Writing women back *into* African history

An anthropological perspective on endogenous and exogenous factors of medicinal and female powers in Busiya chiefdom (Tanzania)

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Introduction

In the light of postcolonial anthropology, we strive towards building interpretive, culturally sensitive and contextualised narratives. However, in attempting to do this, we often come across older – mostly colonial – texts or histories that we perceive to be essentialising or Eurocentric in nature. Even though we must contend that these are misinterpretations or misunderstandings of culture, this does not mean that they have lost their entire purpose. These accounts are building blocks for academics today to readdress 'cultures' – by which I mean not groups of people but systems of beliefs and practices – and re-interpret them through new scopes. It is in looking at colonial histories on Tanzania that my interest was sparked. There was a lacuna present in academic writing on how women have claimed power and have paved ways for themselves throughout history. Claiming to be able to rewrite women *into* history, is quite an ambitious statement. Yet I must be bold because a radical shift towards looking at the presence of women in power is long overdue. For the purpose of this thesis, my research limits itself to the Busiya chiefdom in Tanzania (and its neighbouring chiefdom Mwadui will be mentioned as well). One might wonder why I am looking at the level of the chiefdom in attempting to address women, because the chiefdom has not exactly been underrepresented in publications over the past century. The goal is to steer away from implementing the usual Western storyline, or Western 'logic', when describing this (which would result in yet another publication about a chief and his land). I specifically want to devote attention to using a 'logic' (from *logos*, language) that is culturally relevant in order to avoid implementing my foreign conceptualisations on the 'other'. I do not mean for this research to establish itself in a vacuum as the idea of a local phenomenon – such as a chiefdom – existing in its own realm, is really a negligible concept. Because of this very reason, both culturally relevant power structures on a local scale and the global dimensions possibly influencing or co-existing with this will be researched. As these are combined into one study, a considerable amount of time will be spent in looking at shifts or changes on the level of the culture. Arguing why cultural changes have occurred, can be a risky endeavour. Hypotheses will be offered in the final chapter, but these have been construed in close relationship to the data I acquired in the field in order to attempt to avoid overgeneralisation.

I hope that this research can be a stepping stone in arguing for the power of women on a culturally relevant level and to rethink some of the (ungendered) statements that have been

made in the past. This is not done with the goal of giving the 'other' – in this case women of a different culture than that of the author – a voice, as this would be overtly ascribing agency to myself. But this is done with the goal of giving the 'other' who is already present in a diversified way in its own realm, the space in our academic fields that they deserve. The fact of underrepresentation is thus present at the level of academia, not at the level of 'reality'.

The research question for this thesis will be 'How can we write women back into African history? How can we address women in positions power in the Tanzanian chiefdom Busiya, with the use of an anthropological scope that focuses upon both endogenous and exogenous factors in order to undo cultural misunderstandings and, despite this assumption of different cultures, avoid falling into the trap of essentialism?'

Each chapter will be a piece of the puzzle and is accompanied by a subquestion:

1 Which actors have come onto the territory of Tanzania – that is a construct in itself – and how have they created a legacy, not merely in a political or administrative sense but also through interpreting others?

2 What are the main principles of the discourse that I will be using throughout this thesis and how can we as a discipline avoid cultural misunderstandings, such as the ones construed by the actors described in chapter one?

3 What does the concept of 'endogenous logic' entail and in which way is it useful for me to employ throughout this thesis in order to acknowledge the women who have previously been underrepresented in historical narratives?

4 Which are some of the exogenous elements that interplay and influence the endogenous logic when looking at a gendered differentiation?

5 What are the different positions in which women exercise power within the frame of the endogenous logic? How and why have these positions changed over time as a consequence of the influence of exogenous forces such as imperialism and globalisation?

The main theoretical framework is based upon notions from postcolonial anthropology and gender studies. This will be combined with a historical perspective in order to understand and accurately grasp cultural changes, misunderstandings or differences. 'Medicinal Rule' (Stroeken 2018) is the starting point for this thesis, but there are some main differences in approach. Because of the time constraint associated with a thesis, I was not able to conduct a comparative work including various chiefdoms and regions, in order to make assumptions about women on a larger scale, which stands in stark contrast with 'Medicinal Rule'. Above that, as has been discussed above, I wish to include both local and global dimensions in my analysis. In employing both perspectives, it will become clear throughout this work why this has been the most relevant choice for the topic of women and their positions.

Before moving on to an overview of the content of this work, some terms that will be used throughout must be clarified. First of all, I will be speaking of precolonial, colonial and postcolonial Tanzania. I have chosen this timeframe for the obvious reason of it being the most used way of addressing time periods in Africa – or moreover the Global South. Without doing injustice to the gravity of colonisation, I must contend that I find this timeframe to be an oversimplification of cultural occurrences. Employing it continues to facilitate a Western gaze, which I am attempting to avoid here as I want to steer away from cultural misunderstandings constructed through this very gaze. I have no choice but to use the timeframe because it is so widely accepted and embedded in literature, it would be impossible to ignore. Yet I express here that it does not completely align with my intentions as a researcher. Second of all, I will use the term 'Tanzania' throughout this entire work. Historically it would be more correct to speak of Tanganyika between 1922 to 1964 and Tanzania after that. However, on many arguments that will be made, I do not have specific historical information or clear dates and figures to know when to speak of Tanzania and when to speak of Tanganyika. In order to avoid confusion, I have opted to employ the name of the region that is currently accepted namely Tanzania, even if it is not historically correct at all times. Third of all, I will be mainly concerned with producing culturally sensitive historical accounts. The scope that will be used for comprehending the local scale is based upon the cultural structure. This is the logic behind the variety of frames, the hierarchy of priorities and roles in life based upon culture. A social system is different from this as this denotes a society and its social structure is the power relations and hierarchy of positions. Through the scope of the cultural system and its structure, I will address cultural misunderstandings that have been constructed in the past by academics and colonials on them. In trying to undo these misunderstandings and lay bare the cultural system present, I

will argue for cultural changes and shifts that have happened under influence of these same powers that have produced the misunderstandings. Finally, I will use terms such as 'chief', 'chiefdom' and 'tradition'. These are highly charged notions whose use has been avoided after the turn to postcolonial anthropology. I use these for lack of a better alternative, but employ them in a differentiated manner as I argue that all of these are fluid notions and not statically denoted categories. For this reason, I will use as many local words as I can. In the end, words and the act of writing down cultural – but in fact all kinds – of actions will make them static unrelated to which exact word we end up using. Thus, the local words which are put in cursive and explained in due time will serve us best, but no words we choose will ever be able to denote 'the reality'.

Regarding the structure of this work, I will start off by discussing the main methodological approaches and the pitfalls I experienced in conducting research. The first chapter will describe external actors and their impacts on Tanzanian soil, with the intent of describing the historical background of the region of study. I will not overtly focus upon the West and European colonisation but will address other forces of power as well. Cultural misunderstandings will be laid bare that have been construed by these external actors. The goal is to be critical from the starting point of this thesis, as I do not wish to argue for a purely historical account. The following chapter will elaborately discuss a general theoretical framework and lay the fundaments of a critical and postcolonial scope which argues for an anthropology that is interpretive and integrated. It will also become clear that an alternative is needed for a shift from purely historical narratives containing plenty misinterpretations of people's structure towards a more holistic approach that can capture both history and cultural sensitivity. Upon employing this, cultural commonalities – meaning a recognition of cultural elements being perceived over larger regions as groups are compared – can be discovered. These will be discussed in the third chapter. This overarching commonality is based upon notions of medicine and the chiefdom is seen as an offshoot of a pre-existing medicinal structure. I will critically assess this and look at the possibly essentialising nature of a cultural structure. Upon attempting to solve this, I will call for a differentiated vision upon these commonalities and argue for a minimised scope, such as for example a perspective on women. Chapter four will deal with the outside forces – of which the history is described in chapter one – and their impacts upon this differentiated culturally denoted structure in which women play the lead role. Some notions from gender studies will be introduced in order to appropriately address how Western gendered notions have been implemented upon others in the world through imperialism and capitalism. I

will argue for patriarchy as a universal phenomenon, but in an entirely more fluid way than it has been described in the past namely because it can co-exist with women in power. I thus address Western cultural influences upon a more local cultural structure and how these together interplay. The fifth and final chapter will be a case study on Busiya chiefdom in Tanzania that will bring together the elements of all previous chapters. I will attempt to uncover cultural misunderstandings in the area and undo these through employing the framework that I put forward in chapters two, three and four. Through the scope of an interpretive anthropology, I will look at both culturally salient and Western cultural notions in Busiya to address positions of women and the changes in these.

Western academics and colonials have silenced – within their own works, definitely not within reality – women in power in other cultures (and their own). As I now try to unravel this, I attempt to give attention to those whom had not been accurately given it in the past. I do not attempt to overemphasise the roles of women and create a distorted vision in a different direction. Previously women's roles were undertheorised because power was not seen by colonial ethnographers as medicinal and, thus the exact forms through which women had power went unnoticed. And above that, academics in the past had patriarchal conceptualisations of what it meant to have power. Male academics in power were looking for male leaders with power. Now as it is my goal to undo this and discover at least some patterns of female power that are culturally relevant, I am cautious of repeating the mistakes of the past. I am a female academic in power and I look for women in power, but I try to remain aware of the positions of men in this and the balance between the genders. I place this research within gender studies and not with women's studies, because I attempt to ascribe attention to both men and women. I will employ the scope of women more, but this is merely because it is about time someone explicitly stated the academic injustice that has been done to females and their positions by barely making notes on them or by describing them as per definition hierarchically lower than their men. The overt attention that is devoted to them is thus to undo cultural misunderstandings in the past and to rewrite them into history in a culturally appropriate manner.

Methodology

I employed anthropological methodologies in order to grasp in which ways women have been part of power structures within a Sukuma chiefdom. The historical accounts that have been written on Sukuma provided me with much background, but because of the Western frameworks used by the writers within these, both women and medicinal forms of power often fell between the cracks. Thus, going out into the field with an open-minded and ethnographic perspective with the goal of constructing meaningful arguments for this thesis, was not only an option, but a must. Serving as a kind of theoretical background to conducting research I employed the work 'Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers' within the field.

Between the period of July 2018 and the end of August 2018, I performed my fieldwork in Tanzania. During this time, I was mostly staying in the Shinyanga region near Busiya, the chiefdom around which most of my research revolves. I did travel to Mwanza and Dar es Salaam twice to gather more information that I could not get my hands on in Busiya itself. My main contact, through my supervisor, was Chief Makwaia II of Busiya. His grandson Nicholaus Luhende Makwaia helped me throughout my entire research in the field. He made connections with informants, translated during interviews and spent hours listening to me reason as I tried to make sense of the new data we gathered. Because of the contact that I had with Chief Makwaia II and his grandson, it was also easier for me to build further connections as people respect the royal family to a great extent.

The primary method I used in the field was in-depth interviews. The amount of interviews limited itself to 15. At the very start of my research, I was still trying to explore the content I was dealing with and conducted one interview with the guide of the Sukuma Museum/ Bujora Cultural Centre in Mwanza and three interviews with women from Busiya in an attempt to get a general idea on their frames and perceptions on life. As I got more and more familiar with the matter, I interviewed Ngojeyi, the historian of the Busiya court and related to the dynastic clan, over the phone (as he was residing in Dar es Salaam at the time) and held an interview with Nicholaus. On the basis of the information that was provided to me by Ngojeyi, I continued by doing interviews with the members of the *bachwezi*, *bakango* and *bagong'hogong'ho* of Busiya

– these are various groups of people that are all inherently part of the medicinal cult on which I will elaborate later on.

Appreciating just how valuable Ngojeyi's knowledge is, I decided to travel to Dar es Salaam with the sole purpose of getting to interview him over a longer period of time. Talking to him and gaining some fractions of his knowledge was a truly humbling experience. As a student who aspires to do research, to write and to spend her time in academic contexts, my 'knowledge' was completely undermined by the inherent wisdom of this man. He had grown up in a small village in Busiya and followed in the footsteps of his father, who was a historian as well. Adding to the knowledge passed onto him by his family, Ngojeyi gathered an enormous amount of information which was, until quite recently, only passed on through orality. As I sat with him in the living room of his brother's house in Dar es Salaam, he shared history with me as the BBC news station played on the TV in the background. He talked for hours on end for three whole days in a row. As we concluded our gatherings, I quite frankly felt overwhelmed by all this new information. Ngojeyi would refer to his writings which he left at his home in Busiya. He would tell me to come back to Tanzania when he would be living there again because he wanted to share so much more with me. My respect for Ngojeyi remains eternal as the historical information he possesses is of incredible value. I do not even feel entitled to state that I would want to record everything he knows in order for it not to be lost. That is not my position as a Western researcher with an external perspective because Ngojeyi's desire is to continue his historical writings in Swahili. He wants to be able to finish them all as it is his wish to leave a physical legacy of all the knowledge he acquired and his father had passed on to him. In returning back to Shinyanga, I concluded my research by interviewing the *bagong'hogong'ho* and *bachwezi* of Mwadui chiefdom, a neighbouring chiefdom of Busiya.

These were the main 'interviews' I conducted. (I refer the reader to the Annex for an exhaustive list of all interviews and informants) I planned these out on beforehand, prepared some hand-written questions or topics of discussion and conducted most of these in quite a formal 'sit-down' manner. Living in Shinyanga and trying to grasp the cultural structure at hand as a researcher – and frankly an outsider – I often noticed that besides these 'interviews', I had conversations with people which arose organically that were of great benefit to my understandings too. A conversation I had with Nhumbubanu Mahona that was entirely unplanned but dare I say 'enlightening' has been one of the most memorable moments of my time spent in Tanzania. Nicholaus and me drove for an hour by motorbikes to Nhobola village

in Busiya to interview the *bakango* (on whom I will elaborate in chapter five). As we arrived at the water pump – which is a place of pride and joy of many people in Busiya – we were greeted by one of the *bagong'hogong'ho* of the chiefdom. He was sitting on a small log in the shadow of a tree cutting sugar cane, that came straight from the field, into pieces that he could later sell. He started talking with Nicholaus in Swahili as he wanted to know what my research was about. I had been struggling to find clarity within my research the days prior to this as I was drowning in details and had been discouraged by interviews with people who were giving me the impression that I was looking for roles of women that were not as relevant as I had previously thought they were. Nhumbubanu explained to me how the praise songs he would sing at festivals or inaugurations would be written or constructed by him. In these songs he would honour different women – some of whom were traditional healers and leaders – that had been influential in the past. He reassured me that my research was not a shot in the dark, but that it was – at least to him – relevant to reality. His resentment to answer some of my questions regarding medicinal information that I am not supposed to acquire because I am not initiated in the cult, indicated for me just how sensible and involved he was. I valued our conversation a lot as I was reminded by him of the fact that everything relates back to medicine and the cult (which women are an inherent part of).

All of my interviews were conducted in English by myself as Nicholaus would translate into Swahili. If needed, we would use someone else to translate from Swahili to Sukuma as we could not find anyone that was fluent enough in English to understand me and then also fluent enough to translate my thoughts into clear Sukuma. This was not always very easy as it took a long time and created problems as things were lost in translation. Working with two translators is definitely not something I would recommend, but we had no other choice. My Swahili was good enough to understand the basics of what Nicholaus was saying. This was useful because that meant that I could sometimes redirect him if he was translating a question or a word in a different connotation than I intended. As Nicholaus translated the answers of the interviewees into English, I would immediately write all of this information down by hand in my notebooks. Later that same day I would type it out in order to make sure that everything was clear for future reference.

Apart from conducting interviews, I also used participant observation in order to familiarise myself with the cultural structure. The very first day of my stay in Tanzania I attended the 7SABA festival, which is an annual festival celebrating the end of the harvest season and the

start of a new one. I attended two days of 7SABA and felt like I was immediately submerged in a 'new world'. The days prior to the 7th of July are mainly intended for the dancers and performers to practice, rehearse and show their dances to the chief and the *bagong'hogong'ho* for a first time. After this, on the 7th of July, the dancers will perform officially for a large crowd and the chief will go around the premises with the *bagong'hogong'ho* and chiefs of neighbouring chiefdoms to address them and thank them for coming to the event. Besides this, the women would also show the audience their 'traditional' everyday practices (which was really quite performative as well) and the chief together with the *bagong'hogong'ho* performed various rituals which declared the start of the new harvest season. The 7SABA festival was not completely relevant for my research as it seemed especially interesting for a study of dance and the performative nature of culture but I would not have wanted to miss it for the world. It allowed me to become familiar with the region, to meet a lot of new people and form new connections, to get a first introduction into the concept of medicinal rule – which I was explicitly reminded of as a dancer was bitten by a python and a traditional healer jumped out of nowhere to treat the man's leg as the dancer pretended nothing had happened – and to become familiar with the power of the chief, the *bagong'hogong'ho*, the healers, the performers, government officials,… I became aware of how complex and intricate my subject of study would be, as there was not one clear frame of power, but multiple frames that would shift, overlap and change.

Besides 7SABA, I also ended up going to the Sukuma museum/ Bujora Cultural centre twice and spending 4 days in the Bujora archive in an attempt to find some written information or historical accounts on female figures of the past. Despite the cringe-inducing racist nature of many of the very old sources I found there, I also found some interviews with Chief Makwaia I – on whom I will focus later – that were very interesting to read. I found old slides that a researcher in Mwanza once took decades ago (unfortunately no dates or names were mentioned) of what I presumed to be the initiation of *bachwezi*. As I had gathered everyone around – Nicholaus, the guide of the museum and two other researchers who were at the archive – I came to realise that the slides I was holding up against the bright light of the sun were presumably not something we were allowed to be looking at as people that are not initiated into the *bachwezi* cult.

The last participant observation I undertook was the inauguration of Chief Balele on the 8th of August in the chiefdom Mwadui, a neighbouring chiefdom of Busiya. The initiation was

attended by chiefs all over the area and was mostly lead by the *bachwezi* of Busiya, the *bagong'hogong'ho* of Mwadui and the *bakango* of Busiya and Mwadui. I personally arrived there together with Nicholaus and Chief Makwaia II and we made our way to the ceremony that was about to start. I decided to sit in the audience, film some of the praise songs and watch, as I let Nicholaus in charge of my camera so he could make some close-up shots. I felt some of the older men and women who were in front of the audience were quite distracted (and possibly offended) by the presence of a white girl at such a culturally charged event and I decided it would be inappropriate for me to walk in front of the audience 'into the ceremony' with my camera. I felt like I was overstepping boundaries and remained at the side-lines. The ceremony lasted a few hours and at the end we got to hear a speech of the newly inaugurated chief Balele as the people of Mwadui greeted him. Again, describing this entire event would not be valuable for the arguments of this thesis, but in attending events such as these there were no moments at which I could doubt about the importance of medicinal rule and the inherent roles women play in this. In a sense, it was the best way to conclude my research because I was reassured that I was addressing something valuable. I saw women with great medicinal knowledge stand tall over a kneeling chief who was being inaugurated, blessing his head and palms with millet as they were praying and praising the ancestors. I was able to witness physical depictions of what I had been researching for weeks on end.

The language provided me with some obstacles along the way. As I only have basic knowledge of Swahili, I was not able to conduct any interviews just between me and an informant. As mentioned above, I always needed at least one translator by my side. If I would have had a more sufficient knowledge of the language, I could have perhaps had a better bond with some of my informants. Sometimes I felt that people could be quite ill at ease when their words would be translated to a stranger without them knowing the language it was being translated into. I could have avoided a lot of miscommunication and connotations being lost in translation if my Swahili would have sufficed. Adding to this, I was not the only person present who was perceived by others as an outsider. The only translators that were willing to help me were men. This possibly provided me with an obstacle as well. It is definite that certain topics would not be shared with me because I am not part of the cult and am not initiated into the knowledge. But the translators, being men, possibly made some women hesitant about sharing certain information with me. As women, I am pretty sure we have similar struggles transculturally, even though we might have culturally determined coping mechanisms. But these topics were probably not shared with me as the opposite sex was present as well.

Apart from that, I had some serious time constraints and essentially did this entire research in 5 weeks. I did not feel like there would ever come a time at which I felt 'done' with the research. The more I knew, the more questions I had, the less time I had. This was really frustrating but in the end, I feel like I could not have done more than I did. The final logistical restriction I had was my inexperience in fieldwork. As this was the first research that I have ever conducted, I often noticed that I missed things or it took me longer to figure out what was valuable and what was not. Every informant, every story and every interview offered me at least something during this entire process. But I feel like if I would have had more experience, which comes with longer bouts of fieldwork, I would have been able to tell earlier on what was entirely relevant for this thesis and move on from things that were not. However, in talking about topics that are not useful for this thesis, I did gain insights on how people perceive or experience their cultural structures.

The logistical restrictions are not the only problems that I encountered during this research. My own positionality as a researcher and an outsider provided me with obstacles along the way. My ethnicity, gender, age and social class were all elements that influenced the way others perceived me or treated me. Merely the colour of my skin would make people turn heads at events such as the inauguration of Chief Balele. I was treated as if I possessed my own personal social status juxtaposed to all others. During the inauguration, I was even handed the best bowl of meat by the female cooks whilst I was surrounded by highly important chiefs from all over the area. My skin colour changed the dynamics that would normally take place, inevitably 'distorting' or 'altering' the series of events. Of course there is no such thing as a static tradition or a 'normal' way of doing things because practices such as the inauguration are continuously adapted and performative in its nature. Apart from my race, I noticed that some people would be taken aback by the fact that I was only a 19-year-old woman. It was appreciated by some as they would admire the fact that I was travelling alone and was interested in everything they could tell me. Others had a difficult time with taking me serious. I felt like they found it hard to imagine just why they were telling me this valuable information if I was of the generation of their children or often even grandchildren and above that, a woman. Others were not bothered by my gender in a negative sense, but they saw it as something positive. There was one interview in which I was explicitly thanked by a female informant for focusing an entire research onto women and giving voice to her stories. She said that she had seen plenty of white researchers come to Busiya throughout her entire life and that she always felt frustrated that she

could not talk about her struggles as a woman and how life had changed for her through colonisation and the coming of Christianisation.

Thus, I am aware that some of the elements of my identity had serious impacts upon how others perceived me, how people behaved around me and probably also on what people were willing to share with me. Anthropology has, however, for a long time now stepped away from the idea that we need to document 'authentic' events or cultures through doing fieldwork. Therefore, I am being extremely cautious and avoiding the typical statement: 'my presence impacted the authentic narrative of events and consequently I have not documented the actual cultural structure'. My positionality as a white, 19-year-old female has undoubtedly had its impacts in due time and because I am inherently not part of the cultural group, that impact could have been great at some moments. However, I am adamant that the flexibility and shifting nature that is intrinsically part of cultural practices and structure are adaptive enough to deal with my positionality in its own ways.

What I described in the previous paragraphs were all perceptions of my identity by others that influenced the way we interacted or the way they viewed me during my time in Busiya. Apart from that, I also had my own identifications that influenced the way I experienced things. As someone who is viewed as an outsider by others and uninitiated into the cult, I found it very difficult sometimes to cope with the secretive nature of some of the informants. Certain things about medicinal rule or history I was not allowed to know, nor was I allowed to enter into the *itemelo*, the chief's initiation hut. As a researcher and someone who values herself for respecting others, I do not perceive myself to have crossed any boundaries and valued the information that I was given and was allowed to know thus my positionality remained a personal struggle.

My own cultural structures and morals that my thoughts are heavily imbedded in – and I probably would not be able to decipher even if I tried to – also influenced the way I interpreted experiences. It was essential for me to remain aware of my own position and constantly check with myself whether or not I was misinterpreting something for employing the wrong gaze. However, I am careful with romanticising the mental capacity of a single agent and also remain ever aware that my personal cultural and societal structures don't disappear into thin air merely because I state that I focus on my own positionality or gaze.

In starting a fieldwork, I always find that there lies a danger in doing this with a well thought out research question, plan or idea. I am adamantly convinced that if one goes out into the field with the intention to find something, one will find it. This of course would be highly problematic because merely finding what one came to look for is not a correct way of dealing with a cultural structure that is not one's own (yet avoiding talking of the 'other' in a homogenising fashion). I tried to be aware of this danger and not treat my thesis – which deals with gender studies as much as anthropology – as something that only addresses women. Even though I was cautious with this, I was reminded by multiple people like Ngojeyi and Nhumbubanu that the presence of women that has been undermined by others in the past, is not just a construct in my head, but is a reality in the cultural structures of the Sukuma. I would like to stress that here I talk of *a* reality and not *the* reality. In line with my previous statement about not trying to find something that one wants to find, I have to be mindful of other people as well who were not convinced that women are part of power. All opinions matter in doing research and thus also the ones that do not fall directly in line with what I am describing here.

Aside from my anthropological fieldwork, I employed an elaborate literature study in order to form the theoretical framework for this thesis. Most of my sources were found through searching in the library of the University of Ghent and using Google Scholar. In order to construct a background on the history of Tanzania and the knowledge on Sukuma, I read the most renowned works on these topics that I found in the library. It is in reading these that it became highly apparent to me that the lack of inclusion of women within these histories and the misinterpretation of the power and the roles of medicinal rulers was something that needed to be addressed. Secondly, I also focused on constructing an anthropological and postcolonial theoretical framework. This is not directly linked to the idea of bringing women into the picture, but was more so focused on concepts such as ethnocentrism, invention of tradition, invention of Africa, framing and the anthropologizing of history. Most of these concepts I became familiar with throughout my studies of anthropology, but others I came across by researching online. Thirdly, the final focus of my literature study was on gender. Again, I had become aware of some of these theories through doing classes on gender and then searched for these specific gender theories in order to apply these within my thesis.

As mentioned above, I spent 4 days in the Bujora archive of the Bujora Cultural Centre in Mwanza in the hopes of finding information written on women, their positions in the cultural structure or even just quantitative data on women. Even though I found a few little gems of

knowledge that drew me in for hours as I sat there reading, yet I could not find any real valuable details on women. Some missionaries and previous colonial researchers managed to write entire books on the Sukuma or the Nyamwezi – a group closely related to the Sukuma – without mentioning women within any context of power, medicine, authority or healing. The only contexts in which they were mentioned or analysed were through the concepts of marriage, family life and cooking. Even though it had been my hope to find employable information for this thesis within the Bujora archive, the purpose and need for this research became apparent yet again as what I am researching had not been attended to by others and is, thus, a hiatus within the writings on Sukuma.

Chapter 1. External actors and their impacts on Tanzanian soil

The first chapter of this thesis will address the history of Tanzania and the presence of external influences[1] between the 17th and 20th century as I will focus upon 'Which actors have come onto the territory of Tanzania – that is a construct in itself – and how have they created a legacy, not merely in a political or administrative sense but also through interpreting others?'. This will be a relatively short historical account and does not mean to serve as an exhaustive timeline of the country's evolvements (using this word with caution and not in a linear sense). I will mainly focus on the political structures and 'power' as it is intended to provide enough framework for the reader to understand the claims that will be made later on about the subject of 'exogenous influences'. Above that, this chapter does not merely serve as an introduction, but it is meant to set the critical tone that will be carried on throughout the entirety of this work. I will dedicate attention to specific examples of cultural misunderstanding when there occur clear conflicts between the Western frame of perception and the local frame. Thus, I will highlight certain cases that are of particular relevance within this historical account. Whilst it is my intent to describe this history without doing injustice to the complexity and diversity of such a vastly large area, I am still conscious of the fact that "groups and identities had remained so amorphous that to write of them is to oversimplify them" (Iliffe 1979: 318).

I am quick to state that I am aware of the danger inherent in beginning this work by discussing the impact that external actors have had in coming into Tanzania. I risk representing 'Tanzanian people' as credulous or as not possessing any agency by seemingly ascribing more importance to the actions of the European states than to the actions of 'the people' themselves. I have chosen to pay exhaustive attention to Sukuma in further chapters but I do need to acknowledge some historical events and the extent to which some European forces were present and transformative – within certain frames of society – in order to provide the correct contextualisation for my final arguments.

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[1] The term 'external influences' is referring to European, Arab and African peoples or institutions settling or performing economic, political, religious or cultural influence within the borders of Tanzanian territory. This concept rightfully encompasses all of the groups and people that have been influential within the borders of Tanzania without ascribing an overtly amount of importance to the European or colonial presence.

The last disclaimer I want to make before diving into the history of Tanzania is that the 'power' that I will speak of throughout this chapter, is the Western conceptualisation of the term. I will here discuss power in the sense of politics, chiefs and economic prosperity. I speak of chiefs in the administrational sense, not the medicinal sense, as in leaders of cults carrying a title with the local term for chief (*ntemi*). The distinctions with Western notions of power, raising the issue of the inherent meaning of local power, such as 'medicinal rule', will be attended to at a later time. But in writing this chapter I have had to make do with the historical sources that I had access to, which all focused and described power relations in Tanzania within Western political frameworks.

1. Tanzania prior to foreign control

Before any external influences from overseas took place, Tanzania had long been an area of migration where many different groups of people would drift and settle within the borders of the territory. One strand were Bantu-speaking people, who eventually took the upper hand and absorbed many other social groups into theirs (Iliffe 1979: 7-8; Sutton 1969: 1). These social groups and their identities were formed in diverse ways and not merely in what some would perceive to be 'tribes' (Iliffe 1979: 9). Their political units ranged from a form of statelessness in sparsely populated areas – although these people did have their own kinds of rationale and organisation – to so-called 'chiefdoms' administered by appointed officers (however the extent of their power was limited and their authority grew weaker with distance from the capital). These forms of political organisation are in no way indications of levels of development or advancement. They all had their own functions, adapted to different circumstances and social settings (Iliffe 1979: 21-25; Sutton 1969: 1). In the 18th century, these social groups would come into contact more and more through trade and outside forces – as we will see later – and this instigated dynamic and autochthonous change (Iliffe 1979: 25). It is thus a misconception to think of European or Western outside forces as being the instigators of change and the pivotal moments in Tanzanian history. The complexity of Tanzanian social organisation was inherent in its multiplicity of forms, and its people were no strangers to shifts of power, adaptation and diversification.

2. *Early Arab traders*

The Arabs settled on Tanzanian territory as early as the 10th century. They started by settling on the island of Zanzibar, but progressed onto the coast and eventually reached the interior (Alpers 1969: 36). Between the 12th and the 18th century Arab traders were highly present and were scattered along the coast in the form of towns due to the region's commercial importance (Iliffe 1979: 35; Ingham 1962: 4). It is quite unclear, however, what the exact moment of prosperity of this trade was. Sources emphasise different periods in time as the pivotal moments of trade between the Arabs and Tanzanians. This is not highly relevant here, which is why I will not describe it in detail, but the foremost idea to take away from this is that Arab trade was present since the 12th century and was transformative mainly for coastal identity (Alpers 1969: 35-46; Coupland 1938: 19-30; Hatch 1972: 40-42).

3. *Portuguese interests*

In 1498, Vasco Da Gama found his way to the East African ports that had been established hundreds of years ago by the Arab traders. He recognised the flourishing of the East African coastal trade and even managed to find a route to India that avoided the Arabs. The Portuguese interest in the area was sparked as they hoped to establish some kind of commercial power there to produce income for the Portuguese crown (Alpers 1969: 35; Hatch 1972: 40-41; Iliffe 1979: 40). In 1502, Vasco Da Gama concluded a treaty with the Sultan at a coastal port. In 1509, he managed to acquire treaties with all Arab colonies on the coast as he was only looking to gain economically – the Portuguese were not attempting to settle there and made no efforts to establish a systematic form of 'government' along the coast or progressing into the interior (Coupland 1938: 44-47; Hatch 1972: 44; Ingham 1962: 9). The Portuguese power was very weak at times, although they did manage to overtake the Arab position as middle men in the trade until their maritime power was challenged by the British, French, Dutch and the Arabs in the 1650s (Coupland 1938: 49; Hatch 1972: 42; Ingham 1962: 16).

4. *Slave trade under the French*

In contrast to the Portuguese, who were mostly interested in gold, ivory and other goods in East Africa, the French traders who arrived on the coast were directing all their efforts towards the slave trade, with the intention of securing a steady supply of labour for their plantation economy

(Alpers 1970: 82). The slave trade had been active for centuries as a small-scale export to Indian and Arab markets. But it became a large-scale economic enterprise when the power of France expanded to the Indian Ocean in the 18th century. France, in an alliance with the Arabs, exported slaves to French islands and Arab countries until the early years of the 19th century (Hatch 1972: 49). The French slave traders would operate at ports that were actually controlled by Portuguese powers which was exceptional seeing that European powers mostly excluded traders of other Western nations from trading at their posts, but this is indicative of how weak the Portuguese powers had become at that moment (Alpers 1970: 83).

