah and the Whale before starting another hymn. The visiting prophet spoke briefly about how he was glad to visit them. After another hymn, the Evangelist said how glad he was to see even the oldest members at the church that night as when the trumpet of Christ calls they will be ready. They will not be like the 5 foolish virgins who were called for a marriage but were unprepared, not having.

*1 Dried meat, usually of wild animals (game meat). As has already been stated, Baloi are believed to possess these to help give them power.
enough oil for their lamps. They will rather be like the 5 who were prepared. He also referred to the Biblical story of the talents, how we should multiply our talents given us by God to use, not to bury them like the servant who was only given one talent. Then another hymn was sung.

The senior Moruti asked to interrupt for a moment. He welcomed me formally and reminded the congregation about how it says in the Bible that there is no difference between a Greek and a Jew.*1 He told them to do their work properly and they should always be prepared. He asked the congregation to sing some hymns to welcome me properly— they sang about four during which some people "got the Spirit". Then the Evangelist addressed the congregation, again reminding them that when they were called to be Christians they were like children who needed to learn. He warned them that they were forbidden beer, and neither should they sell it to others as shebeen queens. They should always remember that Christ died for us. He called the baptismal candidate to kneel in the centre so they would "be" if she was ready to be baptized. He said "You are domesticated, but whenever a new domestic animal like a cow or a sheep arrives, it must be put in the centre so that it can become used to the other animals." The baptismal candidate was like that because she was not yet baptized, she did not yet know the rules of baptism.

She then went to the centre and a hymn was sung around her. The Moruti again spoke saying that in St. Matthew we read that John the Baptist preached all over Judea about the Holy Word. Many people started to follow him but he told them they should not think he was a prophet like Isiah; they should repent and prepare for the coming of the Messiah. Another hymn followed. The Moruti continued that we were now going to discuss the words from Isaiah 11. One should concentrate on being as white as snow, be cleansed of sin, and be as white as a sheep.*2 The Bible reminds us that we should be prepared at all times, even if one had been cured, (baptized), but if one does not follow the rules, one will fail on the Day of Judgement. After another hymn the Moruti continued that he hoped that everyone in the church, as they had decided to follow the right way, would be ready on the Day

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*1 Whenever I visited churches this text was always referred to.
*2 This is an interesting analogy as sheep are not necessarily white in Botswana, often looking similar to goats, nor is there snow.
of Judgement. In Amos 8, v. 11 God said that on that day ladies and young men would suffer because of the drought brought by God. On that day it would be too late to hear the Word. They should prepare now, not be like the 5 unprepared virgins. They should be like the 5 wise ones. Two hymns followed and the Moruti continued that he particularly addressed his words to the baptismal candidate; he had not just invented these words, they were from the Bible. Even Hosea had wrapped wild animal skins around his waist and eaten honey and locusts. John the Baptist had preached about God, and after his sermon many people had come to be baptized after they had repented of their sins.

He told the baptismal candidate that after a person has been baptized they felt as though they are born again, Nicodemus had asked Christ about how this was possible. Christ had replied that you are born again with water and the Holy Spirit. You should ask forgiveness for bad things you had done, and repent. The Bible tells us that we should keep these words in our hearts wherever we go. From these words we see that there is nobody who can say they have not heard.

After another hymn, the Moruti preached, interspersed with hymn singing to give him more power to preach. He preached on the story from the Bible about how the Angel of God had a safety pin to open fire from a hole. From this, fire and smoke, locusts and plagues came but not to destroy the good things of the Earth or those with the sign of God on their forehead, but those who were the enemies of God.*1

Then the Secretary was called to read Revelations 22, v. 11. The Moruti used this to emphasize that we should be prepared for God's coming very soon. He was coming to see if people have done His work and those who have will be rewarded. He is the Beginning and the End. The Word tells us that the prepared ones will be saved but the unprepared ones like dogs and *2 will stay outside. He emphasized that this is why it is important to follow God's way. After another hymn, the Moruti continued that people should be like Nicodemus, who had asked how he could be born again, he had been told that if he was born again with water and the Holy Spirit he would see Christ, but if not then he would never see Heaven.*3

*1 This presumably refers to the story of the plagues prior to the Flight of the Jews from Egypt, led by Moses.
*2 In this church there was constant warning to people not to be baloi.
*3 This is interesting as it justifies the method of this type of baptism.
herself what it was, but was keeping it hidden. (In fact he could 'see' that she was pregnant but not admitting it.) She was afraid that if she went to baptism she would be drowned but instead of revealing it, she was hiding it. The girl agreed to this.

The Moruti said that if she did not know what he was talking about he would continue, but he was sure she knew what he was referring to. His Spirit showed him that she had a headache and could not see properly because she was so worried. The girl agreed to this too. Sometimes, he continued, when she had these pains she felt she would have a nosebleed. She agreed to this too. Then the hymns continued.

After several hymns the Moruti told the baptismal candidate that when he danced around her he could "see" shade in front of her looking like the picture of a child crying in front of her. The Spirit told him that this child would come in front of her and if the child did not come then there would be crying that would remain.¹ He asked her if she had had a child before, but she said that she had never had a child. He then continued that sometimes the girl discovered that she was pregnant and then the signs would disappear.² She agreed to this and said she understood this part of the prophecy.

The young woman prophet continued the prophecy by saying that her Spirit showed her that this candidate should not go to baptism. If she went, the snake would kill her.³ The Moruti continued, saying his Spirit had shown him this too. This candidate was not the right type to go to Baptism because she made abortions. At this point the candidate finally agreed that she did. He then continued that if she had been doing this she needed to be cleansed properly in the Zion way before she could go to baptism. She must be given Holy Water and a red cord to be wrapped around her waist. She often felt dizzy and if she was taken to baptism she might even faint and drown.

The Evangelist continued that she was having problems with headaches and was not suitable for baptism. She herself felt frightened when she thought about it, because she knew that if she went she would not come back. She was then told to stand aside and it was announced that they would not be going to baptism that week but would continue with an ordinary service. Anyone requiring a prophecy was told to

*¹ Maybe here he meant that if she tried to make an abortion she would be troubled by the Spirit of the dead child.
*² Maybe she had made abortions - a terrible taboo.
*³ An interesting blending of traditional and Christian beliefs.
stand forward.

At this point the visiting prophet spoke, saying that they had prophesied that girl but they had hidden things. He went into a South African language returning every now and then to Setswana. He complained that the girl had not been prophesied properly, she was dishonest and hiding the bad things she had done, and was like a jackal (slang for a prostitute). The prophets were hiding the truth. If it had been at his own church, even if he himself was a Moloi, it would have been publicly revealed.

The Evangelist thanked him for his words but replied that at their church they did not like to divulge secrets because it was very bad to tell everyone. They were quite sure that the girl knew what they were referring to. They would go to Baptism and Purification the next week, and anyone wishing to go should arrive on time. It was not good when people asked for prayers to help them and then did not turn up. This was very bad for church discipline. The Moruti concluded that John the Baptist baptized only those who had been truly repentant, but that it was impossible to take snakes and balos to be baptized before they had repented before God, because this would show that they (i.e. the Church) despised God. Baptism must be respected and done properly. When people were to be purified they should not refuse because the water is too cold and then run into the hills. They would next prophesy those who asked for it.

Baptism Service

The following week, in August 1978, I attended B.U.C.Z. church again to observe Baptism. The service started in the usual way with hymn singing, confessions etc. whilst awaiting everyone's arrival. Then the Moruti announced it was the beginning of the Baptism Service. He referred to a Zion hymn "The soldiers of Christ are close to him and their eyes are like weapons" which meant to him that a Christian should show Christianity by doing everything properly with enthusiasm. For example when he said "Khotso" everyone should answer "Amen!" properly. Then a Deacon, Dixon, said he was very glad to be among them and apologised for being late but when he was about to leave for the church his sister's husband had arrived from Serowe. On the way, on the steep hill near Moshopa, this brother-in-law had had an accident and had
nearly lost an arm. He had been taken to the hospital and that was what had delayed him. The Moruti interrupted at this point by saying that the night before he had received a prophecy of someone dying in a car accident and then he had prayed very hard to God for this person's safety. He was sure if he had not done this Dixon's brother-in-law would have died.

He next asked if the baptismal candidates were present. One should know that on the Day of Judgement it would be important that one was registered with a church so that one could be saved. He referred the congregation to Matthew 18, v. 18,*1 if on that Day you were not a member of any church then you would be in trouble.

He then announced that the Evangelist would be in charge at Baptism. At present he was sleeping, he himself would sleep when they went to Baptism. The congregation should please God by singing and dancing properly, and even pick up a small moloi and run around with it. In that way they would be able to study it and prophesy about it. Whenever there was a moloi present, a prophet would keep saying "Wareng Moya? Wareng Moya?" (What are you saying Spirit? What are you saying Spirit?) because the evil presence stops the prophet "seeing" clearly. Then the hymn "Khotso! Khotso!" was sung.

Next three women members were prophesied because they were involved in bewitching and they were disturbing other people's spirits. This continued for some time and then the baptismal candidates were called forward to the centre. One, a young man, put down a small Vick tin containing traditional medicines. This was to show that he was leaving everything to do with traditional medicine. These candidates were prophesied in the same way as described in the service above. I did not witness this part of the service as I was taken to sleep in one of the other houses of the yard until they were ready to leave for Baptism. On this occasion the candidates were accepted, but I was told that at first the prophets had "seen" that the water would be dangerous for Baptism but they had prayed hard to God and were finally "told" by their Spirit that everything would be O.K..

At about 4.30 a.m. I was awoken when they were about to leave for Baptism. We walked through the village singing hymns, down the side of the hill to the dam. By the time we arrived it was dawn and

*1 This seems to be an incorrect Biblical reference.
very cold. A big fire was made. We all collected by the side of the water by the fire and sang the special Baptism hymn "There's a river of Blood, where everyone is washed". This was led by the Evangelist. Next we knelt and prayed for forgiveness, ending in "Our Father". We sang another hymn "We are praising you, O Lord, and we're happy about living well under the love of Christ and the protection of our Father. We've been forgiven by the help of Your Son who died for us." The Evangelist went into the water, first raising his arms in prayer before entering. I was told that he was praying that the water snake should be peaceful.

The rest of us continued singing hymns whilst first the baptismal candidates, followed by those to be purified, entered the water one at a time. At the edge of the water stood two or three Barapedi. One Khosa took out each candidate to the Evangelist, who stood waist deep in water. He dipped each candidate three times, repeating "in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost". Some candidates "got the Spirit" very strongly and had to be supported as they were led out of the water, where at the edge they were prayed on by the Barapedi who often shook them to and fro. On one candidate the Evangelist said "I baptise you.. you will now stop running around with girls and being a thief, and you will leave all other bad and evil things."

When everyone had been baptized or purified, the Evangelist came out of the water - he first prayed over it again, thanking the water snake. After all had dried, changed and warmed up by the fire, we all knelt down facing the East. The Evangelist thanked God for bringing us there and protecting us from troubles, ending by asking that peace should remain evermore.

We walked back to the village to return to our individual homes at about 9.00 a.m..

(viii) Seed Service (from Volume 1, Part 3 Chapter

The Seed Service I observed was held at B.U.C.Z. in 1978.

At the beginning this appeared to be an ordinary service and a certain member had even asked for a special prophecy - no seeds were yet in evidence. Then at about midnight the seed service started. Members brought their seeds and placed them in the middle of the floor beside a candle, and a Bible was placed on top of them. Everyone's seeds were in separate containers, either plastic bags or cloth sacks. A
Secretary (who in fact belongs to Bethlehem) was called to read the relevant part of the Bible. She was told to read Leviticus 23, v. 10 and Deuteronomy 28. Then followed a hymn "On the way Christ saw me and he told me to come to him and kneel down at his knees." Then the Evangelist said he had nothing to add to the Bible reading but he wished for success and plenty of rain. God is powerful and He was the one who made things beautiful or ugly. He has the power to stop the rain. From Leviticus we had heard how God has now given us Lands where we can now work, as Batswana, for ourselves. This was followed by a hymn "Forgiveness of my sins". Then the Secretary was told to read again Leviticus 23 v. 10. This led to another hymn "The voice of Christ, the voice of Christ sings". Next everyone who had brought corn from their harvest was told that they should bring some to the church as is written in the Bible, you should not eat your tithe. A hymn followed before the Evangelist announced that they could only prophesy the seeds of the people whose parents were present, (this is a traditional practice, a respectable traditional doctor will not throw bones unless the case is brought by the head of the family). People were then told to place their seeds in the centre and, as this was the beginning of the service, he called for the candles to be lit.

Then the Moruti spoke. He repeated that children were not supposed to bring seeds without their parents being present - they must take them to a traditional doctor. He added that they would not read all the relevant parts of the Bible as they had started late and it would take the whole night. He referred to Leviticus 23, v 11. He then broke into South African languages, when he returned to Setswana he said that I came from his Malome's ward and as I had to go to school I could not stay too late so they should start the service now.

Next followed a hymn about the Sumerian woman who refused to give to Christ. It was at this point members began to dance around the seeds. After some time a male prophet stopped the dancing and said that as he had received the Spirit he had "caught" a woman standing near him, in his Spirit. He wanted her to come closer. He continued that the prophecy showed him the woman's fields, burning with fire. His Spirit told him that this was because that family had trouble with their cattle. The woman concerned answered that it was true that their
fields had been burnt, but she had not yet noticed trouble with their
cattle. The prophet continued that he had asked his Spirit why he had
seen lightning hitting that woman's field. He asked the woman the
question. Then he said he would stop there as he said he did not want
to concentrate on what as he 'saw' there were many problems with that
family.

Next an old woman prophet, who had had the Spirit strongly, spoke.
She said that as she had been dancing she had 'seen' somebody's seeds in
her Spirit. The owner of these seeds was going to have trouble with
her leg. (As she spoke she was holding up the particular seeds that
she referred to.) The owner's stomach would expand, she would have a
terrible headache and feel dizzy. She continued that these particular
seeds were causing the members a lot of trouble as they had not come
with agreement. One person had wanted to take them to their traditional
doctors whereas the woman wanted to take them to the Zionists. She
added that these seeds were upsetting their Spirits and causing the
prophets to fall on the ground. She continued that these seeds had
been "asked" from someone else. The Evangelist continued this prophecy.
He said that these seeds were causing problems. They had been given to
the present owner by someone who had had them treated by their
traditional doctors, and that previous owner had trouble with her
intestines and the pains were almost killing her.

The Moruti continued that he had "seen" this in his Spirit also,
and in fact the previous owner of the seeds was a bad mbole who had
bewitched the seeds. The people who wanted to plough these seeds
stayed very close to a traditional doctor with whom they were arguing
over land. He had bewitched their seeds so that nothing would grow
well and their seeds would not even germinate. He added there had
been a time when a woman had miscarried. People had stolen the foetus
and buried it in their field, and so bewitched the field to stop any-
thing growing properly. When anything grew it only grew to about two
feet high and then became red like the foetus of the dead child, and
just like the foetus never matured. There was a lot of blood where the
foetus was buried. In that woman's field there was a Mokgalotree on
the Northern side of her field and on that tree there was a bird's nest,
it looked like the nest of Magakabe bird.

*1 Such a foetus is a common traditional abomination - dibeela.
*2 Buffalo Thorn - Ziziphus mucronata
*3 Type of crow or rook.
The Evangelist next continued; he agreed with this and he added
that the traditional doctor had filled this nest with medicine. He
could 'see' that the tree was not very big and was still growing.

When a young boy who had brought the seeds answered that he did
not really know much, but he did know that in the morning a woman had
come to their home in Kanye and requested to exchange maize seeds for
sorghum. They had not known that the sorghum was bewitched, and had
just felt pleased because they had not had any sorghum of their own to
plough. He agreed that it was true that they stayed close to a
traditional doctor at their Lands.

The Moruti continued that they should be careful, as that tradi­
tional doctor was bewitching them. He could 'see' that at the corner of
their field there was a slope and a "stream" and that was where that
traditional doctor passed when coming to visit them. There was also
a woman who was a friend of that traditional doctor. She stayed in the
forest and she was the one who took the boloi from him to bewitch
them. He emphasized the problem of that buried foetus and no sorghum
would ever grow in the place where it had been buried. It was their
neighbours who had done this. He continued that one time they had
even had sorghum ready to thresh on the threshing floor, but this sorghum
had turned black and disappeared. They had called the traditional
doctor to 'see' what was wrong but he was the one who was bewitching them.

The owners of the seeds were then told to remove them.

Then another prophet said that his Spirit showed him that the
owner of one lot of seeds had problems with her legs and shivered;
her husband was very worried about this, but the best thing was to
treat her seeds with Holy Water and then plant them.

The Moruti continued the prophecy by saying that in his Spirit he
did not "see" that, but that they had problems with disagreement and
whenever they wanted to plough they had problems with their cattle.
Their cattle would become wild and start fighting them. The reason for
this was because they had been mixing their cattle with other peoples
for ploughing,¹ then in the end there had been disagreement leading
to quarrels during the division of the cattle. During the last plough­
ing season a child had been sent by her parents to their fields with
boloi. She had been sent to throw boloi in front of the plough so that

¹ A common custom among people with only a few cattle of their own.
it would be ploughed into the field. When he prophesied these seeds, he just "saw" lightning that would burn their home and no agreement in the home between the seeds of the spouses of the brothers. There was a girl at their Lands and she would end up being drowned (this would be caused by a traditional doctor) and the people sharing the cattle with them bewitching them. One of their children would be drowned in their dam at the Lands and another child would be injured by a cart. There was another who was pregnant and he could "see" people crying as she, or the baby was going to die.