5. *The Arabs take over trade*

The weak Portuguese power, which was intermixed with French slave trade, was overruled by the dominance of Omani traders in the 18th century (Coupland 1938: 69; Hatch 1972: 47). Sayyid Said – a powerful Omani sultan – took a hold of Zanzibar island in 1806 and continued his conquest in 1840 by taking control of the Tanzanian coast in alliance with the British consulate. Under Said's policies, the once-small slave trade flourished. The trade was prosperous not only on the Tanzanian coast, but also in the hinterland. Coastal caravans were financed by the Arabs and were used for trading in ivory, which ended up being a very profitable and popular business (Iliffe 1979: 44-47). Even the slave trade – which had already taken on new levels under influence of the French – continued to boom under Said's policies (Hatch 1972: 50-53; Ingham 1962: 19). Sayyid Said eventually died in 1856. His successor was not able to uphold his strong economic powers and the British managed to overrule the new sultan as they convinced him to abolish the slave trade (Hatch 1972: 62-64).

6. *Shifts in politics*

Some authors argued that the long-distance trade and commercial motives – providing new weaponry and external influences – encouraged large scale political organisation in certain cases. Traders needed protection and stability and the people that were once easily captured as slaves in small villages were now organising themselves in larger towns (Iliffe 1979: 52; Hatch 1972: 60; Roberts 1969: 57, 84). Military and economic power became alternatives to ritual power as the basis of leadership whilst kinship and personal achievement became interconnected means to acquire power in a centralised organisation (Iliffe 1979: 53; Roberts 1969: 58). Not only patterns of settlement changed, but also identity formation shifted as people

were needed for transport or slave trade and social groups thus became more distinct as cultures started to mingle in response to the aforementioned socio-political change (Iliffe 1979: 67-77).

Roberts puts this argument on political organisation in perspective and argues that "[p]erhaps inevitably, too much attention has been paid to the more powerful rulers at the expense of peoples, […], who were less involved in the main currents of the period" (Roberts 1969: 83). Thus, he acknowledges that this idea of large scale political organisation as a consequence of economic shifts was most likely an exaggeration and a distorted view on the reality of Tanzanian settlements at the time, as there was a tendency to only focus on the leaders who were involved in the trade and fit within the frames of the Western gaze. However, he attributes the exaggerated amount of attention on powerful rulers to the fact that the other forms of rule were 'less involved'. Yet, this is not a case of involvement but a lack of visibility. These kinds of social organisations – that fell outside of the scope of the Western gaze – received insufficient attention and were made invisible through that. They were 'less involved' in the Western frame of experience, but that does not say anything about how present they in fact were.

The past paragraph has provided us with a perfect example of cultural misunderstanding. As the West became more and more involved in the area, they would desperately grasp onto elements of the culture of 'the other' that they could to certain levels identify with. In an attempt to understand a society that was foreign to them prior, they had to find something that could function as a starting point. In this example, formal forms of power such as 'chiefs' and centralisation were given more attention as it was way easier to identify with this than with other forms like the 'initiatory association'. Thus, an initial overemphasis on one specific political organisation turned into a cultural misunderstanding in which alternative forms of power were seen as less involved or relevant, inherently silencing or making these less visible.

Coupland argues that the Arab traders did have transformative effects on identities and group formations – mainly around the coast – but that their influence was far less radical than that of the Europeans because their motive was mostly to increase economic benefits (Coupland 1938: 19-30). The Arabs saw trade as their main concern and left the people to live their lives. Because Muslims believes in the existence of a sole God, there was no need for conversion and their influence was thus less radical than Christianity. However, we should of course not downplay the impact of centuries of intense trade as ideas of unity were put forward and Tanzania was now positioned within large political and commercial networks (Hatch 1972: 36). The period

of Arab trade was a long one and as research into the mainland of Tanzania has shown us, the impact of the Arabs in regards of religion, language and coastal identity was significant. Villagers would become Muslim, not necessarily out of pressurised conversion, but more so because it gave them a better chance at relationships with the Muslim townspeople (Becker 2008: 2-8).

7. Missionary activity and explorers

Apart from actors driven by economic interests, other players arrived onto the territory. In the 1860s, Christian missionaries were attempting to convert Tanzanians. Their success was very limited as they only managed to convert freed slaves – who were without family or state – and those of societies whose old order had collapsed. Others who had found new alternatives or responses to the economic shifts, were not interested in the missionary activity (Iliffe 1979: 84-85; Welbourn 1976: 383-384). The main problem of the missions was that they were inherently attached to Western frameworks and policies, which did not coincide with the African values (Welbourn 1976: 394-396). Christian conceptions of marriage and family were based upon the notion of monogamy, whilst polygyny was a common custom accepted by most Tanzanians. Converting to Christianity meant abandoning or changing (at least some of) one's own customs and adopting Western concepts – which for many was an undesired shift (Welbourn 1976: 406).

That much has been written on the influence of Christianity and missionaries on the African continent, is no secret. Again, this plays into my narrative on cultural misunderstandings. As the West tried to dig their claws into the continent, there has been an overtly amount of attention dedicated to the importance of Christianity and religion. Medicinal knowledge and beliefs were seen as peripheral (together with anything that concerned the cult as it was seen as secretive). Thus, the story of the Christian religion was reiterated over and over again as the stories of 'other' beliefs and frameworks were pushed more and more into the shadows.

Not only missionaries roamed the continent, but East Africa attracted adventurers in the 1870's from several European nations. They were tolerated by the Tanzanians and Arabs because they did not really interfere with trade. However, these individuals, who seemed quite unimportant at the time, were the precursors of rapidly approaching European imperial powers (Hatch 1972: 67).

8. German colonisation

Many Germans – explorers, geographers, missionaries and traders – set foot on Tanzanian territory for individualistic interests. However, this changed in 1884 as Karl Peters started the 'Society for German Colonisation' with the intent of negotiating as many treaties with local Tanzanian leaders as possible. He was hoping to persuade the German government to annex the area (Flint 1963: 369; Gwassa 1969: 97; Hatch 1972: 74; Ingham 1962: 133). Otto von Bismarck, the chancellor of Germany at the time, decided to impose an imperial charter on the Tanzanian territory in 1885 (Gwassa 1969: 90; Hatch 1972: 73; Iliffe 1979: 88-91). This was a strange decision, as von Bismarck had been against acquiring oversea territories for 20 years. He had a sudden change of heart because he needed to protect German commercial interests in times of increasing European competition and threats (Gwassa 1969: 99; Hatch 1972: 71; Henderson 1965: 123). Until 1887, the Germans were mainly concerned with establishing treaties with Tanzanians. The treaties were signed by local leaders; however these leaders often did not understand what they were signing as the treaties were in German (Freeman-Grenville 1963: 434).

These treaties provide us with interesting insights into the way the German colonisers viewed the Tanzanian population and region. A treaty with Mangungo, sultan of Msovero in Msagara, which was translated from German to English, is construed of barely an entire page of text and the essence comes down to the following:

> "Mangungo simultaneously for all his people […] offers all his territory with all its civil appurtenances to Dr. Karl Peters" in return "Dr. Karl Peters in the name of the Society undertakes to give special attention to Msovero when colonizing Usagara" (Gwassa 1969: 99).

None of the people who signed these treaties were sultans in the sense that was proposed by Peters. It was assumed that a 'sultan' had 'his people', 'his territory' and 'his civil appurtenances'. However, Mangungo did not have – nor did any of the other sultans – a clear cut geographical territory with a certain type or amount of population in it. Land was not treated as a property and land possession was not vested by rulers. How could it be ceded then by the Germans if it was not owned in the first place (Freeman-Grenville 1963: 436)? The only thing that the sultan would receive in return for handing everything over to the Germans would be

'special attention' by Karl Peters, which is an extremely vague statement that encompasses basically nothing.

Further, "the treaty has been communicated to the Sultan Mangungo by the interpreter Ramzan in a clear manner" (Gwassa 1969: 99). Kimambo explains that the Sultan definitely could not read the treaty himself because he did not speak German. The interpreter that should have communicated it 'clearly' from German was employed by Karl Peters himself and had to follow his instructions. The likelihood of the treaty being translated in a literal way – or translated at all, as it was often the case that the interpreter could not read or write at all – was thus quite unlikely (Gwassa 1969: 100). Freeman-Grenville goes further in this and says that even if the African signatories had been literate – in which the problem of translation would no longer be relevant – the concept of a 'treaty' was virtually unknown in this area and an understanding of the language would not have meant that they understood the concept that they were signing up for (Freeman-Grenville 1963: 436).

The treaties were uttermost bogus as they were construed upon complete historical and cultural misunderstanding. The Western conceptualisation of a 'leader with a people and a land' did not coincide at all with the local frame in which the concepts of power are way more interwoven and decentralised. These treaties were a conflict of frames as the meaning of the written words – Western frame – were inherently disconnected from reality – local frame.

During the first years of its colonisation, Tanzania was governed by the German East African Company, created by Peters in 1887. The German government took over the country in 1891. A governor would lead the country and decide on laws, chancellor instructions and defence forces. He ruled 22 *boma* (administrative districts). Each *boma* had their own district officer who collected taxes from the cooperating chiefs or *akidas*, ensured justice and appointed and dismissed local chiefs (Gwassa 1969: 101-103; Hatch 1972: 77; Henderson 1965: 134; Iliffe 1979: 118;). In order for this system to work, Germany had to expand its authority over small-scale societies and build working relationships with local leaders. The Germans searched for a singular 'chief', as they relied upon them to act as a linking agent between the Europeans and the Africans. But if they did not find any chiefs – because other forms of organisation and social structures were present – they would have to appoint them. In other cases where there were large amounts of small social entities, the Germans unified clans under a headman or *jumbes* of their choice (Iliffe 1979: 117; Raum 1965: 163). But "the men selected were usually from

another area, were frequently Muslims without sympathy for local tradition, and often used their authority for personal extortion" (Hatch 1972: 78). This became problematic, as the *akidas* did not have a lot of knowledge but were granted a lot of power by the Germans (Ingham 1962: 203). Appointing chiefs and consolidating their authority in an area they themselves had little knowledge of was a difficult process, but above that, the 'chiefs' – or more likely local rulers – that were present would have to confiscate land and recruit forced labour in which the loyalty bond they had with their people was disturbed (Feierman 1990: 124).

Raum argues that the disruption of the German colonisation consisted out of the implementation of a triangular formation, in which the government became a third power in the previously bipolar structure between subjects and chiefs (Raum 1965: 179). The author rightfully notes that the dimension of the 'government' was an additional intersection in Tanzanian social organisation that had not been there prior. However, I would argue that this statement is an inherent oversimplification of realities. The merely historical perspective that the Germans then employed in assessing that the previous societies were 'bipolar' does not grasp the cultural structures at work. Rather, I would like to state that there is most likely no single society that has this absolute meagre distinction between subject and leader as Raum argued that the Tanzanians did. In the case of Sukuma, the chief (leader) must be initiated into the medicinal knowledge of the cult (subjects) that is often maintained by spirits. Thus, the chief and subject are bound together through other positions within society such as the spirits. By stating that the structure is bipolar we skim over an entirely complex structure with an oversimplified scope. Again, this is an example of a cultural misunderstanding because the author Raum did not nearly grasp the local frames at work. Above that, the implementation of the government as a so called 'third power' – which we now know is incorrect – is not a case of formation of a new structure as uttered by Raum but in fact it is an alternative way in which the society is framed by others. I will only attend to the topic of 'medicinal rule' later in this thesis but it is worth mentioning here that these historical narratives are not neutral or objective in any sense – even if they give us the feeling that they are – but are as much of a subjective perspective or angle of approach on a society as anthropology is.

9. Resistance and war

By 1898, the Tanzanians had been organising themselves in resistance movements against German control for almost a decade (Freeman-Grenville 1963: 434; Gwassa 1969: 104). This

eventually escalated into the Maji Maji rebellion which lasted from 1905 until 1907. The rebellion was the culminated result of Tanzanian hatred and frustration regarding European rule and the final attempt to destroy the colonial order. The warriors who led the Maji Maji rebellion instrumented their various traditional methods into one single dynamic movement. They employed the medicinal concept of 'maji' – which would make them immune against European bullets – in order to go to war against highly militarised Germans (Gwassa 1969: 116; Hatch 1972: 81; Iliffe 1979: 168-170; Ingham 1962: 179).

After the Maji Maji rebellion in 1907, the governor Rechenberg made an attempt at reforming the colonial policies. The social position of the Tanzanians was very important to him and he wanted to give them more opportunities to grow in ways they wanted. He reorganised the economy, focused on export goods, organised native health systems and education, implemented plantations and acquired labourers. However, it was largely ineffective; Rechenberg's reform policies were successful, but nowhere near profitable enough (Henderson 1965: 147).

The reign of Rechenberg was the period bridging the Maji Maji rebellion and the First World War. The main plan for the First World War was to use Africa as a battlefield to take attention away from Europe and thus East Africa became a battlefront during the war. The British and Belgians would make attacks on German territory near the Kilimanjaro and as the British attempted to defeat the Germans, many things changed. In order to win the war, Germany had to tighten control over its subjects and increase its economic demands. But the war did not just change the economy, it also created consciousness. The people who were taken to Europe or who fought within the borders of Tanzania as defending one of the European powers, became aware of politics and realised that the average European soldier was just a common man like themselves. The myth of the European superiority had begun to crumble, in the first visible decline of imperialism (Hatch 1972: 82-83; Henderson 1965: 155; Iliffe 1979: 240-241; Ingham 1962: 253).

10. British colonisation

During the first World War, the British and the Belgians had repeatedly attacked German East Africa until they managed to defeat all German forces in 1916. With the implementation of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, the territory became mandated by the League of Nations and was

placed under the control of the allied states. German East Africa was awarded to Britain in its entirety (Hatch 1972: 85; Iliffe 1979: 241; Ingham 1965a: 543, 547). Sir Horace Archer Byatt became the first governor of the British administration. His aims were not directed towards making ground breaking policy changes. Byatt remained ever calm in his actions as he wanted to let the country recover from all the years of war and to rebuild the economy (Ingham 1962: 270; Ingham 1965a: 547). Up until 1925, the German administration had remained in place as Byatt did not want to make big moves. There were 22 district officers present who used chiefs as agents to collect taxes and would report back to the main secretariat in Dar es Salaam. However, the secretariat had become completely overburdened by 1924 and pleaded for decentralisation through the creation of provinces. There was a desperate need for change in policy (Hatch 1972: 88; Iliffe 1979: 318-319).

Byatt's successor was Sir Donald Cameron. He became the new governor of the mandated area in 1925. He had previously been the secretary of Lugard in Nigeria and was heavily inspired by Lugard's ideas on 'indirect rule'. He denied that his motivation for coming to Tanzania was to plead for the adoption of policies he had implemented in Nigeria, but in reality this was indeed his plan of action. He wanted to build upon the African forms of political organisation and adapt custom law instead of implementing alien systems. This tied into his idea that the natives had to be developed but should not be Westernised as this would lead to the British losing control over them (Hatch 1972: 87; Iliffe 1979: 318-320; Ingham 1962: 299; Ingham 1965a: 572).

The motivations behind this choice were multiple. The foremost reason was the administrative efficiency of the policy. Indirect rule meant that there was an integration of the indigenous systems into the colonial system so there would be 'one single' government. The 22 districts were reduced to 8 new provinces in order to decentralise the power, as native governments were established in each province with their own legislation, court, treasury and authority – such as a chief or council. Chiefs would now be paid by the local native administration or government and no longer by the taxes of their own people. This incorporated local leaders into the larger web of indirect rule and adaptation (Hatch 1972: 88; Iliffe 1979: 318-319; Ingham 1962: 299). The second motivation was the scepticism of assimilating a non-European culture into a European one. Cameron was determined to 'preserve' the 'authentic' African culture and political organisation so it would not die out (Hatch 1972: 90; Iliffe 1979: 321). The final reason was that indirect rule was out of self-interest. The areas of limited African self-government

would create the ideal training ground for future African political participation without having to immediately include them in the European sphere of influence. It was a safe environment for the 'development' of the African population, without having to give them any actual powers (Iliffe 1979: 318-321).

The concept of indirect rule had radical impacts as it was based upon complete historical misunderstandings as explained by Iliffe: "the British wrongly believed that Tanganyikans belonged to tribes; Tanganyikans created tribes to function within the colonial framework" (Iliffe 1979: 318). The perception of the British on historical realities was that each tribe was a unit, led by one chief with one language, one social system and one customary law. They believed that the Africans were part of a tribe in the same way as Europeans were part of a nation (Hatch 1972: 85; Ingham 1962: 299). The indirect rule policy turned into a fiasco under the British. The officers argued that "the Germans had sought 'to crush the existing social system by methods of violence and completely destroy the power of the chiefs', appointing alien *akidas*" (Iliffe 1979: 322). They were convinced that the sole political organisation of pre-colonial Tanzania consisted of numerous individual tribes co-existing amongst each other.

The British considered the 'tribes' to be living together on a social level but not sharing any mutual elements amongst them. Because the 'tribe' was regarded as being a fixed and homogenous entity – as explained above – it was not expected for different peoples to have any kind of connection beyond social co-existing. However, what the British failed to notice through their perception on the 'tribes' is that there was in fact a shared cultural frame. The concept of medicinal rule was an encompassing structure that reached across societal organisations. There was not one clear centralised institution that would distribute the knowledge and keep the system in place, which is probably why it was not recognised by the Western frameworks (who were set on finding centralised forms of power). But there were different networks of knowledge distribution that intertwined and formed a cultural structure all together. Thus, the co-existing of 'tribes' was a social matter, but not a cultural matter as they belonged under the same culturally bounded structure.

This fundamental misconception of individual 'tribes' socially co-existing, lays at the heart of indirect rule. Without this premise, the whole of the artificial British political structure would collapse. There was nothing else left to do but to attempt to reconstruct the institutions existing before the 'disaster' of the German rule. Thus, they went on a mission to 'find the chief'. Chiefs

were 'identified' and were granted administrative powers within their tribal boundaries. In many areas, there was no such thing as a 'chief' present before one was chosen. Either someone would take a stand and volunteer to become chief or the British would have to appoint someone at random. British officials had no other choice but to do it this way as they needed 'native authorities'. But in doing so they invented these political structures in areas where there were none before (I make this statement on the basis of *political* rule, I am not contending in any way the presence of other kinds of organisation and rule) (Hatch 1972: 85; Iliffe 1979: 323-324; Ingham 1962: 299; Ingham 1965a: 572). Even if the chief was indeed existent, either before the German rule or at the time that the British arrived, that did not mean that their power was not distorted. The chiefs were given more and different powers than they ever had before and this created friction with their subjects (Hatch 1972: 88).

This new political organisation was thus nor a return to pre-German structures, nor an adaptation to European structures. After 1925, the Europeans and Africans together created a political order based on a mythical history as the past was reformulated into a new paradigm (Iliffe 1979: 323-324, 334). As expressed by Iliffe: "Indirect rule encouraged the crystallization of African social organisation into a tribal mould" (Iliffe 1979: 329, 334). Through the eyes of European nationalists, tribal cultures were invented.

11. Crisis and WW II

From 1929 on, the colony went in crisis. The restructuring of the society slowed down as the economy declined and cash crop production came to an all-time low. Both the coloniser and colonised lost their faith in the new structures and policies became conservative (Hatch 1972: 95; Iliffe 1979: 336-342; Ingham 1965b: 594). The reason for this crisis was the successor of Cameron, sir George Stewart Symes. Cameron had always believed that indirect rule was meant to provide Africans with the right tools to acquire power and self-govern in the future. In 1931 Cameron left the territory and Stewart had very different ideas about this matter. He believed that the imposition of indirect rule was to be treated as the end all and that local governance was the only level of power that Africans would ever possess. He handled ruling the country in a very different way than Cameron did and changed policies along the way. This led to significant frustration among Tanzanians and had adverse effects on the economic prosperity (Hatch 1972: 93-94; Iliffe 1979: 336-342).

This crisis continued into the Second World War. Although not as destructive as the previous one because Tanzania did not become a stomping ground for conflict and battles, the Second World War undoubtedly had its effects. The people who joined the army were yet again confronted by Europeans in distress and realised moreover how much Europeans and Africans were alike. Above that, the economy was still in serious decline. This was contradictory because the demand in times of war was ever growing whilst the export rate from Tanzanian territory was slumping. On a political level, the District Officers were removed and less supervision was exercised. This led to a rise in tension as African voices started to rumble and people protested against these new circumstances (Hatch 1972: 96; Iliffe 1979: 406, 436; Ingham 1965b: 616; Wrigley 1976: 515).

12. Post-war decades

The external influences on Tanzania after the Second World War continue until this day. The post war decades included a second phase of British occupation in which a new development plan – the Colonial Development and Welfare Act – was made up. Long-term financial plans were written down and Britain intended to keep its authority over the territory. They wanted to guide the Tanzanians towards self-governance, but within their own framework (Iliffe 1979: 436-437). Post-war Tanzania eventually became a breeding place for nationalism and political movements as the political interest and education of the Tanzanians rose (Hatch 1972: 100; Iliffe 1979: 485).

The creation of a 'nation' in every sense of the word is a very intricate and complex process. I refer the reader to the work of Iliffe on 'A Modern History of Tanganyika' for detailed information about the fight for independence and the creation of Tanzania as a nation-state, but I will shortly address it here. Tanzania gained its independence in December 1961, led by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) with Julius Nyerere as its president (Iliffe 1979: 566). Nyerere is remembered for his policy based upon the notion of *Ujamaa* (extended family) which argued for an African model of development that could lay out the basis for African socialism. Some of the elements that formed his national development project were the creation of a one-party system under leadership of TANU, a central democracy, villagisation of production, nationalisation of economy and the creation of a Tanzanian identity through using Swahili as the national language (Mwakikagile 2006). One element that is particularly relevant for this thesis is the abolishment of customary authority by Nyerere in 1961. In order for him

to construct this national identity and unite his people, he had to abolish the notion of chiefdoms and discourage 'tribal' identity formation. This led to a decline in the power of chiefs and chiefdoms lost their relevance (Msonde 2017; Stroeken 2018: 106). All in the name of creating the Tanzanian nation.

13. Concluding remarks

This chapter has attempted to provide the reader with a substantial amount of background on Tanzanian history and the right frame of historical contextualisation that will be needed for future arguments. I have avoided dedicating my attention solely to the European powers and tried to represent the history of Tanzania as one of multiplicity. I addressed the nature of change and adaptation prior to external influences, the Arab traders, the Portuguese, the French, the missionaries attempting to convert Tanzanian souls, the period of German colonisation followed up by the First World War, leading to the British colonisation and implementation of indirect rule policies and finally the Second World War and its years of crisis. Above that, I have remained critical of the historical accounts I encountered. I have provided multiple examples of where cultural misunderstanding took place in history in order to emphasise the conflicts that happened between Western and local frames.

What I want to stress here is that the British colonial period was not 'the sole moment of change'. The Tanzanian territory and its people have been going through periods of change, migration, power, rule, adaptation, decline and prosperity for centuries on end. Their power structures have been formed, invented, reformed, forced upon, removed, changed and transformed more times than anyone can count. The processes of trade and colonisation do not make the European nation states more powerful, superior or more developed than the Tanzanian state. It has not been a case of hierarchy. It has been a case of various peoples with different forms of rule co-writing a history.

Chapter 2. Previous pitfalls of historical narratives and the alternative approach of '*anthropologizing* history'

It is no secret that anthropology as a discipline has its roots in the racial and colonial sciences of the 19th century (Armelagos & Goodman 1998; Mukhopadhyay & Moses 1997). Because of the ending of imperialism within Africa, an awareness came about as academics realised that the 'objective and neutral' narratives that had been put forward in the previous decades were in fact nothing like 'objective'. The shift towards postcolonial anthropology commenced when the discipline was now perceived itself as interpretive in nature. The works produced in anthropology – and social sciences in general – were deemed as interpretations by authors. Above that, the possibility for *mis*interpretations became acknowledged. New life was breathed into the discipline as the shift in perception allowed for influential works such as the invention of tradition, invention of Africa and imagined communities to be written (which will all be discussed in detail later on). As these theories addressed the danger inherent to academics contributing to problematic perceptions of the cultures of 'others', influential historians – such as Vansina, Feierman and Schoenbrun – started to form new narratives to counter the old ones. It is in discussing these very narratives that we can detect a lacuna. The hiatus that runs through the conceptualisations by these historians cannot remain unexamined, which is why it will be discussed and considered further on. I will develop my own argument to show how an alternative approach called '*anthropologizing* history' as theorized in 'Medicinal Rule' (from now on referred to as MDR), can fill up the aforementioned hiatus (MDR: 19). Because I will employ this approach throughout the rest of my thesis, I will provide a possible criticism on it here and justify why I still have chosen to use it.

This chapter will attend to the second subquestion as formulated in my introduction, namely: 'what are the main principles of the discourse that I will be using throughout this thesis and how can we as a discipline avoid cultural misunderstandings, such as the ones mentioned in the first chapter?' I do not intend to provide a full history of postcolonial anthropology within this chapter, but I have chosen to address the relevant steps that have contributed towards how I have conducted this research.

1. *Postcolonial anthropology and its implications*

I will start off by discussing the background for this chapter as I address anthropology in times of colonisation, the crisis during the struggle for independence, the eventual shift towards postcolonial anthropology and the criticisms put forward on the discipline. This will lead me to the main argument of the first part of this chapter, as I address the interpretive nature of anthropology as theorised by Geertz, which serves as a criticism on Malinowski and a return to Boas' work. I will continue to assert how this avoids ethnocentric tendencies and allows anthropology to function as an integrated discipline in which the spectrum of idealism and materialism and the spectrum of agency and structure come together into one entity. As a final element, I will talk about how nature and culture have become inseparable and the positionality of the researcher becomes ever relevant as anthropology is denoted as interpretive.

1.1 Anthropology in times of colonisation and the racially inclined social sciences

Anthropology as a discipline has been marked by its colonial history and its racially categorising implications. Before the wave of postcolonial awareness hit, anthropological narratives would be presented as coherent 'objective' stories in which the life of the 'primitive other' could be objectively theorised. The Western researcher was seen as a person with superior knowledge and insight into the life of people who were themselves too unintelligent or socially unaware – as was thought to be determined by the colour of their skin – to provide these insights on their own (Eriksen and Nielsen 2013: 7 – 15).

This is represented in the writings of colonial academics such as Diamond in 1964:

> "*We* snap the portrait (…) it is only a representative of our civilization who can, in adequate detail, document the differences and help create an idea of the primitive which would not ordinarily be constructed by primitives themselves. That our notions of the primitive society are filtered through the anthropologist's consciousness does not make them any less "objective" or valid" (emphasis in original. Diamond 1964: 433).

Apart from this inherent feeling of superiority which characterised the Western anthropologist as an academic, the obsession with the exotic nature of other cultures and the romanticising of it was heavily imbedded into the discipline as well. Anthropology was based upon the

differences present between peoples, as groups and not as individuals, and the racially determined nature of these differences (Buchowski 2006; Marvasti & Faircloth 2002).

1.2 In times of crisis

Towards the 1970s, after most countries had been decolonised, anthropology as a discipline came under fire from inside and outside. The 'non-white subject', who had been exoticised and described based upon racially determined classifications and imagined superiority for decades, started to express resentment or disagreement with the statements of anthropologists. Apart from the objections by the 'subjects', some anthropologists themselves disagreed with the refusal of other anthropologists to accept responsibility for the political and ethical implications of their work (Lewis 1973: 581). Both the 'subjects' of study and the researchers themselves, were involved in processes of self-examination and started to question their relationship which was hierarchically unequal in nature (Lewis 1973: 585). As the period of crisis for both parties involved continued, it became clear that anthropology was not 'just' an 'objective and scientific study', but it was moreover a part of social sciences that quite urgently had to accept responsibility for its actions (Lewis 1973: 581).

1.3 A shift towards postcolonial anthropology

Cultures were no longer perceived as separate bodies, easily distinguishable or comparable. Cultures were now regarded to be fragmented entities per definition. The spatially bounded entity that was once so easily, had now become a challenge on its own. How could an anthropologist go research one certain culture 'over there' as it had become unclear where 'there' was (Gupta & Ferguson 1997: 2)? Culture had now become a construct in itself (Gupta & Ferguson 1997: 4 – 6).

Postcolonial anthropology expressed more self-awareness than was done previously (by which I do not intend to dismiss any issues that continue to prevail). Yet there was now a notion that ethnographic knowledge would never be politically innocent (Said 1978). This became mainstream within anthropology as academics realised that representation was not an objective endeavour, but moreover dictated by choices (Loomba et al. 2005). This brought about questions of the place and the power of anthropologists. The researcher was the one who constructed certain representations of cultures. Yet these representations, as they were no longer

regarded to be objective, were now seen as inherently embedded in social processes and colonial power relations. The knowledge produced is shaped by the discourse of the researcher themselves as the mission of understanding was an endeavour that excluded notions of primitivism and exoticisation (Gupta & Ferguson 1997: 23 – 24). The position of the anthropologist as the objective researcher made way for an open perception and consequently also made way for the acknowledgment of cultural misunderstandings, limitations or lacunae.

These movements signified the development of postcolonial anthropology as a current. But was the concept of 'postcolonial anthropology' a temporary evolution towards an awareness by academics and a situatedness of the 'subject' of study? Is it still a relevant term to denote our discipline with? It has been argued that postcolonial anthropology implies a persistence of the colonial concept and a continuance of the pre- and post- colonial timeframe (Loomba et al. 2005: 2). 'Postcolonial' anthropology as a delimited discipline has been used many of times over the past decades, yet one could wonder in which way it constructs a concrete field of study. It is a fluid entity and not a bordered space or discipline that is easily definable in a few sentences (Brennan 2006). The question whether the concept has outlived its purpose after postcolonial theories like Said's Orientalism (which will be discussed later on) has been put forward (Loomba et al. 2005: 3). Despite the relevance of this question, I have chosen to employ the category of 'postcolonial anthropology' further on, but I argue here that by this I mean a fluid concept that does not necessarily denote a certain clear field of study. I will address certain theories put forward during the period of postcolonial anthropology, but this does not mean that methodologically or epistemologically these can be applied to the entire field.

1.4 Anthropology as an interpretive endeavour

Moving away from the racial and evolutionary approaches of others in the past, Boas had been instrumental in arguing that individuals are shaped by their social and cultural environment – which is multiple and overlapping – and that in-depth ethnographic fieldwork is necessary for the discipline. His critique on the previous currents of anthropology has been predominantly epistemological as he comments upon the types of knowledge present. He strives towards an abandonment of evolutionist ideas of culture and argues that cultural relativism, where no culture is higher than another, but where all humans have their own perspectives formed by their own cultures, is instrumental (Rohner 1966).

Malinowski, one of Boas' contemporaries, focused more upon the methodological measures of anthropology. He coined the term 'participant observation' which he deems to be highly important for anthropological fieldwork. His work is regarded to be the first modern ethnography (Malinowski 1922). Participant observation was intended for the fieldworker to achieve understanding through joining the insider or subjective participation and the outsider or objective observation together into one method (Erickson & Murphy, 2008).

As Boas and Malinowski laid the fundaments for a more open-minded approach, Geertz made a call onto anthropologists to fully step away from the idea of 'objective' ethnography (which attempts to describe peoples or answer deep questions in a scientific way) and move towards interpreting a culture based on the information that is provided to us by the people we are researching. In this way, we can attempt to understand how people interpret their own culture and experiences and build locally situated anthropologies (Geertz 1973: 30). Geertz's theory addresses both methodology and epistemology in detail.

First of all, he argues that anthropologists should treat culture through a methodology based upon thick description, as previously defined by Gilbert Ryle. In his books on Le Penseur, Ryle defined two types of descriptions: thin descriptions which are loose actions without meaning and thick descriptions which are the contexts that provide the meaningful structures through which actions are produced, perceived and interpreted (Ryle 1971). Geertz argued that thick description must be the object of ethnography as it avoids cultural misunderstandings by perceiving the contexts of actions and happenings (Geertz 1973: 6).

Above that, within his epistemology he compared culture to a text: "The culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles, which the anthropologist strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong" (Geertz 1973: 452). He implies that culture is organised through complex conceptual structures of signs, symbols and texts (as well as through the interpretation that people have of these) which together form a web of meanings. Not only is the reading by an anthropologist of a culture represented as a textual endeavour, but Geertz goes further as he denotes that "what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to" (Geertz 1973: 9). Culture is thus a text and above that, it is an anthropologist's interpretation of the interpretations by others (Hoffman 2009). Geertz's concept of interpretive anthropology can be connected to the concept of *Verstehen*. This is a German term meaning 'understanding' or 'comprehension'.

Verstehen is a method or requirement for understanding, as it allows social phenomena to be understood from within and it allows us to make interpretations related to the subjective meaning which is given to symbols by the actors of a culture (Martin 1999: 1 – 3, 187).