Then the man who owned the seeds replied that he had heard the prophecies and the Moruti saying he was refusing to take his seeds to the church, but that was not the case. He, himself, had decided to do that. Before they had always used bongaka (traditional medicine), but now they had decided to leave it. He agreed to the other points—the sharing of cattle leading to disagreements. During the drought they had moved to near the Chief's dam and then when they moved back, they had had disagreements with the people who had used their dam in their absence. He agreed to the lightning, which had struck their house and killed his sister and last-born child, and also he said he had a child who was a Motsetsi at the Lands and she had been looked after by another woman who had recently had a miscarriage. The Moruti then asked the man why he had not called him "to close the house" to protect the Motsetsi as the man no longer used traditional medicines.

The Moruti continued that their ox wagon was very wrong and he could "see" that their cattle were very wild and unsafe when being in-spanned. The man agreed to this and the Moruti said the wagon had been bewitched and the best thing would be to destroy it.

The old woman prophet then said that she "saw" this man would have a headache and pains under the ribs and in the future he would have T.B.. The man agreed to this and said he had pains in his chest. The cattle made him tired and out of breath.

Then they stopped prophesying seeds. Hymns were sung whilst the Evangelist opened each bag in turn and Holy Water was put onto the seeds to protect them from bewitchment and help them to grow well.

There was then an ecstatic dance around the healed seeds, during which the old woman received the Spirit again and she said that she "saw"

*¹ N.B. Just as patients of a traditional doctor have to agree or disagree with what he "sees," so do those prophesied.
that when the man's relatives had been killed by lightning he had inhaled a lot of its smoke and that was why he now was having trouble with his chest, this smoke just rested on his lungs. She said she was asking the congregation to pray for him because when she was prophesying the man and dancing around, she just "saw" a red goat without horns and with a kid, just crossing in front of her. When she tried to discover more about that man's problems, that was all she would "see", so she did not know if this was a sign for her or for him.

The congregation then sang another hymn. As the seed service had finished, and they were just to continue with an ordinary service, the Moruti told the Khosa to take me home. The time was about 2.30 a.m.

b) Special services held at an individual's home

(A) Life Cycle Services

(i) Botsetsi Service (bringing a mother and infant out of confinement)

The first Botsetsi service I attended will be described briefly as it included a part I did not observe in the second one. This was held by Episcopal. It took part at the house that had been bewitched and to which Episcopal members had been sent to pray specially, following the Easter Sunday Service, after the owner had brought the bewitched clothes of his pregnant wife to ask for a special prophecy. The justification for this service is based on the New Testament story of the Three Wise Men bringing gifts to the infant Christ.

When I arrived at 1.00 a.m. - the service had begun at 9.00 p.m. - they had not yet started the main part of the service. Five other churches had been invited but only one, Kanana, had arrived as a church. Dancing was already spirited. Then one of the Baruti announced the purpose of the service.

A bowl of water was placed in the middle of the room and the dancers danced around it. One of the Baruti placed a greyish powder from an empty sugar bag into it. Another Moruti stirred this in with his prophecy stick, whilst the dancing continued. Then a visiting Moruti from Africa Church took the bowl and while the dancing continued he dipped his prophecy cord - the one tied around his waist - into the bowl and flicked it over the congregation - it had a sort of salty taste. After he had finished there was more dancing and we all knelt down to confess simultaneously.*2

*1 See Volume 2, pages 56-7 and page 146.
*2 A traditional doctor "washes" people during purification with a wild animal tail (Volume 1, Chapter 5), he dips this in the medicated water. This Moruti was purifying the congregation so that they could not harm the mother and child.
The Deacon from Episcopal announced that the visitor from Lobatse would be in charge of the service that night, and he requested the Secretary to read some verses from the Bible. First we had Numbers 8, v. 1-3 (About Aaron being instructed to light 7 candles) and then Revelations 4, v. 5 (where it again refers to 7 lights representing the 7 Spirits of God.) The Moruti, after some hymn singing, preached on this theme by emphasizing that God had spoken to Aaron, ordering him to light 7 candles and put them in front of the throne of God. He did as the Lord told him. If we continued to study the Bible carefully we would see why God had ordered the 7 lights. In Revelations it tells us how thunder and lightning came, but there were 7 candles shining around the Throne of God. He said he was sure that everyone was happy because God had given us a person (a baby). Because we were happy we had to light these 7 lights, as we had come to "work on" this person (the baby). This person would in future help us to solve our problems and that was why we had to light those 7 lights of the seven Holy Spirits of God.

After a hymn, the visitor from Lobatse introduced himself. He explained that he worked in Vryburg but belonged to the church in Lobatse. He greeted the congregation and explained that unfortunately he could not dance because of a bad leg. He asked the Secretary to read St. Matthew 2, v. 1-8 to us. Then he preached in SiNdebele mixed with Setswana (he was a Matebele). He announced that the Secretary would read from Leviticus 12, which describes Botsetsi. He said that there was a time, when Christ was born, people had collected at Bethlehem in Judea, the Wise Men came to greet Him and everyone was interested in meeting the Lord as it was a happy day. Then followed some more hymns and preaching in SiNdebele. When the Moruti returned to Setswana he emphasized that he was sorry he could not dance properly that day. He also emphasized that we had read from the books of Leviticus and St. Matthew. They had heard and, even if the service was held in SiNdebele that day, they should now all know that they belonged to the same father in Christ. He emphasized that everyone was supposed to speak and be happy about what they had heard from the reading and preach if they wished, whether they were a man or a woman. When the word of Christ's birth was heard in Judea, all the boy children died

*2 N.B. "or a woman" c.f. Aquina.
*1 Herod asks the Wise Men to give him more news of Christ's whereabouts.
because of Herod, who wanted to kill Christ. There was a person among them that night who represented Herod, and he would be happy if people would listen to him carefully. That person should not try to kill the child like Herod had.

Next the Bishop of Kanana and the Evangelist from Africa were invited to preach. Their sermons were along the same lines, emphasizing how we should be thankful for the new child who was coming to look after them and be "a shepherd of the Children of Israel". They both referred to the visit of the Wise Men who came with presents, and the jealousy of Herod. The Evangelist said: "When Herod heard the words that the Son of Man was born and He was going to be the Saviour of Israel, he was jealous and he sought throughout Judea to find Christ. He tried to investigate about the day he had been born and where he was hidden because he wanted to kill Him. There was a person like that in the church, whose Spirit was fighting them, that person should know that they were Herod. As the Wise Men followed the Star, just as they entered Bethlehem it disappeared.

Next the Modikone (Deacon) of Episcopal continued on the same theme. He emphasized that because of the bad Spirit in the village of Herod, that was why the Star had disappeared when it had led them there. He was very glad that people who had heard that the child had been born to that family had been pleased and praised the Lord. He noted that the Wise Men had been warned not to return the same way they had come, and Joseph had been told to take the Child into Egypt and stay there until Herod had died. He said that this was not just in the Bible but also in the world today. Even if a person hated a child or an adult, that person who was hated would be protected by God and those that hated a person might find themselves dying before the one they hated. That person would not be able to harm the child, only if they were like Judas - the one who had harmed Christ. He then asked for the women who were to go and bring the baby into the church, to come forward as first they must be purified.

There were several hymns and the Bishop of Kanana received prophecy. Another Moruti from Kanana interpreted the prophecy because the Bishop spoke in SiNdebele. The prophet had been warned by his Spirit that the women who were going to fetch the child were not pure enough for bringing the child. Among them was a woman who was coming

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*1 Here he was warning Baloi not to trouble the new born child.
to bewitch the child. He had seen in his prophecy that some clothes of that child were missing and he wanted the women who were going to take the baby to be properly purified with Holy Water, so that if there was one among them who wanted to be Herod she would fail.

During another hymn a bowl of water was put in the middle of the room again. The Bishop poured into it some Holy Water from a bottle: he stirred this in with his prophecy stick and prayed on it to make it all Holy. He then explained that the women who were going to fetch the baby were supposed to be purified. This was a new practice in Episcopal, but he explained that it was because a woman had come late in the afternoon to admire the child's clothes and she started tricking them, pretending to admire them, but in fact she was bewitching them. So now the church women would be purified to protect them from also being harmed by that Boloi, as they could be polluted by touching the baby. If either a traditional doctor or Zion priest was called after Botsetsi, if these women were not purified, both would say that that child had been bewitched by the women who went to fetch the child. But this was not true, it was the woman who had come in the afternoon. He said therefore they were purifying the women so that we would all be witnesses in the future that these women were innocent.

Next some hymns were sung while the women were purified in the centre. There were three old women, and the Bishop poured the Holy Water over their hands. Then the women left the room to fetch the mother and baby. While they were gone the hymn singing continued.

When the Khosa announced their approach, the drums were no longer beaten. The women re-appeared; one led the procession carrying the baby, the mother followed*1 and then the other two women. Next came the other women from the other churches. The procession was welcomed into the room by the hymn they had started outside. We all bowed and they processed around the dance circle. The baby's mother and the woman carrying the baby were given chairs in the centre. We all knelt and prayed, and singing and dancing continued around them. This was by members only. Next the Secretary was called to read from Numbers 6, followed by a Moruti preaching on this - how Moses had been told by God that God would bless the children of Israel. Then the Bishop of Kanana prayed on the mother and baby while the hymn "Pilate is washing his hands" was sung.

*1 The mother, although a woman with a church position, was wearing ordinary new clothes, not her Zion church uniform.
At this point the wife of the Bishop of Kanana spoke. She was angry because she said that the men had taken charge of the part of the service that was supposed to be the responsibility of women. They had been invited by the Episcopal women and had not been welcomed properly. The service was not being conducted properly, according to the Bible. She did not know which part of the Bible they were following. Women were the ones who were supposed to be in charge of this service as Mary was the mother of Christ, and Christ had been born like any other child. If they were invited by Episcopal again they should not be treated like this. She said she had called a meeting of all Zion women earlier that year so that they could discuss the laws in the Zion churches as she herself had only just arrived in Botswana and wanted to know the local practices. She continued that if a person did not know something the best way was to meet with others and learn about those things together. She herself was from South Africa, where they always held those kind of services, and she was surprised to see that kind of behaviour in Botswana. Therefore the women of Episcopal should come together and learn the way to organize Botsetsi. She referred to Luke 2, v. 16, where it says that when the shepherds came they met Joseph, Mary and the baby, but that day they could not see where Joseph was, she could only see Mary and the baby.

She continued that even if she had complained "Let God be with the mother and child". From that day they should all know how Botsetsi should be held. During this service there were supposed to be special women holding the baby. That was all she had to say but she would like to see Episcopal women behave properly during the services. *1

At the end of this the Moruti from Episcopal asked if anyone had a prophecy about danger to the child. If so that person was welcome to reveal it. He himself had 'seen' that the child was going to be ill because the mother had a pain under the armpit and the child was going to suck those pains from the mother and become ill. He could 'see' that the pains started under the armpit and spread to between the shoulder blades and chest. He could "see" that that woman had clots in her chest. The Spirit told him that the baby's milk was not good and the child would continue being ill. He could also "see" that that child could be

*1 This is an interesting interruption as, firstly, it shows the greater importance of women in Botswana compared to Aquina's Zimbabweans and South African Ngunis, secondly, it shows the reliance on the Bible for indicating correct procedures.
healed by Holy Water made for it by the Bishop of Episcopal.*1 He could "see" that where the child's father stayed in Lobatse had been bewitched, but he would not go into very much detail about that. The mother agreed that she had a pain in her armpit, under her breast and stretching to her shoulder.

A Moruti from Kanana continued that his Spirit showed him that there was one night when that woman had woken up and felt pain all over her body and she had been surprised to find her baby uncovered. She had asked herself if she had left the baby awake when she herself had slept. He could "see" in his Spirit that the woman who had come that day and touched the baby's clothes had come one night and stolen the baby and stayed outside with it for about three hours. He could "see" that the baby did not rest properly at night and if he asked his Spirit why, he "saw" that the baby was always troubled at night as was the mother, and its body was always itching. The mother agreed to all this and so the Moruti continued, telling her that when the Moloi had come she, the Moloi, had pretended to be very happy, appreciating the things that the mother and father of the child had bought for it. But she was not happy in her heart and had come to bewitch it. The Moruti revealed that when the service had started, the Moloi had been in the church but when she had heard that they were prophesying that the baby's clothes had been bewitched she had sneaked away because she had known that it was she they were speaking about.

He could "see" in his Spirit that there was someone who knocked at their home at night when they were sleeping, and the mother had problems whilst sleeping, as though someone was trying to block her windpipe, she would wake up shouting. He could "see" that a snake would be sent to that woman's home and if those people forgot to pour Holy Water in the food that they were going to serve to the people after the service, everyone who ate that food was going to have diarrhoea, typhoid or even die. The person who was causing these problems was a relative so that was why they did not suspect that person.

He warned them that they should really look after that baby carefully, as it was going to cause them trouble by being sick. He could "see" in his prophecy a house where they would be, being hit by lightning. He repeated his warning that they should guard the child.

*1 He was not present at the service on that occasion as his wife was having a baby.
The mother replied that when that woman was at her house she had not been suspicious of her, so she had just left her alone in the house while she had been outside washing the napkins. If that woman had been coming to harm the baby, as had been prophesied, she had had ample opportunity.

The Moruti said it was a pity that the daughter of that woman had gone because if she had still been there they were going to hit her so that she could feel the pain that her mother had been trying to give to the mother and the baby.

Next the Moruti of Africa prophesied that his Spirit had "shown" him that lightning was coming to hit that home. This lightning would hit but not burn the house. The mother of the child would recognise she had been bewitched when her feet felt tired. Then her whole body would feel tired so that she could not even stand up. In his prophecy he could "see" the mother of the baby and the baby wearing red cords to protect them. They would wear them on the wrists, necks and ankles.

At this point a Moruti of Kanana interrupted that they were not supposed to prophesy the whole family as this work that night was a Botsetsi, they should just touch on little bits that they could "see" might harm the baby. The Bishop of Kanana continued that he could "see" that the baby would again be stolen by Baloi at night, and they would take the baby outside the house for two hours.

The Deacon of Episcopal thanked all the prophets for their help. He was glad the baby had been prophesied and they had mentioned the healing. It was difficult to stop the prophets when they started. He was glad for the comments of the Moruti from Vryburg and those of the wife of the Bishop of Kanana. She had been correct in what she had said and had invited all the women to come together to see how things were done. As they were all from different churches they should learn from each other. This was education. He did not mind if people corrected him if they felt he was not doing things properly. People should not grumble only, but explain their ways, and they should try to be constructive.

They would now read some of the Bible so that the child could be carried away. They would read from Luke 2, v. 25-35. He then preached about Simeon, who was allowed to stay alive long enough to see the

*1 Presumably he meant here the family should ask for a special more detailed prophecy at another opportunity.
infant Christ, and the following words of the Magnificat were what he composed afterwards. When that child (Christ) was purified they had been told that that child would die, but he was resurrected from the Dead. He then referred them to Luke 6 where God promises not to forsake people in difficulties. He asked that this child should be given strength to overcome its difficulties. As we had all come to see that child that had been brought by the women, we should be happy and satisfied and not harm it, and welcome it in peace and not be like Cain. It would be good if we could all be uniform during the service without arguments. Then followed a hymn "I have retired in Jesus Christ and his name is mine", during which the mother and baby were led out.

The time was then announced as 4.35 a.m. and the Moruti asked for the father to write down the name of the child without asking the mother (to check that the father really knew the name of the child.) The father wrote the name of the child in the book of Membership for the Church, so that its name would be included among the names of the Christians. This was done during the singing of the hymns "Halleujah Messiah" and "Jerusalem, Amen, Messiah".

The Secretaries from all the churches were then called forward, and the Moruti warned people not to be insulted if they were interrupted whilst trying to preach or start a hymn, but they should notice that it was now becoming late.

Next followed a light-hearted competitive presentation of gifts to the child. The Secretaries were now in charge of the service. The first church to be called was New Israel. As each church was called it had to answer with a hymn and start dancing in the middle. As new Israel was not present, Episcopal was called. An envelope containing Episcopal Church's contributions was handed to the Secretaries and placed on the table. The secretary of Kanana started the betting by "placing" 5t on top of the envelope to "close" it. Then the hymn and dancing continued. Each time a person brought money (usually 5t, 10t or 15t) and presented it to the Secretary the hymn was stopped and the Secretary announced the condition of the money, i.e. "to open" or "close" Episcopal's envelope. For example, the

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*1 Presumably Luke 6, v. 20-22
*2 Gifts are always presented at traditional Botsetsi feasts and at marriages. At Zion Botsetsi Services the method of presentation is similar to that at gumba-gumba parties or fund raising "concerts".
Moruti from Vryburg put 50t to "open" it, then the Secretary and Khosa of Episcopal each put money totalling Pi to "close" it, followed by the Deacon of Episcopal who put down 10t "to have it put aside", followed by another person who put 20t to "open it" etc. The envelope was then put aside and Kanana Church "under the Rev. Motse" was called forward. They responded with a hymn, and the betting continued in the same way.

The Deacon of Episcopal, asked permission to interrupt, requesting that betting should only continue for about 10 more minutes as it was getting very late, but the Bishop of Kanana complained that this would make people return home with the presents they had brought for the child as there would not be enough time to present them, to which the Deacon replied that if the sun rose before they had called all the churches they would be annoyed. Next the female Secretary for Kanana spoke angrily on behalf of all the Secretaries. She said that they were surprised and amazed and it seemed as if their work was being taken over by Baruti who seemed to be interrupting them, although they had not interrupted while the Baruti preached. It was the Secretaries' turn now and they should not be interrupted about the time. Even if it was late they, the Secretaries, would notice it, anyway there were not many churches there. She called B.C.C.Z., St. Faith Morning Star, and B.U.C.Z., but none of them were represented. So she said that they had now finished. Next the Bishop of Kanana told the people that while they were singing the next hymn everyone should bring all they had and put it on the table, it would be a pity to go home with the presents they had brought for the child. Unlike the Wise Men they would not be making speeches when they brought their presents because time was limited. He himself always wanted to continue a service until it finished and not cut it short. Baruti had wasted the Secretaries' time, they should know that when a service was handed over to people of other positions they should let those people continue in their own way.

The Moruti for Episcopal answered that in their church they liked to finish the services before 6.00 a.m. so that everyone could have a chance to eat before leaving.

The Secretary of Kanana then asked permission to speak "with 5t" she pointed out that, as it was the Secretaries' part of the service, if anyone else wanted to talk they must pay to interrupt. She called Africa Christ Church in Zion of Southern Africa. This church was represented only by its Evangelist. He sang a hymn and put down their
envelope with 15t "on top to close it". Kanana paid 5t to be able to join the Evangelist of Africa to sing. After further singing they paid 25t to be able to dance as well. The Africa Evangelist paid 5t to be allowed to dance with Kanana and another 50t to "close" the envelope. Then the same Evangelist paid another 50t for another Moruti, who was there without his church, to be able to dance as well. 5t was paid so that Episcopal could also join the dancing. A Kanana Moruti paid 5t to refuse to allow Episcopal to join in, followed by the Bishop of Kanana paying 5t to say that the Episcopal trainees had brought a present but had not yet given it - with his 5t they should bring it to the table, but they should not sing or dance, just bring it.

Episcopal trainees paid 6t not to bring their money, the Episcopal Khosa paid 15t for them to bring their money. Then the Secretary of Kanana paid 25t for the Episcopal Church Choir to dance in the centre without drums or singing because they had not brought their money. They paid another 10t saying they would not dance without drums or music. The Mookamedi of Kanana paid 40t for Episcopal Church Choir to dance and give their money. The Deacon of Episcopal begged to talk with 5t - he complained about the noise at the back. If Episcopal Church Choir wanted to continue making noise he would send some of the Dikhosa to take their money by force. Another person paid 20t for them to be allowed to sing and dance and be happy after they had been punished.

Someone paid 1t for them to keep quiet and another person 20t that they should sing. So the betting continued. The variety of reasons for bets was great, for example one Moruti bet 25t for his father who was not a Zionist, another bet 25t asking for prayers at their home as they were having problems. The Secretary of Kanana bet 10t for me because most white people did not bother to go to Zion Churches and she said she was very pleased because I was interested in them and they always invited me. At this another person put some money on my behalf. The Evangelist of Africa paid 5t to speak and then announced that he was just arriving from the mines in South Africa and he had heard on his arrival that the son of the leader of New Israel was dead and that was why they were not there, so he was putting 25t to register the name of their church and 25t more so that God would remember the congregation of that church. He put 25t on behalf of himself and 50t on behalf of his own church that was bankrupt at the moment, he was asking for God's
love and for prosperity for his church and added another P1. He added 5t on behalf of Mma Mookamedi of his church and 10t for a certain Mr Mogojwa. Several other members paid on behalf of people absent in the mines.

One man paid 10t for a certain Kanana girl to dance as he had not seen her dancing that night. One of her friends, paid 10t for this girl, saying she was not able to dance that day (i.e. she was menstruating). Then another man later paid 10t for the girl to reveal why she was not dancing. Another person paid 25t so that she would not have to tell. Others paid money on behalf of prayers for brothers and relatives in the mines.

Eventually the money, which had all been carefully noted by the Secretaries, was counted whilst the dancing and singing continued. The Secretary announced that New Israel had P1; Kanana P1 in the envelope plus P12.50 in bets; Morning Star was not there; B.U.C.Z. was not there; Episcopal had P8 in the envelope and P1.85 in bets = P9.83 plus a tray and a candle holder; New Apostolic Church in Zion had P8 in the envelope and P0.30 in bets, totalling P8.30; Africa Christ Church in Zion had P2.50. Therefore the total was P43.54 and a candle holder and tray. This sum was announced again, for the people who did not understand pula, as £21. 6s.4d. The Secretaries handed the service back to the Deacon of Episcopal.

The Deacon thanked the congregation and God who had given us power to meet that day, and with our presents give thanks for the new baby. He thanked the three congregations and the way they had extended the number by giving money on behalf of absentees, both of absent churches and absent members. They were not going to pray on heads that night as it was late but God would be with everyone who had been in the church and they would be prayed for at their own church as it was now Sunday. He invited people needing special prophecies to come forward. He himself would now be going outside to supervise the cooks, so that those who wanted to leave would get food. He also asked permission for other people to leave to help him and the children were told to go out and leave room for the adults to dance properly so helping the prophets. A Moruti of Kanana took control of the next part of the service where people were prophesied. The service finally finished at 7.30 a.m. We were all served with samp, mutton, and tea. During this it was announced that the old people of the home had presented a

\* Until 1976 South African money was used in Botswana, but before South Africa used South African Rand, the British system of £.s.d. was used. (2 rand = approx. £1) therefore old people still use this system, P2 = £1.
pot of Botsetsi beer to the Zionists as a gift for helping them. The Bishop of Kanana then explained that, as they did not drink, it should be given to the people of the village.

This service has been described in some detail because it shows various things, such as the parts of the Bible the Zion Botsetsi is based upon, for example, the Old and New Testament justifications for it being held, and also the traditional aspects - the fact that the baby and parents were troubled by Baloi but would be protected by various Zion remedies, for example, Holy Water and cords. Also the method of the prophets in the Holy Water is very comparable to the Traditional Doctors; in the same way as after a traditional Botsetsi a mother and baby are cleansed and able to leave the house, so with a Zion one. Even the betting is similar to fund raising at Gumbagumba parties and concerts. The freedom of speech in the form of complaints is similar to kgotla meetings, where anyone can make comments or complaints.

Before leaving the subject of Botsetsi services, brief mention may perhaps be made of another one I attended for the Mma Bishop of Kanana. I arrived at this one at about 11.00 p.m. This service was held in their own church because it is built in their own yard. The church has been decorated above the platform with pink streamers (the child was a girl) and the central pole was half covered in pink crepe paper, as was the table where the candles were placed. The candles themselves were not the usual ones but coloured twisted ones.

At the beginning of the service, before the other churches arrived, the Kanana Moruti in charge (his wife was the one who later carried the baby) warned everyone to be ready, they should not be like the 5 foolish virgins who went to the wedding without enough oil in their lamps. He warned them to welcome the visitors and leave them space to stand, they should be like those men who welcomed visitors and later found they had welcomed angels. Maybe if they crowded someone they would later find they had crowded Jesus Christ Himself.

The same Bible readings were used, for example, when the 7 candles were lit, Numbers 8, v. 1-3 and Revelations, the readings being repeated for each candle. As each church arrived it started a hymn outside and entered with its leader at the front and danced around the centre, those present and the visitors bowing to each other. Then each member moved to their appropriate position in the church so that people of
the same ranks from the different churches stood together.

The Moruti in charge announced that their work that night was about the birth of a child, it was to celebrate the end of a confinement. They had come to take Mma Bishop out of confinement, and they hoped that as the child grew up she would also join the church and help them in the future. He explained that women would be in charge of the service as everyone knows that when it comes to the bearing of a child only women attend to those things; even if a child died it is the women only who bury it.*1 The women would be like the three Wise Men who saw the star and followed it to Bethlehem. They had heard a king would be born and had been on the alert for the star to lead them to the place where the king was. At the beginning of the service they are always on the alert to see the star which led them to Bethlehem where the child was born. After a hymn he continued that in the Bible it says that when the Wise Men came they found Mary and Joseph and knelt before Christ and brought with them some presents of anything they had had; during this occasion those present had to make presents of anything they had - even a safety pin. After more hymns he explained that whenever a person was given a job they should try and do it properly, as Moses did when he was sent by God to save the Children of Israel. Just as Moses led them properly so should they do their work properly.

Women from the different churches were then called forward by one of the Kanana women, who had then been given control of the service.

After more hymn singing the women led in the mother and baby. The baby was carried by the wife of the Kanana Moruti in charge of the service. The mother and father were seated on chairs facing the platform. Women from each church preached on Exodus 2, v. 1-10,**2 St. Luke 2, v. 22-24,**3 and Luke 2, v. 16-20,**4 all of these texts having first been read by the Secretary. Hymns were sung, during which the baby and parents were prayed on by Baruti from different churches. The chairs were next cleared away and the dance circle was formed of the women only, who in turn took the baby and danced around with it, after which the mother and the baby left.

The Moruti in charge then called forward all the Secretaries and

*1 Here he is referring to a traditional practice. See Part 2, Chapter 8.
*2 The finding of the infant Moses.
*3 Jesus being brought to the Temple.
*4 The Shepherds' visit to the infant Christ.
contributions were made in the same way as described above. A total of P 62.53 was raised, as follows:

- Kanana in Kanye: P10.54
- Holy Galilee: P1 in the envelope, bets P14.15
- B.U.C.Z.: P3.95 in the envelope and bets P14.73
- Africa: P15
- New Jerusalem: P5.95 in the envelope and bets P6.59
- Africa in South Africa: P4.54
- Kanana, Western Areas (mines): P2 in the envelope and bets P13.50, also two dishes, two teaspoons and two cups.

It was announced that the Botsetsi feast would be served after the usual Sunday morning service. At this point those wishing for special prophecies were called forward.

I left the service at 6.15 a.m. returning later that afternoon to eat the feast. I was served in a house in the kgotla with the Baruti. We ate beef (a cow had been specially slaughtered) rice, cabbage salad, soup, other salads and lots of cold drink. Non-Zionists family members and other Non-Zionists, such as parents of members, were invited to drink the special Botsetsi traditional beer.

(ii) Matshediso and Kapolo Service (Service to show sympathy and to take off the signs of mourning).

This service was held by Episcopal Church at the home of one of their members, who with his sister was to be cleansed after the death of their parents. Other congregation were invited to observe and sympathize.

I arrived at about 11.00 p.m. Some visiting churches had already arrived. The Baruti all sat on chairs behind a table at one end of the room. On the table were 7 candles (blue, green and white ones). The rest of the congregations sat on the floor according to their positions.

As each church arrived, the Moruti in charge affirmed on behalf of the whole church. The Mookamedi (Vice Bishop) of Episcopal was in charge of welcoming them and apologised that the house was too small, but they would try and ask for another house to use later on.

He announced that that night the service had a double purpose, Kapolo and Matshediso.*1 The time for Matshediso had really passed, and so they were mixing it with Kapolo. They were going to do both of the services that night because the important Baruti who were to conduct the service were shortly going to South Africa so, if it was

*1 It has already been noted in Volume 1, Part 2, Chapter 8 that Matshediso is customarily done straight after death.
not done then, they would miss the opportunity. He explained that the people for whom the service was being held were not yet present but that their father had died one year and their mother the next, so they had been in mourning for both parents. The time was now 11.45 p.m. First they would pray then they would do Kapolo followed by Matshediso. We then all knelt down and prayed our own prayers followed by "Our Father", then stood up as a hymn was started.

The Mookamedi then continued that with that service they would like to show people who had never been to Zion church before the way the Zionists do their work. The Matshediso Service was when the Spirit was leaving the body so they wanted to do it properly. He said that we should learn all these things on Earth because there is a hymn that says "Let's learn about Christ while we are on Earth". We should study everything about Him so that we would already be used to His work by the time we reached Heaven. He said that Zionists must do their work properly when for example they hold a Botsetsi, Matshediso or Burial. Whenever a Zionist is dead they (Zionists) are the ones responsible for the burial. They must learn these things so that whenever they do their work people should feel that they have done it properly. Whenever these things were done they should be done according to the Word and done as it was said there (i.e. in the Bible), using actions so that this could help to advertise God's name. Even if it was a long time since the parents of these people had died (in this case about one and a half years before) they repeated their apology, but it said in the Bible that whenever you do that work you should be an example, so even if those patches and the duek had become very old, the service could still be done using something to represent them. He then asked for water in a bowl, and explained that they would be doing the service as it was written in the Bible.

He explained that many people had different beliefs - traditional doctors, Zionists, other churches - sometimes they did not believe that they were safe unless they were doctorised by a traditional doctor. But God, when he made the law, sent Aaron and Moses to show people the way. The Mookamedi then asked for seats for the brother and sister to be brought forward. He added that Simon Peter who, after Christ had washed his hands and feet, had thought he was not cleansed and asked for his whole body to be washed. But Christ had replied that if his hands and feet were cleansed then his whole body was cleansed with
Christianity. He then called for a Moruti from another church to be responsible for praying on the heads of the brother and sister, after he himself had finished taking off their clothes (i.e. the patches and duek). He also wanted the Barapedi men and women from all the churches to help to pray on top of these people as Moses had done when he had finished his work.

Then the hymn "Christ, do visit them, your children" was sung while a Moruti of Galilee church prayed on the brother and sister. At this point some more churches arrived and so the purpose of the service was again formally announced for their benefit, and their Baruti affirmed on behalf of the whole of their congregations. Then the Episcopal Mookamedi added that all the churches should choose their Baruti to represent them - the ones who always took charge during the death or when someone was ill, i.e. the ones who were able to work hard to save a life. He explained that mostly in their services they liked to read the Bible first so that people could listen to it while they were still fresh. Then further hymns followed.

At this point the Secretary of Bethlehem was called to read from the Bible. He read Numbers 8, v. 1-3, during which reading the candles were lit. Then the Episcopal Moruti explained that, when this service was done properly, the owner of the service is the one who chooses the men and the women to be in charge. There is a part where only women are responsible for women, and men for men. The Secretary was told to read Nehemiah 8, v. 1-5, where Ezra the scribe was called by the people to read from the laws of God given to Moses. The Moruti emphasized that, as we had heard in the Bible, this law of God was read on the first day of the seventh month. They had made a mistake themselves because they had not been prepared to do that service then, as everyone was scattered in different places. He was quite sure that that was the law that had been given to Moses. But on this day the brother and sister would be giving up their mourning clothes and, as he had already said, women would deal with women, and men with men, according to the law. He then invited the Morning Star Moruti to be the one to take the "clothes" off the man and to use the water in the bowl to wash him. He requested women to help them with the woman. He said that this would take place as the Bible was being read.

The Bethlehem Secretary was then told to read Zechariah 3, v. 3-4 (about when Joshua's filthy clothes were removed). As this was read
the blue patch was taken off the man and put on the table by the Baruti, and a blue duek and patch were taken off the woman. While a hymn was sung the man and woman were both cleansed, the two "washers" using water from the bowl to wash their hands and feet while Exodus 40, v. 10-13 (about the cleansing of Aaron and his children) was read. They were also given some water to drink.

Then the Episcopal Moruti explained that they really liked to heal a person properly in public after death so that those who despised the Zion way of healing could really see that they did it thoroughly. After another hymn, the Secretary was told to read about what Moses had done after he had finished his work, (in Exodus 40, v. 13-15); as this was read the woman was dressed in her new Zion duek. Next the hymn "Jesus is my shepherd, why do I worry" was sung, during which the brother and sister shook hands with everybody present. This was to show they were now cleansed and could mix freely.

It was then announced that the Dikhosa should go and check if the house that was to be lent was ready. During some hymns we left for the other house, with the Mookamedi (whose house we were to use as it was larger) leading, followed by other Baruti and the rest of the congregation. When we arrived, the Mookamedi said it was a pity that this work was not done during the day so everyone could have seen that the Zionists were able to heal after a death. The service was then handed over to the Galilee Moruti. A hymn was sung and then the Secretary of Bethlehem was told to read Job 42, v. 11-16. This describes how everyone came to sympathize with Job in his misfortune, bringing him gifts. After a further hymn he announced that it was now the beginning of the Matshediso Service and, as they had heard in the Bible from Job, it tells how Job, the servant of God, was in agony and his friends and relatives came to him for Matshediso (to sympathize) and to witness the bad things that had happened to him, and as they had come they had brought presents. He was quite sure that they had come in this way, with presents. He was quite sure they were coming that day to pray and cry with Job. They should know that God would save Job so that he could live longer.

After Job had been saved by God, he had lived in prosperity for a long time and his livestock had prospered. After further hymns the

*1 See Volume 1, Part 2, Chapter 8, traditionally believed that if a person was not properly healed they can go senile in old age.
Moruti handed over the service to the Secretary of Episcopal, but, as the Secretary was not present, the Episcopal Khosa took over. He called all the Secretaries to the table and announced that as each church's name was called their Moruti should come and present their envelope while that congregation led a hymn.

The Secretaries went to the table. Head Mountain was the first church to be called. Their Moruti started a hymn. Then one of the Secretaries explained that this was not a Botsetsi Service but a Matshehiso, so each church should just present its envelope as it was called, but not do anything extra, like putting money to "open" or "close" an envelope. This practice was only for times of happiness. The hymn continued with Head Mountain singing. Their leader announced that with 5t he closed the envelope. This led to an "argument", the Mookamedi of Episcopal repeated that they could not do that because it was not a Botsetsi but a Matshehiso. This discussion continued for some time. The leader of Head Mountain maintaining that, as they had not known, some people still had money to contribute because they were intending to give it as bets (as at Botsetsi) but they would not now be able to give it. The Moruti of Episcopal agreed to this but said that that practice could not be done on this sad occasion, but only at Botsetsi when they were happy. The Head Mountain Moruti agreed to this but as they had made a mistake they should continue like that for that one day so that people would be able to contribute all the money they had brought. The Episcopal Khosa also asked to be forgiven, he had messed up the service, but as they had already started like that the best thing would be to continue with betting. The churches had already sealed their envelopes and when they closed them they had not put all their contributions inside because they had believed they were going to bet with them and so now, if they did not continue with betting as at Botsetsi, then people would return home with their money.