Geertz's call for interpretive anthropology questioned Malinowski's idea of objective observation of peoples in fieldwork and put forward concepts of interpretation and perception. His theory revived Boas' theory on the epistemological genealogy focusing on deep participation in cultural acts to understand and grasp the cultural texts of others through reading over the shoulder within fieldwork.

The focus upon textual elements inspired others to move forward in this current. Clifford agrees with Geertz on an epistemological level by arguing that fieldwork is a sensitive endeavour as it produces cultural interpretations that are not authoritative nor objective. The cultural objects are invented and interpretive anthropology provides an opportunity for visibility of this process of invention (Clifford 1983: 130). The cultural interpretations by anthropologists are written down – which according to Clifford is an experimental form of research – leading to him classifying the discipline as literary art. Culture is, within his conceptualisation, a form of poetics in which the voice of the writer pervades (Clifford & Marcus 1986: 2 – 3, 12).

Interpretive anthropology did not go by uncriticised. Martin (1999: 194 – 197) expressed the concern that the role of the anthropologist is limited in understanding the meaning that others have ascribed to complex structures. He continued to criticise the lack of attention for causality and the lack of concrete tools that allow the anthropologist to deal with this. His final criticism is on the status of cultural interpretations. Martin argues that Geertz expresses the importance of the interpretive nature but does not pay attention to whether or not some interpretations are better or more correct than others.

Initially, I was inclined to disagree with Martin's statement as it is implied within the concept of 'interpretation' that there is no such thing as *the* objective reality and thus one could not state that there is an inherent right or wrong. However, I realised that as soon as I denote some narratives by historians or anthropologists within this thesis as cultural misunderstandings, I am in fact arguing that there is such a thing as *mis*interpretations. This is not a case of whether something is reality or is not. But this is a case of how close a cultural interpretation by an anthropologist can come to the interpretation by the cultural 'subjects'. I realise that this is quite a dangerous statement to make, but one could assess that an interpretation is incorrect (or further

away from 'reality') when an academic misses the interpretations by their 'subjects of study'. An interpretation could be deemed correct when the interpretations of the 'subjects' have been done justice. But what in fact are 'the interpretations' of subjects? Are they conscious endeavours constructed by them embedded in discourse? Or are they related to experience? Because experience is unspoken and consists out of complexities that one cannot capture in words, how can we capture these 'interpretations' then? And what if in all of this, subjects have opposite interpretations of one and the same experience? These questions illustrate the 'interpretive' nature of anthropology as reality is constituted of complexities that must be addressed through employing the scope of thick description and layered meanings.

I want to nuance my statements on misinterpretations of culture, by arguing that I speak here of a spectrum and in no way a dichotomy between incorrect or correct. No single anthropologist will ever achieve 'the truth', 'the reality' or 'the interpretation', but there are ways for us to attempt to find a good balance between different cultural markers and construct an interpretation that is at least relevant at some level. No single anthropologist will be inherently incorrect in looking at a culture either, but he or she could have missed the boat on interpretations that encompass some meanings that have been denoted as relevant by their 'subjects'. Thus, Martin's question on the value of interpretation is a hard one to answer but a valid one, we deem some interpretations as better than others and argue that some of them are more likely to be *mis*interpretations, yet what is our basis for this?

1.5 The avoidance of ethnocentrism

One of the major downfalls in anthropology – but also in other fields – has been the ethnocentric nature of past analyses and narratives. The West has perceived itself as being in the centre of the world and has developed knowledge on non-Western matters starting from their own standpoints – ethnocentrism – and portrayed the non-Westerners as the 'other' (Sumner 1906: 13). In doing this, there has been a repudiation of cultural forms that are inherently different from those with which the Western scholars and colonialists identified (Lévi-Strauss 1983: 328).

Said has been instrumental in bringing awareness to the field on this matter, as his work Orientalism has argued on the inventive nature of Europe in defining the 'Orient' as a romantic, exotic and vague category. Said denotes that the 'Orient' is not a reality but has been constructed

through the power of an imperial society that had the power to do so. In doing this, the West has ascribed certain qualities to the 'other' (which in this case is the 'Orient') (Said 1978: 1 – 3).

Defining the 'other' has always been done in opposition to the self in order to reinforce and protect the identity of the collective self (Gillespie 2006). The act of 'othering' is the objectification of another person or group and the creation of the other which ignores the complexity and subjectivity of the identity at hand (Abdallah-Pretceille 2003). 'Othering' has been an ethnocentric endeavour repeatedly employed throughout the history of anthropology as a discipline but also throughout colonial history. This action is instigated by a disproportionately powerful group having the capacity to define and redefine others. I remain mindful that this happens at the level of the discourse of the powerful group and not always necessarily at the level of reality in which this 'other' finds himself.

Spivak has argued for a Western anthropology that does not focus on the defining of the 'other' 'over there', which assigns no voice to the subject of study, as it is based on the political and economic interests of the West (Spivak 1988: 66 – 104). It contributes to a process in which time is spatially defined. The West is – through ethnocentric perspectives – seen as the centre in which the ultimate 'development' of humans is reached. The rest of the world is a representation of the earlier stages of this human 'development'. Thus, as the ethnocentric perspective is employed, the evolution of man is definable in space. This is what Fabian has called 'denial of coevalness' as the culture of the 'other' is described in a way that denies its existence at the same time as 'ours'. The Western researcher has tried to obtain the goal of objective cultural knowledge (based on ethnocentric values and notions of 'othering') for a very long time but Fabian denotes it as unachievable per definition, as anthropology is interpretive (Fabian 1983: 1 – 8).

1.6 Anthropology as an integrated discipline

In order for us to utilise an anthropology that is interpretive in its nature, we must strive towards an integrated discipline. This includes not only a view that entails both a spectrum of idealism and materialism and a spectrum of structure and agency but also a post-Cartesian scope that considers nature and culture to be integrated. The final element that I will talk about here is the fluidity of the positionality and identity of researchers and humans in the field.

1.6.1   The two-dimensional model of anthropology

As theorised by Stroeken, anthropology can be positioned onto a model with two intersecting spectrums. If we combine the two spectrums, a model with four extremes is created onto which we can place anthropological narratives or academics (MDR: 15- 16). The first spectrum is characterised by materialism on one end and idealism on the other. Materialism was first introduced by Marvin Harris in his book the 'Rise of anthropological theory'. Here he argued for a scientific and explanatory approach to culture and society which asserts that a certain part of culture is present because the cultural system maintains the function of this part (Harris 1968: 55 – 56). Idealism, on the other hand, which rejected purely explanatory accounts of the materialism current as positivist, moved towards historicism and interpretive theorising of societies. It is characterised by the fact that thought processes evoke choices and behaviour in people, and not material processes or functionalist structures (Roseberry 1982: 1014). We can situate Geertz's interpretive anthropology under idealism as he employs an interpretive emic approach to understanding culture and does not focus upon structures as the reason for cultural elements being maintained. On the second spectrum, structure and agency oppose each other. A focus on structure operates in the social sciences as a metonymic approach in which a part of reality determines the whole. The social structure is thus the basis for choices of actors (Sewell 1992: 2). Agency opposes this as here social actions are determined by the intentions of an individual or an actor and these must be studied interpretively in order to understand them. These choices are embedded in certain social, cultural and linguistic structures, but the actor engages with this structure (Rapport & Overing 2000: 3).

The ultimate – yet unachievable – goal is to fall perfectly in the middle of both of these spectrums as all of the extremes are of relevance. Yet it is only human to be inclined towards certain extremes on the spectra. In order to avoid cultural misunderstandings, it remains of importance to attempt to reconcile all or at least give all of these space within our analyses. My inclination towards Geertz's theory on interpretive anthropology (even though I don't entirely agree with the concept of culture as a text) would leave me on the actor-idealist side of the spectrum as his interpretive anthropology focuses upon the interpretations of subjects within a culture. I would argue, however, that I am positioned somewhat in the middle between structure and agency throughout this thesis. I ascribe a lot of importance to the cultural structure and the influence of this on certain patterns or certain occurrences on the level of the agent. I refuse to fall into the trap of structuralism though, by attempting to ascribe enough importance to the

individual choices of agents as well because the cultural structure is not all-determining. We can find explanations for certain cultural phenomena through looking at the structures at hand, but my scope always remains at the level of the agent too.

1.6.2   Nature and culture

Academics – and the Western world in general – were influenced by the Cartesian way of thinking as developed by Descartes in the 17th century. Within his notion, the material and spiritual realm are separate entities. The body serves merely as a machine – as the material realm consists of matter – and it functions at all times unrelated from the mind (which is a spiritual and immortal substance part of the mental realm). The body (nature) and mind (culture) are thus separate entities (Scheper-Hughes & Lock 1987: 9). As this dualism persisted throughout the discipline of anthropology, the anthropologist as a researcher was unable to attend to material artefacts in a correct manner. The discipline was a science of non-material minds as it focused upon the mental realm (Edward, 2015, p. 12 – 13). Boas' book on 'The mind of Primitive Man' published in 1911 is an example of this. He theorised the social organisation and behaviour of people as transmitted through social structures and norms. None of the socially determined behaviours he thought were hereditable or affected by nature. The body was separated from the mind, the culture and the language (Boas 1911).

It was only later in the 20th century that nature and culture and the material and spiritual came to be defined as intertwined and inseparable entities. Humans are perceived as social animals who have social abilities and intelligence which allows them to learn and internalise culture. The nature allows us to create the culture. Nor culture or nature exist in a separate manner. Thus, we must shift focus away from cultural anthropology in looking at culture as the sole object of study and move on towards a holistic approach in which the person and environment are intrinsically connected (Descola and Palsson 1996: 2 – 6). Postcolonial anthropology is integrated as it rejects the Cartesian way of thinking and calls for both dimensions of nature and culture to be included in a wholesome approach.

1.6.3 Positionality of the researcher

There is an attempt to move away from the previous notion of anthropology in which the 'object' and 'subject' of study are dichotomous. The researcher used to have an omnipotent

position where he had the purpose of acquiring 'objective' information. It was later argued that the researcher has an asymmetrical relationship with the subject and critical introspection and reflexivity are needed in order for the researcher to discover the self and occupy an open position. The researcher has become an instrument in their own research as much as the 'subject' of study (England 1994: 81 – 84). The object and subject are both integrated within post-Cartesian anthropology. The 'objective' researcher is a myth as fieldwork is perceived as personal and the positionality of the researcher as an individual is acknowledged (Warren 1988: 85).

This is easier said than done as the position of a researcher is fluid, just like all of our identities. The position of a researcher is at all times ambiguous in the field because we try to balance listening to people in interviews with thinking about what would be good data or quotes for our research (England 1994: 86 - 87). Above that, the position of the researcher as an insider or outsider of a community is indefinite per definition. There are different characteristics that we measure ourselves and others with such as race, class, gender,… Through these various measurements, we shift between being an insider or an outsider. Our positionality can shift as culture is not a homogenous, limited entity where one either belongs to or not (Merriam 2001).

2   *The imagining of traditions and the repercussions for cultural misunderstanding*

I have illustrated in the previous sections how interpretive anthropology has been instrumental in reforming our ideas as academics upon our own discipline and how our newfound awareness has led us to avoid ethnocentric tendencies. We now strive towards integrated models of anthropology allowing us to address the different dimensions of a culture or society in such a way that our reader shall remain aware of how the researcher is a positioned human. In light of this interpretive anthropology, some theories have been developed on just how influential the academic is in constructing images of the 'other'. I will discuss here the invention of tradition, invention of Africa, imagined communities and the revision of the first concept. These are relevant as they provide me with the tools to explain later how historians have constructed interdisciplinary narratives on certain regions.

2.1 Invention of tradition

Hobsbawm and Ranger are the founding fathers of the concept 'invention of tradition' that has been implemented by countless academics over the past decades. Within their book, Hobsbawm argued that the occurrence of novel situations in a changing world can lead to the return to old traditions or to the establishment of new ones. This most often occurs when society is changed so drastically that the social patterns for which their traditions function are destroyed to such an extent that they are no longer able to be applied or are no longer adaptable (Hobsbawm 1983: 1 – 4). The invention of tradition is the process in which certain parts of social life are moulded into unchanging 'traditions' and are then denoted to have long histories, whilst they are actually recent innovations. Hobsbawm stated himself that there is a difficulty in drawing lines between a 'genuine' tradition and an 'invented' tradition. Traditions are – even though they are of a restrictive nature usually or at least based upon repetition – susceptible to change, adaptation and transformation. Where does a tradition adapting itself to new circumstances end and a new 'invented' tradition begin (Hobsbawm 1983: 1 – 4)?

Within their book, Ranger continues on the topic of invention of tradition and connects this to colonial Africa. He argues that Europe invented traditions to define and justify its roles within Africa in order to become a convincing ruling class during the rush into Africa (Ranger 1983: 211 – 215). Custom in precolonial Africa was a loosely defined and flexible concept which was valued by the people. Custom was part of identity construction and people would move in and out of identities as there were overlapping social networks present. Europeans misjudged this and thought of the African as living in a conservative and traditional manner, thus the invented traditions became based upon inflexibility through which a community became defined and 'tradition' became enforced (Ranger 1983: 247 – 248). An example of this is the concept 'tribe' which was invented through indirect rule (as discussed in the previous chapter). Every African was believed to belong to a certain tribe – just like every European would belong to a certain nation – and this tribe would be a social unit defining one's identity. Europeans were believing themselves to have respect for the customary and the local, but the structures they created were mere cultural misunderstandings denying the complexity at hand (Ranger 1983: 247 – 250). In reading this, most anthropologists would be quick to state that this concept of invention of tradition and the misjudgement by Europeans leading to a change in traditions and realities, is ascribing an overtly amount of power to Europeans and close to none to the African 'subjects'. I state here that Ranger already made clear in his original work that Africans made use of these

European neo-traditions and draw upon these to instrumentalise them in their own ways (Ranger 1983: 237). The concept of invention of tradition is thus not necessarily a passive one from the perspective of the subject, even though it is implied through the usage of the word 'invention'.

2.2 Invention of Africa

It is Mudimbe who took this previous concept to a new level and argued it was not just traditions which had been invented by the West, but it was Africa as a whole. He argued that Western missionary, colonial and academic interpretations of life in Africa created Africa as a homogenous entity and produced a distorted look upon realities. According to him, the actions of Europeans that organised the non-European areas into European ones have had an effect upon how the West perceives Africa, but also on how the Africans perceive themselves. Africans understand themselves through Western models because ethnocentric discourses have established the world of thought in which we all conceive our identities. He connected this to linguistics and the origin of the word 'colonialism', derived from the Latin word *colere* which means organise or arrange. He argues that colonialism has done precisely that as it has transformed areas completely into European fabrications. Through discussing this concept of the invention of Africa, he has addressed the role of anthropology in times of imperialism and argued that anthropologists have been extremely influential in constructing unjust images of 'the primitive' (Mudimbe 1988:1 – 21).

Whether Mudimbe's work is too radical is not relevant in this discussion. His work was crucial in the deconstruction of ethnocentric perspectives that had been forced upon Africa for decades prior and shows us again just how important the roles of anthropologists – and historians as well – are in constructing images of the 'other'.

2.3 Imagined communities

Not only traditions - or the whole of Africa – have been perceived as inventions and constructs by a hierarchically more powerful entity. More broadly, identity and ethnic membership to a certain 'group' have been denoted as being a construct. The prevailing stance on this matter – in opposition to essentialism – is that identities are multiple, fluid and constructed. People identify themselves with a certain ethnicity or a certain sociological role, yet these are

constructs they (subconsciously) subject themselves to (Brubaker & Cooper 2000: 1 – 6). This construction is instigated by the centralisation of a certain common origin or shared characteristics with other persons or a group. This is a continuous process as identity is positional and multiple because different discourses, practices and positions intersect. The identity that has been constructed is imaginary because of its fictional nature, yet strangely enough this is also how it becomes effective (Hall & du Gay 1996: 2 – 4).

Anderson argued that the construction of this identity leads us to deduce that communities are imagined entities. He mostly focuses upon nationalism and the fiction of a nation as an imagined political community, but his concept is implementable upon other scales as well. A community becomes imagined at the moment when a person is incapable of personally knowing every single member that is part of it. In the minds of people, we have an image of communion and an idea of what this entails but because we do not know each person involved, there is no certainty for us to state that we actually adhere to the identity of the others in this group (Anderson 1983: 4 – 7).

2.4 The critical revision of the concept 'invention of tradition'

As touched upon earlier, 'invention of tradition' is useful for our analyses, but it could be contested whether or not the concept has the right connotations. Ranger acknowledges this himself in a later work titled 'The invention of tradition revisited: the case of colonial Africa'. He argues that the term 'invention' implies a one sided happening in which the colonial force is the inventor who implements his inventions upon others in a linear manner. Above that, it implies that this happens at one given moment in time. However, this so-called 'invention' is in actuality a process in which the tradition can be reworked and reinvented by the actors involved. Ranger states that invention implies an ahistorical event. Thus, he argues for a new concept of 'imagined' traditions, based upon Anderson's theory on 'imagined communities'. This more accurately addresses how ideas, images and traditions are imagined – and thus are not invented by one party and linearly imposed upon the other – and can be reimagined by all parties involved (Ranger 1993: 22 – 25).

Spear continues to criticise Ranger's work in 2003, as he contends that the problems are not solved merely by changing the term from 'invention' to 'imagined'. He argues that the issue with the original concept of 'invention of tradition' is that the historical development and

complexity of the interpretive processes involved are neglected by the historian. The underlying local and historical precedents upon which the constructions of traditions are based are not given enough attention (Spear 2003: 3- 4). As Spear argues: "tradition was reinterpreted, reformed and reconstructed by subjects and rulers alike" (Spear 2003: 4). As the concept was then altered by Ranger to 'imagined' tradition, in order to not speak of conscious constructions that represent Africans as gullible people, it had now become multidimensional and interactive, but it still disregards the contextual and historical factors. Spear argues that not only Ranger's concept but also Anderson's concept could be deemed problematic as the economic, social, political and historical contexts that influence identities are ignored in order to put forward this idea that a tradition or a community exists in a vacuum (Spear 2003: 5). Spear ends by stating that ethnicity and modern tribalism aren't merely outcomes of a colonial invention – fully orchestrated with European powers – but they are influenced by both precolonial and colonial events. The colonial rule was transformative but was not inventive. He suggests to use the term 'reinterpretation' when talking about traditions in order to suggest a dynamic and historical process (Spear 2003: 23-25).

Before I move on to contextualising some approaches that have – through the idiom of imagined tradition – failed to include and acknowledge the interpretations and cultural structures of the 'subjects' of study, I would like to turn back to the first chapter and focus upon how I connect these 'postcolonial' theories to the case of Tanzania. Because of the colonisation by the Germans and the British and the influence of Western academics and colonials, chiefdoms as homogenous and separate entities were created – or imagined – and were implemented through indirect rule, constructed as 'objective' realities. This was problematic as it was based upon the premise that chiefdoms and denoted geographical areas were inherently present in the whole 'country'. As I have argued, this was not the case at all and the British appointed chiefs at random or had to change and alter the functions of a chief which ruined their relationships with their peoples. Or one could even argue that the concept of 'chief' was not present at all and that this is in fact a wrong term or translation for a type of leader that was not known with Europeans. This construction was instigated as the ethnocentric perspectives employed by the West defined the 'others' in ways that were nothing like 'thick description' as defined by Geertz. As they 'imagined' the traditions and structures of the 'other', the coevalness was inherently denied because they regarded the 'other' seen as backward and primitive. That these influences of the West were detrimental to certain extents, is entirely unsurprising. But I refer back to Martin's criticism on the value ascribed to interpretations by Western academics and argue here that

these interpretations of the cultural structures were so far from the interpretations of the people that were being researched that we must agree upon the fact that these are in fact cultural misunderstandings. What I describe here is a West-rooted story. As argued by Ranger and Spear, the imagining or inventing of a tradition does not appropriately address the needs or the agency of the actors present. Indirect rule and the idea of concrete bounded chiefdoms were in fact implemented by the West onto Africa – as Africa was invented through this – yet this does not tell us anything about how the implementation of these politics was received, interpreted, reinterpreted, reinvented and re-employed by the people at hand. Arguing that chiefdoms are a Western 'invention' is quite radical, yet possibly historically correct even though this statement does not give us any information on how this was relevant and how this was lived by the people of this 'chiefdom'. I leave this statement quite open-ended as I continue in the next section by providing alternatives.

3   An alternative approach: anthropologizing history

The concept of 'imagined tradition', as theorised by Hobsbawm and Ranger, came about in the light of interpretive anthropology and provides us with the first steps into a new direction. Hobsbawm argued that it is now the historian's jobs to dismantle and restructure the images of the past which not only influenced the academic world, but the world as a whole. He calls for a study of the invention of tradition in which interdisciplinary endeavours combining history, anthropology and human sciences will provide us with the right framework to move forward (Hobsbawm 1983: 13 – 14). Ranger agrees with this as he writes that the historian must understand the European ideas that constructed modern Africa in order to grasp the particularity of Africa before colonialism and how invented traditions 'distorted' the past. He nuances this by stating that, even though their entire book serves to address just how traditions were invented and how they impacted the structures present before the coming of the West – often wrongly referred to as 'authentic' – this does not make it any less inherently part of reality than if these traditions were not 'invented' (Linnekin 1991; Ranger 1983: 212). The traditions which were invented became realities in themselves and thus there is no purpose for us to want to 'return back' to when before these got distorted, as interpretive anthropology is not attempting to deny realities. Ranger also argued that historians must look at historical accounts of Africa in the 20th century and combine this with their perspectives of invented traditions in order to construct profoundly better accounts (Ranger 1983: 261). Thus, historians are in the position to trace back

the imagined traditions that have been constructed upon cultural misunderstandings because their colleagues in the past have contributed to the creation of these representations.

I will now continue by providing examples of historians who have done, or who have attempted to address these cultural misinterpretations and create a historical narrative that more accurately argues on the traditions that were present before the coming of the Europeans. This has not always turned out to be so successful as their perspective as historians did not always provide the right tools to interpret the realities of the 'other' in a way that encompassed the interpretations of the 'subjects'. As these cultural misunderstandings have persisted, I turn to providing an alternative method which has been theorised as '*anthropologizing* history' by Stroeken and explain how this contributes to an interpretation of realities that allows us to grasp a cultural understanding. I stress, however, that I am not naive about this as there is no such thing as a 'correct' method or interpretation of reality which is inherently implied in the concept 'interpretive anthropology'. No single researcher will ever capture the entire collective of interpretations of realities by people – which is a construct in itself as communities are imagined and boundaries are fluid – and thus we must agree that every single narrative constructed by an academic is *a* reality and never *the* reality. In criticising these works in the next few pages, I do not argue that any of them are inherently incorrect, nor do I state that if certain dimensions are missing from their analysis this means that their work has now become not useful. It is because of the legacies of these memorable academics that I am capable right now to build upon these and address the lacunas present.

3.1 The end of a tradition

Vansina's book on 'Paths in the rainforests: toward a history of political tradition in equatorial Africa' has been an instrumental work on the region. He studied equatorial Africa in order to construct the narrative of the traditions of this region – as he argues that here the cultures and societies form a unit – through a predominantly linguistic and historical approach (Vansina 1990: 5 - 6). He is quick to state that in his work traditions represent continuity and change. He illustrates this by describing different cases from the region and arguing how traditions can have very different unpredictable outcomes, even though there are common elements that form one dynamic (Vansina 1990: 110, 193).

He argues that there is a common tradition that shapes life – which he names 'the equatorial tradition' – created over 4000 years ago. Societal structures are formed on three interrelated levels: the district, the village and the house. A big man leads the village as a distinct leader and establishes himself on the level of the house (Vansina 1990: 71, 73). The district as the largest institution determines people's ethnicity but often does not function under the influence of a leader or a so-called 'chief' as it was based upon bilateral alliances (Vansina 1990: 77). Again, he states that this common tradition – a cosmology based upon spirits, charms and witchcraft – is not static, but that the identities that are produced through it change over time and do not construct homogenous units (Vansina 1990: 19, 95). This dynamic system is thus constantly altered as new situations occur (Vansina 1990: 99). Yet, when many things change, Vansina himself starts to doubt the existence of a tradition that underlies cultural occurrences and produces cultural commonalities over such a large region. Maybe his doubts would have not occurred if he would have been more open to fundamentally structural similarities as had been argued by de Heusch (1966) who was inspired by Lévi-Strauss' structuralism?

The first challenge to this system was the coming of the Atlantic trade as this provided a sudden change for many. Vansina argues that the trade had its impacts but that tradition – as a non-static entity – had the ability to adapt and to remain into existence (Vansina 1990: 235 – 236). It was through the colonial scramble, when Europe implemented their concept of the modern state and built their own view of 'the African society' including 'the chiefdom' to implement this modern state model, that the system of the equatorial tradition suffered (Vansina 1990: 239). Vansina argues that in the 1920s the equatorial tradition died out and that it only took 40 years for the West to destroy a tradition that had lived for 4000 years (Vansina 1990: 239, 247). The physical reality was altered drastically by the implementation of Western invented foreign structures onto the region. The cognitive reality – which is the core of the tradition based upon the ability to innovate – went into an irreversible crisis because of the impossibility for people to invent new structures and adapt the tradition by the radically changing physical reality (Vansina 1990: 247, 259). Through the death of the equatorial tradition (which happened very rapidly because the carriers of the tradition abandoned its fundamental principles), a neo-African tradition was created based upon Western inventions that were internalised and reinvented by Africans (Vansina 1990: 248, 259). Yet, he adds to this that the people of equatorial Africa are "still bereft of a common mind or purpose", arguing that this neo-African tradition was not quite a replacement for the previous cognitive reality as there was no longer a common factor in the region (Vansina 1990: 248).

Ranger denoted Vansina's arguments within his original work as a theory addressing his concept of the invention of tradition. He argued how Vansina's work on an endogenous process with fundamental continuities for the future adheres to his conceptualisation of 'tradition' which is based upon patterns but coincidently is open to continual renewal when changing realities occur. Tradition is not eternal, as it can die out when the fundamental premises are replaced by alternatives (Ranger 1983: 6). In Ranger's further work on the revision of his concept, he argues that Vansina responds to 'The Invention of Tradition' by stating that traditions are in fact historical phenomena – because they have roots in the past but are influenced by current situations that will change the future – but that historians have shied away from them as the term tends to refer to lack of change (Ranger 1983: 18; Vansina 1990: 257). Ranger goes on to argue that Vansina has employed his concept in an alternative way as he looked at the invention *by* tradition – because tradition is continuous change and can instigate invention from itself – and not invention *of* tradition (Ranger 1983: 19).

An initial red flag that comes to mind is Vansina's lack of agency ascribed to the people of equatorial Africa in living and renewing their traditions. It is incontestable that colonialism and Western imperialistic forces were detrimental on countless levels and that this has impacted the roots of societies. However, a 4000 year old common cognitive structure dying out as a consequence of a 40 year long colonial period by a force which implemented certain structures upon them based on cultural misunderstandings, just seems quite unlikely. The physical realities of people were changed, but were they changed mostly in centres or also in the periphery? Could the imagined community of equatorial Africa which shared – or shares? – a common cognitive reality be entirely erased by the presence of such historically incorrect implemented power structures? These are questions worth asking in the light of the rest of this thesis.

It is argued by Stroeken that Vansina provided us with a detailed historical overview of political systems in Central Africa, but that his lack of insight into the anthropological and cultural dimensions of their cognitive realities leads him to miss the main commonality that transcended the structures of the 'big men', namely the use of medicinal power (MDR: 5). The importance of the charm, shrine and initiation into rituals as instrumental to medicinal rule of the leader was missed within Vansina's three-dimensional interrelated structure of life (MDR: 5, 107). Because Vansina perceives culture to be an ideology that is employed by people through their actions and not as a preconscious structure informing their actions, the internal causes which instigate changes and events lack in his analysis (MDR: 22, 110). By lack of internal causes,

the equatorial tradition as described by Vansina can only describe change as diffusion of customary or traditional elements from one centre to the next, instead of allowing a network of groups to reproduce an endogenous logic that allows separate and independent applications and innovations of the same structure (MDR: 110 – 115). The endogenous logic is not a cognitive model, let alone formal reason, but the structural dimension in social interactions carrying with them a model of rule which permits people of the region to be culturally interconnected and mutually intelligible (MDR: 127).

In the above view, Vansina seems right in stating that there is a common lived cognitive reality which was heavily impacted by the Western imperialism. Yet, Vansina could have been more radical when talking about this equatorial tradition as the roots of a shared cultural structure running deeper than he argued they did. An endogenous logic underlying the actions of peoples does not deny that the West had an impact, but that 'traditions' are perhaps even more adaptable and fluid than Vansina had thought. Furthermore, the impact of the Western imperialism had been represented too radically because it is more a case of precolonial continuities being minimised and colonial influences being magnified, than a case of erasure (MDR: 187).

3.2 The creativity of the peasant intellectual

Not only Vansina, but also Feierman was seen by Ranger as someone who addressed the concept of 'invention of tradition' (Feierman 1990: 17). Feierman opted for a different angle though as he focused more upon the active creation, the 'invention' of traditions and reinterpretations of these, whilst Vansina was more inclined to focus upon the invention by tradition and the long-term continuity of a tradition in particular (Ranger 1993: 20).

Feierman discussed the peasant political discourse and the peasant intellectuals – men and women who earn their money by farming, but come together at crucial historical moments to organise political movements and elaborate new forms of discourse – who transmit and reinterpret the discourse (Feierman 1990: 3, 18). He took a linguistic and historical approach (like Vansina did but with more emphasis on discourse) to look at how realisations of cultural categories in certain contexts came about through the actions of agents (more precisely the peasant intellectuals). He argued that his method captures the cultural category as continuous, but focuses upon the transformation of it by actors as he compares this to Saussure's concept on *langue* (as arbitrary, self-contained rule bound language system) and *parole* (as creative

speech) (Saussure 1916). Traditions are based upon discourses that are transformed as people struggle over social changes (Ranger 1993: 6). The individuals in a particular context create practices that are either cultural continuities or discontinuities (as they create new languages) (Ranger 1993: 12 – 13).

Ranger argues that the long-term continuity (as described by Vansina) and the active creation (as described by Feierman) are in fact compatible forming one reality. As according to Vansina, the 20th century denoted the end of the equatorial tradition and the start of modern African thought, Feierman argued that creativity in its essence was instrumental. Ranger continues by stating that a tradition as based upon a certain discourse can continue but become modern in itself as the past realities are implemented into the colonial present (Ranger 1993: 20 – 21).

I argue here that Feierman did a better job at addressing the agency and creativity of the people who are living the cognitive reality of the culture because a society is not a single local homogenous culture that can continuously pursue or be ruptured by the invasions of an outside force. The colonial regime chose peasant or rural intellectuals that in fact could determine what they wanted to decide or do (Ranger 1993: 28). However, upon focusing on the individual actors as possessing the agency to transcend the implementation of structures by the West, I argue that Feierman lost sight of the endogenous logic as a collective, underlying dialectic (even though I don't contest that this endogenous logic in itself is interacting at the level of actors).

3.3 The connotation of words as indicators for their meaning

The final work that I would like to pay attention to here is that by Schoenbrun. His predominant method of study is a combination of linguistics and history, just like the previously mentioned authors. He argues against the theories of the previous authors as he states that the ruptures in the social and political institutions of intellectual traditions in Africa in the 20th century were not radical transformations shaped by African creativity, bricolage and durability. He does not agree with the fact that the equatorial tradition was inherently destroyed, nor does he agree that the creativity of the peasant intellectual managed to transform the society. He states that it is moreover multiple transformations of meaning and practice within public healing that have occurred (Schoenbrun 2006: 1407). He argues that the intention of the colonial was to create the colonial subject – invent tradition – based upon notions of health and collective well-being, but that the subject produced was not quite consistent with their ideas on it (Schoenbrun 2006:

1439). Schoenbrun focuses heavily upon the contexts of use in order to trace the history of words close to their local meaning. He derives the meaning of linguistic units by researching their connotations (MDR: 135). Despite the influence of the lexicon he has produced in doing research, not all of his inferences are quite as culturally sensitive. He argues that Great Lakes Bantu is the protolanguage of the noun with stem *kum(u)* which can be glossed as 'healer, diviner'. For this he proposes an etymology: 'Innovation by semantic shift from older meaning of chief, leader, respected person'. The older meaning that he described refers back to a concept that is known in his own language namely 'chief'. But is this a cultural translation? It would make more sense culturally that the innovation arose from an original meaning in a way that is logical at an endogenous level. Thus, we could assume that this new meaning of healer is based upon an older concept that refers to a proto chief or healer (MDR: 122). Stroeken argues that Schoenbrun has contributed on a linguistic and historical level, but has not paid attention to the strong cultural tie between linguistic phenomena, which one would be able to justify when looking at the endogenous logic connecting them (MDR: 123).