The Mookamedi of Episcopal answered that they were not supposed to make mistakes when they knew they were wrong because it meant that people would copy them and make mistakes in the future. Some people had not seen this service before and would copy their mistakes and, when they were asked why they were doing their own Matshehiso services badly, they would reply that they had seen it being done like that at so and so's home. He would not mind at all if the Secretaries tore open envelopes, to preserve the law (i.e. the way of doing
Matshediso). He referred to a Setswana proverb "the one who does not hear the law of his father will hear the law of the eagles." In their church they had already agreed on what to do. They had started wrongly but now they realised their mistakes. Even if they had been going to have P20 and would now only receive P5 they could still not disobey the law. They had to do things according to the rules because there were many people who were suspicious of Zion churches and, if they did not do their work properly, that was when they would give people who despised them a chance to criticize them. Although they had been Zionists a long time they might not have understood everything, so they should rely on the Word. Then when people disagreed with them they would be able to answer them properly. Even if they only made mistakes on that night they should know that it was wrong and unacceptable in Zion Church and they would not make that mistake again. Zionists should know that on a day of Matshediso it was a day of agony, not laughter. People had been confused because they had had to mix the two services Kapolo and Matshediso on the same day. But betting and competition between churches was only for Botsetsi, when they were happy. To do that at this service would give non-Zionists the opportunity to say that they treated a time of sorrow like a concert or a function, because whenever you went to their churches it was money. That kind of thing would really spoil the name of their churches. *1

Then he started a hymn "We praise you the Lord, we are happy in you because of your protection".

The Secretary asked what they should do as Head Mountain had brought an envelope and closed it with 5t. The Moruti of Head Mountain answered that when a person made a mistake they should not continue. You had to correct yourself before it became worse. Therefore if the people from his congregation had more money to present they should bring it and put it on the table. He said "Bring those presents to Job and put them on the table, even if they are an earring or gold, they should be put on the table." Then the congregation of Head Mountain did this and their Moruti started a hymn "Through the Lord, we are happy in you."

After this each church was called in turn and placed their money quietly on the table, first answering their name with a hymn. This took some time then, during more hymn singing, the Secretary counted

*1 Zionists always try to be very careful of their image.
the money and the Moruti of Galilee told the congregations to sit down so that we could hear how much each church had brought to Job. The Secretary of Bethlehem announced:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head Mountain</td>
<td>P2.05</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Galilee</td>
<td>P2.00</td>
<td>B.U.C.Z.</td>
<td>P3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God is Love</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>P12.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morning Star</td>
<td>P3.20</td>
<td>New Israel</td>
<td>P1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>P3.98</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>P26.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then the Secretary of Bethlehem handed the service back to the Mookamedi of Episcopal who requested they should reannounce all these figures in the old way as some people did not understand pula. This total was then reannounced as £13. 14s 9d. He thanked God for keeping them safe that night and for the money, which was also from God. Everything was from God in the name of Jesus Christ. He said that as the time was now 3.55 a.m. he would like to know if any churches needed to leave early, so that they might be served first with the food that was prepared. Those who wished to remain were welcome as they had not yet danced that night. First he would like to give the owner of the service a chance to speak.

The owner thanked all the churches and the congregations. It did not matter if they had had disagreements because everyone had behaved and they were happy to be corrected in their mistakes. He wanted to think that because they were Christians they were polite to each other. He felt that on the Day of Judgement he would be saved because he had seen that night that he had helpers. When he died he would be quiet (i.e. his Spirit, but also when he was a Badimo) because people would gather to sympathize with his family. He wished them all to live well and grow with their children like Job, as they had heard that he had been given good luck and lived well with his children to a great age. He again thanked them in the name of Christ. Then he started a hymn "We thank you our Lord. Nations hate Zion and prefer Darkness".

The Mookamedi next announced that he had asked the Evangelists to pray for the plate of money and then it should be presented to the owners of the service. Then they would continue as a normal church service until they ate. He started a hymn "Zion Amen", during which

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* This is a revealing speech as it also suggests that part of the reason for the service was to satisfy the Badimo of his parents.
the Evangelists all raised the plate of money into the air and prayed for it, and the brother and sister were presented with it.

Then followed about 20 minutes of dancing and singing and the Moruti of B.U.C.Z. called the people requiring a prophecy to the centre. The service continued as a normal service until about 6.30 a.m. Then the Mookamedi of Episcopal asked permission to interrupt. At first he had wanted to serve those who had furthest to go first, but now he was not sure what to do. He thought the best thing to do was to take the heads of all the churches and other men and serve them first, later the women. All the churches would eat together. He asked the Dikhosa to help him to carry all the chairs back to the original house where the food was served; Dikhosa should also help to serve the food. We then returned to the other house, and with all the women we sat on the floor in one house in the owner's yard where we were served with tea and fat cakes. We finally left at 8.00 a.m.

G) Services held in times of special trouble

(i) Ditapelo Service

The Ditapelo Service, I attended was held by Bethlehem, as part of a regular Sunday Service which had started in Bethlehem's church. We then went in procession to the other side of the village (about half an hour's journey on foot). We sang Zion hymns all the way. Our method of entry to the troubled home once we arrived at their kgotla has already been described in Volume 1, Chapter 15. Below is described the service that took place once we had entered the home.

After a hymn the Vice-Bishop announced that he thanked God for giving him energy and power to come to that home that day. He was reminded of a story in the Bible where the people were living in a certain village called Nineveh, and this village had been filled with bad luck and many were ill. When God saw that Nineveh was coming to an end, he sent his son Jonah there to go and warn the villagers that they would all be ruined. Jonah thought they deserved it and had embarked on a ship going in the opposite direction. Then God had sent terrible storms. When the ship was about to be wrecked, the sailors had cast lots to find out what caused their trouble - Jonah had been found guilty and they told him to wake up and pray with them. The Mookamedi (Vice-Bishop) then started a hymn: "Wake up Jonah and Let's pray". After the hymn he continued the story of Jonah. Jonah
had not wanted to cause their deaths so he had told them to throw him into the sea and he would be helped by God. The Mookamedi told the owner of the home that he would like him to listen carefully because they had been sent to him by God.

He next referred to the story of Nicodemus, where he had asked Christ how He as such a young man could do such miracles. Nicodemus wanted to ask for help from Christ but had been afraid that people might laugh at him for asking for help from such a young man like Christ was. This shows us that people should not look down upon other people for no good reason. Nicodemus had visited Christ and said he did not know where He had got his power. Christ had then answered that was why he needed to be born again with Water and the Holy Spirit so that he could understand. If he was not born again with Water and the Holy Spirit he could never reach the Kingdom of Heaven. Nicodemus had been very surprised by this and asked how he could be born again when he was so old, how could he go back to his mother's womb, and Christ had explained that, if he was baptized, he would be born again. The Mookamedi then said that that was why they had come to the house. He had been sent in that way and he was now going to talk about Hosea 5, v. 13. They would read that from the Bible first. He advised the owners of the home to live by prayers and all become Zionists, to pray to God, confess their sins and then they would be forgiven. One should never hide that one is a Christian. God is the only one we find in Corinthians 12. In that book we learn that there are many gifts and because of lack of knowledge, different people know different things. Some know how to heal, others to perform miracles etc. He wanted the congregation to look at Hebrews 12, v. 15 and St. John 12, v.24. The Secretary read these verses then we sang the hymn "We are coming to pray for you". Another hymn followed "All ears should listen to the Word of God because a trumpet calls". The Secretary next read James 5, v. 13 and Isaiah 38, v. 1-6, Corinthians 12, v. 1, Hebrews 12, v. 25-26. These Bible readings were interspersed with hymns. The Mookamedi said that in all these readings it emphasized the power of God and how He can help people in their troubles if they follow Him. Those who refused God's Word were punished with earthquakes etc., and on the Day of

*1 i.e. even if the owner of the home should hear about his troubles from young people and women in the congregation he should not disregard their words. (Traditionally only the elders have wisdom.)
Judgement, which is very close, those who had been deaf to his words would go to Hell whereas Christians would fly with the angels in the sky.

He continued to preach that in Deuteronomy 28, v. 1 it says that if you take note of the Word of God you will be blessed in your home and everything you do will be blessed. Sometimes a person can be so cursed that even their clothes are included, and because of this curse they will not be happy on Earth or live eternally. One will be cursed by God if one is unfriendly and hates people. Life without God is not a happy life. After a further hymn he said that the Spirit had told him to speak in SiNdebele and he would soon start doing so. He himself had never been taught this language, nor was he a Matebele. From the Word of God he heard that the mother of the son is not the one responsible for the children's bad behaviour and during the Day of Judgement she will not be punished for this. If a person does bad things, challenging one's father, fighting and drinking, that person should know that it is not their father who will be blamed. Maybe on Earth the father will be charged cattle, but on the Day of Judgement it is that person who will answer for their own crimes, not their father. He continued on this theme after a further hymn, emphasizing that we are all answerable for our own faults on the Day of Judgement. He mentioned how some bad children might boast how they would do bad things because their fathers were good orators and would speak for them at the kgotla*1 but if one reads in the Bible, one can see how such a person is cursed. But it does not matter if a person is cursed by others for being a Christian. It is better to be cursed on Earth. Those who are not polite and do not take care of their parents are cursed, as are those who insult people and challenge them. Even though a father may be responsible on Earth if his son makes girls pregnant he will be charged cattle, but on the Day of Judgement it is that individual who will be punished, not his father.*2 (While this was being said, the children of the owner of the home were present, and one was even drunk.) The Mookamedi continued that these people would have their cattle taken from them because of their drunkenness and their own children would go astray and be reared by others (here

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*1 Traditionally a father represents children at the kgotla, and if the child is fined, e.g. 6 cattle for making a girl pregnant, it is the father who must pay.

*2 Here he is referring to the bad children of the home.
he could refer them to Deuteronomy 28.\(^1\) During the time of Rains, such bad people would find that on their own earth there was no rain, and their Lands would be dusty, rocky and infertile and their wives would be taken by their own comrades. Therefore they should hurry up and listen to the Commandments of God that he was giving them.

He continued that he could "see" (in his Spirit) that somewhere in that home there was a buried lonaka (medicine horn)that had been taken from a traditional doctor to bewitch the family. As he was talking about this, he could "see" that someone at the church was not happy to hear his words (i.e. the moloi was present). But that person should beware because he (the Mookamedi) could take it out from the place where it was buried and he would hit the person who was guilty, on the nose and mouth, so that his teeth would be knocked out. Then we sang a non-Setswana hymn.

The Mookamedi continued that in Isaiah 38, v. 1, it tells how Hezebiah was very ill and nearly dead. The prophet Isaiah told him he would die. Then he had heard from God that God had decided to allow him to live another 15 years and promised to save the city from the Assyrians. Hezebiah was very pleased, he was healed and so he lived longer. This was just like the home where this Ditapelo was being held. They had been having problems and now God would hear their prayers and help them to solve their problems. God would comfort those who had problems.

After another hymn the Mookamedi said that in Ezekiel it says that when you are worried you should sing a hymn; if the problems continue you should pray to God; if it still is not solved then you should call the members of the congregation to help you pray and the power of Christianity will help the one who believes in God. The best thing therefore was to confess ones sins so that they can be forgiven. Elia was a person in the Bible like all of us, and he was told that for 3½ years there would be no rain. Elia was just an ordinary person. Many people believe that things only happen if a certain Moruti is called, but that is not true. Everything we ask in God's name is done. There are many people who are misled by their understanding of the kingdom of Earth or because of their children and friends who

\(^1\) Part of the laws of Moses, how those who please God will be blessed and those who disobey will be cursed.
influence them. He himself remembered that when he started in church people had cried bitterly because they missed the friend they had lived with and had had "good times" with. He had been a good buyer of beer and a drinker of it. He had been a good dancer at gumba-gumba, and a player of guitars. Therefore they believed he was going astray when he left these things. They thought he was confused and had Badingwana. Some said he had been a good person when he had been making girls of the village pregnant, drinking beer, playing guitars and dancing at gumba-gumba, always stabbing and fighting people, whispering and talking badly about people. Now that he had left all these things they thought he was a devil preaching Holy Words that were leading him astray.

Everyone on Earth was angered by the bad things he had mentioned, but when one does evil things one always finds one has a lot of friends, but the only thing they really love one for is ones purse. There would be many people who would love a person because of the way he may fight and as soon as he stops all these things, they will hate him and talk badly about him. Then he started a hymn "Forgive my sins, I believe every day and praise You my Lord, I praise You my Saviour for forgiving my sins."

He continued along the same theme that one is loved when one does bad things but that just as it says in Psalms "When I cut sack-cloth and wear it, everyone tends to talk about me and the bad people started to hate me, even my home boys start spitting at me and saying I should not believe in the God I have started worshipping." In Psalm 22 it says "My God, why have you forsaken me? Why can't you hear me cry?" Those were the words said by David when he started worshipping God "God please deliver me quickly, my fathers who believed in You and were forgiven. They were not shy." We should follow these words and not think that the only people God is with are those we see Him with now.

Matthew 24 v. 24 warns us about false prophets whom we should ignore. The Day of Judgement is coming for everyone, the rich and the poor alike, the good and the bad. He referred to one occasion when a drunkard had challenged ladies who were passing on their way home from the church saying "Jesus I'm having a good time drinking" and asking them for tobacco. But they should take no notice and not be persuaded by such

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*1 See Volume 1, Chapter 8.
*2 All of these things are forbidden in the Zion Church.
things to leave Christianity. Then we sang the hymn "Even if they are
doing bad things, they are Christ's creatures".

Next the Moruti explained that now it was the time to pray but he
had just been trying to let the children of the home know a little about
their bad behaviour. When a person dies, their spirit leaves the body
and only the body remains here. Therefore they should take note that in
the Bible we are warned to love our neighbours and respect our parents.
Our parents are the ones who make us and suffered for us when we were
small. Those that ill-treat them are cursed. When you are weak your
mother was the one who held you, and if she had been bad she would
have killed you. But because she was good you lived, she suffered for
you. If you insult her you are cursed on Earth and in Heaven because
you are insulting the ones who cared for you.

Then during the following hymn we went out into the lolwapa,
where dancing started. The men, led by the Mookamedi, danced in one
line and the women led by the Mookamedi's wife danced in the other and
the lines wove in and out of each other. Next the family were put in
the middle of the dancing circle and were danced around. Then they were
prayed on by the Barapedi in the centre of the circle. After that we
were all prayed on - the unbaptized first, then baptized women and
children, and then the men.*1 We were prayed on first by one Moruti
and then another then two together (the latter included the Mookamedi).
They prayed on the head, shoulders, back, breasts and stomach, their
hands were trembling.

After this the Moruti started a cheer "Viva, Bethlehem, Viva"
which was taken up by all the others. The Mookamedi said he was glad
we had come there to that house to pray. We all walked back to the
church in procession, singing on the way. We entered the Bethlehem
church in single file in the same order as we had entered the kgotla.

Announcements were made and a collection was taken. People who
wanted to join were put in the centre, but the Mookamedi warned new
members that they should only join if their parents agreed, as if they
joined they would not be allowed to use traditional medicine, only the
Holy Water which quarrels *2 with traditional medicine. Therefore if they

*1 Then the Mookamedi announced that Baloi should keep outside as
when they touched one when praying, she would be caught.
*2 i.e. attracts lightning when mixed with it in the same house or
kgotla e.g. this had happened at the kgotla of the Malome of one of
my informants.
joined without their parents' consent they would discredit the Zion church.

After this the service ended at about 5.00 p.m.

(ii) Setlhabelo (sacrifice) services

(a) Setlhabelo (sacrifice) of unleaven bread

This service was held by B.U.C.Z. church on a Saturday night. The B.U.C.Z. congregation gathered first at the Moruti's home (this was before they had built their church there). We gathered inside the Moruti's house and after a few prayers and hymns the Moruti explained that at the house we were going to for Setlhabelo people were to behave politely. He had a stick outside that he would use to beat people whose Spirits were fighting against his, and anyone whose Spirit disturbed the prophets' Spirits would be thrown outside the church as such Spirits would be fighting for the Devil and upset the prophesying. No one should sleep but they should all work hard singing, clapping and dancing properly. They should walk in a line singing hymns on the way there, and he himself would walk at the back sprinkling Holy Water on our footsteps.

Then we left for the Setlhabelo house. An Evangelist and the other men led, then the women and children, and lastly the Moruti who was sprinkling Holy Water. We sang hymns on the way and a drum carried on the back of a bicycle was beaten. On arrival at the home (about half an hour's walk through the village) we entered a rondavel in which was a table with 7 candles on it. The Moruti formally introduced himself and the congregation to the owner of the home, telling him we had arrived there by God's help and said that the Evangelist and Morapedi would be in charge of the service. He asked if the owner of the home and the head of the kgotla were present to give their formal permission for the service to take place. He said that in the Bible it says that "When I was called I came immediately but before I did anything I asked what I was called for."

The owner of the home replied that he himself was very ill and could not speak loudly. He thanked God who had allowed them to meet together. He thought everyone would remember that they had been together in March for Ditapelo but he still had the same problems.

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*1 i.e. Baloi.
*2 i.e. to protect against Baloi bewitching our footsteps and bewitching us.
He had a problem at his home and he was asking for help. His children just stayed at the mines without helping their parents. They had so many problems and that was why they had decided to ask for help from the Zionists; as Paul had said in Ephesians 5, "Walk in the way you have been told, you should take a journey to the place where you have been called."

God has given us Christianity. He gave Christians the Holy Spirit, his own Son, and Himself. That is why he had asked the Zionists for help. When they had seen him at the Ditapelo he had been almost dumb and it had helped a little. Before Ditapelo he had been having such terrible pains that he had even asked God for Death as he could not bear those pains. He prayed that God should save the congregation as their prayers that time had been answered and he was feeling much better. They (the congregation) were soldiers of God and they had returned that day to fight the Devil.

Then the B.U.C.Z. Moruti replied that according to their rules they were supposed to dance around and see if their Spirits were welcomed to that home and if there was anything there that could challenge the prophets.*1 He said that many Zionists had previously fallen into danger because they had not done this. He referred to the Book of Ecclesiastes where it says that when you enter a house you should do this. Two hymns were sung, during which Kanana Church arrived. After these hymns the Moruti formally handed over the service to the Evangelist and Barapedi, and introduced the service to the Kanana Baruti as a Sacrifice of unleavened bread. Then he said they should now dance with those Kanana Baruti to see if it was possible to hold the service there and make the sacrifice, and if they found the home was bewitched they would be able to "see" if they had enough power to overcome those evil powers.

The Kanana leader introduced his church, explaining that their main Baruti were not present that day but were at the mines, Cattleposts etc. The B.U.C.Z. Khosa then arranged everyone according to their proper positions.

*1 This compares with traditional doctors who always throw their bones once before starting a divination, to see if it is alright to continue that day (e.g. as done by the traditional doctor before starting to wash the cattle - Volume 1, Part 2, Chapter 5).
Next the B.U.C.Z. Evangelist took over the service and repeated the welcome. He called for the Secretary to be ready so that the candles could be lit. We sang the hymn "I can feel love, my blood is circulating and I can see the sacrificial place". The Evangelist said that now they had come to the time of "Bola".*1 What they had come to do there at that home was Bola (they would use their spirits, whereas traditional doctors use bones) and they were going to make a sacrifice of porridge, and scented articles. In the Bible it refers to these as weaker sacrifices. They would be burning these things and also do Bola (i.e. prophesy.*2). He announced that Bola was allowed to anyone who had the gift. If prophets "saw" that the owner of the home was a moloi, they should point to him and tell him he was the one causing the trouble - they had been sent by God to do His work so everyone who had Bola should speak.

He continued that he wanted to dance because there was something troubling him and he wanted to "see" what it was. While they were waiting for the candles to be lit they were going to sing hymns, but as it was a special day only those good at dancing should dance i.e. those who could not control their Spirits should not dance. If they did it would be their own fault if they were hurt. He did not want anyone to disturb the prophets i.e. if they danced they must dance like everyone else. If they did not, they would be fighting against the Spirits of the prophets. People should learn to dance at the services during the week and not at the special services. He himself had learnt by practising alone in the bush, turning around the trees.

Then the Moruti of B.U.C.Z. complained that there was someone in that church thinking about their boyfriend and not about the church, he kept catching this person in his Spirit and hearing her heart beating.*3

After two hymns and dancing the Bible was read by the B.U.C.Z. Secretary - Numbers 8, v 1-3 during which the 7 candles were lit. The Evangelist continued that he was now going to prepare the sacrificial items, and that as he did this they should continue singing hymns. After a hymn Matthew 10, v. 1 was read.*4 The Evangelist preached on

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*1 This use of the word "Bola" is in the same sense of traditional doctors when they are foretelling with bones.
*2 Compare with West and Aquina.
*3 As he said this he kept passing around the room and pointing at the wall near my interpreter, who later told me she had been afraid he meant her as she had been thinking at the time about her boyfriend whom she had seen on our way to the church!!
*4 Matthew 10 v. 1 - how Christ gave His disciples power against evil spirits, to cure different kinds of sicknesses and diseases.
this theme about how Christ had come and collected his 12 disciples together and told them he was sending them out to preach, but that they should not enter the homes of non-members. They should heal those who were suffering and those with Evil Spirits, they should scare away the evil from them.

Three more hymns followed before the Moruti of B.U.C.Z. interrupted the hymn and complained that when he danced there was a chicken worrying him and holding his Spirit. He could 'see' this chicken scattering mud in the home and later he could prophesy a bone and an egg, and when he "follows" this chicken scattering mud in his Spirit, he just "sees" it is like the owner of the home, that his mind is all over the place because his children were not taking care of him. He asked the members of the home to come to the centre, before he continued that in his prophecy he could "see" a woman coming from the East who sometimes visited their home and she had a daughter, with a child. The daughter is the one who had been sent to bewitch them by digging holes and burying boloi. He could "see" something had been buried in the thatch of the roof. He then pointed towards a point of the thatch with his prophecy pole.

He told the owners of the home that they should say "Yes" if it was true and "no" if not. He continued that on the wife's side he could follow a road that passes at the back of her kraal. There was a girl who was not married who lived with an old woman. He could 'see' a square house at the home where this girl lived. The owners of the home knew her and when ever they met they would nearly quarrel. There had even been a trial in the past with them and this was the cause of the Boloi hidden in their home so that they could be killed. He could also see a girl who had been sent to spy at the church for that family.

Next he asked the other prophets to reveal what they had "seen". The Evangelist said they should pray for the owner of the home because he was having trouble with his oesophagus drying up at night so that he could not breathe properly. He also had a sore in his chest, and when he tried to breathe he always felt out of breath. He could even "see" that once when at his Lands, he had been given poison. The poisoner came from the Lands in front of his Lands - from the West.

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*1 This compares with traditional doctors when divining with their bones, the client has to agree or disagree.
He could "see" a thatched house near their Lands. The wife of the owner of the home agreed to this. The prophet continued that whenever they woke up in the morning, all the family would have painful legs and their children would refuse to be sent on errands by their parents. The children even thought of leaving their home. He said if he went further - to their Lands - he could show them their enemies. As he had never been there all he could tell them was that those enemies came from uphill.\footnote{1}

He continued that he could "see" a cow that had been inherited. The owner's wife said that they had not yet been given it, they were still having a trial over those cattle. She was then told that she should not tell them anything, they would tell her, she should just agree or disagree. He continued that he could "see" this cow being given as Boswa (inheritance). He could "see" someone having a pain and later dying of that terrible pain. He said the Spirit showed him that when he prophesied those cattle, the children whose parents were dead were having confusion about those cattle, for example, trials.

Next the B.U.C.Z. Moruti asked if anyone else had received prophecy. Another prophet revealed that in his Spirit he could "see" the owner of the home's heart beating very fast and that he felt very frightened because of the fear caused by his children's behaviour. He could also "see" that the owner often wondered whether to call Zionists or traditional doctors to help him. The owner agreed that this was the case.

The prophet continued that he could "see" the owner's cattle had been bewitched and he would even have an accident because of those bewitched cattle. The people who had bewitched him wanted to kill him so that they could get those cattle. He did not want to go into a lot of detail about this because he did not want to be called to the kgotla. The owner might complain he had been prophesied by a child i.e. a prophet who had not yet registered.\footnote{2}

Another male prophet then revealed that he had "seen" that the owner's house was "held by problems". There was no agreement and children did not obey their parents. They feared that perhaps they should not be members of the church because of the bad behaviour of their

\footnote{1} The owners of the home were an "uphill" family who had moved downhill, probably because of boloi, but they still ploughed with their original kgotla members.

\footnote{2} c.f. registration of traditional doctors. A powerful prophet from Episcopal had recently been called as a witness at the kgotla after he had prophesied a man whose cattle had been stolen.
children. He could also "see" that their cattle were bewitched and one member of the family would die because of this.

A young female prophet continued that she could "see" that the woman of that family was having heart trouble - her heart beat quickly. Her children often insulted her, and she had problems with a swelling stomach.

Next the B.U.C.Z. Moruti took over. He said he could also "see" that the wife was having problems with pains in her sides caused by boloi. He could also "see" that the husband had problems with pains and even wondered if his life would improve if he deserted his home. This had all been caused by a new poison he had been given by someone who had mixed it with dikobi (beans). This made him feel tired and he would quarrel with his wife and not discuss this problem with her. He could "see" in his Spirit that this poison had been given to him when he had eaten that dikobi away from his home. His Spirit showed him an old-fashioned four-wheeled lorry that for a long time had been supported by logs at the back. He advised them never to visit that home with such an old lorry, as this was the place from where they were being bewitched. The owner agreed to this.

The Moruti continued that in his prophecy he could "see" that the owner's footprint had been stolen at that home. It had been bewitched so that he would be hit by something and die immediately. He had been bewitched some time ago and when he had come from that home he had been in a very bad state and unable to walk properly. He could also "see" that they had a dehorned red cow that the family had had quarrels over. This was one of the many cattle that they had had trouble over. The cattle had been doctorised by a traditional doctor in the absence of the owner of the family, and this bewitchment was directed particularly at the sons of the family. The person who had done this complained he had not been given a share of those cattle as payment. As a result, whenever the owner and his family went to their Cattle-post they felt afraid of their cattle. The wife agreed to all this.

The prophet continued that there was no agreement between the families of the husband and wife. He again mentioned the chicken he had "seen" at first in his prophecy, he could smell some broken eggs and some boloi which was hidden in the thatch to which he pointed again using his prophecy pole. This boloi had the effect of making the family feel frightened whenever they were inside their houses, to try
and make them desert their home in fear. The boloi had been put there when the house was built and had contributed to the dispersal of the family. He could "see" that at the home where there was the broken lorry the people had wanted their daughter to marry the owner's son and, when this had not happened, they had decided to bewitch the family. The owner of the service replied that he did not know of that particular plan.

The prophet continued that he could "see" that one of their sons used to visit that home but did not now. One of the daughters of the owner then agreed that this was indeed true, but the parents still said that they had not known about this. The prophet continued that the family at this home were trying to kill the parents because if they were dead it would be easy for their daughter to be married to the owner's son. They were not able to realise the intention of these baloi because they were always welcomed at their home (N.B. they are different people from the ones bewitching them for their cattle). If the owner's son did not marry into that family then the family would be badly bewitched and even struck by lightning.

Another prophet took over. He said he could "see" that the owner had problems with itching ears and soles of his feet. His legs, particularly the knees, were always tired. He could also hear a baby crying - a baby that had died in that home some time ago. The owner of the home could not understand this last part of the prophecy about the baby, so the prophet continued that when he danced he could "see" this baby crying and trying to "wrap up their feet" when they danced. It was crying in agony. When that child had been ill there had been an argument, then it had died and had been stolen from its grave, and used by baloi to bewitch the family and that was why, when they danced, it "wrapped and tied their legs" - the child's spirit did not rest in peace.

When he asked his spirit more about this child, he could "see" a woman who always came to ask for tea at their home. This woman was an enemy. He could "see" that the owner of the home was worried, and when returning to his home he often felt like deserting it instead. The rest of the family also feared their home. They often heard strange sounds outside at night and often found their door open if they awoke at night. He could "see" a big trial over cattle, which
would result in their house being damaged by the wind. He could "see" a traditional doctor who they had once called to help them and who had been dissatisfied by his fee. He could "see" a woman who had a "wall eye" who often came to their home behaving as a cousin, but she was one of those who was causing their problems. At this the owner asked him to repeat as he could not hear well.

The B.U.C.Z. Moruti then repeated many of the above-mentioned problems, especially about the owner's physical condition. The owner agreed that the prophets were correct. Next other prophecies followed, repeating that the prophets had seen the same things, especially about the dead child whose body had been stolen and mutilated and used to bewitch the family. Money was referred to that had been stolen and bewitched. Another prophet referred to the fact that the family of the owner's wife were in disagreement with them because they had always promised to give them a child to help them (this is a common custom) but when the child grew up and started to be useful they would take it away, so that when it was earning money it would give the money to its parents not to its Bo-Malome. Once they had even given that family a child who had then returned after 3 days. The owner agreed to all this but said it had all happened a long time ago. The B.U.C.Z. Moruti said that in his Spirit he could "see" that, as soon as this child had returned to them, its Bo-Malome had started bewitching them as they were determined that if they were not to be helped by their daughter's children nor should her family benefit either. The Moruti asked the owner to confirm about the money, but he said that he could not understand about this.

The Moruti told him that he knew about it but he was hiding it. He enlarged on it by saying one of their sons had once sent money to his parents from the South African mines, by a friend. The friends had then stolen the money and used it to buy boloi to bewitch the family. He could also "see" a traditional doctor: would be called to throw his bones for one of the daughters (maybe she would be ill and he would be called in to cure her). He could even "see" those bones in his prophecy and he started using the secret words of a traditional doctor to demonstrate what he could "see".

He next said that he could also "see" that their enemies had bewitched the house immediately they had heard that the owner was to hold Setlhabelo, so as to try to make the Setlhabelo unsuccessful so
that the prophets would not be able to "see" anything. Therefore they
would have to dance to try and make themselves more powerful. Next
followed about seven hymns, with drumming and dancing.

The B.U.C.Z. Moruti continued that he could "see" that, before the
owner had joined his present church, he had belonged to another church
where he had been bewitched by the members, who were jealous when he had
been promoted. The owner had even felt like leaving the church. The
owner agreed to this. Some more hymns followed before the B.U.C.Z.
Moruti prophesied another girl whom he kept catching in his Spirit.
He said her problems would disturb them if they kept quiet about her
prophecy.

There was then another hymn and the Evangelist in charge of the
service announced that the sacrificial items were prepared. At this
point they were on the "altar". They consisted of a bottle of cooking
oil, tea, coffee, sugar, bread (cooked without baking powder) and
packets of candles. Although they did not want to stop the prophecies
they were now ready to do the sacrifice; the time was now 1.00 a.m.
They did not know where the Spirit came from but, even when they moved
outside, it would continue to come to them. They could not control it
to "stay on" just one person. He said that at the owner's Lands there
was a hole dug by a wild animal, and there was an ant hill beside this
hole. If they dug by this hole they would find human hairs and bones
there (i.e. Boloi.) The hole was close to some trees of various types.
The daughter of the home agreed that there was such a place as this at
their Lands. The prophet continued that whenever he danced he was
disturbed by the bones and hairs in that hole. Another hymn was sung.

Next the owners of the home were all called to sit in the centre
near the fire and all the Baruti were called to collect in one place.
He asked for the sons of the home but was told they were not there. He
announced that this was to be a sacrifice without baking powder and
then went on to criticize those people who no longer followed the Old
Testament but only the New Testament. Hebrews 10, v. 28-9 supported
him in this as it says that anyone despising the law of Moses will die
and never be forgiven.

The type of sacrifice they were going to do was the type described
in Leviticus 8 and Leviticus 24, v. 1-8. The Secretary should read
clearly so that everyone should clearly understand what was to be done.
By sunrise the sacrifice would have been made and the remainder would
be for "Aaron and his sons", i.e. the Moruti and his congregation.*1 If a sheep was to be sacrificed the Moruti would receive the chest "as the gift of Aaron", and the left thigh. He would also be allowed to take the intestines and the fat of the sheep and the liver or even a tail, but it would be severed where it joins the vertebral column.

Sacrificial items should be shown to the people and not hidden because Zionists were not like the prophets of Baal who had danced around the sacrificial fire until sunrise and then had realised Baal had not heard. Then he announced it was time to read the Bible and the Secretary was called to read Leviticus 24, v. 1-8. As the Bible was read, the Moruti followed the instructions by holding up the different sacrificial items on the "altar", as they were referred to in the reading, one by one. Where Leviticus mentioned ".. thou shalt set them in 2 rows, 6 in each row..." the cakes of bread were actually put like this.

Next the Moruti said that all the Baruti knew a lot about the Bible but the idea of reading it was to demonstrate to the congregation that they had not invented these things, they were actually written in the Bible, for example, if they wanted to hear the law against beer, this could be read in Numbers, that beer should be thrown on the ground. A Khosa reported that the Dikhosa had prepared the sacrificial fire. The Moruti called the Secretary to read Acts 20, v. 8 about the candles. The packets of candles were opened and the candles were lit and handed out to the church choir, who were warned that if they allowed their candles to blow out it would show they were the children of Baloi (they would be put in the centre and be prophesied). During the two hymns "Christ come closer to us" and "Amen, Messiah it's my sacrifice, Jesus by himself, Jesus my Lord you should appreciate it", the church choir holding the lighted candles led us outside to stand around the sacrificial fire. The family followed and sat in an inner circle, the rest of us were standing in an outer circle. While more hymns were sung the prophets started to dance around the fire and the family, clutching their prophecy poles, whilst the rest of us clapped and sang (the drums had also been brought out). The dancing became faster and faster.

Then the two main Baruti started to make the sacrifice. One other was sitting with the sacrificial items and with water in a bucket. They

*1 Here again it can be seen that in these services they portray different people and occasions from the Bible.
took the items in turn, blessed them, sprinkled them with water and also sprinkled water on the family, and then together they raised each item three times before they threw it into the fire. The bottles of oil and methylated spirits flared up high into the air. When all the items had been sacrificed the sacrificers collected the candles from the church choir and threw them in bundles onto the fire and then sprinkled the fire, the family and circle with the rest of the Holy Water. After more hymns, we all knelt down and we prayed together. The Moruti in charge announced that women should re-enter the house first before the men.