3.4 An alternative: anthropologizing history

I don't contest the values of these works that I have just mentioned as being influential in the creation of knowledge on this particular region. I do contend, however, that their works have not always captured the structures at hand. We see a reoccurring pattern here: historically oriented works which provide us with elaborate histories on the region but which miss an underlying cultural dynamic or endogenous logic that could clarify or explain to us certain occurrences at hand.

Vansina, Feierman and Schoenbrun all called upon us within their works to join disciplines together and not merely focus upon linguistics, history or anthropology but go for an interdisciplinary approach. Yet as we have seen this has not been successful in all aspects. Stroeken argues that in trying to capture the cultural whole, perspective or endogenous logic, we must undertake a holistic quest that can only be achieved through anthropology (MDR: 135). In the past, anthropology has gone through a period of crisis and moved towards a more historically minded discipline in which timeframes and Fabian's coevalness (as described earlier in this chapter) have become instrumental. This development is what Stroeken argued to be the 'historicizing of anthropology' (MDR: 3). He puts forward the question whether this now must happen in a reverse manner and history must become *anthropologized*. In doing this, the

focus is laid upon endogenising historical analyses and we must shift away from a focus upon (exogenous) causality towards a contextualisation of behaviour in which we find ourselves stumbling upon multilinear and non-linear explanations (MDR: 19). This is a mutual endeavour as the historical sources are instrumental for the ethnographer in order to discover cultural structures and tie the ends together (MDR: 7, 25). It is not just history which needs anthropology, but it is anthropology which needs history. Thus, we must reconcile our fields of work in order to co-create historical bodies that include and encapture the endogenous logic of the subjects (MDR: 21 – 25). It is in doing this that we can attempt to avoid cultural misunderstandings that have been invented and employed upon societies in East and Central Africa in the past through which the cultural commonality has been disregarded (MDR: 2).

Newbury hinted towards this *anthropologizing* of history within his work on responsible African historiographies (Newbury 1985: 269). He argued for the insertion of ethnography into the historiography of precolonial periods in order to understand the dynamics to a full extent and to reach an 'ethnic history' (Newbury 1985: 276). Precolonial histories must be constantly evaluated through anthropological work in order to be of most value to the social sciences (Newbury 1985: 274). Not only Newbury, but also Brizuela-Garcia addresses what she calls the '*Africanization* of history'. As she argues for African history to become more 'African' (even though she asserts herself that it is near impossible to define what exactly one means by this), the *Africanization* of history would mean that knowledge about Africa would become more African by an epistemological shift that privileges African ways of thinking over concepts and methods which have previously been used in Western historiography (Brizuela-Garcia 2006: 86, 95). She criticises these Western methods as they did not sufficiently take African experiences into account (Brizuela-Garcia 2006: 96). In *Africanizing* the Western approaches, she argues to construct a dialogue between Western and African epistemologies which comes down to abandoning the 'objective' historical approaches and incorporating African experiences and endogenous logics (Brizuela-Garcia 2006: 97- 98).

3.5 Frames of research

An initial criticism on this theory of *anthropologizing* history is the danger of falling in the trap of constructing quite a one-sided narrative. Whenever endogenous logic is treated as an actor's cognitive model instead of a structure permeating the interactions of a cultural network, we are placing too much emphasis on one frame –– namely the frame of 'the' endogenous logic – in

order to form our narrative on a society or network of societies. Stroeken's book 'Medicinal rule' from 2018 engages in a balancing act when deserting the experiential frames and their shifts which took central stage in his previous work 'Moral Power' from 2010.

As part of interpretive anthropology, Bateson was the first to theorise the concept of framing in 1972. The definition he provided of the concept frames was: "a spatial and temporal bounding of a set of interactive messages" by which one employs certain frames in order to distinguish recurring contexts. These shape a person's life world. His work was influential on each level as Bateson's concept of frames allowed us to realise that every single move, verbal or nonverbal expression has an underlying metamessage which denotes the frame of interpretation (Bateson 1972). Bateson's concept of framing was highly influential. Goffman adopted it independently in his work titled 'Frame Analysis'. This focuses upon the different frames and their complex systems of terms, concepts and meanings in order to argue for the different types of framing that constitute everyday interaction. These frames allow for people to interpret, locate, perceive, identify and label certain occurrences within their life and the world (Goffman 1974). They are employed in people's daily lives, yet as anthropologists and sociologists we employ the concept of framing in how we convey and process data. If we use framing in a holistic way, we can contextualise information in such a way that it accurately represents the frames studied. Yet, if one relies on 'emphasis framing' this can turn out way worse too. Emphasis framing entails focusing upon specific aspects of a solution or event that encourage certain interpretations and discourage others. In this way, we will influence the interpretation by the reader (Reese, Gandy & Grant: 2001). This is frowned upon as one should not attempt to distinguish contexts. Biehl therefore criticises classical anthropology for being too concerned with looking at structures and certain patterns that could structure or determine the thoughts and actions of our subjects. He asserts that experimental anthropology needs to let go of these buzzwords and focus upon the mere reasons behind people's actions and moreover look holistically at the whole context instead of falling into deterministic views (Biehl 2017). But then again, does such holism mean that one could not see structure recurring in historical diversity, and even name it? Although Goffman's plurality of frames is very helpful to comprehend interactions and certain contexts, can it increase our understanding of groups and their lifeworld, not to say cultures?

It is thus not because I am arguing here for a focus upon endogenous logics and cultural structures that I am using emphasis framing in order to focus upon one element of the culture. It is through *anthropologizing* history that I try to avoid this as it allows us to bring historical

dimensions into anthropology in a way that addresses the endogenous logic. I deliberately choose to pay special attention to the endogenous logic in this thesis, but it is in order for me to highlight something that has remained unaddressed by most others. I do not intend to sell a narrative that is unjust. I have chosen to employ Stroeken's concept of *anthropologizing* history and the endogenous logic throughout this thesis, as it serves the purpose best of what I am trying to explicate here. Yet, I will use the concept from a different angle than done by Stroeken. I choose to not only focus upon the endogenous logic, but also on the exogenous impact of the West through colonisation and academics – even though I argue here that the West was not the sole exogenous impact - in order to lay bare how these have contributed to the distortion or adaption of the cultural structure. I will elaborate on this in detail in the fifth and final chapter as I will argue that it is not a case of "or" but a case of "and" as the exogenous and endogenous influences together form reality (or at least form what I interpret as a reality).

4   Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have argued how postcolonial, interpretive and post-Cartesian anthropologies have provided us with insights into our discipline. We have stepped away from our quest towards 'objective' narratives based upon ethnocentric knowledge and addressed our issues head on as we realised that our positions as not just researchers, but also as humans in the field defined the nature of our research. Our attempts at integrated anthropology acknowledging both agency and structure, nature and culture, object and subject led us to an awareness of problematic interpretations by our colleagues in the past. This instigated debate on topics such as the invention of tradition, the invention of Africa and the imagined communities which were later on merged into the 'imagined traditions'. As it became clear that the impact of academics and colonials had been detrimental to the descriptions and interpretations of the cultures of the 'other', people started to call upon the disciplines to intertwine and provide interdisciplinary answers to these cultural misunderstandings. It is in this light that I looked at the historical and linguistic approaches of Vansina, Feierman and Schoenbrun. Without trying to discredit their entire bodies of work, I argued that all of these were lacking something. The underlying dynamic or endogenous logic that could clarify, explain or help interpret some of the cases that had been described by them was not addressed in their works. I then argued on the basis of Stroeken's work that in order to grasp this aforementioned dynamic, we must strive towards *anthropologizing* history and thus integrating both fields in order to further contextualise our findings. As historical accounts provide the

ethnographer with the appropriate data, the ethnographer's narratives provide the historian with an interpretation that addresses cultural commonalities into one holistic approach. As we pursue this, we reduce our risk of producing or reproducing cultural misunderstandings and we avoid or better understand conflicts between Western and local frames.

Chapter 3. The notion of 'endogenous logic' in a critical light

The hypothesis of an 'endogenous logic' as theorised by Stroeken denotes a model of rule that is a cultural commonality within the region of East and Central Africa. He proposes an internal logic (referring to a cultural system or process that is given meaning by looking at the logic behind it) within these societies that instigates transformations away from the initial model of the divinatory associations among hunters and towards the medicinal rule of chiefs or the ceremonial state of kings. This is not described by him as a linear model of evolution, but as a cycle of change susceptible to endogenous – proceeding from within – and exogenous – originating from outside – factors, and with the possibility of reversions. There is thus one medicinal complex that underlies certain developments and that functions as a structure but it does not determine how agents act or make decisions in a linear way, because they can shift between frames of experience according to the actor-idealism he adopts. I referred to this cultural logic in the previous chapter as I addressed how Vansina, Feierman and Schoenbrun have written historical narratives that provide us with valuable knowledge on the area, but that do not exactly grasp the anthropological insights on cultural change and cultural occurrences. Because the endogenous logic was missed by these authors who have contributed greatly to the field, cultural misunderstandings came about which led me to the conclusion that the joining of anthropology and history would bring new insights to the table.

Within this chapter, I will elaborate on this 'endogenous logic' in more detail and address how it has been defined by Stroeken in 'Medicinal Rule'. I will review this term in a critical light and argue that there is a need for differentiation, either at the level of the term or at the level of the scope. I will address how arguing for an 'endogenous logic' can be essentialising as it is based upon cultural 'boundaries' and ethnic ties. I will refer to Lévi-Strauss and Sahlins' structuralist theories which resonate to certain extents in Stroeken's work, but did not go about uncriticised. As I argue that it could possibly be fruitful to employ an alternative term and not 'endogenous logic', I will further look at Goffman's and Turner's theories on the importance of experience and frames. In all of this, we – as anthropologists – will always regard the holistic approach as central to our endeavours and Bourdieu's theorisations will help me in coming to this conclusion.

There is a hiatus present in 'Medicinal Rule' on the endogenous logic. Throughout his conceptualisation there is not enough attention awarded to women and their positions in the cultic sphere or medicinal rule. As I argue for a holistic approach including both structure and agency, I will contend that we must contract our scope to a certain extent and in the hopes of achieving this, I contract mine to a view on women.

Throughout this chapter, I attempt to answer the subquestion on what does the concept of 'endogenous logic' entail and in which way is it useful for me to employ throughout this thesis in order to acknowledge the women who have previously been underrepresented in historical narratives. The chapter serves as a theoretical debate upon the concept and is not trying to employ it within the scope of my own fieldwork (even though I will provide two short examples). This will be done in the fifth and final chapter.

1. *The endogenous logic of 'medicine rules'*

If we can look past our own European conceptualisations and Western ethnocentric visions on what power entails in a society, we can pay attention to 'alternative' – yet ever relevant – forms of power such as medicinal rule that can provide us with new insights on historical occurrences (MDR: 1). It is in doing this that Stroeken has argued that we can perceive a cultural commonality among East and Central African societies. This cultural commonality is not an all-encompassing structure that dictates or determines the actions of agents. Members of a group act according to their own frames of experience which are themselves inherently imbedded in the cultural structure (MDR: 2, 4). It is, thus, a story of both structure and agency.

The basis of endogenous logic is the notion of the cult as it was known in divinatory societies (MDR: 21). The cult is formed by the coming together of four interdependent elements which together construct the possibility for innovation. After the divinatory communication with an ancestor or nature spirit (1), the individual is initiated and is allowed after a sacrifice (2) to initiate others through ritual into medicinal knowledge (3) which grants social status in return for gifts to the association (4) (MDR: 34). This model of rule allows for innovations as it can transform into both medicinal rule and/ or a ceremonial state, which I will now discuss in more detail (MDR: 21).

First of all, the linguistic root *fum* or *kum* (and alternatively *gang*) is the basis for the concept of medicinal rule and refers to the initiated of the cult coming out of the forest as they are summoned by the spirit. They have now the capability of accumulating social status, eventually becoming a headman or healer if they are picked by a spirit in the forest (MDR: 199). Medicine rules is when a group of non-kin members is guided with forest- and spirit based initiatory power. This guidance is made permanent and tangible in a charm or shrine whose cultic frame of experience is shared among cult members (MDR: 5, 50 – 54). Medicinal rule is epitomised in the position of a chief with a council of elders and the blessing of spirits. Yet its origins lie in the endogenous logic of cultic medicine (MDR: 225).

Secondly, the linguistic root *kul* refers to elderliness and the heading of a family. The clan-elders have knowledge of the spirits (which is often based upon the use of a charm), but their power does not depend on the spirits. In the same way, when making the comparison between several cultural groups with various political systems in the region, it appears that many kings, unlike chiefs, do not practice divination themselves. As representatives of a dynastic clan, they tend more towards *kul* than *kum* (MDR: 38, 199, 225, 238). Without dependency on divination and initiation, medicinal rule can transform into a centralised state with autocratic kingship and a priestly caste organizing the rituals and keeping the charms. A ceremonial state will be formed, which denotes the end of medicinal rule. Again, this is an offshoot of the widespread endogenous logic of cultic medicine (MDR: 221).

Thus, centralisation can develop endogenously as there is a continuous alternation between these two tracks of *fum* and *kul* (MDR: 199). There is no chief or king who ruled without medicine as the cult of medicine is the regional model of rule in which the state originated (MDR: 6, 60).

This model of endogenous logic whereby divinatory society transforms into medicinal rule and into a ceremonial state, is not linear however. If this was a case of a linear model of development towards centralisation, this theory could be denoted as tending towards social evolutionism, yet this is not what is argued by Stroeken, who compares forty groups at different moments in the cycle, in some cases such as Kongo society reverting from a ceremonial state to medicinal rule due to economic shock. The comparative background that lead towards the notion of 'endogenous logic' is represented in the map on the following page, denoting the different cultural groups that have been the subjects of study of 'Medicinal Rule'.

Map 0.1 Compared groups. Map created by author.

1	Nkwe Mbali	4	Madzimbahwe
2	Mbomb' Ipoku	5	Grassfields
3	Kolelo		

Ac	Acholi (Luo)	Lz	Lozi (Barotseland)
B	Bunyoro	M	Maniema
Bg	Buganda	Mb	Mangbetu
Bs	Bashu	Mo	Mongo
Be	Bemba	N	Nyanga
Dk	Dinka	Nd	Ndembu
E	Edo	Nr	Nuer
Fa	Fang	Nw	Nyamwezi
H	Ha	R	Rwanda
K	Kagera	Ro	Rozvi
Km	Komo	S	Sukuma
Ko	Kongo	Sa	Sakata
Ku	Kuba (Bushong)	Sh	Shilluk
L	Luba	T	Tio
Ld	Lunda	Ta	Tallensi
Le	Lele	Ya	Yaka
Lo	Loango	Z	Zande
Lu	Lundu	Zu	Zulu (Nguni)
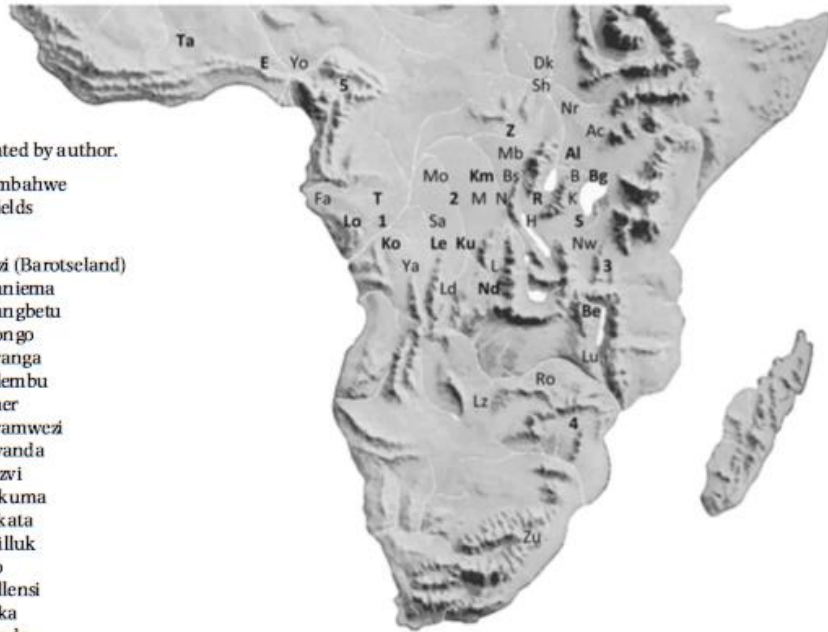
Figure 1 Compared groups. (MDR)

We can speak here of an endogenous cycle of transformations that is susceptible to exogenous influences instigating changes in this very cycle. A possible path that this endogenous cycle can take, is that the use of a medicine leads to the creation of a cult (which is a group of people adhering to this particular medicine). This cult can centralise and create a hierarchy, headed by a chief. However, as this system loses momentum and disintegrates, it can return to associational networks or cults (MDR: 129). These endogenous transitions of rule covering a vastly large area – construed through the comparative work between cultural groups – is represented within the figure below.

As illustrated here, in accordance with the interpretive anthropology of Geertz, the actors of cultures share a logic that symbolically frames the world, yet this can translate itself in diverse innovations (MDR: 110). The cultural structure or cultural commonality is not a static conceptualisation in the same way as the term 'tradition' was used in the past, but this cultural structure is transmitted from one generation to the next in a way that is adaptive to new circumstances (MDR: 19). Within the narrative on a non-static 'tradition', Stroeken goes on to argue that the concepts of 'chief' or 'king' – as first used by Western academics and colonials – denote a more static category of power than the phenomena that were actually present. These terms are most likely inaccurate translations from a proto-meaning of a word that entailed both the power of a chief or a king and the power of a medicinal ruler or a healer. It now merely kept

the political or administrative sense of power and not the actual medicinal aspects of power (MDR: 66, 70). The model of medicinal rule, its cyclical nature and susceptibility to change is represented in the figure below, as it also becomes clear that it is not merely a story of cult, medicinal rule and ceremonial state, but that there are also reversions possible.
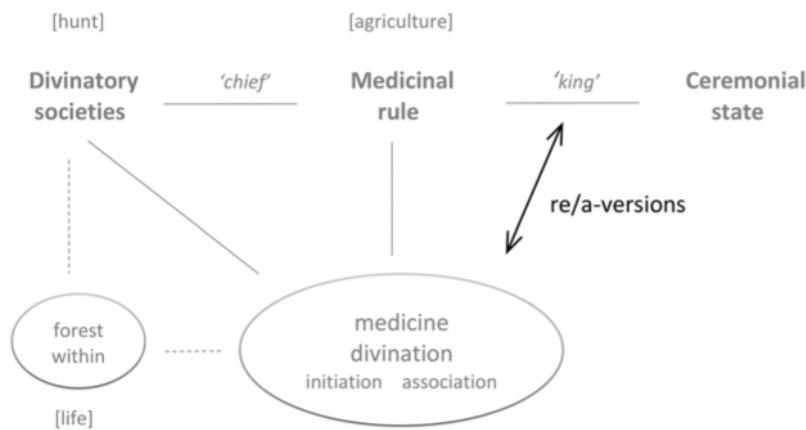
Figure 2 Endogenous transitions of rule in East and Central Africa. (MDR: 36)

As we recognise the cultural structure and endogenous logic which has been laid bare by the employment of the method of *anthropologizing* history, we can grasp just in which ways historians such as Vansina (on which I elaborated in the previous chapter) may have done injustice to the conceptualisations of power in these regions. In describing the concept of kingship, we cannot base our analysis upon Western notions of power. Kingship or chiefship are not the basis of rule in the area – as was argued by Vansina – because their success is measured in the way they use rain medicine (MDR: 35 – 38).

It is in looking at this endogenous process, logic or internal cause that we can understand the so-called 'equatorial tradition' proposed by Vansina in relation to the development of 'the' Bantu expansion (MDR: 110). Stroeken argues that the equatorial tradition did in fact not end abruptly, despite the coloniser's intervention (MDR: 114). It already seemed quite unlikely that a 4000 year old tradition died in 40 years by the implementation of culturally incorrect conceptualisations of power by a limited number of white 'invaders'. By this we can assert that the kingship could have died out under the influence of the West, but that did not mean that the endogenous logic upon which this form of power was based, died out itself. Thus, leaving us with the possibility for kingdom and chiefdom – even though these words do not exactly capture what we mean by this – to spring up again at other times in these regions.

Through the scope of the argument on the inherent connection of power and medicine, translating itself in various ways, I turn to my own fieldwork. It is at the inauguration of Chief Balele in Mwadui chiefdom, that I noticed that the presence of local administrators or government officials did not turn this event into what Westerners would perceive to be a 'political' endeavour. On the contrary, the event was imbedded into the cultural structure of medicine which actors employed through frames of experience in order to perform their power. The songs which were carried out at the inauguration were not about the chiefdom as a politically or regionally denoted category or as an ethnically defined form of identity. Moreover, the songs concerned the praising of ancestors, the prosperity of the chiefdom in the future in terms of rain medicine and the delimitation of identities of cults present. This event allowed me to perceive just how much the *ntemi* is intrinsically linked to the cult and its medicinal conceptualisations. The presence of Western conceptualisations of power – by which I mean forms of power that we would perceive as Western, but that have been thoroughly spread by imperialism – did not seem to impact the medicinal rule present. It is as if both co-exist in such a way that works for people. Different forms of power do not exist in vacuums but overlap and in instances such as the inauguration of a chief, they even come together. Both diplomatic conversations and praising of ancestors in songs and possession had their own spaces at this event. I do not assign any value to any of these forms of power. I am not on a quest to find *the* 'authentic' form of power which is not impacted from the outside but is just 'there'. All forms are valid and are all part of a big web that constructs reality. It is in this thesis that I pay extra attention to the medicinal and cultic bases of power, as this has been overtly ignored in the past, but this does not make other forms of power less relevant or less real.

Yet, here I must contend that it is not always the words that are spoken or the text – to continue with the theory of interpretive anthropology by Geertz – that can be 'read' by the researcher, that provide us with valuable insights (Geertz 1973). Geertz can be situated within the stream of symbolic and interpretive anthropology together with Victor Turner. Geertz believes that there are webs of meaning and networks in which people are situated and have their own place and interpretation. Culture is one of these webs of meaning. Symbols – which are part of culture – can change themselves and lead to transformations of structures. He argues for studies of symbols in societies in order to find how these symbols create variants and provide us with information as they are reflections of culture (Geertz 1974).

Turner, however, is more focused on how symbols in themselves function and how they help to comprehend rituals. He is less concerned with the phenomenon or structure that produces these rituals. Above that, one of Turner's greatest contributions lies in his conceptualisation of the performative nature of symbols and the use of anthropology in order for him to denote these. He perceived rituals to be activities involving not only words or objects but also performance. Thus, a ritual is not merely a symbolic language as argued by Geertz, but is moreover a series of actions which are performed by cultural beings. The culturally embedded performative behaviour of a person can tell us much about the cultural structure they find themselves in, without us having to focus upon the textual information that is provided (Turner 1987).

Again, this is something that became apparent to me through my fieldwork. At the 7SABA festival in Busiya chiefdom in 2018, which celebrates the end of the harvest season and the beginning of a new agricultural year, different forms of power come together into one definable space. Performers who are part of certain cults, the chief and his council of elders form the basis of the event. Above that, there are multiple government officials and administrative personnel of the region present. There is also a handful of Western volunteers who have usually contributed to the festival with monetary means as form of sponsoring. Finally, there was press who came to document the festival and make videos for social media. These are inherently different forms of power who all co-existed and took up their own space. In the afternoon everyone gathered around to listen to speeches and look at the performances. Throughout the speech by the chief of Busiya – Makwaia II – and the speeches from the other chiefs of the surrounding areas, no one *says* a word about medicine or the use of medicinal objects for the importance and the success of the chiefdom. These speeches come across as diplomatic and are concerned with what the average government official would want to hear about a 'prosperous' chiefdom of Sukuma. Yet, ironically, the chiefs are dressed head to toe in attires that scream 'medicine'. The charms around his wrist and ankle functioning as medicinal protection and his headdress that defines his status as a chief do not coincide with the diplomatic and political words that are spoken by him. After the speeches, it was time to look at some performances by dance groups. They used medicine throughout their entire performative process. Not only did they protect themselves before their performance in order to not be defeated by other dance groups, they also literally used medicinal power throughout their dance as a way of (what I interpret to be) expressing power as a dance group to assert dominance. Above that, literal medicine was used to heal a snake bite from a dancer whilst he continued to dance and medicine was thrown on the ground as part of denoting the land as fertile.

It is in this that I assert that this inherent connection between medicine and power – which forms the basis of the cultural structure – is not only textually interpretable, but is just as much performed and visually distinguishable even if it remains unspoken. It is here that the concept of Turner on the performance of rituals in spatially and temporally bounded times comes in handy. The symbolic anthropology allows us to distinguish not only textual elements, but also performative ones as we realise that the representation of this endogenous logic based upon cultic elements is reflected throughout the spoken and unspoken.

2. *A critical analysis of the 'endogenous logic' and a need for differentiation*

Every single scope, angle or interpretation of a culture or social structure implies a choice. In making a choice we will never be able to capture everything. No single perspective will ever provide us with the 'full scope' or the 'full truth'. This, however, is not necessarily a problem as it has been argued in the previous chapter that all analyses and narratives by academics are of interpretive nature. They construct *a* reality, but this does not make them any less valuable.

As I have chosen to employ the scope of the 'endogenous logic' throughout this thesis, I need to address the possible criticism that this term can receive. I will also argue that Stroeken's term carries with it certain lacunae and possibly burdens us with new issues. The essentialising nature of 'one' endogenous logic will be addressed together with an alternative that implies multiplicity in our striving towards a holistic approach.

2.1 Initial thoughts

Stroeken applied the terms 'cultural structure', 'endogenous logic' and 'cultural commonality' throughout his book as roughly denoting and describing the same phenomenon. But could this possibly be problematic? Are these word synonyms? Do they imply a certain ethnic commonality present in one culture? Can we use ethnic or cultural ties as the basis for a collective phenomenon?

As argued in the previous chapter by Anderson, the imagined community starts as soon as people of a group no longer know every single person of that group. As this endogenous logic spreads over an enormous area, we speak here of an imagined community (or an imagined culture?). Is it possible to denote on the basis of an imagined entity that they possess a certain

commonality? Does this not automatically make this commonality imagined? By this I do not argue that the logic is not here, but I merely argue for more transparency in the work by Stroeken on how exactly this commonality is formed.

As this culture is imagined to some extent, we could wonder whether as researchers we do not fall in the trap of geographically or territorially spacing a culture. We say that culture is fluid and cannot be trapped within certain boundaries, but is it actually possible to hold on to this notion if we are trying to theorise a presence of a commonality that is produced and reproduced through this culture?

2.2 The cultural essence

The danger of overemphasising the endogenous logic as an overarching factor is that we fall back into discourses that are based upon a cultural essence. An essentialist perspective argued that ethnic ties are a natural occurrence coinciding with cultural differences that explain collective phenomena. Thus, cultural difference was used as the basis for group identity, as the ethnic group one belonged to would be an inescapable part of human life that entailed certain central characteristics (Salzman 2006: 1910-1912). This collective identity provided the overarching basis for people's independent life choices as they were culturally determined by their own structure (Warms 2004: 298). As anthropology argued for a science that did not address essentially biological features as constructing the difference between people, they turned towards a science that used essentialist categories based upon ethnicity or identity to categorise people (Scupin 1992: 157).

Part of what would later be called essentialist anthropology was Lévi-Strauss' structural anthropology. He argued that there is a pattern of unconscious activities of minds – cognitivism – that functions to impose forms upon content in which the forms are all the same in one certain identifiable group. As researchers, he stated that we must grasp the unconscious structure which underlies each institution or custom in order to obtain a principle of interpretation that is valid for other institutions and customs as well. He also called upon the combination of anthropological and historical methods in order to apprehend this structure (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 21).

As I perceive similarities between the conceptualisation of the endogenous logic by Stroeken and the structural approach of Lévi-Strauss, I contend here that the essentialising nature of both theories differ. Lévi-Strauss – as a structure idealist – focuses upon the structure of the society to such an extent that he does not perceive it to be a possibility for actors to make decisions that do not align with the structure and thus, go against what is perceived to be logical from the standpoint of a cognitive unconscious structure. In arguing this, the overemphasis on structure leads to a cultural overdetermination of the actors. Yet Stroeken argues for an endogenous logic that can explain to us the occurrence of certain similar phenomena over a large region springing up and disappearing again. The logic inheres society and societal interactions, not individuals or brains. The actor is definitely influenced by these interactions, but has the inherent possibility of choosing against the endogenous logic or being influenced by exogenous elements causing a diversion or change in the developments instigated by the endogenous logic. Both theories seem to adhere a great amount of power to the structure of a society, but both have entirely different implications.

Not only Lévi-Strauss was known for his structural anthropology, but also Sahlins was instrumental for the rise of this new perception on cultural differences. He argued in the 'Islands of History' that processes – consisting out of both cultural continuity and change – are structural and organised but at the same time historically embedded. He sees structure as a meaningful and essential cultural logic. The society's members who are inherently part of this structure are not aware of it themselves. He does add to this that we must give a central place in our analyses to the intentions and actions of real human beings because they are the ones who construct the history or the culture in the first place. Sahlins perceives structure to constrain the ways in which history can develop but also addresses that the cultural categories of the structure are always receptive of change and redefinition because they are part of the real world (Sahlins 1985). He is less radical in his conceptualisations than Lévi-Strauss, yet he remains overtly focused upon the presence of structures.

We recognise the concept of a certain endogenous logic determining innovations as a denoted category throughout both Sahlins' and Stroeken's work. Sahlins' approach however could be argued to be more historical and focusing upon the notion that the cultural logic is an essential category of which the society's members do not realise that they are in themselves. He is cautious in arguing that this is determining and that the cultural structure is susceptible to

change and redefinition in the real world. This last argument resonates more in the work of Stroeken than the strict categorisations of the cultural structure by Lévi-Strauss do.

Borofsky stated that there was no real justification given by Sahlins or other structuralists in the past for assuming that there are certain mental phenomena or ways of thought that are essential attributes of society or of a culture (Borofsky 1994: 326). The reason for this is that culture is not an agent that can do something as it is not a thing (Borofsky 1994: 302 – 303). The ethnographic observations on heterogeneity were set aside during the times of essentialism and structuralism by anthropologists and an interest grew in describing social structures and cultural patterning as being explanatory for cultural events and cultural choices (Pelto, P. & Pelto, G. 1975). It is after this focus upon essentialist group identities, that an awareness came about that identity and truth are not universal but are productions of culture in specific times and places. Variations became the new main objects of study as anthropologists now argued that variations were the fundamental reality and not necessarily a deviation from norms of the cultural structure (Borofsky 1994: 320). Thus, anti-essentialist anthropology was concerned with explaining them – and the processes and mechanisms that produce them – and not with explaining the overarching structures or encompassing logical orders that were internally homogenous but that could mean something for how these variations came about (Borofsky 1994: 322 – 323). In doing this, there was a focus upon contextualisation and looking at the context of actions and consequences by tracing the influences upon them (Borofsky 1994: 323). Stepping away from the overtly amount of attention being ascribed to the cultural structure, there was a return to Evans-Pritchard's work as he had argued that any cultural or social event has the character of uniqueness and generality (Evans-Pritchard 1962).

Thus, this new idea on anti-essentialist anthropological narratives coincided with postcolonial concepts in which the anthropologists were now aware that our beliefs and understandings are of constructed nature (Barker 2004: 20). Postcolonialism argues that knowledge in itself is a situated and constructed ideology with no grounds in reality and that, consequently, essentialism does not hold up. The nature of postcolonial anthropology is in line with that of relativism, based on the consensus that every person is positioned and every opinion is subjective (Salzman 2006: 1910-1912).

Some of the elements of Lévi-Strauss' and Sahlins' conceptualisations, we see reflected in Stroeken's idea on the endogenous logic. Yet, this is something that he expresses awareness of

in his own work as he argues that the study of endogenous processes can be a tricky one. The recognition of the inherent diversity of Africa as a continent has been established for decades. He argues for a bold move towards acknowledging an endogeneity and commonality without trying to fall into an essentialist and homogenous discourse that disregards the diversity of Africa (MDR: 34). This was a move away from his work 'Moral Power' from 2010 that was based upon experiential frames. Yet, as I have argued in chapter two, 'Medicinal Rule' is a balancing act that tries to acknowledge the presence of structures, whilst remaining mindful of actors' frames of experiences.

The endogenous logic does raise some red flags in regards to cultural essence, yet his arguments are inherently different from the structuralist approaches of the aforementioned authors. In these theories, the cultural structure is essentialist in the sense that it is an overarching phenomenon that overdetermined the actions of agents. It is a linear conceptualisation in which structure and agency are predisposed in a static hierarchical opposition. Structure influences agents and determines their choices, agents are not aware of the structure and how their choices are made. This, however, is not how it is argued by Stroeken. For him, it is not a case of an essence that functions separately from the actors but this endogenous logic could be presented as a cycle that is able to change under the influence of endogenous or exogenous elements. The cultural structure clarifies certain innovations or historical events, but does not exist in a dichotomy with agency. Again, we speak here of a balancing act arguing for both ends of the spectrum. But the 'endogenous logic' remains problematic in the sense that it reminds us of cognitivism (a structuralist study focused upon mental processes which Lévi-Strauss was part of). The concept of 'endogenous logic' is not deducted from or employed as a historical trend in society, but as a part of the cognitive processes of an actor. Thus, in this, it is represented as the only possible frame or – less essentialising – as the dominant frame in the acts of an agent.

There has been a fear in anthropology the last decades for using a perspective within research that overtly addresses the structure of a society or culture. Yet the angst of becoming a structuralist has led to a general move away from structure and the scope of the agent has become the new norm within the discipline. I do not regard this as a wrong move because within the essentialising discourse there was no actual room for the actor and the development of actions as independent from the structure. Should we not be able to have the courage to argue that there is in fact sometimes a structure present that does influence how certain choices are made or certain processes are instigated? Do we not have the opportunity to adhere attention to

structure, without having to completely disregard the notion of agency? Are there alternative notions that encompass what we mean by 'endogenous logic'? This is what I discuss in the next section.

2.3 Frames of experiences

Goffman coined the term of 'Frame analysis' in 1974. A 'frame' was defined by him to denote the situations that are constructed in accordance with principles of organisation that determine how events and the involvement of people in them come about. These culturally determined frames would allow people to make sense of objects and events they live through. A frame analysis provides us with the opportunity to examine the organisation of experience in the form of a flexible method to study social constructions of reality. The anthropologist could read these frames or chunks of social behaviour in order to understand the frames that the participants use and to make sense of them (Goffman 1974: 10- 11).

In 1986, it was Turner who developed a theory for what he called anthropology of experience. Turner based this upon the notion of experience as part of Dilthey's hermeneutic approach in which he argued that reality only exists in the facts of consciousness given by the inner experience of individuals (Dilthey 1976). Dilthey denotes that the sphere of lived experience is the primary reality, but that this means that we are limited to the level of the individual because we will never be able to completely know another's experiences. In order to transcend these spheres of experience, Dilthey argues for interpreting expressions which are the representations of experiences in theatre, narratives and so forth (Dilthey 1976). As Turner builds upon the notion of experience and expressions, he regards some of Dilthey's work to be problematic. He argues that the experience structures the expressions, but that the expressions also structure the experience. Thus, we could state that this is a dialectic in which contradictive powers shape each other (Turner & Bruner 1986: 9). Experience is an active concept and not something that is passively present. As we attempt to structure experience we cannot see it as a static circle – as I have argued earlier that the endogenous logic is a cycle but is susceptible to change from different spheres of influence – but we should see it as a historical evolutionary spiral consisting out of progressive construction and reconstruction (Turner & Bruner 1986: 16). Performance is then the structuring of the structure of experience (Turner & Bruner 1986: 22). Turner argues that a cultural pattern or social structure as the basis for an analysis is reductive and blinding

and we must step away from this and address the structure of experience as a spiral movement (Turner & Bruner 1986: 377).

Within the realm of this anthropology of experience, some continued to argue that the concept of experience must either be rejected or reformed. Scott argued that the processes and structures that gave rise to historicity and the possibility of experience are ignored by the experience anthropologist who is overtly subjective and focused upon agents (Scott 1992). Geertz, on the other hand, argues for the understanding of the experience on a conceptual and macro-level, but not on the level of the private world of subject. He calls upon anthropologists to look at culturally shaped systems that create external and collective senses of experiences (Geertz 1973). We see here that in the anthropology of experience there is a dichotomy between agency and structure and that academics tend to adhere more attention to one or the other. Again, this provides us with a dilemma on where to lay our emphasis and whether or not the endogenous logic is a term that is valuable. However, as will be argued by some academics, the concept of experience or frames of experience would denote a switch to the entire other end of the spectrum towards agency.

The concept of frames of experience provides us with another possible perspective. The endogenous logic with a standpoint of overarching commonalities (whilst in fact taking into account the experiences of individuals) would make room for a minimal scope looking at the experiences of people and the frames that bring these together. Frames of experience allow us to denote the same practice. Yet, does this accurately address the fact that we are trying to talk about similarities and not differences here?

2.4 The quest for a holistic approach

No matter how difficult our choices in scope and perspective are, the search for a holistic approach is what remains at the centre of this discussion. Striving towards a holistic approach is perhaps stating the obvious as taking everything into account is the fundament upon which anthropology is based. Bourdieu argued for a holistic approach with his theory on the habitus. We must look at socio-cultural phenomena – explaining the individual's relationships to other individuals and to culture – in which the habitus denotes the action of an agent in combination with the structure (Bourdieu 1977: 83). The habitus is the personalised disposition unique to one person that determines how one behaves. It is based upon various kinds of capital: social,

cultural and symbolic capital which determine just how exactly a person behaves in a social or cultural context. The habitus captures both structure and agency as these come together in a dynamic flow of actions in a socially structured world. It is determined by an individual as he reacts and perceives the world around him, yet it can be shared by people with similar backgrounds. Thus, individuals are free enough to make their own decisions and plans, yet they are not fully free because they are conditioned by the habitus or the strategies through which they decide their plans (Bourdieu 1977).

Stroeken argued, in one of his earlier works, for the combination of the habitus by Bourdieu and the conceptualisations of experience into one holistic view in order to create our visions upon culture (Stroeken 2010: 115 – 116). The meaning of the habitus is situated in the frame of experience and provides us with dynamic possibilities to look at the socially constructed dimensions of meaning. We can distinguish the frames of experience across the flows of social interactions in order to form our interpretations of meaning (Stroeken 2010: 182).

As illustrated by the discussion above, there is not really any clarity on how to balance structure and agency into one holistic approach as we often have a tendency to be inclined towards either one end of the spectrum. The endogenous logic (covering the level of the society) – if one does not know the theoretical framework in which this term came about – can come across as essentialising or as a one-sided narrative. One could argue for the adoption of an alternative concept that addresses more accurately both sides of the spectrum.

Would it not already provide us with an apt opportunity if we argue not for a singular approach, but a multiple one? Would it be more feasible to speak of the presence of endogenous logic*s* or cognitive logic*s*? Or of frames of experience*s*? Should we look beyond this and employ a new term that combines both of these such as 'endogenous logic of experiences'? The concept of frames of experience does not give enough room to the argument on a commonality, but the concept of 'logic' puts too much emphasis on it. Can we only solve this by creating a new term? Or are there other options that we could use to denote this concept in a way that connects more with the poststructuralist and anti-essentialist approach? How can we find a middle ground between structure and agency whilst maintaining a holistic approach? Or are we focusing too much upon which words in our anthropological scope could give us the most inclusive conceptualisation, whilst this is actually not entirely relevant? Is it not just a matter of words, whilst the local terms and the cases can speak for itself?

2.5 Towards differentiation?

What I argue here is that in differentiating the endogenous logic and focusing upon smaller scopes which this logic consists out of, we will be able to construct some valuable insights as well.

Within the book on 'Medicinal Rule' by Stroeken, there is one lacuna that is prominently present. His analysis addresses the position of the chief and the king – for whom it is often presumed that they are male – and the endogenous logic present behind innovations. As apparent from the previous two chapters, there was not much room for attention on women as the Western anthropologists, academics and colonials implemented Western notions of power – based upon patriarchy – onto the world of the 'other'. Women have been written *out* of history for centuries, making it entirely difficult to gain any information on their positions. This inherent lack of historical narratives on the subject bled through into the work of 'Medicinal Rule'. The lack of written sources provides us with one reason for this lacuna, but did fieldwork not provide the opportunity to notice in which ways women are part of this medicinal and cult based endogenous logic underlying historical developments? Thus, in attempting to make my scope smaller and differentiate this endogenous logic, the goal of this thesis is to look at women in a more attentive way in order to write women back *into* history. I will let go of perceptions that have been constructed through ethnocentric visions – providing us with historical accounts that disregard or merely fail to mention women at all – and move towards an anthropology that provides historically embedded information on how gender was present with Sukuma in a medicinal sense.

3   Conclusion

The 'endogenous logic' of 'medicine rules' is the scope that Stroeken has applied in his work as he looked at the cultic power and the medicinal basis for innovations such as the medicinal rule or the ceremonial state. This cultural structure has been laid bare by the approach of *anthropologizing* history as we address the injustice that has been done to the conceptualisation of power. I have argued that there could be an alternative necessary in looking at this cultural commonality. Using one scope in order to create a narrative could be seen as problematic, but there is always something that will miss from an interpretation as it will never address everything in 'reality'.

As I agree with the need for us to dare to be bold enough to state that there are commonalities present – as we have moved so far away from structuralism in order to not represent people as gullible, we have nothing left but agency – I argue that it is perhaps not the right term to address what we are dealing with here. Maybe we are in need of a term that lays less emphasis on the commonality and more on the particularity. Is an 'endogenous logic' the best term for this? Is this not a tad bit too essentialising? In looking for an alternative I looked at the opposite end of the spectrum towards the agent and its frames as theorised by Goffman and the anthropology of experience by Turner. I argue that there is a need for differentiation whilst maintaining a holistic approach. This differentiation for me would mean looking at women as this is a lacuna that I have found in Stroeken's work in which the scope of the endogenous logic did not accurately describe women. This is perhaps evidence of the fact that his endogenous logic is not quite as explanatory as he deems it to be because it does not sufficiently address everything that falls under it. Thus, perhaps it would serve our purpose to differentiate and apply smaller scopes in the hopes of addressing what we wish to. The notion of endogenous logic has been criticised throughout this chapter, yet we could wonder what is worse: risking universalism (something that Western imperialist academics have always done) by projecting European processes and Western scopes onto the rest of the world? Or risking cultural essentialism, but employing a scope that endogenously makes sense?

In writing this chapter, I have argued how I perceive this endogenous logic and how I plan to use my perspective on it throughout the rest of this work. I will employ it but I will attribute different interpretations to it than done by Stroeken, in an attempt to write the women *into* the historical narratives. The next chapter will bring us back to my notion of a holistic approach as I argue for paying attention to exogenous influences on women.

Chapter 4. Exogenous factors and their influences
upon gender across the globe

The notion of 'endogenous logic' has been critically described in the previous chapter as I have discussed its relevance for my arguments and its downfalls. I came to the conclusion that I will be employing the concept in the next chapters but on a differentiated level as I focus my attention on groups of women that have been culturally misunderstood and written out of history time and time again. In doing exactly this, I quickly ran into an issue: what about the presence of exogenous influences that can instigate changes within this very endogenous logic? Is this not relevant as well in trying to perceive and interpret 'reality'? The exogenous elements I am referring to here are colonisation and imperialism – as described in the first chapter – and their impacts upon the genders of the colonised people involved. Within this chapter, I will look at the exogenous elements that come to the foreground when trying to construct an account on women with Sukuma. This will allow me to analyse the intersections between endogenous logic – which is central to this thesis – and the exogenous elements that penetrate it in order to attempt to construct a holistic view on women further on.

I will start off by discussing why I contend that there is a category such as women present in my region of study. I must justify why I am arguing that there was a precolonial gender division present with Sukuma. The concept of 'gender as a construct' by Judith Butler will be addressed to accurately focus on the constructive nature of 'women' as it is not a natural distinction that is ever present. I will continue by assessing the concept of hegemonic masculinity by Connell. He argues that there is a masculinity – which is *constructed* culturally and socially – present on a large, global scale. It is spread all over the globe as imperialism and globalisation have had a hand in this. I must include the hegemonic masculinity here as some cultural changes that will be addressed in the next chapters will resonate strongly in his theory. Yet I am highly critical of it. There are commonalities on the level of the endogenous logic and the level of gender orders influenced by exogenous forces, whilst both remain susceptible to particularity and change. I do not deny that the West has in fact had an impact upon gender in the world, as I do not underestimate the intensity and gravity of historical processes such as colonisation. But I do argue that this impact has been differentiated, complex and must be locally addressed in order to be of relevance. As I steer away from the concept of the global gender order as I deem it too essentialising (which will be illustrated by my own criticisms and Mohanty's concept on

the homogenisation of the Third World woman), I continue to argue that patriarchy might be a term that is more useful for this work. This concept will be critically assessed as well, as its definition and the perception that it is a universal occurrence need attention.

The subquestion for this chapter is 'Which are some of the exogenous elements that interplay and influence endogenous logic – as has been explained in the previous chapter – when looking at a gendered differentiation?'

1. Precolonial gender divisions?

I will address in which ways I exactly perceive Sukuma women to be present in 'medicinal rule' in the following chapter. Yet I have already made a big statement by asserting that there is such a thing as 'women' in my region of study. As there are no written sources on precolonial Sukuma, one could say that this is just guesswork. I am assuming throughout this entire thesis that there was and is such a thing as a gender distinction beyond mere biology with Sukuma. I cannot assert that I know this for sure, yet this is what I have deducted from my own research in the field and the sources that I have read.

As Feierman argues on his study of the peasant intellectuals: "Most difficult of all, in our study of peasant intellectuals, is the problem of peasant women as intellectuals. Their large and sustained protests occupy a significant part of the present book's narrative, but the leaders have been systematically deprived of recording their names in the archival record. The women did not, for the most part, communicate with the government in writing" (Feierman 1990: 25). He addresses the colonial and postcolonial situation in regards to gender, but he runs into the exact problem that I have encountered in trying to argue on women in these areas. There are fairly little sources that address women in precolonial times. The colonial sources that do address women, talk about them in the light of marriage, family and Christianity which is quite obviously from a Western and patriarchal perspective.

As I continue my presupposition that there was in fact a culturally denoted concept of 'women', I argue here that this most likely took on very different forms than what the Western academic thought it to be. Oyewumi would be critical of the premise – the difference between men and women – upon which this thesis relies. She argued in her book on 'The invention of women' – a continuance of the arguments on invention of tradition and Africa as described in the previous

chapter – that the Yoruba in Nigeria had a genderless indigenous past wherein both women and men were inherently equal to each other. This equality went to such extents that there was no such thing as 'women' in the Yoruba society before there came contact with the West. She argues that the Western ideas on gender as a primary organising principle in society were seen as universal and were imposed on the Yoruba (Oyewumi 1997: ix – xiii).

Gender is a key organising principle in Western societies. When intercultural encounters increased, ethnographic research was eager to document these 'primitive' cultures of the 'other'. In doing so – and especially from an evolutionist standpoint – it was assumed that certain characteristics or organising principles were universal. Gender was already so imbedded in the Western world and academics, that it was probably deemed impossible to encounter a society that did not have gender as one of its main features (or not at all). In the case of the Yoruba, it had been the norm in academic writing to discuss the society in a gendered manner: the gendered division in labour, bridewealth paid by the parents as a sign of denying women agency and so forth. Thereby, Western ethnocentric academics were projecting their gendered frameworks onto other societies and cultures, disregarding their particular differences (Oyewumi 1997).

Oyewumi's work can be heavily criticised from an anti-structuralist approach because she ascribed an overtly amount of power to the West as being capable of inventing a gender distinction, putting it down in writing and implementing it in a way that it became part of the society. In doing this, the Yoruba person is represented as a gullible human who accepts the implementations of foreign structures by foreign people. This seems quite unlikely as it was probably more a story of limited conceptualisations on gender distinction and mutual respect towards a patriarchal society with prescribed forms of gendered behaviour. Yet I argue that whether Oyewumi was too radical in her view on a genderless precolonial Yoruba society or whether she was in fact right, is not relevant to this discussion. 'The invention of Women' is a crucial work when it comes to breaking the ethnocentrism that had been instilled on the Yoruba by Western academics for decades. And above that, she makes us think on how we have perceived gender in the past and how to be careful in moving forward in this.

Thus, as I argue that there was a distinction between men and women present in precolonial Sukuma, I contend that this distinction may mean something entirely different than what our

Western vision of gender hierarchies entails. Here it is not a question on whether gender was present, but it is more a question of how gender was present.

2. *Gender as a construct*

It becomes apparent throughout the previous passages and the work of Oyewumi that gender is not something that is just 'there', but it is constructed and experienced by people in a cultural way. Judith Butler was the first to address this constructed nature. She argued that gender is not a stable identity from which various acts proceed. Gender identities are always constituted in time and institutionalised through repetitions of stylised acts (Butler 1988: 519). In this conceptualisation, gender is merely the illusion of a substance, a coherent identity, a performative accomplishment which is believed in and consequently performed by a social audience. It is a construct and not merely a truth, which means that there are possibilities for transformations because of the arbitrary relation in between gender performances or acts. When the repetition of the stylised acts is broken by someone or something, a gender identity can shift (Butler 1988: 520 - 521). In arguing for this constructive nature, Butler is assessing that there is a distinction between sex as biological and gender as cultural. Sex is not perceived to naturally dictate how a woman should act in social settings (Butler 1988: 520, 522). These are unrelated, which is something that is now commonly accepted in gender studies (Butler 2002; Laqueur 1992; Oakley 2016). Being a woman is compelling the body to conform to the historically and socially situated and delimited idea of the woman (Butler 1988: 522). The body becomes a cultural construction (Butler 1988: 523). In one of her later works, Butler connected this to a fixity of the body as material. Gender as a cultural construct is imposed upon the level and the surface of materiality. The materiality of a sex is not something that one has, it is the norms that one lives by (Butler 1993: 2).

Thus, as argued by Butler, the 'woman' – which is the main actor of relevance to this thesis – must compel her body to conform to the historical and cultural idea on women. As we use Butler's notion throughout this work, it becomes apparent that we must grasp whatever denotes the historical and cultural idea. In looking through the scope of the endogenous logic, we gain understanding of the local logic and the relevant structures. Yet we continuously run into exogenous elements influencing this. Thus, in order to understand the historical and cultural idea on the woman and what influences it, we must look at both exogenous and endogenous notions.

3. A global gender order?

Connell's works on the hegemonic masculinity and the global gender order were published a few years before Butler's, yet they refer to some of the notions that were later theorised by her. He argues that men's bodies are objects of and agents in social practice, used in the hegemonic masculinity as a way of representing identities (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 851). Above that, he argued for the presence of multiple masculinities instead of one which was thought to be determined by the sex of a person (Connell 1987). This reminds us of what was later theorised by Butler as the notion of gender as a construct.

3.1 Hegemonic masculinity

The concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' has been instrumental in defining the notion of multiple masculinities and looking at the presence of power structures across the globe. The theory has been positively received by many, yet has also been heavily criticised. The term 'hegemonic masculinity' was used for the first time in a field report on secondary schooling in Australia in 1982. It was only later theorised as a concept by Carrigan, Connell and Lee in 1985 (Carrigan, Connell & Lee 1985).

The hegemonic masculinity is not 'the male role', but it is a certain variety of multiple masculinities that is employed by a dominant group, to which others – among them young and homosexual men – are subordinated. It is particular groups of men, not men in general, who are oppressed within patriarchal sexual relations, and whose situations are related in different ways to the overall logic of the subordination of women to men (Carrigan, Connell & Lee 1985: 587). The culturally exalted form of masculinity, the hegemonic model, may only correspond to the characters of a small number of men (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 832). Above that, it is argued that most men benefit from the subordination of women; hegemonic masculinity is connected with the institutionalisation of men's dominance over women. The hegemonic is present in so far it embodies a strategy in relation to women (Carrigan, Connell & Lee 1985: 592). Thus, we can conclude that the dominance of men in a society is always present in a hierarchical relation to women, but that the group that subordinates the women is only a select group of men and not all of them. The masculinity varies across time, culture and individuals. In one of his later works, Connell argues for the importance of the combination of the plurality

of masculinities and the hierarchy of masculinities in which there is a subordination of nonhegemonic masculinities in one concept (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 845).

Connell later made his connection with Butler's work explicit as he argued that bodies of men are open to interpretation and are not determined by the patterns of masculinity (Connell 1998: 6). These bodies are culturally defined and disciplined. However, he does argue that they are not blank slates as the enactment of masculinity cannot reach everywhere. This in fact goes against the arguments made in Butler's work. Even though he acknowledges that there is an active construction of masculinities as they come into existence through the acts of people and are produced, he stated that the enactment of gender cannot reach everywhere. Does he imply that gender is not fully culturally structured but is in fact also to some extent naturally present? Is this also the reason why he continues to connect his concept of the hegemonic masculinity to psychological theories like Freud's to denote some type of inherent difference in sex present between men and women (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 832)? And to what extent does this make his theory useful as the idea of a natural presence of gender differences is not accepted within academic debates?

3.2 Global gender order as a consequence of imperialism

Whilst the concept of the hegemonic masculinity was argued for by multiple scholars, it was only in 1998 that Connell decided to move further with it and argue for the hegemonic masculinity as a global phenomenon (Connell 1998). Initially in the academic world there was criticism on the concept of the 'unitary male sex role' for oversimplifying the roles of men. This turned into an 'ethnographic moment' in the study of masculinity as academics moved to adhering attention to specific regions and localising issues of masculinity in its context. Masculinity was theorised at a local level and historical details were laid bare. It quickly became apparent that masculinities were plural and differed per culture and time period (Connell 1998: 3 - 4). Connell asserts that certain conclusions can be drawn from these local accounts which lead him to argue for a global scope and a change in agenda for the whole field of masculinity studies (Connell 1998: 3, 6 - 7). This global gender order – instigated through capitalism, multinational corporations and global finance markets – is based upon the hegemonic masculinity as it meant the embodiment of the currently accepted and praised way of being a man. In consequence, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to the dominant men and it legitimated the global subordination of women to men (Connell & Messerschmidt

2005: 832). This becomes institutionalised through the transnational businesses so it is standardised across localities (Connell 1998: 12). But because gender relations are historical, gender hierarchies are subject to change and the hegemonic masculinities remain the results of specific circumstances (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 832).

One of the factors that was instrumental in the coming about of the global hegemonic masculinity is imperialism. The expansion of European states laid the roots of the modern world gender order (Connell 1998: 8 – 9). Connell mentions three elements as inherently important to this gendered expansion. First of all, the colonial conquest and settlement were carried out by gender segregated forces – such as soldiers, sailors, traders, administrators and others – and it resulted in the disruption of the indigenous gender orders (Connell 1998: 8, 12). He does not explain how exactly he thinks this happened, but I imagine he refers to processes as described in the first chapter in which male chiefs are implemented in denoted regions. Second of all, there were new gender divisions of labour produced through colonialism as masculinities became defined around economic action (Connell 1998: 8). The neo-colonial empire that stretched itself over the entire world as world markets grew, led to the modernisation of masculinities and the creation of gender divisions of labour on the scale of the global factory (which is led by hegemonic groups of men in control) (Connell 1998: 14, 16). Third of all, the political decolonisation led to the disruption of community based gender orders towards a reorientation of masculinities into national and international contexts (Connell 1998: 8, 15).

The world gender order is not theorised by him to be an extension of a traditional European-American model transposed upon the rest of the world, but he denotes it to be a gender order which was transformed through colonialism and influenced by elements of other cultures. It is argued by him that this global gender order is reflected in the installation of armies, states, bureaucracies, corporations, capital markets, labour markets, schools and so on in the periphery of all countries in the world. These are all gendered institutions and denote to him the reconstitution of masculinities in the periphery. The world gender order is unquestionably patriarchal as the dividend from men is arising from unequal wages, labour force participation and unequal structure of ownership (Connell 1998: 11). He ends this article by stating that there is significant refocusing in research on masculinities needed as we must move beyond the local studies and into the direction of comparative studies from different parts of the world. We must regard our studies as a powerful force in local gender dynamics and reconsider our research methods to look at a global scope of gender (Connell 1998: 19).

3.3 Criticism

An attentive reader might notice that Connell's concept of the global gender order could be problematic. Arguing that a phenomenon is occurring globally will always receive a lot of backlash. And that is exactly what happened. I will discuss some of the criticisms here but only address the ones that could be of relevance for this thesis as the entire body of critiques cover a wide array of issues.

First of all, Collinson and Hearn argue that the concept of masculinity is blurred through the notion of the global gender order and that it tends to de-emphasise issues of power and domination as the 'multiple masculinities' produce a static typology (Collinson & Hearn 1994). Others move further in this as they argue that the concept of masculinity essentialises the character of men and imposes an idea of unity and coherence that in fact is not there (Petersen 1998; Collier 1998). Difference between men and women is essentialised and ignored. Connell denies this by stating that masculinity is not a fixed entity embedded in the body of individuals. He states that masculinities are produced through social action and can differ according to gender relations (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 833).

Second of all, Demetriou criticises the concept for being unclear. He argues that there is an external hegemony (in which there is an institutionalisation of men's dominance over women) and an internal hegemony (in which the social ascendancy of one group of men over all other men is present) (Demetriou 2001: 341). The relationship between these two is unspecified and unclear in the original concept, yet Connell argues for both (Demetriou 2001: 342). He criticises Connell for having a dualistic representation of masculinities in which non-hegemonic masculinities exist in tension with the hegemonic masculinities but never impact or penetrate them (Demetriou 2001: 347). This is problematic as Connell's theory argues for a principle that states that the relationships *within* genders can be explained by the relationships *between* genders (Demetriou 2001: 343).

3.4 Debunking the global gender order?

I do not only agree with these criticism stated above, I also had some issues with the theory on the global gender order myself. Connell has a lack of insight in how this global gender order is

useful, translated or interconnected on a local level and he does not bring this across to the reader.

One of the examples he uses in favour of his argument is the fact that all political leaders in the world wear a uniform of a Western business executive as they employ the same masculine dress (Connell 1998: 11). This is extremely unsurprising as the political leaders he speaks of are part of Western notions of politics and it is quite logical that the dress code of a Western form of power that was transmitted in different parts of the world is continued. The economic and political examples he gives are not in any way culturally relevant and as a reader with an anthropological background, it becomes quite difficult to imagine how this is useful for any analysis on a smaller scale. Cultural sensitivity is lacking as the continuous Western examples he delivers, fail to explain just how this gender order is relevant. Even though he argues that the order was influenced by elements of the non-Western cultures it was transposed upon, it remains unclear and unexplained just how this happened. If we look at his theory from a Eurocentric perspective and Western notions of power, it all makes sense. Yet if we look at it from the point of view of non-Western notions of power and a scope of cultural sensitivity, the theory loses all its relevance.

Another one of his striking arguments is on the effect of imperialism in spreading the global gender order as he states that "the impact of colonialism on the construction of masculinity among the colonized is much less documented, but there is every reason to think it was severe" (Connell 1998: 13). He argues that conquest disrupted all structures of the indigenous society including the gender orders. After 12 pages of arguing how this hegemonic masculinity as gender order is global and not just present in the West, his argument for how this translates itself in non-Western countries merely denotes that there is not a lot of documentation but that he believes it was severe. The reader needs a little more than just a hunch or a presumption in order to believe the universality of his concept. The position of the colonised is not a side topic in his theory, it should be the most relevant. How can we use this notion in culturally sensitive argumentations if it is based upon a mere presumption due to 'lack of documents'? Differentiation is needed here as his current argument is weak at best.

Finally, his reference to right wing parties as a reason for the hegemonic world order, is yet another example of his inherent focus upon Western notions of power. How is this relevant to other institutions apart from the Western ones? One could state that because the Western

institutions were spread in the world through imperialism, this means that we now are gendered across the entire globe in a similar way. This, however, seems so obvious that it is not even worth arguing a theory for. Of course all of these institutions are gendered in a certain type of way because they are imports from the West, but that does not say anything about the people themselves who are involved at all. But if this is really the basis of his theory, one could argue that the 'global gender order' has the same depth as stating that capitalism is real.

It was argued by Connell himself, when rethinking his concept on the hegemonic masculinity, that the model was too simple as he denoted a single pattern of power in which men dominate women as being globally present (Connell 1987: 183). He argues that this is now no longer useful as there are multiple relations, just like there are multiple masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity became used as a fixed character or trait type. This created trouble as it was highly criticised in recent psychological writing. He calls upon us to abandon the essentialist notion of masculinity in which there is one pattern of power, but also the approach in which hegemonic masculinity is used as a trait type (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 845). In doing this, he wants to move towards a dynamic hegemonic masculinity that recognises internal contradictions and possibilities of change (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 829, 852). Above that, he argued that within this concept of hegemonic masculinity, there must be more attention given to the gender hierarchy and the people at the other end of the dominance. He realises that more agency needs to be ascribed to subordinated groups such as women and the groups of nonhegemonic men in order to acquire a more holistic approach (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 847).

Not all of the problems inherently related to his notion are resolved though. He argues for the geography of masculinities on three levels: the local (families and organisation), regional (culture and nation state) and global (media and business). His previous theory on the hegemonic masculinity played out on the global level. Now he states that there must be more attention given to the links between the regional and the local. Examples he gives of the regional level are the translation of hegemonic masculinity by feature film actors, athletes and politicians affecting the people at regional and local scales (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 849). He continues by giving an example of sport in Australia (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 850). Again, the examples he provides in favour of his statement are inherently Western. How does this give us any information on how this so called 'global' gender order is relevant on the local level of non-Western societies? He tries to denote that this concept is global and that he does not want to overrule the local model by putting too much emphasis on the global. Yet this is

ironically exactly what he does. The inherent lack of clarity on the link between global and local is a big problem within his theory. There are indisputable grounds of truth in his ideas on the influence of the West and the role of imperialism in imposing upon the gendered societies of others. Yet his argument that this is globally comparable lacks foundations in multiple aspects and leads me to argue that it is not always very relevant.

4. The homogenisation of the Third World woman

Even though Connell's theory resonates in some of the arguments that I will make in the next chapter, I argue here that for me the 'global gender order' is too essentialising and attempts to grasp a structure that is perhaps too complex to capture in this way. It is not culturally sensitive and nuanced enough and assumes unities and coherences of which I do not dare to state with certainty that they are present. In arguing for a global gender order, we resort to a homogenisation of genders, which has been described by Mohanty.

4.1 Under Western eyes

Mohanty's work is, again, a very appreciated but criticised work. Her essay 'Under western Eyes' published in 1984, discussed the influence of ethnocentric views on the 'other', but from a gendered point of view. She has argued that Western feminists – from their position of power – have colonised the heterogenisation of the Third World women. The Third World woman had been constructed as a singular, homogenous, monolithic subject in western academics. This has created a dichotomy between the western wom*en* – the subjects who possess agency – and the Third World wom*an* – the object who allegedly suffers from suppression and underdevelopment (Mohanty 1984).

Her theory contributes to the notion of women as invented and static. This is a possible critique that could be given on Connell's work as his focus upon masculinities and his lack of attention for the femininit*ies* that these are constructed in opposition with are problematic. The lack of agency that is ascribed to women as he deems them all to be part of this one subordinated structure should be highly criticised as well. He, as a Western academic, construes the Third World woman – and women in general – as a singular category which exists per definition in opposition to the hierarchically higher male. It is my goal to avoid doing this and move towards a differentiated view upon women with local connotations. Connell would denote this to be

useless as his regard is that the ethnographic movement is over and that we must now focus upon global categories. Yet, I argue that there is a usefulness in listening to people at local levels in order to construct a view upon gender notions on a small scale. This could allow us to extrapolate this onto larger scales at a later time – such as done by Stroeken when looking at the endogenous logic in Eastern and Central Africa – whilst remaining mindful that a global order as ever-present is quite unlikely.

4.2 Revisiting Mohanty's notion

Mohanty was critical of her own work as she revisited the concept in 2003, almost 20 years after the original publication. She argued for a change of title from 'Under Western eyes' to 'Inside Western eyes' (Mohanty 2003: 499). She stresses here the need for particular analyses in combination with looking at larger and global frameworks (Mohanty 2003: 501). She argues that it was her main goal to challenge the false universality of the Eurocentric discourses and she was not critical of the valorisation of difference over commonality in the discourse, as differences are never just differences (Mohanty 2003: 504 - 505). She argues that there is no harm in looking for commonalities between the Third World and the West, as we must not always focus upon difference (Mohanty 2003: 509). We must shift our focus now to an anti-capitalist transnational feminism that acknowledges how capital depends on racist, patriarchal and heterosexist relations of rule (Mohanty 2003: 510). She calls upon feminists to get to know the real and concrete effects of the global restructuring on raced, classed, national and sexual bodies of women (Mohanty 2003: 516). In moving with the trend of abandoning the ethnographic focus (just like Connell), she argues for an understanding of global processes of women with the goal of anti-globalisation (Mohanty 2003: 517).