Inside the house hymns were continued. Then the B.U.C.Z. Moruti complained that there was something that was hindering their spirits and preventing them from prophesying, but the prophets should not fear to reveal everything they saw about the behaviour of the sons of that home because they would not dare to sue them in courts as the owner of the home had called the church there. He himself could "see" that the family was still going to have problems with their children and there would even be a kgotla trial when the Bo-Malome and other relatives would have to be called. He said that in Acts it clearly states that if a person cannot see his problems for himself then people must correct him.

Then the owner of the home was invited to speak. He first started a hymn "It's only the Cross where we will meet You, my Lord." After the hymn he thanked everyone for their help. He felt much happier now and no longer feared death. That was why he was able to start the hymn. He explained that first of all he had been a Pentecostalist, where he had even been a Moruti. Later he had joined the "Church of God in Christ" where he has also been a Moruti. This present illness had started in 1974 and he had had to stop being a Moruti and had just been going around looking for a healer until the present. Only God knew whether he would survive. He thanked everyone for their prophecies. In Paul it says a child that is not punished is the illegitimate one of God, and God punishes all for anything he is not happy about. So if a person is punished he is not supposed to be surprised. Punishment is what leads a person to God. God is like a father to us and he notices our wrongs and punishes us accordingly. The child that is never punished is the one with no parents or father because there is no one who can give that child the law. He then went
on to use the story of Job's problems to illustrate how, despite all his problems, he had maintained his belief in God and resisted the Devil. He again thanked everyone and asked them to pray for him. The prayers of a Christian always save those in troubles even if they are sinners; because of the prayers of the people that night he believed he and his family would now be delivered. Then followed a hymn and, as the service was to continue as an ordinary church service until sunrise, we left.

About a year later, I saw the owner of the home, he told me he had completely recovered now, and, although his sons were still a problem, there was much more co-operation in the family; he felt he had been greatly helped by this Setlhabelo.

(b) Setlhabelo sakgomo (sacrifice of a cow) and other items

This service was made by the son for his confused mother. The son worked in the mines and was a member of B.U.C.Z. As already mentioned in Volume I, Chapter 15, the family had previously tried various other methods to help their mother. This was the most elaborate sacrifice service I attended, involving the offering of a larger number of sacrificial items.

The preparations were made on the Saturday afternoon preceding the service. Some of these I observed, such as the killing of the cow and cooking the feast - these are described in Volume I, Chapter 15.

The service and sacrifice were held in the evening. The congregation of B.U.C.Z. collected at the Moruti's home at about 10.00 p.m. and processed to the Setlhabelo home, singing hymns on the way. The other churches who had been invited collected first either at their churches or at a member's home which was conveniently situated on the way to the Setlhabelo home. I arrived back at the service at about 11.00 p.m., the other churches had not yet arrived, only the B.U.C.Z. congregation. The service was started in a square, thatched house in the family home. To the right end of this house was a table on which was a candle. Most of the men stood near this table. The confused woman was crouched in a corner at this end. There was a candle burning in each corner of the house, and in each corner, where the rafters met the walls, there was a little bottle of Holy Water.¹¹

¹¹ These articles had been put there the previous year, and since they had been put there the woman's condition had improved a little - She did not wander off so much.
After a short time, the other churches started to enter, coming in the usual way. Then the Evangelist of B.U.C.Z. who was in charge of the service welcomed them, and after a few Biblical references and some hymn singing, the Secretary was asked to read Acts 10, v. 29-35. The owner of the home was asked to speak and give his permission (in fact the oldest son, a Zionist, who was holding the service did this.) He explained that they had called the Zionists to make a sacrifice for the illness of their mother. The Evangelist asked him if they should make the prayers just for the mother or for the whole family. The Headman of the Kgotla replied on behalf of the family. He said he himself was a Zionist and, as Headman of the kgotla, he wanted to say that they had called the Zionists to find out what was causing the problems in that family. The Evangelist thanked him and called the Secretary to continue reading 1 Corinthians 6, v. 1-2. Then the Evangelist referred to the reading from Acts. He said because of God's calling they had come. They should work together before Christ. Everything that God commanded them to do should be followed without concealment.

After a further hymn and the arrival of another church, the Evangelist warned the congregation that they should all try and behave, although the house was very crowded (by now we were literally like sardines). We were told that we should all try and be the same because they wanted the sacrificial place to be Holy. The sacrifice was to put the owner of the home before Christ. He referred to the reading from Corinthians. Then he repeated, for the benefit of the late-comers, that they were putting this troubled family before Christ with the sacrifice of a bullock. This sacrifice had been ordered by a prophecy and they had brought "bola" (prophecies). He said their method when making sacrifices was to do the sacrifice first, then to give a chance to the prophets, so that if the rain came they would not be disturbed. He explained that the Bible tells us that the sacrificial animal represents the family's problems and, when they make the sacrifice, they also want to make the sacrificial animal happy so that it could see that it was created to serve its owners and to help them in their troubles.

Next the hymn "I can hear love, I'm very happy, I can see

*1 Acts 10, v. 29-35 - Cornelius' request for Peter to visit him following a vision.
*2 Paul's warning that they should only go to law before Christians.
*3 The use of this word is interesting as it is associated with the use of a traditional doctor's bones.
*4 An interesting idea, that animal spirits also have to be appeased.
The sacrificial place" was sung.

The leaders of the different churches were given a chance to speak on behalf of their churches. These speeches took the usual format, where the leader introduced himself and outlined the problems both of himself and the church. After another hymn the Secretary was told to read Numbers 8, v. 1 and the 7 candles were lit, the ones that had previously been placed on the table. A further hymn followed before the B.U.C.Z. Evangelist replied, thanking the different Baruti for their words. He encouraged the prophets to reveal whatever they might "see" that night. He said that when the cow had been slaughtered that afternoon and he had read the Bible, he had "seen" that the bullock had been given according to a prophecy, they had followed the Bible's instructions and therefore the prophets should reveal their prophecies. The Dikhosa were now to go out and prepare the sacrificial items. These things were in special places, for example, the blood of the bullock had been hidden away from dogs. There was another hymn, and then the Evangelist told the church choirs to come forward and each to take a candle as it was lit.

Then the Dikhosa brought in the sacrificial items and placed them on the table. The Secretary was told to read Leviticus 4, v. 1-11 and, as this part was read, the different parts of the cow (fat, kidneys, liver etc) and other items were held up one by one.

Next Acts 20, v. 8*1 was read repeatedly and the candle packets were opened, the candles lit and handed out to the members of the church choirs to hold. The Evangelist announced that the candle holders should go out first, followed by the owners of the service, then the women, men, and lastly the Baruti. They should return to the house after the sacrifice had been made in the same way.

"Hallelujah" was then sung. The Evangelist warned people against making false prophecies just because they may have a grudge against the family. Here they should forget all hatreds and concentrate on the work of God. He warned people that the sacrificial place was very dangerous and so if people did not like sacrifices or were not powerful they should not try and dance around the sacrificial fire or they would find themselves roasting. The B.U.C.Z. Moruti added that in that church they liked to warn people in advance about what they were going to do, so that they should not be frightened. He wanted to choose

*1 Acts 20 v. 8 - "And there were many lights in the upper chamber, where they were gathered".
a person from another church to help make the sacrifices. While the prophets looked for their prophecy sticks, that they had had to put down because the room was so full, the hymn "The Jews are not a good tribe because they killed the son of Man" was sung. During this and another hymn "Ali, Ali" we all went outside in the above order. The family sat near the fire in a semi-circle, the rest of the congregation stood in an outer circle around them and the fire.

During three more hymns the B.U.C.Z. Moruti led, and other male prophets followed, dancing around the fire and around the family inside the circle of the congregation. Then two Baruti started to make the sacrifice. Each item was first prayed for, raised and lowered three times, before being thrown into the fire. The sacrificial items were collected in turns from the Dikhosa, who were keeping them at the side of the circle. First the parts of the bullock were burned, and then the other items of bread, oil, meths etc. (the items mentioned in Leviticus 24, v. 1-8). While the bottle of meths was being burned, an enormous flame shot into the air, and one of the prophets caught on fire - the other Baruti attributed this to the fact that he was not "clean from sin".

After a few hymns and more dancing the B.U.C.Z. Moruti called the prophets to reveal what they had "seen". One prophet from Kanana said that he could "see" that there was a man who wanted to marry a daughter of that home but he was not honest, he had not come yet, if he brought the engagement presents (blankets, clothes etc.) they would be stolen ones. One of the daughters agreed that there had been such a person but he had disappeared. The prophet continued that that man had once brought meat from a slaughtered cow for them but the man's father was angry because he had slaughtered the beast without permission. The prophet did not understand why one of the sons of the home looked so unhappy, because no one was dead. He could "see" in his Spirit everyone of the home being struck by lightning and everyone in the family being killed, including the mother's family. He could even "see" in his Spirit that opposite to their Lands there was a home made of matlaku fencing and there was a cart. This cart held him in his prophecy. He could "see" that there was a lonaka at the home in the kgotla. He said that one of the children of this home had a pinkish wooden trunk striped with red (the family said they could not understand this part of the prophecy). He could prophesy one of their relatives who

matlaku - walls or fencing made of thin branches woven into poles stuck into the ground.
would come home from working at Mafeking with nothing (prostitutes and shebeen queens would have taken all his earnings). He could "see" that there was someone in the family who always dreamt about a tree and lightning hitting their home, but they need not fear that lightning as it would disappear without harming them.

The prophet continued that he would like to prophesy on the son who was making the sacrifice. He could "see" he had already been struck by lightning before (the son agreed to this). He could "see" some of his clothes were missing - there was a family where he had agreed to marry their daughter, then later he had changed his mind without telling them. When he passed near their home he never went there. He (the prophet) could "see" that on the way there the son passed thorn bushes and a trench, when the son was on his way there he felt shocked and changed his direction. He could prophesy the napkins and blankets that he had bought for his child with that woman. He could "see" that those people had red cattle. These people had spoken badly about him and that was why he had withdrawn himself. The prophet said that these people had stolen his underwear and bewitched it, and they had even stolen some of his beard while he slept at night, and used it for boloi. The son agreed to all this.

The prophet continued that now he was having trouble with his head and eyes. He could "see" in his prophesy that a dead child had been stolen and the Baloi had argued over the bits of the body as there was not enough for all of them. He asked the mother if she knew about a dead child. She replied that all she knew was that a child had died and the body had been stolen by people after the burial, but she did not know anything more. The prophet said he could "see" that dead child was of a relative in the kgotla. He could "see" the mother had problems with noise in her ears and a bitter taste in her mouth, this was caused by being poisoned by this dead child, so that she would be quiet and become like a dead body. The intestines and liver of that child had been used to poison her. This was what was causing her children to neglect her when they came from the mines.

The prophet continued that he could "see" that the mother (a widow) had had a quarrel over cattle with the older brother of her dead husband. He could "see" that an old man and a girl were missing from that family. The old man had gone to the mines and had not returned. The mother could not understand this part and so the prophet said the
missing girl was about 10.

Next another prophet spoke. He was from New Israel church and knelt before the family to prophesy - he wore sack cloth and spoke in a high whining voice. He said that he could "see" that the family badly needed prayers as they had so many problems. He could "see" them quarrelling over some things but not reaching any agreement. He could "see" that the Headman of that sub-kgotla (the dead father's elder brother) was causing their troubles. He could "see" that there had been a time when they had quarrels over cattle as they had tried to have more cattle than anyone else and this had caused jealousy. They often felt like forbidding their Rre-Mogolo (father's older brother) to visit them in their home.

At this point the B.U.C.Z. Moruti called the Dikhosa to close the gates because so many Baloi were arriving to challenge them. The New Israel prophet repeated his prophecy but said that there were many Baloi present who had been sent to spy for the Rre-Mogolo.

Another prophet continued that he could "see" that the family's lands were badly bewitched. The family was as yet unaware of this because they had never consulted a traditional doctor or the Zionists on this point. He could "see" that they had once had a kgotla chair that had been bewitched and also he could "see" a goat that had been used to pay a traditional doctor. The sisters agreed that such a goat had once been used to pay a traditional doctor.

Some more hymns were sung and dancing continued to strengthen the powers of the prophets. Then a Kanana prophet took over. He said that he had heard one prophet mention a bewitched kgotla chair. He said that he could "see" that the mother had been cheated during Boswa (inheritance) following Tatolo (the chair was obviously part of Tatolo, when the dead man's possessions are taken to his Malome for distribution). The mother had been cheated of her rightful inheritance of cattle. As part of their Boswa they had been given a kgotla chair but it was bewitched and this was part of the cause of her problems. Another cause of her sickness was because they had had a field which someone else wanted, took, and gave to their daughter. He could also "see" a dam where a person would be drowned. This was their dam and they had many quarrels over it, and sometimes the water of that dam made a frightening movement. The son replied that they had no dam like that, but the prophet insisted that the Spirit showed him such a dam.
The B.U.C.Z. Moruti expounded that there was a dam at their Lands where they fetched water and the owner of the dam was not letting them fetch water in it. He could "see" the sister taking a bucket from that dam and after that she would have trouble with her breast and never suckle a child. She had been poisoned and she had had headaches and could not see properly. She had been poisoned when she had gone to help people harvest and thresh their corn.\(^1\) The girl said she could not understand this and she had never gone to anywhere for work. The Moruti said he was not referring to a job, but when she had gone to help her in-laws. He could see that she would have bad luck, boys loved her but did not marry her. She was always insulted at her in-laws. He could "see" how she tried to ignore them and went to fetch wood or water when they started to insult her. He could "see" that these problems were being caused by a girl who pretended to be her friend. She had been employed to help with the harvest at the home of the in-laws and she was trying to "steal" the sister's husband-to-be. When the sister had noticed this, that is when the girl had started to bewitch her, this other girl had bewitched her at night with boloi to make her wake very late in the morning. The other girl would then have a chance to sleep with her husband. She had started to get problems in the middle of her back and leg and some of her underwear was missing. The Moloi girl wore a dress of many colours.

Next followed another hymn "Judas is a Crook". Then the B.U.C.Z. Moruti continued the prophecy, he said that there was another man who had promised to marry her but he could 'see' that that man was involved in cattle theft and, when he pretended to love her, he always asked her about their Cattle-post as he was trying to make a plan to steal their cattle, which he would then sell far away or exchange for other cattle he would use to pay her Bogadi.

The Kanana prophet took over. He could "see" this man also in his Spirit. This was the man who had brought meat to their house as a gift - the meat of the stolen cow.

The New Israel prophet continued that he could "see" this girl having problems with her legs and again he could"see" her having a pain on the side of her shoulder. He repeated the prophecy about her breast. He could "see" her having sores inside her chest which will end up in

\(^1\) A common co-operative practice.
He could "see" a lonaka which had been kept by their Headman (the Rre-Mogolo) - a white one, and that is what was causing the trouble. This Headman used this to bewitch them, their cattle, goats and sheep therefore died.

The hymns "I feel pity, Amen Messiah" and "Halleujah" were sung. Then the New Israel prophet continued that the family all had trouble with their legs and people insulted them because they were jealous of their possessions and the way their sons worked in the mines. He could "see" that at night they were always disturbed by Baloi coming in the night, making noise outside, and disturbing their sleep. There had once even been a trial about this after all the family had become very ill following buried boloi, and the older brother (the one making the service) had even been injured in an accident in the mines. The boloi buried in their lolwapa had been causing, and was still causing, all their problems.

The B.U.C.Z. Moruti said that in their church they were not powerful enough to dig out that boloi but if New Israel had power they could help them. On this occasion they had even come with their Bishop, who did not dance but stood to one side. He wore long purple robes with silver trimmings and a Bishop's mitre on his head. He used cowrie shells to prophesise and, although he did not prophesise publicly like the other prophets, he stood to the side and the other prophets kept going to consult him.

The New Israel prophet continued that he could "see" in his Spirit that many of the prophets could "see" this buried boloi, but instead of revealing this they were hiding the fact. He wanted to know if those prophets would agree with him that this boloi was present before they dug it out. The B.U.C.Z. Moruti answered that in the Bible it said that if you are given a gift you should use it. He called on all the Baruti to dance around, and anyone who "saw" where the boloi was should go on his own and mark where he "saw" it. Then they would dig where the marks were.

The Kanana Moruti announced he could "see" this buried boloi too. He could "see" that there had been a time when a traditional doctor had been called to heal the whole family and that was when the boloi buried

*1 In this accident he had been buried under rocks, trapped by his foot. Since then he has had an artificial foot.
the boloi to fight against the traditional doctor's medicine. This boloi was buried near the corners of the house but kept moving from corner to corner. When he first arrived he had "seen" it in one corner but now in his prophecy he just 'saw' it moving around, not remaining stationary. He said that when they danced to get their prophecies, they kept knocking into each other - the boloi was making this happen to them to try and make them lose their power of prophecy. At this service, as has already been stated, one prophet had caught on fire during the sacrifice stage and another later fell into the fire. Several members of the congregation "got the Spirit" very strongly, and one girl even rolled over and over and became unconscious.

More hymns were sung and the dancing became very vivacious. The prophets were trying to find the direction of the exact spot of the boloi. The New Israel prophet stopped us at one point and said the singers were not singing strongly enough. It was now very late and some people had fallen asleep - they were woken up by the Dikhosa to "help with the singing". Following another hymn the New Israel Bishop "saw" that the boloi was buried by the door of the house where the service started. Spades were brought and the New Israel Baruti dug out a large Vick tin containing the boloi that had been placed there by the baloi and had been causing all the trouble. As already mentioned in Volume 1, Chapter 15, page 292, the family felt they were much helped by this service. The confused woman's condition improved and she became "normal" again - this was up to the time I left in 1983.