5.   Patriarchy as a universal concept?

It is clear that there is a trend in academics towards understanding and conceptualising global notions of gender as consequences of imperialism and capitalism in combination with local analyses. I do not contest the validity and value of these notions, yet I argue that some have been more culturally sensitive than others. I will not employ the concept of the global gender order as it comes across as essentialising, but I do believe there is truth in looking for commonalities between the Third World and the West, instead of always trying to find and describe differences of the 'other'. This search for commonalities is not only represented in my

use of the endogenous logic, but also in my interest for gender orders that can be found in multiple parts of the world. Yet I attempt to employ both concepts with great care by differentiating the concept of the endogenous logic on the level of the woman and by looking at fluid commonalities and differences between gender orders at the same time, instead of devoting a lot of attention to either one of them. As I argue that there are commonalities in gender throughout this world, I turn to the concept of patriarchy.

5.1 The notion of patriarchy

Patriarchy is defined as the relationship of a dominant group, considered superior, to a subordinate group, considered inferior, in which the dominance is mitigated by mutual obligations and reciprocal rights (Lerner 1986: 217). It is a social, ideological and political system in which men determine what part women shall or shall not play in terms of ritual, tradition, law, language, custom, etiquette, education, labour and so forth. The female is subsumed under the male everywhere (Rich 1967). This term is not merely a synonym for men as it denotes a kind of society in which men and women both participate, but male privilege is promoted (Johnson 2005).

5.2 Universality?

The universal character of patriarchy has been argued on by many scholars, of whom I will give a few examples here on after. Goldberg was one of the more radical ones as he argued that all anthropologists agree that there "has never been a society which failed to associate hierarchical authority and leadership in these areas with men" (Goldberg 1977: 26 -27). We already see a very interesting choice of words here: a society has not "failed" to see authority and leadership as a male activity. The connotation of the word "fail" could be interpreted as denoting that Goldberg sees the association of leadership with men as the norm. He continues to argue that patriarchy is universal if it plays a crucial role in every society which we have knowledge of. Here he refers to between 1200 to 4000 societies or groups that all are based upon patriarchy (Goldberg 1977: 50). He adds another staggering statistic namely that the number of women present in leadership and authority varies from 0 to 6 or 7 percent in all human societies (Goldberg 1977: 56). Not only does he mention these very 'telling' statistics in a rapid and oversimplified manner, he also does not address at all in which way he has acquired these. To be frank, I assume that these numbers and 'insights' that Goldberg tries to provide are now

perceived to be useless in academics (his work was written as early as 1977 which gave him some kind of leverage). How does one decide what a society or a group of people is or not? How does one measure the number of women in leadership? What is leadership? Can we even denote this as a category? Does this include medicinal rule? Does this only include Western notions of power such as a queen, a president and so forth? His attempt to illustrate how patriarchy is universal is not useful for any scholar who attempts to be well-considerate. He acknowledges that anthropologists have attempted to invoke cultural variations to reject the possibility of a psychological basis of the universal institution of patriarchy. Yet, he continues to argue that people can attempt this but that there are three undeniable universal realities in this world namely: patriarchy, male attainment and male dominance (Goldberg 1977: 60).

Others are less radical in their choices of words, but continue to argue that patriarchy has existed for thousands of years (Majstorovic & Lassen 2011: 1). Above that, they argue that women are subordinate in societies and that this is central to the debate on patriarchy. The notion allows us for a starting point for analysing the oppression of women (Majstorovic & Lassen 2011: 2). But why is patriarchy seen as what it *does* to women across the globe? In a society all meaningful elements are interrelated, so it is only logical that patriarchy dictates the roles of both men and women. Yet, why do we not ask the question what do women do within patriarchal frames to establish or assert themselves instead of asking how they undergo it? Could we not change this dialectic of structure and agency?

Demetriou denotes, in my opinion most accurately, that patriarchy is not a simple question of men dominating women, as some people assumed, but it is a complex structure of gender relations in which the interrelation between different forms of masculinity and femininity plays a central role (Demetriou 2001: 343). Patriarchy is widespread due to massive gender contact. Europeans had firm gender standards at the time of imperialism and emphasised how different men and women were. Other gender systems were strange to them and as conquest became involved, so did efforts to run down local gender orders and implement Western ones (Stearns 2000: 2).

Bennett argues too that patriarchy is not just part of the West, but it is part of the whole world (Bennett 2006: 58). She does recognise that the concept of patriarchy has been used in the past in such ways that it often reminds us of a group of white old men scheming how to keep women in their place. Patriarchy can provide us with a problematic perception as it is singular, but the

manifestations are not (Bennett 2006: 58). She calls for using it in a way that does not merely include how women have suffered under it, but also how they have colluded in and survived patriarchy as the term denotes a history of women as agents (Bennett 2006: 59). Her vision aligns with how I would like to perceive patriarchy. Yet there is one issue I have with her point of view. She denotes patriarchy as not necessarily being Western, yet her entire book is based around the history of medieval women in Europe. Where is the diversity within her narrative itself? Why are Western examples continuously given instead of non-Western ones? Even though it is allegedly less documented – as argued by Connell – there is no reason why one should not go into the field and attempt to understand patriarchy in different regions on the basis of *anthropologizing* history as described in the second chapter.

5.3 What about non-Western women?

Patriarchy is perceived as the subordination of women at a structural way at all times. Can we not use this term in a more nuanced way? Could we not argue that patriarchy is a phenomenon in which men take on positions of leadership based on Western notions of power, yet that women have the opportunities and the abilities to counter this and acquire power through other means? Is calling the world's positions of women 'structural subordination' not taking it a few steps too far?

It is works such as Tripp's 'Women and Power in Postconflict Africa' that make us think about our generally accepted idea of the subordination of women. Mohanty already made clear at an earlier stage that the lack of agency ascribed towards women in Western academic works and the idea of the Third World woman as per definition subordinated to the 'powerful man', was an issue waiting to be fixed. Tripp looks for the reasons why countries that have experienced atrocities and conflicts tend to have a faster trajectory than other countries in adopting rights for women and promoting leadership by women (Tripp 2015: 3). Through her cross-national analysis, she argues that (postcolonial) long-time conflicts managed to push women into more masculine and socially valued roles. Women became autonomous, breadwinners and leaders because older colonial orders based upon the leadership of men were disrupted through conflict.

As I argue that the global scope does not provide me with the answers I am looking for, it becomes apparent again here that looking at specific cases of countries or regions can give us a clear idea on how women are intertwined in power relations and positions. In Tripp's account,

it becomes clear that women are no strangers to acquiring power and we realise that the idea of the structural subordination and fundamental power positions of men are not all that clear cut as have been argued by some.

6. Western notions of gender and the endogenous logic?

The main attempt of this chapter has been to look for gendered exogenous influences. The local frame of endogenous logic is influenced by these exogenous factors (based upon Western cultural notions or ideals that 'adapted' or 'shifted' towards global notions, yet it remains a given that this gender order was instigated through European conceptualisations). Both are differentiated though as they are not implementable upon all as single overarching categories. We must combine both into one scope in order to conceptualise what we interpret as 'reality'. As I want to ascribe attention to both of these factors in theorising the positions of women within a Sukuma chiefdom (as I attempt to steer away from essentialising language) in the next chapter, I looked here at the influences of imperialism and globalisation upon the gender of the 'other'. I focused on providing critical accounts of the global gender order and the universality of patriarchy. As I argued that the global gender order has some kind of truth, yet it does not give me the tools to build a culturally sensitive and non-essentialised conceptualisation, I continued on with the concept of patriarchy. I disagreed with using patriarchy as a universal concept that denotes the subordination of women. Patriarchy is not as clear cut as many have perceived it to be. Should we not focus more upon a fluidity of concepts instead of focusing upon patriarchy? Of course we cannot deny power relations but for a case such as the one that will be explained in the next chapter, there is not just a patriarchy present but so much more than that. Using this concept of patriarchy that is denoted in a singular way and is often interpreted as a different word for 'men', denies the complexity of a society. How do we solve this? Can we use the concept of patriarchy in a dynamic way that is nor static nor a cultural norm that should be obtained, but exists in relation to a context in which woman can acquire power? Could we denote patriarchy as a layered meaning?

Chapter 5. The various roles of women embedded in the endogenous logic and the impacts of exogenous elements upon them instigating cultural change

The subquestions that will lead this chapter are: 'What are the different positions in which women exercise power within the frame of the endogenous logic? How and why have these positions changed over time as a consequence of the influence of exogenous forces such as imperialism and globalisation?' By endogenous logic we mean a cultural structure, namely a set of principles and priorities underlying the plurality of roles (corresponding to positions) and frames of experience in a cultural group. A process, such as modernity or globalisation, makes sense if it has some 'logic', implying a meaningful set of actions that observers can recognise as such process. The logic is endogenous to a group if it has an internal cause or origin in that group rather than externally (which is then exogenous). To speak of many logics (in the plural) in a group is possible, but would defy the purpose of this research, where experiential frames are plural and our attempt is to find what logic, if so, underlies that plurality.

This chapter does not intend to serve as a definite historical account or review of all the different positions of women in Busiya. I attempt to construe an image that is as complete as possible, but I cannot go above and beyond what I do know, which is far from 'everything'. The dates and places mentioned in this chapter are often guesstimates constructed by me based on the narratives of others. Very few people gave me exact dates or places as this kind of historical recounting is generally a quite Eurocentric way of producing knowledge. Thus, the following chapter consists of narratives by others combined with interpretations by me of the data that I have obtained. But it is not an exact account of what happened at which time.

I will start off by revising the general theoretical framework I have set up in the previous four chapters in order to make clear how I have employed this upon doing fieldwork and analysing my data. I continue by introducing the general area of the Sukuma peoples, before moving on to the specific chiefdom of Busiya where I have done research. I will try to situate this to the best of my abilities geographically and in time. The rest of the chapter will address the positions of women. I will start off by discussing the *bagong'hogong'ho* as these in a way predate the position of the chief – which has always been treated as the most important, but I would like to destabilise this overall accepted image of the chiefdom and start by discussing a group that have

knowledge greater than the chief when it comes to medicinal rule. I will shortly discuss the *ntemi* (chief). His position is not the main focus of this work, but I need to devote some time to it because it will be relevant later on. The system of succession and how this has transformed from matrilineal to patrilineal will be discussed. This will be connected to the extraordinary individuals of Chief Makwaia ya Kwanza Mwandu and Chief Kidaha Makwaia and I will contend that these men are what Feierman names 'peasant intellectuals' who managed to reinvent their area under their reign – whilst remaining aware of the structures in which these people's actions are framed. This will lead me to discussing some of the most important positions of women as I will explain how these have changed drastically under Makwaia ya Kwanza and Kidaha Makwaia. The queen, the different types of queens and their decline from two to one active positions will be considered as I argue for the adaptiveness of culture through times of change. The queen mother and her disappearance from the scene of power will follow and I will give a hypothesis for why I think this shift has happened. This will bring clarity onto how I interpret the power of the queen and the queen mother and the dialectic between them. The main positions of the royal lineage – that I have deemed as important throughout my fieldwork – will be completed by addressing other positions as well that are not necessarily part of the clan, but have their own ways in exercising power. The reason why I bring all of these positions together is because they are the various ways in which I have perceived women to have power in a medicinal sense. The chapter is quite lengthy, yet I intend for the reader to grasp the complexity of this specific case of medicinal rule. I will attempt to accurately address the endogenous logic present within these examples, yet I will continue to argue how looking at exogenous influences and individual agents can provide us with great insight in the internal dialectic of Busiya.

1. *The scope of analysis*

In the first chapter, historical narratives on the region of Tanzania were brought together. This exposed an issue, namely that there were cultural misunderstandings produced and reproduced through these works because of their strictly historical approach. In the following chapter, the interpretive nature of anthropology was addressed as I discussed previous issues in academic and colonial narratives of inventing traditions and imagining of communities. These could be reworked by looking back at the traditions that were imagined and produced through cultural misunderstandings. Historians such as Vansina, Feierman and Schoenbrun did exactly that. I denote their works to be valuable in that they have contributed to the field greatly, yet it became

apparent that there were still lacunae in their works present that should be revisited. An alternative approach is needed in order to achieve a more holistic approach. I discussed the approach of '*anthropologizing* history' with the aim of inserting anthropology into history in order to avoid cultural misunderstandings. It is through applying this that Stroeken argued for an endogenous logic, which would be able to clarify things that these aforementioned historians could not. I described this endogenous logic in chapter three as a cultural commonality – in the form of a cyclical structure and not a linear evolution – present over a wider region that explains to us and clarifies events that happen. Whilst it provides us with a new scope that addresses the cultural misunderstandings and contextualises cultural events, I criticised this endogenous logic for essentialising as it risks to homogenise the people that are believed to be a part of this logic. I proposed the idea of searching for a term that would more accurately describe the endogenous logic. One that includes the frames of experience (at the level of the agent). As there is no apt alternative term for me to employ at the current time, I addressed that the goal for me would be to look at this endogenous logic in a differentiated way and minimize my scope more towards the level of the actor in this research in an attempt to avoid essentialising. By doing this I specifically chose to devote attention to the lack of women present in 'Medicinal Rule' and set out to discuss the lacuna on the roles of women within this work. Chapter four served the purpose of bringing awareness to the presence of a different commonality: exogenous influences – such as imperialism by the West – that have led to the spread of gendered orders. Criticisms on both the theories of the global gender order and universal patriarchy were given, as it was argued that they overlooked the level of the actor and agency.

The main purpose of this entire narrative thus far has been to remain critical of the framework that I intend to employ. It comes down to a presence of cultural misunderstandings in historical accounts, having to be addressed by anthropologists in order to achieve a more holistic approach. I argue that an appropriate scope for this is the combined search for the endogenous logic – as flexible, clarifying and not as static – and the exogenous influences – as complex, diversified and not as overarching. Looking at them separately, we put ourselves at risk of falling into essentialising narratives. In combining both of these in a differentiated and sensible way, we can address commonalities between cultures whilst remaining aware of differences in the hopes of achieving an account that is mindful of culture and its contextualisation.

The endogenous logic allows us to determine the meanings behind what is said and how people experience situations. If we look back at the concept of frames that was explained in the third

chapter, I argue that the endogenous logic structures our perceptions of society and societal expectations whilst we – as agents – have the capability of juggling more than one frame of experience at the same time. If we look at this in the case of women, who are the scope of this research, we can wonder whether the women have different positions than men in using these frames that can be clarified through looking at the cultural structure or endogenous logic. As I have argued that there are commonalities on the level of the exogenous patriarchy, I must contend that these can have influences upon the local level. If men have become more and more embedded in patriarchal frameworks through phenomena such as capitalism and globalisation, their conceptualisations of power that once were quite fluid, might have become more rigid and Westernised. And what has happened to women throughout this process?

2. An introduction on the region of Sukuma

The region that is relevant for the argument of this thesis is the part of Tanzania in which the Sukuma are predominantly situated. 'Sukumaland' (*BuSukuma*) proper is located in the south-eastern African Great Lakes region and consists out of four districts namely Shinyanga, Maswa, Kwimba and Mwanza district (Abrahams 1967a: 12; Malcom 1953: B; Varkevisser 1973: 31). They belong to the Bantu speakers of the Niger-Congo language family and roughly form a cohesive social and language group (Varkevisser 1973: 31; Wijsen & Tanner 2002: 1). Here I say roughly, because it is unlikely that the Sukuma came from one cultural area due to many migrating and overlapping groups. People refer to themselves as *basukuma* – meaning 'the people of the North' because Sukuma is a directional term for North – even though they are per definition not a unified people (Abrahams 1967b: 5; Abrahams 1967a: 12; Wijsen & Tanner 2002: 40). The *basukuma* are the largest cultural group of Tanzania (Stroeken 2018: 16).

The term 'Sukumaland', which I will use here on after, is usually avoided because of its colonial connotations of ethnic language-based lands. There lies a risk in describing a people's history and society in a cultural manner like I will be doing throughout this chapter, because it can very easily be seen as essentialising. But it is a matter of creating a balancing act between addressing cultural structures and the actions of individual people. This is necessary as cowardly avoiding the cultural structure or merely suggesting cultural change does not suffice.

As argued by Gunderson, the primary cohesive units in Sukuma history have been the clan, the extended family and the cultic association (Gunderson 2010: 16). The extended families would

live close in self-reliant compounds with their cattle as part of the polycentric society (Stroeken 2018: 17). Before East Africa was divided into countries by the West, there were migrating clans moving in and out of spaces (something the Western academic theorised as 'uncentralised' societies). As immigrants wandered around the region centuries ago, they ended up arriving with many followers and settling at a given place. This was not some kind of military conquest as known in the West, by which one group tries to dominate the other through violence or power struggles by which eventually one wins and gains power over the area (Millroth 1965: 175). Ethnicity in precolonial Sukumaland was fluid as they were the host to waves of migrating communities between the 15th and the 18th century from Uganda and Rwanda (Gunderson 2010: 16).

Precolonial Sukumaland was not composed out of compact or identifiable boundaries. There was no such thing as a 'tribal unity' – even though this was culturally misunderstood, theorised and implemented upon Africa in general to such an extent that it became reality in some ways – because the settlements did not see themselves as forming a strictly denoted identity. When strangers arrived, they would subjugate settlements and combine them together as vague boundaries did not provide issues (Cory 1951: 3). It was only when the British and German authorities ruled in the 20th century that they tried to construct these 'tribes' (Gunderson 2010: 16). When the British took over Sukumaland after World War I, they separated the area into 40 chiefdoms many of which were not administered by chiefs chosen by the people, but by chiefs that had been appointed by the Germans themselves. Chiefdoms which had been fused under an alien African ruler for the convenience of administration, regained their independence and were able to select their own chief under British rule as a means of 'reorganisation' (Malcolm 1953: 83). In doing this, the British focused upon the education and upbringing of the sons of the chiefs as they adhered importance to the chiefs of the future not being so 'stupid' as their predecessors (Malcolm 1953: 97). Sukumaland was created as an entity through the colonisation and was reinforced as an identity when a union of all chiefdoms was started in 1946 (Malcolm 1953: 86 – 89). This federation of chiefdoms within the administrative districts was created in an attempt to gain more affiliations between them, yet these organisations were politically and ritually entirely irrelevant for the people involved (Abrahams 1967a: 13).

3.   The region of study

What could be denoted as one of the major downfalls of this thesis is that my research stretches only as far as one chiefdom. This is because the constraints of a two month time period merely allowed me to look at the Busiya region. This means that I will not make any conclusive statements about the endogenous logic that I presume to be present in a larger area than the Sukuma, as Stroeken attempted for power concepts in a region as wide as East and Central Africa, because I do not have the data to back it up. All statements that follow in this chapter are on Sukuma people of the Busiya chiefdom. I will make presumptions about how I think these phenomena might have translated on a larger scale, but these are merely hypotheses. Having said this, I will here introduce the Busiya chiefdom and give some background information on what I have come to know about the region. As argued so aptly by Cory already in the introduction of his work in 1954, however tainted by the adjectives of the time such as 'tribal':

> *"In an attempt to outline the various elements of a tribal structure one is apt to build up a complete, over-simplified picture of the workings of offices as seen from certain cross-sections of their activities and authority. [...] Thus the position of any office, even without outside influences, is ever changing. What follows, therefore, cannot and does not claim to be the infallible and complete truth about the Sukuma tribal structure but, at best, a part of the truth only"* (Cory 1954: iii).

Even though his choices of words such as 'tribe' and 'office' are now no longer seen as acceptable in current academics, he proves to be very aware of his positionality and the implications of doing research. This is why his sources will be used a lot in this chapter as he comes across to me as a self-aware academic of his time writing on the Sukuma. The purpose of this research remains ever relevant though as there are barely any traces of women present in many of his works on the Sukuma.

Busiya – otherwise referred to as Busiha, Usiha or Usia – is a Sukuma chiefdom located in the northwestern region of Tanzania. It is one of the 52 chiefdoms part of Sukumaland. As illustrated on the map on the following page, Busiya is in the South of the KiSukuma-speaking region and if one travels from the coast – from Dar es Salaam – it is one of the first chiefdoms of the Sukuma that we encounter. Busiya is a chiefdom in Kishapu district in the Shinyanga

region and it comprises of 10 wards and 58 separate villages. It is said to be the largest chiefdom in the Sukuma region. The current *ntemi* is Chief Makwai II and before him 20 other chiefs have reigned – of which one has reigned twice. It was told to me that the chiefdom came about in the 15th or 16th century before the penetration of the Arabs or the colonisers. Logistically this would mean that each chief had to reign for about 30 years. This raises doubts as it seems quite unlikely to me that in the 16th century a chief became old enough to be able to reign for 30 years; moreover, the average would have to be lower due to inclusion of short reigns as well. However, it is possible as others told me explicitly that chiefs have long lives because they use natural herbs and protection to remain alive as long as possible.

Busiya was reached by German forces and these impacted them to a certain extent, but as their penetration of the country was very slow and never completed, it could not have been that great (Cory 1954: 31). Cory describes how chieftaincy was influenced by the British to a much greater extent, as has been described in the first chapter. The penetration of these outside forces into the economic and the spiritual life led to a destruction of ideologies on which the status of the chief rested whilst encouraging a greater use of his authority (Cory 1954: 32).
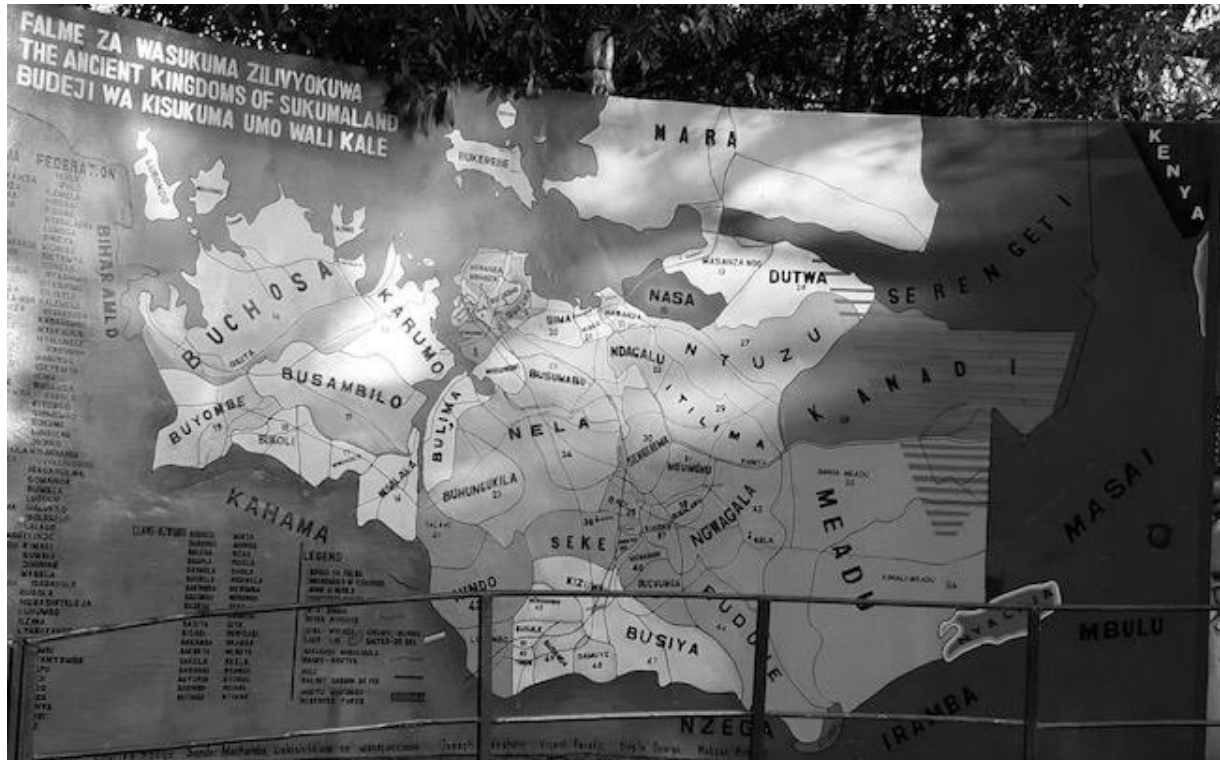

Figure 3 *Falme za Wasukuma zilivyokuwa*, the ancient kingdoms of Sukumaland, *budeji wa kisukuma umo wali kale* (obtained from the Bujora/ Sukuma Cultural Centre)

If I attempt to find specific information on Busiya, it is mostly a lot of details on specific chiefs or specific historical figures. There is not a lot of general information one can find on their colonisation. The first source that mentions Busiya is 'Through the dark continent' by Stanley published in 1878. Of course, his book is way more of a travel log than an anthropological study, he does address my region of study for the first time. He discusses the valley and the beauty of the pastoral country of Busiya and expresses his love for the Sukuma as he says that they were the first nice people he met since arriving at the coast (Stanley 1878: 87 – 88). As mentioned before, when you go upwards from the coast towards Lake Victoria, it is likely that you bump into Busiya first before any other Sukuma chiefdom. Why would he say that they were the only nice people he had met thus far? Did Busiya – or Sukuma in general – already encounter with white people before that to a greater extent? Were they used to more passage of strangers because they are located closely to Lake Victoria?

A problem that I encountered countless times in writing this chapter, is that I came across information on medicine in colonial sources that is very valuable, yet was never shared with me by informants because they deemed it to be secret (because medicinal information is part of their cult and is not accessed without being initiated). An example of this is a page from Stanley's work that includes detailed drawings of every single object one can find in the *itemelo* – a hut which contains the important objects and medicinal means for performing rituals and ceremonies – of a chief (Stanley 1878: 303). I was not allowed to view all of this in Busiya as it was argued that the secretive nature of it was too great. I respected this, but how does Stanley possess this kind of information and I do not? His stay was arguably even briefer than mine (probably a few days) and his bond with his informants was not as close. This is a reoccurring pattern I see in colonial sources, where there is knowledge written down that one should not be allowed to know when not initiated into the cult. Even though many of these things that I encountered could help me with my arguments, I have chosen to not talk of these whatsoever. I will go deeper into the information that was given to me whilst doing research with the use of extra sources. Yet, I will not add information for the sake of argument if I am not entirely sure about the ethical implications of it.

Now that I have provided some information on the region of study, how I presume it came about and what its implications of power were, I continue on to addressing the various positions in Busiya in the past and the present that I have deemed to be relevant for the argument of this thesis. This account will not be exhaustive (this is something that I will address later on in

detail). Most of the positions – if not all – are not merely present in the region of Busiya. Yet more research is needed on some of these to make conclusions.

4. The bagong'hogong'ho

The village elders referred to as *bagong'hogong'ho* (or *banang'oma* in the North), will be discussed first because these are presumed in the position of the chief to a certain extent because they are concerned with the installation and deposition of a chief (Malcolm 1953: 20). Above that, they are responsible for choosing a wife for the chief, settling disputes, providing advice, assisting the chief in the performance of his ritual duties and keeping him safe (Abrahams 1967a: 55; Cory 1951: 7; Cory 1954: 43; Millroth 1965: 131; Interview 4 2018; Interview 5 2018). Malcolm refers to the functions of the village elders as 'religious', yet they are moreover medicinal as they use divination to call upon the ancestors and make sacrifices in order to ask the ancestors to help govern the chiefdom (Malcolm 1953: 23; Pambe 1978: 102). Ancestor worship was the most important way of practicing religious or spiritual beliefs. The ancestor spirits effect descendants through which they will contact the world of nature. Their demands will be translated by a diviner when a case of misfortune happens. Offerings for the ancestors, in forms of food or drinks or other means, will be made in order to make sure that they remain satisfied. These offerings will be done at the homestead of the person offering, at royal graves or at shrines (Abrahams 1967a: 77). Not only the ancestors are highly important upon choosing a chief, also the positions of the stars in the sky influence the choices of the *bagong'hogong'ho* heavily (Interview 8 2018).

In the past, there were not necessarily any gender requirements upon entering the *bagong'hogong'ho*. Kwangu Makwaia – the great grandmother of Nicholaus who guided me through my research – was part of the *bagong'hogong'ho* at the end of the 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century (Interview 11 2018). Women could thus be part of the *bagong'hogong'ho*, as usually the requirements were based upon seniority and skills. As part of the initiation into the cult, you have to provide 40 litres of *pombe* (local beer). After, you should prove that you are capable of keeping secret information by taking an oath (Interview 14 2018). The village elders had their own ancestral cult and never needed the king or chief for their ritual affairs. They had an organised medicinal basis of power (Stroeken 2018: 106 - 107).

It has been argued by some that the *bagong'hogong'ho* are now extinct (Cory 1954; Millroth 1965; Varkevisser 1973: 321). It is said that they formerly had considerable influence in the country and authority but it changed (Cory 1954: 43; Millroth 1965: 131). Because of the arrival of the Europeans, they lost all of their influence in what previously had been their main activities and it is argued that their position ceased to exist (Millroth 1965: 132). Their main functions were medicinal, but this was not perceived as such by the Europeans because they were looking for native authorities to assist them in mere administrative matters. The chiefdom elders abandoned their position without conflict of power and so the disappearance of the *bagong'hogong'ho* went unnoticed for the Europeans. Cory even argued that the chiefs realised the advantage of getting rid of internal control and did not attempt to preserve the positions of the *bagong'hogong'ho* (Cory 1954: 32-47).

I don't think that this is true for the case of Busiya. It is undeniable that they have lost power in certain realms of society as I will touch on later, but their powers go beyond the private realm of the chief and the queen, as they perform at ceremonies such as the start of a new harvest season, the inauguration of a chief or in the event of rain making (Interview 8 2018). Their position did not die out as this would probably denounce the death of medicinal rule because their functions are the basis of many of the positions of others. Their position did alter, but I argue that it adapted. Above that, saying that the chief noticed how getting rid of internal control enforced his own position and made him decide to not try and save the position of the *bagong'hogong'ho* sounds attractive for a strategic actor, but in practice, seeing how the council and chief collaborate, it seems to me to be a downright false statement. The power of the chief, and influence among the people, relies upon the *bagong'hogong'ho* and their knowledge supports and reinforces what he does and how he portrays himself to his people. It could be that under influence of the West, individual chiefs became more aware of wanting to claim power and rule as autocrats, but even if this was the case, it would seem highly unlikely that they completely decided to abandon the position of the *bagong'hogong'ho* for their own interests. In doing this, the chief had to be aware of his own nature of rule – namely medicine –, then he would have to decide for himself that he wanted more individual power and less collective power and purposefully abandon the entire dialectic upon which his chiefdom was based. I do not deny the possibility of this ever happening, but this would have to have been a one-off case and not a general trend. Cory's reasoning is not culturally 'logical'. This is a statement I make not by comparing historical data, but on the basis of the endogenous logic/ cultural structure I

can derive from the literature and from my observations in the field on how the chief talked and acted.

Not only the power of the *bagong'hogong'ho* declined, the requirements for entering the cult of the *bagong'hogong'ho* shifted as well. The b*agong'hogong'ho* (of Busiya at least, but I suspect that this is a more widespread phenomenon) do not allow women to be part of the group any longer. One can only become part of the initiatory association by being the son of a former *mgong'hogong'ho*. I would argue that this is partially due to colonisation. In any case, when the colonisers arrived, they placed all of the family members of the chief into official positions in selected specific villages in order to efficiently control and run these widespread areas. In doing this, the positions of the male members of the family of the chief were put on pedestals on which they previously were not by which new positions of power and conceptualisations of power were created. The *bagong'hogong'ho* are supposed to be chosen because of capabilities, seniority and relations with the spirits but it is possible that the rigid actions of the colonial government in giving merely the male clan members executive power, could have bled through into the position of the *bagong'hogong'ho*.

5. The ntemi

The chief or *ntemi* provides the authority on the chiefdom (Abrahams 1967a: 55). The *ntemi,* which according to one etymology literally translates as the 'one who cut down trees in the bush' was the perceived leader – I mean this in a dynamic way – who led the group and was the first to clear the land upon arriving to a new place and settling (Cory 1951: 3). The perception of his position now is a rigid role of a chief who is the leader of a denoted area of rule. He originates in a way more fluid conceptualization than is denoted now. The *ntemi* was accepted by his followers – usually a combination of families – as the leader. No major conflicts occurred between the families in a struggle for power (Cory 1954: 3; Millroth 1965: 175). Thus, as becomes apparent, this 'chief' does not refer to an autocrat who rules a 'tribe', but to a bearer of the cultural essence of leadership – in a fluid capacity – linked to concepts of the cult and the ancestors (Millroth 1965: 127). His successes as a chief are measured in his capacity to acquire rain as he must bring prosperity to his people in the form of successful harvest seasons (Abrahams 1967a: 61; Cory 1954: 6; Gunderson 2010: 17; Millroth 1965: 128). In case of disease, calamities or failed harvest, he could be exiled or replaced by a new chief because of failing his duties. The structure of the *batemi* was built upon this cultic model of initiation and

medicinal knowledge – as argued in chapter three and reaffirmed by the position of the *bagong'hogong'ho* – and the chieftaincy was a result of this. Chieftaincy as we perceive it now was a cultural invention that the actors responded to (Stroeken 2018: 99).