(c) Setlhabelo sa kgomo service (sacrifice of a cow)

This service held by a B.U.C.Z. family, was on one night during the week as there were no free Saturday nights.

Kanana church came to help as a church, and other individuals from other churches, who were probably friends of the family, attended to assist and support. After the arrival of Kanana, the Moruti in charge first welcomed them and then warned the congregations to concentrate properly on their work, they should not dance unless they felt strong enough and were fully repentant. If anyone fell in the sacrificial fire they should be left, as this meant that they were not fully repentant. That fire had a special gas in it that attracts sinners. Even if a person danced behind others, if he was a sinner
that gas would pull him into the fire. \(^1\)

Then we all went outside for the sacrifice to be made. This was conducted as in the above services, with the family sitting in a semi-circle at one end of the fire, the prophets dancing around them in an inner circle around the fire, and the rest of the congregation singing, clapping and drumming in an outer circle, with the church choir holding the candles.

After the sacrifice had been made, the dancing and hymn singing continued for about 45 minutes non-stop, during which prophets started to receive the Spirit. The B.U.C.Z. Moruti called upon them one at a time to reveal what they had "seen". One prophet revealed that his Spirit had shown him that there was no agreement in the house, but when he tried to ask why, he received no answer from his Spirit. He could "see" a black woman who limped when she walked. When he was dancing he could "see" lightning striking their home and destroying the house.

Next the B.U.C.Z. Moruti said that he had "seen" that at night there was something like a big baboon. He could "see" the mother of the home having trouble with her legs. If he "went" to their Lands, he could "see" a light-skinned woman who had cuts on the cheeks, \(^3\) and this woman was always sent by her parents to steal soil from their yard to bewitch them so that they would have trouble with their legs at their Lands. Their aim was to bewitch the family so that they would not get married. He could also "see" that they always had trouble with storms that struck their houses at the Lands and blew them down. He said that when he had arrived at that kgotla he had just had a vision of lightning striking in the kgotla. \(^4\) In Kanye, he could "see" that there was a woman who always came to visit them, she approached from the East. When they were sleeping they always heard strange noises. He could "see" pain in the shoulder of the mother of the home, moving down her arm, and into her stomach so that she felt sick and could not eat anything. In the future he could "see" that her arm would become paralysed

\(^1\) This power seems to be similar to that attributed to noga ya metsi (water snake).

\(^3\) Traditional doctors make cuts on a patient for a variety of ailments.

\(^4\) Two weeks after this service, a relative's house (from the same kgotla) was struck at the Lands and everything, including money, was totally destroyed.
because of boloi.

He could also "see" that often the family felt like sitting down together to discuss their problems, but when they sat down they found they had forgotten what they wanted to say. He could "see" that it was mostly the boys of the family who were affected in that home. They often felt they could not settle and were restless and wandered all over the place. When they were away they felt they would return home, but when they arrived they felt restless and did not want to do anything. The woman of the home agreed that this was so.

Next one of the sons was asked if this was true. He agreed it was, and asked the congregation to pray for him. The Moruti continued that two weeks before something had been buried outside the entrance to their home, and this would cause them to have problems with their legs in Kanye and at their Lands. He could "see" that if the sons were in love with a girl they would just leave their home and go to the girl's home. He again referred to the noise they always heard on their roof at night, when they looked for the source it looked like a cat.

He said that there was a woman who wore a black head-scarf who visited them. The woman of the house agreed to this. He warned them that that woman had a friend or child who was sent to bewitch those people with a cat. But when they tried to look for it, all they could see was a very small child who cried like a cat. The woman agreed that they indeed heard noises at night, that at first sounded like a cat and then like a person.

The Moruti could "see" that they could not sleep well at night and their blankets irritated them. They had a blanket of two colours and a piece of fringe had been cut off at one corner. In his Spirit he could "see" that someone had lost a pair of trousers. (One of the older sons replied that he often had missing clothes, and as it was only him who suffered like that he was worried.) The Moruti continued that often their cups went missing, and a friend of the woman with the black head-scarf had once borrowed their things for a party and not returned them. Then he asked if their primus stove was there.

Another prophet broke in. He revealed that he could prophesy cattle that "came" to their kraal, like bogadi cattle. One was red with red-tipped horns. A son then replied that all their bogadi cattle were hornless, but the Moruti replied that if it had grown horns that was what they would have been like. The Spirit showed him that this cow
was the one causing the problems in the home. This cow had been
given to them as Masori. He could see that they needed another
Setlhabelo at their Lands — of a sheep.

At this point another prophet interrupted. He prophesied that
younger brother. He could "see" that this young man had pains and
often felt like weeping and never wanted to stay at home. When he
had these troubles he felt tired and lazy. Sometimes his neck liga-
ments became so stiff he could not move his neck. The young man
replied he had not noticed this. The prophet continued that when this
started he had a headache first which would travel to his heart. He
felt blood in his nose and mouth. The young man agreed that the latter
was true and asked for prayers. They could see that other Zionists
where he worked in the South African mines were bewitching him.

The the B.U.C.Z. Moruti continued that he could "see" that a
daughter of the home was having problems with women who were always
hunting her. He could even "see" her being caused by these women,
who were baloi, to be hit by a lorry. These women were the ones
who were causing these problems for her. They were jealous of her because
of the man she was engaged to. Even her mother-in-law did not like her
now, although she had been one of the initiators of the engagement
originally. The young woman replied that she was not aware of this
but there had once been church members who had been accused of being
baloi and her enemies. She was not yet clear if the Moruti was referr-
ing to them. Originally they had wanted to be married by her fiancé,
then when they had discovered that she was engaged to him they had
wanted to harm her. The cause of this had been because her fiancé
had made their daughter pregnant and they had wanted him to marry her,
but he was already engaged to her, so they became very jealous of her
even though the fiancé had paid them 6 cattle in damages and supported
his child.

This same prophet could also "see" that an older son would take

*1 When a person starts to work he should give his Malome some money,
also if he finds anything he should give it to his Malome to please
the Badimo. If this is not done, the person is cursed. The Malome
in return gives something in exchange. This cow had been like this.
It had been given in exchange for a bull (Bulls and rams also belong
to Bo-Malome) and then when they are given to the Malome, the Malome
will give a cow or sheep in exchange. The gift to the Malome is
called Masori, and the reciprocal gift is called go tlhapisa Masori
(to'wash' Masori).

*3 3 days after this, she was returning from fetching water when a
parked lorry's brakes suddenly gave way and it came backwards on
top of her. She was taken to the hospital with severe bruising and
shock.
all his things during a family disagreement and go and live somewhere else. The son agreed that he had once thought of this. The prophet could "see" in his Spirit a girl who always came to that home. She was light-skinned and had small eyes and when she came she was always friendly. This girl came from the north (from uphill). This girl needed prayers because he could see that she was a church member but maybe she was sent as a moloi. When this girl came she liked to sit on a chair or on a bed. Then she called to the son and asked him to go with her.

He repeated that he could "see" lightning hitting a family in that kgotla and that the girl of the home would have an accident caused by the girl who had been made pregnant by her fiancé. They should beware of the woman with the black head-scarf whom they always helped but she was really trying to bewitch them.

Several hymns followed during which the sons of the family "got the Spirit" very strongly and had to be restrained by strong men. Then the daughter of the home started jumping high in the air and tearing off her head-scarf after we had all re-entered the house. Apparently this is common in a home that is heavily bewitched and is caused by the traditional boloi fighting with the Zionist's power.

As the Setlhabelo part of the service was now over, I left at this point. It was about 3.00 a.m. The service continued until sunrise as an ordinary church service.

In April 1979, the baby of a girl of the home was finally born despite the fact that she had been so bewitched. I saw her in June when she was still a Motsetsi, she was very fat and both she and the baby were wearing Zion cords on wrists, waists, ankles etc. The room was "heavily protected" by cords and bottles of Holy Water. Later that year in September, she was finally married to her fiancé.*1

*1 The light-skinned girl with the small eyes, came to live at their home, and had a child with the son, unfortunately she lost her next two babies. She was engaged to this son, she is the same girl mentioned who had been given Holy Water to help her find a husband. (See Volume 1, page 285).
Further examples of Prophecies made to individuals during Zion Services

The prophecies from these services present further evidence of the points made in Volume 1 (especially in Chapter 17,) that Zionists' belief offers a continuity with traditional belief. The following examples of prophecies show clearly a similar belief in baloi and boloi, whose activities are described in the same way - they have dithokolosi (familiars); they use the same methods to bewitch; sejeso (poison that the victim is caused to eat); and bewitching a victim through stolen property from which they use his sweat or bodily dirt to attack the victim's seriti.

A need for protections is "seen" by the prophets. Protections commonly consist of Holy Water, cords, articles of dress or special services. These are very comparable to traditional protections. Such Zion protections are against the same adverse circumstances for which traditional doctors prescribe - against accidents, crop failure, illness, lightning etc. Circumstances such as these indicate clearly the same this-worldly emphasis of Zion religion as traditional religion.

Zion prophets emphasize the same need for social harmony. Many of the prophecies below indicate that social disharmony, particularly between close relatives, is the cause of an individual's problems. The prophets emphasize the need to take care of parents, parents-in-law, and Badimo. Although a physical sickness of an individual or their child may originally cause the individual to seek a prophecy, the prophets commonly see this as only a symptom of a much wider social disharmony (typically within the family or kgotla) which is clearly comparable to the divinations of their traditional counterparts.

Prophecies during Easter Sunday Service at Episcopal, 1978

1. Prophecy given to sick baby

The mother had requested a prophecy for her sick baby. She and the baby were put in the centre and, after some hymns, the prophets revealed what Moya (the Spirit) had "shown" them.

First Prophet (a Moruti)

He could "see" that the baby should be healed at its home in the presence of its mother and grandmother. The Spirit "showed" him himself jumping over the lolwapa walls and prophesying that little child. He could "see" that the mother and grandmother were not on
good terms - he was unable to trace the source of this in his Spirit. He could "see" that another child in that family had died a long time before, this baby was worried by the Spirit of that dead child. He would like to hold a Ditapelo at the child's home, but he knew this could be difficult because the grandparents were not Zionists.

Second Prophet (a Moruti)

He could "see" that the baby's little hat and the Zion cords that had been tied around her wrists were missing. The baby would have terrible pains all along the vertebral column. The mother of the child was worried and the father had been given poison (sejeso). He could "see" the congregation singing hymns for the father, he was "shown" a dog coming out of the father's house. It was boloi in the form of a dog.

The child had been very ill ever since it was born. (At this point he broke off and pointed to the church roof saying he could "see" there were hairs - human, donkey's, or a horse's concealed in the thatch. These hairs had been wrapped together and smeared with boloi. After sunrise the congregation should look for this boloi as he could "see" this was a danger to the church which could be hit by lightning. At the moment this boloi was causing the church members to have uncontrollable spirit and keep falling down when they were dancing, because they were "held" by the boloi. He could "see" there were a lot of boloi in the church who were causing trouble for the church. One woman was the especial cause because she wanted to obtain a high position. He started a hymn "They hit a moloi".

2. Prophecy given to a male member

During further hymn singing another prophet received prophecy about one man they should pray for. He could "see" a headless chicken playing in front of that man. Also some people had a lonaka (medicine horn). He could "see" this lonaka being buried in the middle of a lolwapa, and afterwards the home catching on fire. He therefore asked the congregation to pray for this man so that he could be protected from this. (The man being prophesied could not understand this prophecy.) The prophet continued that he could "see" a kgotla case resulting from lightning. At this the man replied that at present they had been having a kgotla trial which was still unfinished. He had been in agony for a long time and was asking for prayers that he should be helped.
The prophet continued that he could even "see" that the man felt like leaving his home and moving from his kgotla. He could "see" he hated all his kgotla relatives. The man agreed to this. The prophet continued that that man was only still alive because he was a Zionist, if he had not been one he would have been destroyed by his enemies. He could "see" a big python being sent to destroy that man's home, but that snake was afraid to enter the yard because of the strong Zion protections. The congregation should pray for the man to be protected against the snake because if it could manage to enter, the yard would be destroyed by fire. The man agreed that about two weeks ago he had kept dreaming about a python coming to destroy his home. He had even been surprised the way it came, as each time it had tried to enter his yard it had failed. He asked the congregation to pray for him.

The prophet continued that that snake always failed to enter the yard because of the strength of the Holy Water. In his prophecy he could "see" someone stealing the soil in the graveyard, doctoring it, and bringing it to that man's home. This was to cause the family to have trouble with their legs.

Second prophet

Moya showed him that man would have pains in his stomach and his heart beat very fast because of fear. He had a pain in his shoulder. These were caused by high blood pressure and a bit of coronary thrombosis. The man replied that only some of these symptoms were correct. The prophet continued that when the family were at their Lands and Cattle-post they never had any trouble, just in Kanye, so much so that they felt like leaving Kanye altogether. The man agreed to this.
Prophecy given to the man before the Seed Service, held at B.U.C.Z.

The man was shortly to return to the mines and he requested a prophecy. He was placed in the middle of the dance circle, where he knelt beside the candle and the dancers led by the Moruti, danced around him. After a few hymns the Moruti started to prophesy. He could "see" that that man had trouble with his right leg which always had cramp; the man agreed. The prophet continued that the man had headaches, and heard a lot of noise. His heart would beat fast, his hair stand on end and he would feel dizzy; the man agreed. The prophecy continued that sometimes when he was at the mines he felt so frightened that he did not feel like going home; again the man agreed. The prophet could "see" that there was a cat which had eaten that man's feet, it was not a proper cat. The man's shoes had been stolen by baloi who had taken the dirt from the inside of his shoes. They had used this to bewitch him to be wasteful so that, even though he earned money in the mines, he would remain poor.

There was a certain Moruti, not a Motswana, who was blind in one eye. The man agreed he knew such a Moruti. Moya told the prophet that this Moruti was bewitching him to have trouble so that people would leave his congregation. The man agreed that they had left already. The prophet could "see" that some baloi had dug a pit at his home and buried some Zion cords that they had bewitched, therefore whenever he tried to dance, because of this baloi, he would fall. Moya showed the prophet that the people who had done this used baboons for transport.

The Evangelist's Prophecy.

He could "see" that the man had pain in his left side starting from his arm and running downwards. The man agreed.

A female Prophet's Prophecy

She "saw" that he perspired a lot and had stomach trouble - his intestines "made a pile" by his umbilical cord and a pile on top of his kidneys. His legs felt heavy and painful. He agreed that two days ago he had had such stomach trouble.

The Evangelist's Prophecy

Even when they danced around him, they "saw" from Moya that he was not happy and there was no agreement at his home. Whenever there was rain they were afraid they would be struck by lightning. These
problems are caused by a snake that they kept seeing at their Lands, in the stick fencing. This snake had been sent with lightning, by people who want to make them move from their Lands so that they can have them. The man agreed that this was the case.\(^1\)

The Evangelist continued that it was not only at their Lands where there was danger - there had been arguments over inherited cattle. He could "see" that every night they were frightened by the noise of a cat. There was an old woman who often visits them by day but they should be careful of the woman as she kept baboons and these baboons made the noise that frightened them at night.

**The Moruti's Prophecy**

He warned the man that in his kgotla there was a woman prophet who was a moloi. She sometimes wore a sack as part of her uniform.

She was the one who was bewitching him to remain poor. She had already tried to bewitch people in her church and went to different Baruti to ask for prophecy. She used the Holy Water they gave her and mixed it with protections she obtained from traditional doctors. She then used the mixture to bewitch people in her church and kgotla. The man agreed that there was such a woman.\(^2\)

The Moruti continued that there was a petticoat missing at their home, which had been stolen by baloi. The man replied that they had not yet noticed that. The Moruti said that the moloi had stolen this to bewitch the owner not to have any children. Whenever that woman at his home became pregnant she would have a miscarriage. The aim was to kill her.\(^3\) Lightning would trouble them at their home. But it was looking for one person, and if that person was not there it would go away. The man agreed to this, lightning had hit a tree at the corner of their Lands.

A light-skinned girl had visited their home that day. She was a member of another Zion Church; if she had been a member of B.U.C.Z. the Moruti would have beaten her, as she was the one who was always being sent to bewitch that man. He warned him that that girl had been sent with poison that was intended for a child at his home. The poison

\(^1\) In fact he was the only son left alive, his other brothers had all died, and other kgotla members who wanted to take the family's Lands were blamed.

\(^2\) This woman was a well-known moloi from his kgotla.

\(^3\) This woman had suffered various miscarriages and had lost infants, her most recent baby had died a few months before.
would make the child's stomach swell and, even if they tried to take the child to the hospital in Kanye or Ramotswa, it would be to no avail, the child would die.

This was the end of the man's prophecy for that day. The Moruti told him they would "see" how to help him. He continued about other things Moya had shown him — There was a man present who had been arrested, even handcuffed, and his case would go to the magistrate's court. At present that man was on leave from Johannesburg, where he worked. He had even made a girl pregnant there. He was able to speak many languages. This man was trying to conceal his problems but he (the Moruti) could "see" them, when he danced his legs felt as though they were being held by the man's handcuffs and he was unable to dance properly. At this point a man admitted that he was the person.

The Moruti revealed he could also "see" cattle that would be hit by lightning, one was black and white and the other was reddish. He felt he could cry because one girl member would have an accident the following morning; he could "see" a car overturning because she had been bewitched by another Zion girl with Holy Water. Another person who was present would soon become ill. *

Prophecies of Individuals at a Setlhabelo Service held by Kanana

1. Prophecy of one of the Prophets

After the sacrifice had been made and the service had returned inside the house, the prophets were still dancing around the family, who were seated on a bench in the centre of the dance circle. About ten hymns were sung — lasting about 45 minutes — and the atmosphere was very "charged". One of the prophets fell to the ground and the other prophets started beating him with their prophecy poles. They even started to hit the members of the congregation who were not dancing. An elderly senior prophet then revealed that, when they were dancing and the prophet had fallen to the ground he upset their prophecies because he had not repented all his sins at the beginning of the service. He started another hymn and the dancing recommenced, during this, several of the other prophets who had uncontrollable Spirit started to hit the man with their sticks; other Baruti tried to remove their prophecy poles to stop them hurting people. It took two strong

*1 This was about 2 days before I had hepatitis, but I was already feeling unwell.
men to force a prophecy pole out of the hands of one of the prophets who had uncontrollable spirit.

Later, when things had quietened, it was revealed that this had been caused because of the strong boloi that had been buried in that home to bewitch the occupants. It was fighting with Moya and the weaker prophets could not control it.

2. **Prophecy of a Man**

The man was called forward to be prophesied after the Bishop kept "catching him in his Spirit" while he (the Bishop) was dancing. The Bishop told him that he could "see" that that man always thought about going to the mines and would come to fetch his Holy Water to protect himself whilst he was in the mines, but then at the last moment, he would change his mind about going. The Bishop could "see" that in fact it was not safe for him to go to the mines, if he was to go he would return home dead. The first time he had gone for a mines contract his money had been bewitched. The Bishop asked him where he had been living before he went to work in the mines for that first time. He replied that he had been living with his Bo-Malome. The Bishop asked him to whom he had taken his money when he returned from the contract. He replied that he had taken it to his parents. The Bishop told the congregation to pray hard for that man, his Bo-Malome had not been pleased by this because they had wanted him to work for them. He started a hymn, after which another man was called to the centre.

3. **Prophecy of another man**

The Bishop told him that he could "see" that he was worried at his home, where there was trouble that might even end up at a kgotla trial. None of his family should go to Lobatse or they might have an accident. He "saw" a cord in his Spirit. The man should wear two mabitane cords (cords made of mixed colours), if he did not then later on he would have problems with his thigh, swollen legs, and a painful middle. He could "see" that his shoes had been stolen, someone had taken dirt from his feet from those shoes and bewitched him. He could "see" money that he had intended to give to someone else. A neighbour would come to ask him for money, it might be only P1, but he warned him not to lend any money to that person because they would bewitch it. In addition he could "see" him being hit by lightning whilst on an ox wagon or bicycle at the Lands. He had had a quarrel with a woman.
Even if the lightning did not hit him, it would hit the dam at his lands. There had been a woman who had come to ask for water at their dam, afterwards she had lied about him to his brother, and her aim was to cause trouble between the brothers. Ever since they had entered the church that night he had "seen" that that man would have trouble with his legs.

He could "see" that man's mother-in-law and a diviner, either a Morotse or Kalanga, not a Motswana. For a few nights before that service the man had been having bad dreams of people killing him. The man agreed this was the case and that when he had been young he had had trouble with his knees. The prophet continued that those problems would return to him during the ploughing season so that he would have to stop ploughing. He told the congregation that they should pray hard for that man, that he should not have so many problems with his in-laws, he was always generous to them but they were very greedy and wanted even more. The man should gather branches from a tree called mogabalobi* and strip off the bark; he should make fire with its wood, and heat water on this fire. Then he should take ashes from that fire and mix them with the water and wash his body. This would protect him from being struck by the lightning that his in-laws were trying to send to him.

Prophecies at a Sunday Service at B.U.C.Z. June 1979

The Moruti was dancing towards the end of the service when he stopped suddenly, and announced that he could "see" that there was someone in the church who wanted to be prophesied by being put in the centre. He started a hymn "I feel pity for the Son of God who was crucified" and during it a woman and child were put in the centre.

The Moruti told her that the child had cramp pains and had been mutilated on the shoulders by baloi and this would cause tlhowana. The woman agreed, but said that she had not yet noticed any mutilations. The prophet continued that he could "see" that relatives of that woman were unhappy and wanted to harm her, they would fight with each other and the case would end in the kgotla. A traditional doctor had been called, and would be called again. The child was ill because the family were quarrelling.

*1 This is a tree of which the bark is used for thatching. However it is never left debarked around homesteads, as in this state it is believed to attract lightning. If it must be stored like that, cow dung is smeared over the debarked branches.
He warned the woman that that traditional doctor's bongaka would harm her, as this was a trick by her enemies to trap her. He could "see" that she had pains in her back and right down her spine and suffered from cramps and pains in her stomach. He could "see" that her boyfriend had been to a different traditional doctor from her and this would harm her. She agreed that this might be the case. He could "see" the child's clothes often went missing and then would suddenly turn up. There was something like a big cat that was sent to collect these clothes. The child talks in its sleep, and if it was older it would tell them it had seen this creature and was very afraid of it.

The woman always felt sick, became hot, and her eyes felt heavy as if swollen. The cause of these problems was because her liver was swollen, and she felt as if something was crawling on her liver. These problems were caused because she had been given poison in her food - he could "see" that human flesh had been ground into her food. Moya "showed" him that she needed to wear a red head scarf with a white cross on it for protection. He started another hymn and the dancing around the woman continued.

At the end of the hymn the Moruti called another woman to the centre because she kept "disturbing his prophecy" to the first woman. He revealed that she was worried about her mother; the lady agreed. She kept disturbing him because at the beginning of the service she had not confessed this properly. The Moruti was very angry with her because this blocked the prophets from receiving Moya properly and they could be caused to fall down when they danced.

He continued that the woman had palpitations and was very worried; pains started from her nostrils. He was very angry because she had not revealed all her problems at the beginning of the service so that they could help her.

A young lady prophet who had received Moya concerning the Khosa called him to the centre. She told him she could "see" he had problems with his liver, his legs, and he suffered from a "running" stomach and nasal pains. The Khosa agreed to this, apart from the pains in his legs, he added that he had even been bitten on the hand by a dog. The prophet continued that he had clotted blood in the veins and arteries of his hand. These would cause pain to spread all over his body because his blood was not circulating properly. In addition he
had a severe headache at the back of his head. He should wear a short green cloak with a white cross on the back and a shirt collar. This would help him to overcome his problems.

In addition, she could "see" he had a bitter taste in his mouth, causing bad smelling breath. He should buy "colgate" (the name for all toothpaste). He had been given poison, human flesh mixed with human milk. This was staying in his stomach and causing him to belch as though he had eaten something sour, but the cause was the fermented human milk. He should be given Holy Water to make him vomit the poison.

A hymn followed and another prophet, the Moruti, continued that he felt like lifting one person onto his shoulders. He pointed to a certain woman member and told her he could "see" that she had painful legs and problems with her heart. The pain started at the collar bone and spread to her head and made her feel sick. She had problems with her stomach and always felt dizzy and tired. Blood rose up and caused pains from her waist to spread to her shoulders. She felt so dizzy that she might even fall. When he danced he could "see" her burning and tearing off her Zion clothes, and running away from her problems. When he asked Moya about this he was "told" that it was caused by her blood rising up from her legs to her waist and into her head causing her to become mad. Her Zion clothes were not right for her and were causing her problems. She should discard all her present Zion clothes and they would tell her what to wear after Moya had "showd" them. He started a hymn "Judas is a crook."

After this hymn, the Moruti addressed another woman. He could "see" she had problems with swollen legs which felt as if they had rheumatism, she had pains on the sides and arms, in the middle of the shoulders - stretching to the collar bone and ears. There had once been a time when she was told words by people who were dying, those words were still in her heart and were the cause of her problems. She owed something to someone. Her children would be caused to leave her alone. Those people who had died were not happy with her and when she thought of the way she had behaved in their lifetime she became unhappy. The words were like a death curse. Those people do not rest in peace.

The woman agreed to this. The Moruti continued that she needed to make a sacrifice - a Badimo feast. She replied that she had already done so but it had made no difference to her problems, which had
The Moruti told her he could "see" this, but it had not been done properly as the Baruti who had conducted it had argued over the organization. The woman agreed this had happened, and revealed that some Baruti had been so angry that they had not come to the sacrificial place. The Moruti added that the Baruti who had come had not been as "powerful" as the ones who had refused to come. Her family needed a lot of help or they would all disperse very soon, there was no agreement between her and her children. They had no proper protection as they were bewitched by people who were dead - Badimo. The woman agreed that when the people concerned had died they had asked for a Badimo feast, this had not been done and she felt that this was why they did not rest in peace.

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LIST OF CHURCHES MENTIONED IN THE STUDY (ZION)

Type 1
Zion Christian Church (Z.C.C.)
"Bird" Church
"Star" Church

Type 2
St John Zion Church
Lekgowa's Church
Apostle 12 -Pula Molentsa

Type 3
Kanana -formerly"God is Love"
Botswana United Church in Zion
Apostolic Africa Christ Church in Zion
Episcopal Apostolic Church in Zion of Africa
Bethlehem City of Christ Church in Zion
Holy Galilee
Head Mountain
St Faith Morning Star
New Jerusalem.
New Israel
An account of Methodology and Fieldwork has already been included in Volume 1, Chapter 3, in which reference was made to the use of interview schedules. In this appendix these schedules will be described in more detail.

Schedule 1 - administered to 66 church members

Like all the schedules used this was usually administered through an interpreter in my presence (later as I became more proficient in Setswana I was able to manage, if necessary, on my own). Following the translation of each question and answer in turn, I recorded the replies on the schedules, and requested additional information as necessary.

The first few questions helped to establish rapport so, that by the time question 10 was reached - Why did you choose this church? - the respondents would hopefully feel more confident and supply more qualitative information. On this point it should again be emphasized that respondents were not interviewed until after my interpreter and I had become a "familiar sight" at church services. The Baruti at each church, in introducing me, had formally announced my interest in the churches and my wish to interview members, whom they requested to co-operate.

The questions
1. Name of member.
2. Sex.
3. Place of Birth.
4. Age.
5. Education
6. Marital Status (Single, engaged, married, divorced, widowed).
7. Number of children.
8. Your church.
9. Year joined.
10. Why did you choose this church?
11. Who introduced you to this church? (Spouse, Fiancé(e), Mother, father, girlfriend, boyfriend, brother, sister, friend, other (specify)).
12. Were you a member of another church before this one?
b) which?
c) how long were you a member?
d) why did you leave?

13. Church membership of family where you live (for each household member the following information was filled in)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc.

14. Do most of your friends belong to a church?
   If so, which?

15. Type of Marriage of parents (Setswana, Church/Sekgoa, not applicable)

16. Type of your marriage ("""")

17. Do you hold any church positions?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>None</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>When held</th>
<th>How chosen for it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

etc.

18. Do you have the gift of preaching?
   If so, b) do you prepare before the service?
   c) have you been trained?
   d) if yes, details.

19. Are you able to prophesy?
   If so, b) where does your gift come from?

20. Have you yourself ever been prophesied?
   If yes, b) When?
   c) What for?

21. Does any member of your family have the gift of prophecy?
   If so b) their relationship(s) to you.

22. Are any of your living relatives traditional prophets, healers or doctors?
   If so b) what are they?
   c) their relationship(s) to you.

23. Your ancestors? (same details as for 22, b) and c)

24. Have you ever taken Holy Water?
   If so, b) When?
   c) What for?
   d) did it work?
25. Have you or your family ever had a special service?
   If so, b) When?
   c) What for?
   d) Who was it for?
   e) (if relevant) did it help?

26. Details of your uniform (None, standard church, details of any
    specially prophesized articles, including description and reason)

27. Do you wear any cords?
   If so, b) where?
   c) colour(s)
   d) What for?
   e) do they work?
   f) when taken?

The first nine questions are self-explanatory. The only one that
appeared to give any difficulty was No. 9 on marital status. It became
apparent that people were unwilling to state they were engaged. As
already mentioned in Volume 1, Chapter 8, engagements may last for
several years and are often kept secret. This is probably due to fear
of bewitchment. In Volume 2, Part 1, examples are given to show they
have some grounds for this.

After rapport had hopefully been established by these introductory
questions, question 10 - Why did you choose this church? - followed.
The intention of this question was to attempt to establish that these
Zion churches like other new religious movements and traditional
religions, but, unlike orthodox Christian churches and modern medical
facilities fulfill certain traditional needs. (see Volume 1 especially
Chapter 19 and 20).

The next question (question 11) attempted to find out if there
were certain significant relatives, friends etc. who commonly influence
an individual, especially in time of need. Question 12 on previous
church history (if any) was an attempt to find out if there were
indications that these churches attract previously non-church members
and so could be viewed as an intermediate stage to Christianity (claimed
by some researchers); or alternatively, may show they better fulfill
a need not fulfilled by orthodox Christian churches.

Information collected from question 13 on the church membership
of the respondent's household members aimed to show whether household
members tended to belong to different or to the same churches. It
also attempted to discover how many of the Zionist respondents had close family connections with migrant workers in South Africa. These answers were compared, where applicable, with those for question 11. Question 14 aimed to find out how far respondents were influenced by the church membership of their friends.

Questions 15 and 16 were a crude and largely unsuccessful attempt to measure how far families and respondents could be described as "traditionalist", and, if the family was, how far the respondent followed the lead of the family. These were inserted before I had fully understood Marriage (Volume 1, Chapter 8). The reasoning behind these questions was that more traditionalist families and respondents would tend towards Setswana rather than Sekgoa marriages. I had not then realized that a couple may at first be married by Setswana marriage due to unfinished parts of parents' (or grand-parents') marriages, and later, after these had been completed, be married by a Sekgoa marriage. (Such marriages are referred to in the Chapters on Marriage; I also suspect that some of these "repeat" marriages were also for pleasing Badimo, who are believed to favour the holding of a large feast). Therefore these questions were not a good measure of "traditionalism".

Question 17 is self-explanatory. Question 18, on the gift of preaching, was to verify the assertion that preaching in these churches is commonly inspired by Moya - Spirit - rather than as a result of systematic theological training more typical of orthodox Christian churches.

Questions concerning the gift of prophecy followed next. In Question 19 I was primarily trying to discover how far Badimo were important, as it is asserted by some writers that these churches often retain and give importance to Badimo, unlike orthodox Christian churches. Question 20 was an attempt to discover the extent of the use of prophecy. The next three questions (21, 22 and 23) aimed to find out the extent of a family relationship to prophets, and to find if there is any evidence to support the belief of some other writers that the gift of prophecy could be argued to be a "modernised" version of traditional practitioners and prophets (i.e. this could be asserted if Zion prophets are found to be related to living, and deceased, traditional practitioners).

Next followed the questions on Holy Water, special services, uniforms (including specially prophesied parts), and use of cords (questions 24, 25, 26 and 27). These questions were included to attempt
to discover the use of these, and also to see if the occasions on which they were utilized were comparable with those when traditional methods of protection and healing are often employed.

Although the number of my respondents interviewed may be relatively small and the sample cannot be described as random, I do feel that I was able to obtain useful qualitative information as respondents appeared surprisingly frank in describing their problems (often due to bewitchment) and remedies etc. The findings showed a similarity to what I observed in the various Zion services, mostly concerning individual case studies, that are referred to in Volume 1, Chapter 15 and described more fully in Volume 2, Part 2. This enabled me to give an account of Zion methods of protection and healing and make a comparison with traditional Bangwaketse methods in my thesis (presented in Volume 1).

Schedule 2 - administered to the church leaders (7 were interviewed)

**Questions**

1. Name of Moruti.
2. Place of birth.
3. Year of birth.
4. Marital Status (Single, engaged, married, divorced, widowed).
5. Number of children.
6. Occupation.
7. Name of church.
8. When did it start?
9. Where did it start?
10. Who started it?
11. How many members are there in Kanye?
12. Locations of other congregations.
13. Approx. total membership.
15. How are people chosen for the different positions?
16. What church groups do you have?
17. How often do you hold services?
18. What do you think makes people join your church?
19. When did you become a member of this church?
20. Did you belong to another church before?
   If so, which?
21. Why did you join your present church?
22. When did you become a Moruti?
23. Do you have special hymns to help call Moya?
   If so, which ones?
24. Descriptions of your church's uniform.
25. Does your church use cords?
   If so, descriptions and explanations.
26. Do you have cords?
   If so, descriptions and explanations.
27. Do you have the gift of prophecy?
   If so, where does the gift come from?
28. Relatives and Ancestors who are/were prophets - details.
29. Relatives and ancestors who are/were traditional doctors, prophets
    and practitioners - details.
30. Notes.

Most of these questions are self-explanatory. They aimed to
find out about the history of each church and about the leader's
personal history. Also I intended to obtain details of the church's
membership and branches, offices, services etc.

Schedule 3 - administered to church Secretaries (unfortunately I only
managed to interview the Secretaries of Bethlehem (2), Kanana and Africa).

This schedule included additional questions to those of Schedule
1 specifically for church secretaries. These questions were an attempt
to obtain further information on the individual churches so that that
collected from the church leaders could be cross-checked (e.g. on
membership numbers). This schedule was also to obtain specific
information on the duties of Secretaries.

Questions
1. How many church members are there?
2. About how many have been to school?
3. What do members have to pay to be members?
4. When did you become a Secretary?
5. Did you hold any other positions before?
   If so, b) Which ones?
   c) When?
6. When were you baptized?
7. What are the duties of a Secretary?

The main findings of all these schedules are outlined in Volume
1 in Part 3 especially in Chapters 11, 13, 14, 16, 17 and 18.