In later times of colonisation and decolonisation, shifts in chieftaincy occurred. The concept of the Sukuma political structure was misunderstood by the West as the Germans and the British needed large political units in order to centralise local authority (Wijsen & Tanner 2002: 71). The Sukuma structure was fluid but through the determining of territorial boundaries, Sukuma as an identity was created (Wijsen & Tanner 2002: 80). The ritual roles of the Sukuma chiefs or *batemi* were completely misunderstood as administrational and political roles were imposed on them (Wijsen & Tanner 2002: 89). For the Tanzanians themselves, the European way of behaviour was expected in the council or court, yet the conceptions of the medicine were rooted in daily life. The ambiguity between the traditional conceptions and the European expectations created issues for some as the younger chiefs in colonial times often became more resentful of having to perform these ceremonies (Cory 1954: 6). Eventually, customary authority was abolished by Nyerere – the first president of the country – in 1961 after the independence of Tanzania which resulted in the chiefdom losing relevance (Stroeken 2018: 106). The protest against the colonisation and after the end of the chiefdoms, was led by healers and not by 'chiefs'. Healers formed the collective. This is reflected in the endogenous logic and the structure of the cycle as there is a move from cultic basis to chieftaincy to medicinal association and back (Stroeken 2018: 107). The healers are the basis upon which the people can rely, even if the position of the chief is abolished. He is not the end all of the chiefdom, he is a new response to a new situation whilst the dialectic of the medicinal cult continues throughout.

Batemi had always been men. At least this is what I gathered from my interviews. In the summer of 2018, there was a woman called Simiyu – daughter of Chief Sangalali – in Jigoku chiefdom who had been appointed to take over when her father dies. (which already counters the idea that women per definition cannot be chiefs) Either her father appointed her to follow him up, or the *bagong'hogong'ho* chose her based on her capacities and her skills. This is quite unusual for current times because it is generally accepted that the son will succeed his father. Chief Itale – the chief who rules over the Sukuma Federation – expressed his disbelief over this situation and states that "they [referring to him and the other chiefs of the Federation] will not let this happen" (Interview 10 2018). As a female researcher, it is hard to understand why something would be so explicitly countered and why the idea of women in these forms of power repulses some. But

his perception is as valid as mine – if not more – and the *batemi* having to be a man per definition is an idea that is shared by others as well. Historically I don't think this is necessarily correct because there have been some female *batemi* in the past – on whom I will elaborate in due time – but his opinion on the matter is that this is not (or no longer) possible. The notion of the *ntemi* remains embedded in the ideas on medicine as he acknowledges the power of the *bagong'hogong'ho* in choosing a chief. But the conceptualisation of Western patriarchal notions of power overrules this to a certain extent because Chief Itale argues that they will not let this woman rule a chiefdom. Meaning that through the capacity of the Sukuma Federation – a group of all Sukuma chiefs which came together for the first time during colonisation – he will be able to overrule the choice that had possibly been made through medicinal means.

The functions of the *ntemi* and his exact position are not the focus of this work, but the paragraphs above show just how fluid and undefined the concept of power is in his case. Just in trying to write it down into a few paragraphs, I am not doing it justice. Of course I am not trying to romanticise power structures that I am not part of by denoting these as 'incredibly complex'. Everything is complex. Not just these structures, but also my structures. Yet because they have often been reduced to simplistic representations, I am overtly expressing the complexity to counter these previous cultural misunderstandings.

The *bagong'hogong'ho* are perceived to be the most important council who support and carry the functions of the *ntemi* as they choose the chief and protect him. But apart from the *bagong'hogong'ho*, there are other councils present too. The *wambilija* (helpers) are a group of men who are the leaders of the 10 wards of the Busiya chiefdom. These are elected from all the people of the clan (the clan being a collection of families related by birth and blood, thus relatives of the chief or any former chief). The *banangwa* are at the village level – there could be more than 1 *manangwa* for 1 village – but generally there would be 58 *banangwa*. One for each village. In the past, the *banangwa* were the sons of the *ntemi*. Because the *ntemi* was polygamous – which I will address in the next sections in detail –, he had many wives and as a consequence, many children. These sons were all put in charge of villages of the chiefdom so that the chief had a person on the ground everywhere in order for them to manage all of his tasks (this was a consequence of colonial policies in an attempt to bring more clearly denoted and wide spread rulers over large vast areas). The *banangwa* were thus the headmen who subordinated the chief and functioned as officers (Millroth 1965: 133; Varkevisser 1973: 32). Both of these groups are important people for the clan and the chiefdom and it is expected that

many of them have the knowledge and experience to later enter the *bagong'hogong'ho* or other official positions (Malcolm 1953: 23).

6.   The disappearance of matrilineal succession

Succession was mostly matrilineal with the Sukuma. The new chief that would be chosen was usually the son of the late chief's sister (Cory 1951: 4; Cory 1954: 4, Malcolm 1953: 22 – 23 Stroeken 2018: 9). This custom was until very recently prevalent throughout much of the Sukuma area (Malcolm 1953: 23). Succession was not really set in stone though as it could differ from chiefdom to chiefdom. It arbitrarily depended on the kinship position the first chief happened to have in relation to the original *ntemi* from whom he inherited the rain medicine (Stroeken 2018: 99). But considering that in the case of Sukuma this was very often a woman, matrilineal succession was widespread. The property and the 'office' of the chief – as it is called by Cory – were handed down through matrilineal succession. Apart from that, inheritance was generally patrilineal though. The private property of a chief followed patrilineal rules as it normally would go to his sons (Cory 1954: 18).

This custom later on disappeared. Matrilineal succession gave way to patrilineal succession under influence of European colonisation (Cory 1951: 4; Cory 1954: 4). No opposition was made against this innovation. The Germans may have favoured it because it prevented the enrichment of one family since inheritance of goods and land was patrilineal. The British were not opposed to it either because knowing who would be the next heir would allow them to give the sons of the *ntemi* particular attention for a good education (Malcolm 1953: 23). Chiefs liked it as well because their own sons would be privileged for chieftaincy, elected and their bloodline could continue (Cory 1951: 4; 13; Cory 1954). The *bagong'hogong'ho* were the most disadvantaged through this shift as their most important task was choosing and acquiring the next chief. They lost an important part of their authority – the power that made me argue that they predate the chief – under the influence of Europe. Sometimes they would still be able to make a choice as a fairly wide group of sons was maintained. If several wives have many sons, this could still be quite a range to choose from. But if the heir was determined by the chief himself, they no longer had to choose anything (Cory 1951: 4; Cory 1954: 4; Malcolm 1953: 97).

This shift happened in a lot of areas in quite a distinct way. The same thing happened in Busiya. I can only explain these changes when looking at the specific history of the area. But the patrilineal succession was also institutionalised and made explicit in 1949. The chiefs of the Sukuma Federation – of whom Chief Itale who argues that a female is not allowed to be a chief – accepted the following rules in 1949: succession is patrilineal and if the successor of a chief is not his son, the sons of the successor and not the sons of the former chief are in the direct first line of succession to their father (Cory 1954: 5). I can only make statements about the reasons for this change and shift in the Busiya area because I know the specific changes in history at that time, thus I will now contextualise the change in succession.

7. What, or rather who, instigated this change?

The shift from matrilineal succession to patrilineal did not just happen overnight, nor did it happen without reason. Why would a custom that has been the norm for hundreds of years be changed over a very small period of time? In looking at the history and roles of the chiefs (represented in figure four on the next page), we find possible explanations as I argue that it is individual *batemi* who played a huge part in this shift and in others.

When Chief Ng'wandu Nkinga Malaba died (in what we may presume was at the turn of the 19th century into the 20th century), the child of the sister of the chief took over (as was custom through matrilineal succession). The *bagong'hogong'ho* decided to appoint Ngojeyi Bushiya – the son of Ng'wandu's sister – and he was initiated. Makwaia Mwandu, who was the son of the deceased Chief Ng'wandu Nkinga Malaba, was not satisfied with this choice because his nephew took over the chiefdom and he could not. Makwaia would hear from travellers and business men from Arab countries who were visiting the area, that when there was a new leader needed in their countries, the son of the deceased leader would be chosen. Upon hearing this repeatedly, he got even more agitated because he believed to be the rightful heir. Here we see the influence of outside forces. Surprisingly the people who heavily affected his opinion apparently were not the Germans – who were colonising the area at the time – but were the Muslims. This could make sense because the Germans were new invaders, who were not quite successful in penetrating the land. The Muslims, however, had had centuries of contact with Busiya and their power structures and opinions might have had profound influences upon others. Even though it was told to me that Makwaia was merely frustrated because of the

Muslims and their forms of succession, I would argue that it was probably also combined with seeing white male invaders come in, establish power, boundaries and 'performing' masculinity.
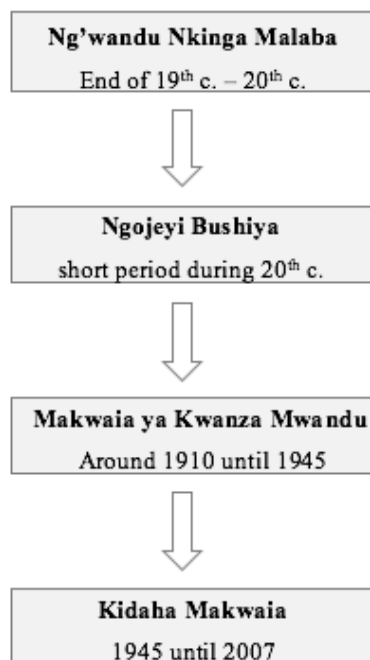
```
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│     Ng'wandu Nkinga Malaba      │
│   End of 19th c. – 20th c.      │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
                 ⇩
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│        Ngojeyi Bushiya          │
│   short period during 20th c.   │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
                 ⇩
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│    Makwaia ya Kwanza Mwandu     │
│     Around 1910 until 1945      │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
                 ⇩
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│        Kidaha Makwaia           │
│        1945 until 2007          │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
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Figure 4 Chief number 16 to 19 of Busiya. Figure by the author.

Eventually, Makwaia decided that he wanted to overthrow Ngojeyi. In order to do this, he had to convince the Germans that Ngojeyi was an evil man so he could be taken down as a leader. He convinced some of his relatives to form a group under leadership of Masunga Sali (one of his friends) and to go to the offices of the Germans in Tabora. There they would have to present themselves tied up and state that Ngojeyi had sent them to be arrested. However, they did not have a letter of approval from the *ntemi* – which was required by the Germans at the time even though there was no written culture present. The Germans took the people into custody and went to the Shinyanga region to investigate the chief's actions. Ngojeyi told them that he had nothing to do with the arrest, and the people were released. Makwaia did not leave it at this and attempted to claim the power in a different way. He knew that the Germans did not allow the chiefs to deal with criminal actions such as murders anymore. In the past, one of the tasks of the *ntemi* had been to decide upon crimes in court, but this was no longer allowed by the Europeans. A person was killed near Makwaia's house and the death was reported to *ntemi* Ngojeyi. He brought the killer to his court and was planning to take him to the Germans so they could start up a trial. Makwaia advised him to personally deal with the case and to stick to his traditional values, instead of giving up and listening to the Germans. Ngojeyi took Makwaia's

advice and as he started the trial in his court, Makwaia sent his friend Masunga Sali to Tabora to let the Germans know that chief Ngoyeji was dealing with a case without consulting them. Ngoyeji was arrested for his actions and was thrown in prison for six months. Because of this, there was no longer a chief in Busiya. As Makwaia was desperately hoping to be chosen, the *bagong'hogong'ho* appointed a nephew of Ngojeyi called Saluumu Kilyalyamawi. This caused a divide in Busiya as some people wanted Saluumu to be the permanent chief and others wanted Makwaia to step up and take power. Eventually, this turned into a physical fight over power – which was exceptional before colonial times because rule was based on medicine and was not disputed – and Makwaia won the fight against his opponents. He would tell on anyone whom he accused of having done witchcraft against him or his family during the fight to the Germans. Under his reign, many people migrated as people fled out of fear because of his actions or policies. It is said that he used to shoot people who communicated or got in contact with one of his wives and because he was married to 29 women, this must have been quite an endeavour.

Apart from what seems to be one bad temper, Chief Makwaia ya Kwanza Mwandu is in fact a highly appreciated man. Not only by historians and colonials, but to this day he is remembered as an incredibly important leader. His grave is still used by the *bagong'hogong'ho* and others in order to pray for rain (Interview 6: 2018). After his studies in England where he learned to speak perfect English, he became part of the Labour Government led by British colonials in 1930. He built the first water pumps in Sukumaland with the help of the British. This led to an increase in population numbers in Busiya between 1933 and 1943 as it attracted many new people (Malcolm 1953: 16). In 1945, Makwaia was going to leave on a tour to Uganda, Kenia and Zanzibar. He was accompanied by some of his family members but he became ill and was taken to a dispensary. Eventually, he was transferred to Bukumbi hospital in Mwanza and he died on the 26[th] of January 1945 (Interview 13 2018). He is said to have received a medal for his actions by the British colonials, but it is actually his son who received one. It also could be that Makwaia received a medal but that there is no record to be found of this, but I would argue that this is not remembered by people in the right way (Interview 2 2018; Interview 13 2018). This is significant in itself. It has become apparent to me that Busiya people do not often speak of 'before colonisation' or 'after colonisation'. They speak more of 'Mahiti' (the first chief of the area dating in the end of the 15[th] or beginning of the 16[th] century) and the time of 'Makwaia' (between around 1910 and 1945). To a certain extent this coincides with the time period of precolonial and colonial, yet Mahiti and Makwia were locally relevant and perceived as such. Even though it was probably Makwaia's son who acquired the medal, it is remembered that it

was Makwaia himself – as he is argued by the people to have been the instigator of change, which will become apparent throughout this entire chapter. Historically this might not be correct, but it says a lot about how people perceive and remember their rulers.

I estimate Makwaia's period of rule to have started around 1900 or 1905 (because he reigned during a considerable amount of the German colonisation, but Ngojeyi also ruled during German colonisation) until 1945 when he died. His period of reign was long, which is why he was able to accomplish many things and why people probably remember him quite vividly. I argue that Makwaia had been impacted by the West – having studied in England but also working closely together with not one, but two colonial forces – as under him many things changed. By that I don't merely mean physical changes in power, but moreover changes in perception.

When being interviewed by Pambe, Makwaia discussed his perception of power and the position of a chief (unfortunately the date of this interview was not mentioned in the work by Pambe and I cannot make clear arguments on whether this predated British colonisation or not). But it is extremely telling. Upon asked what appeared first, a *ntemi* or a *nfumu* (diviner-healer), he answered that:

> "Naturally I think it was the ntemi. In their settling together, people desired a leader to whom all would converge and agree. They said: 'He will lead us; whatever he decides in our disputes, he is likely to be just; his opinion will be appreciated, then the case is finished'. […] 'He is our leader and he has power himself by the force (Nguzu)" (Pambe 1978: 164 - 165).

The interviewer continued to argue that some say that it is the *nfumu* who came first and won the confidence of the people by helping them with his medicines and power when they are faced with bad times. Because they trusted the *nfumu* to a great extent, he would become to be perceived as their leader over time. The *nfumu* was the original *ntemi* as he was the leader upon whom the innovation of the chief is based. This is part of the endogenous logic as this denotes the shift from the initiatory association towards the medicinal rule. Yet Makwaia replies to this:

> "the Ntemi was person who was honoured and trusted by people of his own Chalo. They said that: 'he is the one able to lead us'. […] leadership came first in the mind of the

people. It was the charm he casted on people that encouraged them to choose him. It boosted their morale […] Again, it was due to trust of people in their Ntemi that they consequently trusted the Nfumu who was brought to them…" (Pambe 1978: 166).

He does continue to state that:

"the fact of initiation, enthronement, and the objects possessed during his state, do impart force and power like that of a Nfumu. He is considered to be greater in fact. […] Ntemi has come to be considered as a paramount Nfumu. All the powers, even which a Nfumu does not possess, are attributed to the Ntemi. Besides being regarded as a great Nfumu, the Ntemi enjoys the attributes of a wise judge, especially in pronouncing the last word in religious cases. He is regarded therefore to be a spiritual leader." (Pambe 1978: 167).

It is clear from the answers to these questions that to Makwaia, medicine was perceived as a secondary function. Primarily, he is a leader of the people. Medicine is the means to maintain this leadership. He does not deny the presence of medicine as he argues that the chief is a paramount *nfumu* and employs the medicine actively. If he did not believe in medicine, he would have said that the *nfumu* is in fact a small chief or a chief without land. Because the chief is seen as a special case of the *nfumu*, the *nfumu* is the cultural structure. The medicine is the foundation upon which the *ntemi* rests and why he has managed to acquire power, not the other way around. Again, I argue that the chief is not the end all position of the chiefdom, but in fact he is a response to new situations as there was a shift away from the cult under leadership of a *nfumu*, towards medicinal rule led by the *ntemi* himself. Yet within the endogenous logic it is apparent that the *nfumu* predates the *ntemi*. We employ the concept of endogenous logic because there is a lack of historical data on the origins of these figures. This is why it is important to add examples that confirm this cultural logic, which is the purpose of the rest of the chapter.

Makwaia's perception upon power and institutions should be validated and appreciated as being a reality. I do argue that it is a reality that has been influenced by the West as his idea of a chief has slowly shifted towards a notion that coincides more with the idea of an autocratic ruler. This makes a lot of sense considering he studied in Britain and dealt with both German and British forces. It is undeniable that this must have had some effect on the man. Yet he is entitled

to his own opinion and this shift towards a notion that is more Westernised should not be perceived as a negative 'evolution'. I do not ascribe value to whether or not he perceived himself to be based upon medicine, or whether he argues that he is an autocrat. It is merely interesting to look at how he perceives the position of the *ntemi* because it seems different than that in the previous generations of chiefs. This is, again, a hunch because there are no interviews or conversations recorded with chiefs before him (being more involved with the West than any chief had ever been in Busiya).

Makwaia had overruled the power of Ngojeyi because he believed to be the rightful heir of the chiefdom. He wanted this patrilineal succession to continue, because this was the way of keeping his bloodline in the chiefdom. Makwaia told the *bagong'hogong'ho* two years before his own death that Kidaha – one of his sons – had to become the next chief of Busiya (Malcolm 1953: 98). Kidaha did have two older brothers, but he was preferred by his father because of his good track record. Seniority was thus not highly relevant, as his talent and character were deemed to be more important (Malcolm 1953: 97). Because Makwaia overthrew Ngojeyi and took over power as a chief – being that he was the son of the chief before Ngojeyi – and above that, he had chosen for his son to become the next chief, he single-handedly killed the custom of matrilineal succession over merely a few decades and switched to a practice of patrilineal succession. This did not only have implications for the system of succession and for the position of the sister of a chief as the important women delivering the new chief to the chiefdom. It also had implications for the *bagong'hogong'ho* as they were no longer really needed for choosing a chief.

Makwaia was married to 29 women – which I already mentioned before but I will get into the practice of polygamy in depth later on – and above that he had 44 children. Makwaia is said to have had traditional perceptions upon the roles of his children, yet he decided – under influence of European forces – that all of his children must have a decent education as he was set on the next chief being one of his son's. He did not manage to see all of his children grow up, as there were so many of them, but he ordered the older children to ensure that the education was provided to the younger ones even after his death.

Kidaha Makwaia – the son that was appointed by Makwaia to be the next chief – studied advanced agricultural training at the Makerere College in Uganda in the early 1940s and spent a year studying local governments and politics at Lincoln College in Oxford. He did not finish

these studies in Oxford as he returned to Busiya in order to take over the chiefdom from his father in 1945. Chief Kidaha Makwaia reigned from 1945 until 2007. He joined the Sukuma Federation of chiefs in Shinyanga and was one of the four chiefs present who spoke English fluently (Malcolm 1953: 89). Above that, he became a member of the Legislative Council of Tanganyika. He was the ally of Tanganyika's governor Lord Twining from 1949 to 1958 and a consultant to the colonial government as an administrator in the African aspirations section of the social welfare department (Amkpa 2007; Malcolm 1953: 89). He was instrumental in providing the connection between British rulers and Tanzanian subjects and he lived through imperialism, independence struggles and postcolonial repression (Amkpa 2007). His wisdom contributed to 'Western production of knowledge' at the time as well, as he helped Hans Cory in writing a book on the indigenous political system of Sukuma (Cory 1954: iv). He was a guest at Queen Elizabeth's coronation in 1953 and was given his own OBE – Ordinary Officer of the Civil Division of the Order of the British Empire – for his 'public services in Tanyangika' in 1955 (Amkpa 2007; The Gazette 1955).

Kidaha actively worked together with the West and the colonisers as he was highly interested in establishing Tanzanian politics. He was considered by the British as a possible first president for the country, but these were not the ambitions of Kidaha. He was not driven by a desperate need for more power (Amkpa 2007). After the independence of the country, Nyerere abolished the position of the chiefs and he banished Kidaha to a remote area in Tunduru for some months, which is quite ironic because Kidaha functioned as his spokesperson for quite some time. Kidaha was replaced by Hussein Makwaia (one of his brothers) in the Busiya chiefdom. After some time, Kidaha returned to the area but he was not as passionate about politics anymore as he was before. Hussein Makwaia ended up dying quite quickly after being appointed. There was talk of handing the chiefdom over to Badimani, a son of Hussein, but Kidaha refused to let this happen and reclaimed power. Kidaha was no longer as focused upon Tanzanian politics, probably because of his older age and his loss of confidence in the system as Nyerere tried to abolish him. He was mostly concerned with pursuing economic means. His reign ended in 2007 upon his death and he was buried in Ibadakuli in Shinyanga (Amkpa 2007).

Intermediate analysis

In a few decades, during the reigns of Makwaia and Kidaha, some important positions of women – such as matrilineal succession and the sister of a chief, but also other positions that I

will describe later on – had died out under influence of the West. Now could the global gender order be true after all? Does exogenous win from endogenous? I will argue that it is not as clear cut as culture is transformative and structures do not determine everything. My hypothesis on the combination of endogenous and exogenous elements resulting in change and the role that these aforementioned chiefs played in it, will be discussed at the end of this chapter. Yet now I turn to look at the various positions of women in detail.

In this case, we see that it is individuals with very personal stories and backgrounds who instigate changes in society that turn out to be very drastic and long lasting. This is the whole tension between structure and agency that I described in chapter two. We see here that there is an overarching cultural structure that produces commonalities over larger areas. Above that, we see that there are exogenous forces such as imperialism and colonisation producing commonalities in this region. However, these structures on their own do not entirely dictate or determine the culture and its changes. The importance of agents and individuals with clear goals – embedded in or instigated through these commonalities though – are pivotal to the changes in culture that will be addressed in this entire chapter. People such as Makwaia and Kidaha instigated individual and personal shifts in perception and power by the choices they made as chiefs and I ascribe to them as much influence as to foreign colonial power. As we look back to the work of Feierman, as has been described in chapter three, I argue here that both Makwaia and Kidaha can be seen as 'peasant intellectuals' who have together "invented" (mind the use of quotation marks) postcolonial Busiya. Both men were set on reaching goals and achieving power – in the sense of the chiefdom – and did not hesitate to disagree and transform centuries old traditions and customs. Makwaia and Kidaha are undoubtedly very special cases in the area of the Sukuma – but moreover also in Tanzania as a whole – as I have yet to find other chiefs of these areas in these time periods that have gotten as much coverage in historical accounts, all the way to British renowned newspapers such as The Guardian as these two. Their intelligence and hunger for acquiring power – notions of power that I argue to be more Westernised than ever been – created a momentum in the history of Busiya that explains why there were so much changes in merely a few decades.

The structures of exogenous imperialism – as these were foreign powers penetrating the interior – did not make customs that had existed for over centuries, such as matrilineal succession, merely wither away. It is the combination of these exogenous forces with individuals ready to take on a power struggle to achieve new ideals on group identity, the nation and politics that

created this highly crucial period in time. This is the interesting thing about cultural change here, it is such an intrinsic joining of both structure and agency that have both intertwined into a process that is nearly impossible to unravel. It provides a researcher with many frustrating moments, but also makes us realise the complexity of things. It is not just one individual who made choices that impacted thousands of people, it is not that simple. But it is also not just one system of colonisation that made people completely take a 180 degree turn in a centuries old custom, it is not that simple either. It is both players implementing each other to achieve something through which other things were altered.

8. The queen and her ambiguous position

8.1 The different types of queens

Polygyny was – or in some cases is – a general custom that was accepted and practiced (Cory 1953: 123). Only a man is allowed to possess more than one wife and not the other way around (Tanganyika Society: 17). Each wife, after her wedding or after the birth of her first child, is given her individual house and fields within her husbands' homestead. If the husband dies, no question of the distribution of land arises because each section of the family knows the fields belonging to it (Cory 1953:123). The number of wives is not restricted, but the position of the first wife in the household is distinct from that of the others, although the visits of the husband to each of his wives takes place at regular intervals. The first wife holds a commanding position in the household and she organises the internal work of the house (Cory 1953: 52; Cory 1960: 60). Above that, she is honoured and is the only one who is allowed to go with her husband to ceremonies. Other wives are not (Tanganyika Society: 17).

The West perceived polygamy to be an instrument for the merciless domination of women by men and socially accepted search for an ever more demanding virility (Agovi 1992: 4). But in the case of Busiya, and what I presume for the rest of the Sukuma, this polygamy was a way of co-existing for multiple women whom all had their own function and their own homestead. It was not (merely) a case of the lust or the power of a man, it was a way of living that worked very well for a self-sustaining society as these major homesteads provided mothers with safety nets in case of unsuccessful harvest.

One cannot become a *ntemi* without having at least one wife that is approved of and chosen by the *bagong'hogong'ho*. He is not allowed to choose or look for a wife himself. Even if the chief was already married when the initiation was about to take place, she could not be initiated with him (Cory 1951: 12; Ngojeyi n.d.). The *bagong'hogong'ho* spend a lot of time finding a good woman for the *ntemi*. The first wife whom he marries, is referred to as the *ngole wihanga* – which translates to 'the lady of the land' – and she possesses the respect, status and knowledge to assist the chief through medicinal power and witchcraft. She is the one who preserves and bares the nation (Interview 8 2018; Interview 11 2018). The *bagong'hogong'ho* find her through using witchcraft and sacrifices and by going to a *mganga* or witchdoctor, preferably a strong one. The *mganga* performs a ritual and directs the *bagong'hogong'ho* to where they can find the *ngole*. For example, the *mganga* would tell them that the *ngole* can be obtained five chiefdoms to the North. The *bagong'hogong'ho* will continue to declare "the *ngole wihanga* will be obtained from…" and in going there, they will meet the right girl (Interview 13: 2018). A woman who is deemed apt for marrying the chief needs to have a good star and appropriate blessings or abilities. Some questions that are asked by the *bagong'hogong'ho* upon choosing are: will she bring more rain? Will she give birth? Will she be a good mother to her own children and the chiefdom? When they have chosen, they will go out and get her and tell her she will become the chief's wife (Interview 13: 2018). Two *bagong'hogong'ho* would leave the *ikulu* – the palace of the *ntemi* – to fetch the *ngole wihanga*. Upon arriving, they would state that she is 'swallowed by the state' (Interview 10 2018). The parents of the woman would have to give authority for the marriage, but this was only formal as nor the family or the girl were allowed to reject the proposal (Cory 1951: 12; Interview 13: 2018). It was very exceptional for a chief to reject a wife as he is normally not allowed to do this, but in the case of Makwaia ya Kwanza this did happen. A deformed girl named Kapiga Washi was chosen and the chief rejected her because of her appearance. A new wife – a sister of Kapiga named Mtobeaa Kapiga Washi – eventually replaced her as the family had refused to return the dowry given by the *bagong'hogong'ho* (Interview 13: 2018). Upon 'approval' by the parents, the bride price was paid by the *bagong'hogong'ho* which was often a dowry of 40 cows (Interview 8 2018; Interview 13: 2018). This is when they took the girl and brought her back to the chiefdom. She was directed towards the *itemelo* – this is a round thatched house made of sticks and trees of sometimes clay soil – which will be the residence of the *ngole* and the place where they keep the objects associated with rites of ancestor worship and other rites performed for the prosperity of the chiefdom and the people inhabiting it. The *ntemi* would not live in the same home as her

and he would live in the *ikulu* or palace, usually (at least in the case of Busiya) being quite close to the *itemelo*.

The initiation would start immediately. The two *banang'oma* who were appointed to go and fetch her, also had to initiate the royal couple in this *itemelo*. The length of the initiation depended upon the moon, but would often be either 21 or 28 days (Cory 1951: 13; Ngojeyi n.d.; Interview 12 2018). The *ntemi* learned about his duties and was given instructions about general behaviour and attitude. He would be instructed on the history of the chiefdom and explained how he had to listen to complaints in court. The *ngole* was told her position and responsibilities. She was not allowed to speak of anything that happened in the *itemelo* and was expected to assist the *ntemi* in his special duties whenever it was expected of her (Cory 1951: 14 – 17). She learned about the history of the chiefdom, about the people, witchcraft (which is intended to protect the entire chiefdom and repel enemies, not for bewitching others), sacrificial procedures, administration and information on possible future enemies or enemies that have already invaded (Interview 11 2018; Interview 12 2018). Both the *ntemi* and the *ngole* were taught ceremonial songs and taboos – things they were not allowed to do as they would cause harm to the chiefdom, this included food restrictions (Cory 1951: 14 – 17). After this initiation, where they were made aware of their functions and their capabilities, they left the *itemelo* upon which further ceremonial endeavours were continued in order to complete the initiation (Cory 1951: 23; Interview 12 2018).

The second official wife of the chief is referred to as the *ngole wihojo* (*kuhoja* means to restore health) or the *ngole ntale* ('big wife'). She was chosen by the *bagong'hogong'ho* as well. After the enthronement ceremony, she was brought to the *ikulu* (palace). She slept there with the chief for one night, after which she had to leave the *ikulu* and was not allowed to return except for special duties such as ceremonies (Cory 1951: 29; Malcolm 1953: 23). She was the woman who carried away any evil consequence if the *ntemi* should ever break a taboo or anything was inflicted upon him (Cory 1951: 29). In case someone would try to harm the *ngole wihanga* physically or through witchcraft during a ceremony – as these were mostly public – the first wife would not be infringed upon (Interview 11 2018). Through the existence of the *ngole wihojo*, the importance of the *ngole wihanga* becomes very apparent. The danger of her being attacked and the consequences this would have upon the rest of the chiefdom were so grave that she had to be protected from all public endeavours after the initiation.

8.2 The balance between ngole and ntemi

The position of the *ngole wihanga* has arguably been underestimated in previous works on the Sukuma. She exists in opposition with the chief, yet at the same time together with him in such a way that they balance each other out. The *ngole wihanga* is the connecting power between the people and the chief as she is the bearer of life and the woman who carries the force to keep the chiefdom protected from enemies. The *ngole wihojo* also plays a role in keeping up the balanced nature of society. As *kuhoja* literally means 'to restore health', her position as a ceremonial wife who must take the fall for any taboo being broken or witchcraft being inflicted, she is actively part of keeping the balance of the society. And this re-emphasises the relevance of the endogenous logic of medicine. Even if the position of the *ntemi* has shifted towards a more autocratic rule, the *ngole* is still present and functions in such ways that she instigates balance and preserves medicinal rule.

8.3 The loss of function and the creation of alternatives

The endogenous logic based upon medicinal rule and powers is undoubtedly still present, but it is now heavily transformed under influence of exogenous factors.

First of all, polygamy is not practiced that much anymore. It is still done by some but many *batemi* – such as the current chief Makwaia II from Busiya who is married to Ngole Esther and explicitly requested to not get any more women – no longer have multiple wives. The heavy influence of Christianity in Africa because of centuries of Christian missions, has led to a shift in society. Polygamy is not an accepted practice in Christianity. Because the current *ntemi* in Busiya is Christian, there is only one *ngole* for the chiefdom. The moment at which this shift occurred is when chief Makwaia ya Kwanza Mwandu transferred his power to his son chief Kidaha. Makwaia was married to 29 wives of which some were inherited – when a brother of his died, he inherited the wives whom that relative had – and the other wives were chosen by the *bagong'hogong'ho*. Chief Kidaha, however, only had one wife. It is said that this was a white British woman (Interview 1 2018). It is quite interesting how there was such a sudden shift from having 29 wives to merely having one. After Kidaha, there was no chief who had multiple wives. The practice of polygamy had died out. Again, we can see here that there are exogenous influences – in this case Christianity – which led to a pressure for change, but it is

an individual agent that instigated the actual shift in practice by only marrying one white woman.

Not only the position of the wife was impacted by the loss of polygamy. Also the group of *banangwa* was seriously transformed under the influence of the disappearance of polygamy. The *banangwa* were sons of the chief appointed as headmen in villages in order to support the chief and his tasks over such large areas. Sons were installed as headmen in villages because they could never succeed the *ntemi* or take over his power because of matrilineal succession (Varkevisser 1973: 32). These sons – because of the shift to patrilineal succession – were no longer worried about becoming headmen, as they now had the opportunity of becoming the chief of the area. The disappearance of polygamy provided another problem. The chief no longer had as many wives and there were not barely enough sons to cover all 58 villages of Busiya (in the past there were less villages which is why all of his sons could acquire one village because I highly doubt there was ever a chief who had 58 sons). This inevitably resulted in having to choose other and more distant relatives of the clan in order to continue to support the chief (Malcolm 1953: 23). The *banangwa* – just like the *bagong'hogong'ho* – did not die out, yet moreover they adapted to the circumstances and reformulated their traditions in a way that was physically achievable in new world orders.

Second of all, the wive(s) whom the *ntemi* has, now often live in a different city than the chiefdom is situated in. The whole concept of a static and denoted area in which there is a clan with multiple households interconnected into huge polygamous families does not really exist anymore. The concept of a family has become way more fluid and interactive as a consequence of globalisation and cheaper transport possibilities which allow one to travel from one side of Tanzania to another in less than 24 hours. The wish of many women with financial means is to acquire a job for themselves instead of staying home and taking care of the household. Changes such as these, that are found on more global scales, have led to a shift in how the queen's power is performed. In the case of the *ngole*, I must admit that her position has Westernised to such an extent that the personal success of the *ngole* is valued higher than the overall 'health' of the chiefdom. This is not a bad thing, it is just a shift towards a notion of power that accords with Western ideas of success. Her position has not been abolished completely because she still possesses power to a certain extent. However, she just pursues her own means away from the chiefdom. This means that the *ngole* also does not live in the *itemelo* anymore. This *itemelo* – as has been touched upon earlier includes the medicinal objects for rites, sacrifices and power

objects and is the place for the inauguration –is now merely used for the keeping and employing of these objects and no longer as her house. The *ngole* used to be at the heart of the chiefdom because she inhabited the one place that was most explicitly related to medicinal rule. She occupied the position of a balancing central power inherently linked to what the entire structure of power was built upon namely medicine. This is represented in her not being allowed to attend ceremonies because of the danger of her being hurt and the chiefdom going down with her. (Is this done because it is more dangerous to harm a *ngole* than a *ntemi*? Or because people do not dare to harm the *ntemi* and only the *ngole*? Whose power is more important in this?) Above that, it is also represented in the *itemelo* previously having been her home.

Even though an enormous amount of attention has been paid to the position of the *ntemi* throughout decades of produced literature, I contend here that this is such a twisted and simplistic conceptualisation of this type of rule. I question: what if we had looked at the position of the *ngole* to the same extent we have analysed the one of the *ntemi* from the get go? Would we perceive notions of power in a different light now? Would we even have translated the concept of *ntemi* to 'chief' and the area to 'chiefdom', if academics and colonials had realised at the start just how involved the *ngole* is, especially if we could define her role as representing the land and we could link it to her capacity as counter power, which she has medicinally? Of course these questions rely upon the premise that the use of medicine as the basis of a chiefdom would have been acknowledged and addressed already before colonisation. But it is worth devoting attention to what a different conceptualisation of power could have instigated. And what I argue is that the position of the *ngole* has been heavily undertheorised – merely because men in power were looking for men in power, not only through colonisation but also in academics – and this has not represented her to the extent that should have.

Third of all, the functions of the *bagong'hogong'ho* in choosing a *ntemi* and a *ngole* have declined as well. Nowadays it is more accepted that the *ntemi* is proposed by his father before he dies. He is no longer chosen by the *bagong'hogong'ho* but their rituals have become a way of asserting that the candidate who has been suggested by the father – the current chief – is in fact fit and capable to become the next chief. Above that, the *ngole* is not chosen anymore either by the *bagong'hogong'ho*. The chief is usually already married to a woman upon being asked to rule the territory. In the past, he would not be allowed to have her as the *ngole wihanga* because the *bagong'hogong'ho* determined the first wife of the chief. Nowadays, it is accepted that the *ntemi* keeps the wife he was already married to and she becomes the *ngole wihanga*. In

this aspect, the *bagong'hogong'ho* have thus also lost power as they are, again, only confirming that the woman presented is fit for the job, but they are not choosing based on the positions of the stars and what the ancestors tell them. Finally, the initiation that is performed by the *bagong'hogong'ho* is still performed but also in alternative forms. The initiation happens over a shorter period of time. I was now told that it lasted between 3 or 5 days and not 21 or 28 days like in the past. Sometimes the initiation does not happen at all. Or it happens after the public ceremony has been performed, instead of before like it is supposed to. A possible reason for this is merely logistic. This initiation is way more adapted to the speed of the capitalised life. It is no longer a lengthy process because people just do not have the time for this anymore. If the *ngole* has a full time job in a different city, taking a month off for an initiation would just not be possible. This is not to take away from the centrality of medicine to life and society, but I am illustrating here how I believe that the endogenous logic of medicine is adaptive and transformative to a very great extent. The idea of medicine is still present – which is represented in the fact that the initiation still occurs –, it has just been embedded and re-imagined under influence of capitalism and globalisation (exogenous factors).

Fourth of all, the power of the *ngole wihanga* is still present and she is expected to exercise her power. This happens in a more fluid way than in the past: she does not live in the *itemelo*, does not spend all of her time in the household or the chiefdom, is initiated over a short time but she still has the knowledge provided through this initiation and is respected as the lady of the land. However, these women do not always want this power anymore. In the past, women had to marry the chief if they were chosen as the *ngole wihanga* and had no say in whether they would accept this kind of power or not. Now, in the chiefdom Mwadui (which neighbours to the chiefdom of Busiya and is described in this thesis because many of the people with medicinal powers function both at Busiya and Mwadui as these are not denoted or fixed categories of identity), the wife of chief Balele – the current chief of the area – was already married to him before he was chosen. She does not agree with medicine and 'tradition' and argues that she does not want anything to do with it. She is a very Christian woman and does not live close to the chiefdom at all. She has said that she does not want to become the *ngole wihanga* because she refuses to undergo the initiation. But she does not agree with the *ntemi* – her husband – marrying another woman in order for her to become the *ngole wihanga* either, because her Christian belief does not allow polygamy. We are provided here with a dilemma where there is an obvious clash between the persisting endogenous logic and the growing influence of exogenous factors. The endogenous logic persists as the *bagong'hogong'ho* argue that there is only one choice: the

wife of Chief Balele becomes *ngole wihanga*, or another woman is chosen by them and is initiated as *ngole wihanga*. Both of these choices not being something that the wife of Chief Balele wants as they both clash with her Christian believes. Is there any way for this to be solved? Must she abandon her own believes to fulfil those of others? Does she have the right to demand of her husband to not perform his role of chief that has been prescribed upon him by the society? Or does she need to set aside her own standards and accept the medicinal rule? How can we find an appropriate medium for this? I do not know if this is an exceptional situation or the start of a general decline. In Busiya, a wife who refuses to undergo initiation has not occurred before. In chiefdom Mwadui – of which Chief Balele is the ruler –, it is the first time that something like this has happened. I do not dare to state that the decline of the *ngole* under influence of outside forces will be a general evolution, if it is a special occurrence or if this will eventually lead to the *ngole* disappearing completely. I highly doubt that the *ngole* will ever disappear completely because I think the moment that this happens, nothing significant would be left of the medicinal structure. But the situation in Mwadui provides us with some serious dilemmas. I am not sure how this was resolved later on. I know that chief Balele is still ruling the Mwadui chiefdom one year later, which must mean that there was some solution found to the wife-problem. Yet whether his wife decided to become *ngole wihanga* or not, I am not sure of.

Finally, the *ngole wihojo* is a position that in fact barely exists anymore. Most chiefs have one wife, the *ngole wihanga*, which means that there is no wife left to take up the position of the *ngole wihojo*. However, there is still need for a woman who is able to carry inflictions of evil or witchcraft in order to maintain the balance between the *ngole wihanga* and the *ntemi* upon which society rests. This is where I argue that culture is incredibly inventive and the endogenous logic persists in alternatives, even when one would think it would disappear for good. This position is now taken up by a *ngole wigembe* (literally translates to fake wife) who attends ceremonies for the new harvest season or inaugurations. The chief is no longer married to this ceremonial *ngole*, but she is often a woman from his clan or nuclear family: a sister or a cousin. The position of the *ngole wihojo* persists but is performed in a different way. She is no longer chosen by the *bagong'hogong'ho* and does not go through any initiation with the chief, which could denote a decline of the medicine embedded in her. But there is, however, still a woman who attends ceremonies together with the chief instead of the real *ngole*. On the one hand, this is done because the *ngole* is not always present in the chiefdom or is busy with her job and there is a need for a *ngole* to attend a ceremony with the chief. On the other hand, the *ngole wihanga*

is still not expected or allowed to attend to public ceremonies because of the danger for the chiefdom. The combination of the endogenous adaptive logic underlying culture and changes, together with the exogenous elements of capitalist and global expectations of women obtaining jobs in the city centres creating new needs becomes apparent from examples such as these. This is how we can perceive that the distinction between endogenous and exogenous is analytically helpful in trying to construct a historical and cultural account.

We cannot deny the radical transformations that the position of the *ngole* has undergone the last decades as a result of the exogenous forces. However, I remain convinced that the medicine is still present and that the endogenous logic – even though this is not an actor that is capable of functioning on its own – is inventive enough to adapt to new circumstances and re-imagine traditions in order to maintain functions in new contexts. These are not necessarily invented traditions, they are moreover examples of just how much cultures can change and transform under pressure.

9 Queen mother

9.1 Her past function

Female title holders placed at high levels in society were a common feature of ancient and precolonial African political systems (Cohen 1977: 14; Farrar 1997: 579). In some areas they survived colonialism. Many of them are varied expressions of the same institution of the queen mother who has ceremonial functions (Farrar 1997: 579). They were not in possession of any kind of real political authority, as the real authority belonged to the *ntemi* (Farrar 1997: 580). The concept of the queen mother is widespread and I found sources on them from Ghana all the way to South Africa. It is agreed upon that in many societies, the queen mothers had privileged positions together with the *ntemi* and the *ngole* (Seel, Mgawe & Mulder 2014: 18; Willis 2017: 89). The queen mother has power and is independent of that of the *ntemi*. Vansina even argued that her power is equal to that of the *ntemi*. She would supervise the palace maids, manage the economic activities, own her personal militia and herd of cattle. The queen mothers used their medicinal powers to favour the lineage of their fathers in order to get rid of potential threats to the royal power (Vansina 2004: 85).

Cohen takes this further by arguing that the authority linked to a senior woman of the royal line whom we call the queen mother, is not always a real mother. She merely serves as the female counterpart to the male royal person (whilst I have argued that this is the *ngole* who sustains balance). The queen mother is essential to royal power and authority (Cohen 1977: 14). Cohen suggests that there is incest between the chief – who is structurally in the position of an Oedipus complex – and his 'mother' who together form a couple (Cohen 1977: 15, 26). He later on describes the process I explicated above on how the *ntemi* and the *ngole* were chosen, but he calls this the choosing of the *ntemi* and the queen mother (Cohen 1977: 20 – 21). Is the choosing of the queen and the queen mother – who is then according to Cohen not actually the mother – the same practice? But then how exactly is this incest? Did the researcher confuse different practices with each other? Or is there a huge problem in trying to translate these notions in English and are we all confused between these practices? Are areas maybe not as similar as we think they are (which would deny the whole concept of the endogenous logic)? Why is it not clear who the queen mother is and who the queen is?

Farrar very aptly points out that the queen mother is used as a defined category by the West – just as has been done with the concept of a 'chief'. He argues that it is highly unlikely that if we use this notion in Ghana and in South Africa, it denotes the exact same thing. Because of the far stretched area it is situated in, the concept of the 'queen mother' probably denotes different types of positions and does not represent a single political institution (Farrar 1997: 594). I inherently agree with this as the translation of the 'queen mother' that is used by Western academics in describing phenomena, produces very different narratives, on what is supposed to be *one* position of power. The only thing we can do about the past is speculate and generate scenarios that we think accurately represent our findings on this 'queen mother', but we must remember that we are possibly trying to implement a Westernised notion onto a not so denoted category.

In the case of Busiya, it was always said that the queen mother had no power – yet I continued to wonder whether this was meant in a political or a medicinal sense, but I was never given any clear answer to this – yet that she was greatly respected and had status (Interview 11 2018). I personally do not think that this is entirely correct as I believe her to have possessed medicinal powers to a certain extent. I will argue why I think this was the case in the next section. Yet I stress here that I do not believe her to have had any kind of power or position that is comparable

to the chief, nor do I believe Cohen's theory on the Oedipus complex (definitely not in the case of Busiya). But I do assert her to have had power to some extent beyond mere 'respect'.

9.2 The reasons behind her disappearance?

There are no longer queen mothers present in the region of Busiya. Her position has completely died out for a few decades now and there is not even a trace of the mother of the chief. She still is respected because she is the bearer of life, but there is no deeper meaning to be found behind this.

Yet, at the graves of *batemi*, mothers of former *batemi*, *banagwa* (sons of chief), *bafumu wa mbula* (rain makers) and other *bafumu* or *bamanga* (witches or traditional healers) public ceremonies are performed. When there is a drought and there is need for rain, an offer is given to a displeased ancestor – at one of their graves – by the *bagong'hogong'ho* or the *ntemi* (Millroth 1965: 163; Vansina 2004: 65). In Busiya, offers are still made to this day at the grave of a queen mother. Ba ng'wa ntumbagwe was the mother of chief Ng'wandu Nkinge Malaba who was the father of chief Makwaia I – whom I discussed earlier on. Before independence, 25 cows would be offered with drought. After independence, this became less. Upon arriving to a place for offerings, medicine is grinded, put in a pot and mixed with the blood of an slaughtered animal in order to call upon the ancestors for rain. Ba ng'wa ntumbagwe was buried before the Germans came to rule and it is the last queen mother with the Busiya that I – or any of my informants – have knowledge of (Interview 5 2018; Interview 11 2018). Thus, we could assert that the practice of the queen mother as highly relevant or equal to the medicinal powers of the chief, died out somewhere around the time of the German colonisation, probably around the same time of the disappearance of matrilineal succession.

Oberg argued that the queen mother is important because she provides the king with magical protection (Oberg 1948). Cohen went further in this to assert that many others in the medicinal system have this magical power as well, yet that they do not share the same status that is ascribed to the queen mother (Cohen 1977: 14). If the queen mother had no power, but merely status and respect like the *ngole*, why is she such an important person to pray for rain to? If she did not have any power, why is there no praying at the graves of the queen? Was the highly important status of the queen mother later replaced with the status of the queen? Is it possible that this then moved to a more Western notion of royal lineage representing a queen and chief

who together rule a place? Are they confused with each other whilst actually being the same position? Or did they co-exist? As I argue for the latter as in the next section we see that the first queen and the first queen mother of the chiefdom are both remembered, it must have been that both positions were highly important in their own distinct way.

I provide a possible hypothesis here that could serve as an explanation for the disappearance of the queen mother. Previously the queen mother remained in her powerful position until her death. A new queen came about at the moment that the chief (who was the son of his father's sister) was initiated and married the *ngole wihanga*. The position of the queen and the queen mother co-existed and did not interfere as they had their own functions both surrounding and supporting the *ntemi*. When there was a shift to patrilineal succession and a disappearance of the matrilineal succession, the *ntemi* and the *ngole wihanga* – now his only wife – together provided the chiefdom with a son who would be the new chief. The *ngole wihanga* and only wife of the chief who had given birth to the new chief, would then have to become her son's queen mother upon the death of her husband. This is clarified in the illustration below.
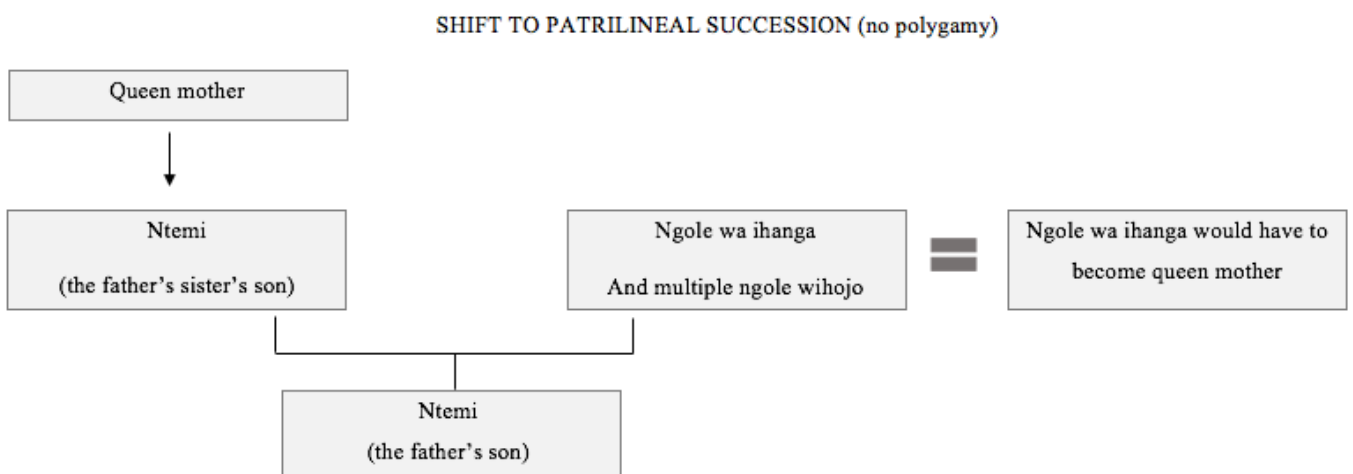

SHIFT TO PATRILINEAL SUCCESSION (no polygamy)

Figure 5 Shift to patrilineal succession. Figure by the author.

The queen would have possibly already died. A chief's position terminates at the moment he passes away which would mean that his mother was probably at an older age as well. I know that for example in the case of Kidaha Makwaia, his wife outlived him (Amkpa 2007). In the case that the queen was still alive upon losing her husband, how could a queen that had been holding her position and behaving accordingly for decades, suddenly have to switch to

becoming a queen mother, a completely different form of power? In pure monarchical forms in the West in which these types of positions denote status moreover than power, this would not be such a huge issue. But in a chiefdom where the positions of the queen mother, queen and chief all have their own space and function, one cannot merely switch from one to another. I would argue that the queen had powers that were intended to keep the chiefdom in balance as the nurturing force. Above that, she was regarded as being the lady of the land and bringing forth life. Her use of medicine went as far as having to support her husband, not making any decision or changes in the chiefdom as a greater whole. The queen mother, however, had the powers to involve herself in rainmaking, even to such an extent that her grave is still used as a place for *kutambika* (sacrifice), even after the function had died out. I cannot say that I have much information on her position, because it seems like it has not been remembered that well. But from the pieces that I have put together, I would assume that her powers in regards to medicine and creating prosperity were more closely related to those of the chief, than those of the queen. I would thus argue that the skills of the queen and the queen mother per definition cannot reside in one and the same person. It would not make sense for the queen to have to learn the 'trade' of the queen mother, after her husband had died or a new chief had been chosen. Because this shift from queen to queen mother in one person is not possible, one or the other had to go. And this is where I argue that there were alternatives for the function of the queen mother and not for the queen. I assume that the queen mother had great medicinal capacities similar to the chief and the *bagong'hogong'ho*. If her position would disappear, the society would not be destructed because her rain making powers can still be practiced and continued by others in different roles. Merely her level of respect as the mother of a chief would disappear. Yet if we imagine that the position of the queen would have disappeared at this very moment in time – meaning probably somewhere early 20th century – the queen would take her powers to keep the chiefdom in balance and support the chief with her. This would provide a problem for the chiefdom in its entirety as there were no other people who would have been able to replace her.

This is a mere hypothesis though on the presence of a cultural logic that I have derived from my own observations and literature data. I could be wrong and Ba Ng'wa Ntumbagwe could have been a one-off situation similar to how Makwaia single handedly turned the concept of matrilineal succession around in one generation. It could be that Ba Ng'wa Ntumbagwe had exceptional powers and that of all the queen mothers she happens to be the only one that is

celebrated to such an extreme extent. Yet, if I turn to the coming about of the Busiya chiefdom in the next section: both the queen mother and the queen had been present from the start. Further confirmation to verify this hypothesis might be obtained in a follow-up study including sources from the region about the Bantu Expansion that argue for the spread of the queen mother and powers of hers that outdid any others. The disappearance of the queen mother happened at an earlier time, but the position of the queen herself, as has been described earlier, is withering away more and more with each generation (for example through refusing to be associated with medicine as it is not accepted by Christian beliefs). Will the queen still have power in a few decades? Are we moving towards an absolute patriarchy because of exogenous factors whilst the importance of medicine as the endogenous driving force remains? Is this possible? Will the queen mother and the queen be gone for good? Or is there any opportunity that they will arise again at later times because there are still plenty of traces of them left? I have no other choice but to write this in question form as the only thing I can do is speculate, yet these are all such valuable questions. I would like to argue here that research into the position*s* of the queen mother, her histor*ies* and the fluidity of her power is urgently needed in order to undo the cultural misunderstandings of the past and give her the long overdue differentiation that is required.

10 A case study on the queen and the queen mother

10.1 The faith of the six sisters

Sukuma chiefdoms came into being because people were in search of new land. In this way, the Sukuma spread deeper into the country and the new places they settled at were given the name of the first wife of the first chief. The story of how Busiya came about has been told to me by various people and I tried to reconstruct the whole story in the best way possible. My and their main source is the court historian Ngojeyi. It is relevant to my narrative because it allows me to note just how fluid and complex power structures were.

There was a chief called Mola Guligwa in the chiefdom Chibe. (This can be found on the map provided earlier: Chibe is number 43 Ng'wanhini and is closer to Lake Victoria then Busiya is). Mola had descended from Dutwa, Bariadi (not on the map). Mola's first wife was called Gidi Kumaija. Mola did not want his wife to give birth to baby boys and he ordered his soldiers to kill the boys that she gave birth to. He was scared that if they grew up they would be able to

overthrow him and take away his power. Thus, he only wanted her to have daughters. Their children remained with their mother and the soldiers, whilst Mola went back to Bariadi, his hometown. Mola was often away for long periods of time and was not aware of many of the things going on in Chibe. One time he left on a trip whilst his wife was pregnant. They already had six daughters called Tinde, Saanda, Ng'washi, Suule, Shija and Kwangu. The seventh child that was born was a son. The mother did not want Mola to come back and order to kill this son too. Her servants made sure that the boy was safe. They would dress him up as a girl so that when Mola came back, he would not notice. They used dresses made of animal skin and tree bark that covered up his private parts. Mola never noticed. He left again for a longer period of time and the boy grew up. He was given a name: *Izengo wa Sambi* (which literally translates to 'the male who wore female outfits'). He eventually was given the power to reign the chiefdom Chibe by the *bagong'hogong'ho* because his father had been absent for such a long time. He was assisted by his mother Gidi – the queen mother – during his inauguration. But right when the drums were being beaten as Izengo was leaving the *itemelo* after his initiation, Mola returned to Chibe. He heard the drums in the distance and because these were the royal drums which were used for the chief only, he knew something was wrong. Mola sent his assistants to go and check out what was going on and reported that there was a boy present. Mola did not dare to face him because he did not know if he was a fair opponent and he fled back to Bariadi. It was the end of his reign as Izengo continued to rule Chibe (Interview 2 2018; Ngojeyi n.d.).

Izengo's sisters would grow up and eventually get married in Chibe. Because they were all getting their own families, groups and staffs, their clan was growing so much that new lands were needed. Each sister went to a different area and took their family and security with them. Tinde Mola went to the region named Tinde, Saanda Mola to Busanda, Suule to Busuule, Ng'washi to current Samuye, Shija to Kizumbi or Bushoola and Kwangu to Busiya. (These can be found on the map provided earlier, they are the chiefdoms surrounding Busiya) (Interview 2 2018; Ngojeyi n.d.).

Kwangu got married to Jinyamhi and they had children together. Their oldest child was called Mahiti and he got married to Siya. Mahiti was the first chief to rule the area of Busiya (which was then called Lumbi). He was given power immediately after they came from Chibe. Kwangu – his mother who led the group that came from Chibe – could choose the person that would lead her people and she proposed Mahiti her oldest son. He was then approved by the *bagong'hogong'ho*. Under Mahiti's reign, the region came to be known as Busiya, named after

Siya, the first wife of the first chief. The people living in this place were from now on referred to as the 'basiya' or the 'bang'wa kwangu', which translates to 'the descendents of Kwangu' (Ngojeyi n.d.). They greet each other with 'insiya'. The name of the place, people and greetings are based on the name of Siya. The first wife is seen as the person who preserves the nation or land which is why the area is identified with the queen and the people do too (Ngojeyi n.d.).

Not only the first wife is seen as inherently important to the foundations of a new chiefdom, but the first chief was inherently important as well. Bulls are called by the names of the founders of the ruling dynasties and are kept in the chiefdoms. They participate in rites, such as the harvest thanksgiving festivities, when they are given porridge prepared from first fruits (Cory 1954: 5). Mahiti is symbolised as a black cow with a white mark on his forehead. This type of bull can never be slaughtered in Busiya and is ought to die a natural death. If this cow dies, it is not meant to be eaten (Interview 2 2018; Ngojeyi n.d.).

10.2   The positions

Kwangu – who was the first queen mother of Busiya and the founder of the area – clearly had some type of power (in a medicinal sense) and was highly respected. She was the bearer of life and essence of the chiefdom as she led the people and her family towards this new land, but that does not necessarily denote her to be the physical leader here on after. She was the one who proposed her son Mahiti to be the chief of Busiya and he was then accepted by the *bagong'hogong'ho*. The fact that she appointed one of her sons to be the first chief and take this responsibility upon herself, meant that she was respected to an extent that people would trust her with the choice on who would be their leader. Siya, on the other hand, was the first wife and *ngole* of the area.

There is some confusion surrounding her position and role. Siya was referred to by some as the first leader of the area and Mahiti as the second (Interview 1 2018). These people told me that Siya was the mother of Mahiti and that she had a kind of position that was not necessarily the one of a chief, but she did assert power. I think that this is historically incorrect, because all chiefdoms are called after the first wife of the chief of an area and Siya would then have been the first queen mother of the area and logistically it would make no sense for the region to be called Busiya. I was told by others that Siya was the daughter of Kwangu and Siya was the mother of Mahiti and not the wife (Interview 2 2018). These women told me that the chiefdom

changed from female to male chiefs, when Siya got old and tired and left Busiya to her son Mahiti. In this conceptualisation, Mahiti was seen as the second chief of Busiya. Again, this is probably historically incorrect but it is very interesting to me that in both interviews it was seen as a very plausible scenario for a woman to have been the first leader or even chief of Busiya.

In the interviews with historian Ngojeyi, I was told that Mahiti was the first chief and that Kwangu was the first person that was present together with her followers. I assume that this is the most historically correct. As I play the devil's advocate here, I must say that it is striking that multiple groups of *women* openly assert to me that the woman named Kwangu was in fact the first leader or even first chief of the area and that the man named Mahiti came later as the second chief. The *male* historian and informants though, made it very clear to me that Kwangu did not have power, but that she was merely respected and that Mahiti was the first real leader or chief of the area. Is this not an interesting pattern we see here? Or is it mere coincidence that these groups of women were not as well informed and that one person – who just happens to be a man – was better informed?

I see the point of the cultural 'logic' that Mahiti was the first *ntemi* and his *ngole* Siya was highly respected and remembered through the name of the chiefdom. Yet, there remains a lack of clarity regarding the position of Kwangu. Was she the original *ntemi*? Or was she the first queen mother? Stroeken argued that the original *ntemi* is a cultic founder, male or female, who hands out rain medicine to family members willing to emigrate and expand their network (Stroeken 2018: 100). If I believe some of my informants, Kwangu was not the original *ntemi*, but merely a queen mother figure who had the respect to appoint the first chief. But in this interpretation, there is no reason given for why her entire family and groups of *bagong'hogong'ho* and security would have left their own places and homes to follow her for kilometres on end to reach a new and unknown territory. There is thus an element lacking here that does not sufficiently address exactly how Kwangu's power was framed. The perceptions of others lead me to believe that Kwangu was in fact the first 'chief' present in the area and that later on the chiefdom switched to male perceptions of the *ntemi*. (I put chief between quotation marks because we should be open to the original meaning of chief changing over time as it became defined in a more masculine-political way). But this would then again raise questions on why the chiefdom was not named after her, but after Siya.

In figure six on the following page, we see that the first chief of the chiefdom Nela was in fact a woman named Kabula binti Solasi. In figure seven, we see that the first chief of the chiefdom Ng'wagala was Holo, yet again a woman. After this, the rest of the *batemi* of these areas were men. The original *ntemi* in these chiefdoms were women who have the cultic powers to lead a group of people based upon medicine. And these are remembered as *batemi*. Was Kwangu in fact the original *ntemi*? Was she perceived as such in the past? Has this perception shifted nowadays due to the non-medicinal 'masculine' model of power towards the notion that she was merely a queen mother? How would people have answered my questions on Kwangu centuries ago? Would they have told me that she was a *ntemi*? Did notions on patriarchy and men as dominating all structures have influenced the perceptions of some people – men? – to such an extent that they no longer perceive Kwangu as a *ntemi*, but maybe she was in fact just that?

Figure 6 *Butemi wa Nela* (the chiefs of Nela)
Obtained from Bujora/ Sukuma Cultural Centre

Figure 7 *Butemi wa Ng'wagala* (the chiefs of Ng'wagala)
Obtained from Bujora/ Sukuma Cultural Centre

But the question on the name of the chiefdom remains. Why was the chiefdom named after Siya if it was Kwangu who was the first women in power? Upon arriving in the area, the name of it was the region of Lumbi. Kwangu reigned over the area for a period of time as the original *ntemi* and the leader of the cult, but it was only later changed to Busiya during the generation of her children. I argue that the shift in the name of the chiefdom indicates a shift in the

endogenous logic. The cultic association led by Kwangu as the original *ntemi* was loosely defined. They were new in the area and there were not that many inhabitants, which probably meant that there was no need to name her region of power or assert this as such. It was only later when the cult shifted towards notions of medicinal rule under the supervision of a chief, that the area was named and 'institutionalised' (in the most fluid meaning of this concept). Kwangu's son Mahiti and his *ngole* Siya, were the first leaders of the medicinally ruled chiefdom. This would not only explain the reason for the name of the region, but this would also clarify why it is Mahiti's grave that is used for rain making and that the grave of his mother Kwangu is not remembered. Above that, it would explain why Mahiti was symbolised as a black bull with a white spot on his forehead, which is still respected and used as a symbol of power today. These physical depictions of Mahiti's reign remind us of medicinal rule in a clear and denoted way as reflected in the chiefdom. Yet, the more fluid notions of a cult lead by an original *ntemi* are reflected in Kwangu's position. I do not know if the original *ntemi* would per definition be a woman. In the areas of Busiya and its neighbouring chiefdoms and in Nela and Ng'Wagala this is definitely the case. This could be a coincidence and original *batemi* could have been both male or female. Or there is a reoccurring pattern of female original *batemi* in history.

I have been focusing mostly upon the positions of the family or the clan of the chief, but there is also possibility for other groups of women to possess power through medicinally instigated means. These are not necessarily part of the family or the clan, but they could be. I will now pay attention to the *bakango* and the *bachwezi*.

11. Bakango, the blessings of twins

At the time of Mahiti, *mabasa* (twins) or *kashinje* (children born in breech positions), were seen as calamities that endangered the wellbeing of the community and the health of the chief. When these children were born, they would be killed (Cory 1960: 54; Tanganyika Society: 18; Interview 6 2018; Interview 7 2018). Right after their birth, the *ntemi* would be informed and the parents would bring the child or the children to him (Cory 1951: 55; Millroth 1965: 131). They were not only killed, but there was also a ceremony connected to this in order to undo the curse and reinstate prosperity for the parents and their village. This ceremony – which should be organised by the *ntemi* – was performed under guidance of a cult consisting out of all the parents of other twins in the village whom are referred to as the *ngoma ya mabasa* ('the drum

of the twins' which refers to the cult of the twin parents). (Cory 1951: 55; Millroth 1965: 131; Stroeken 2018: 105).

As I argued earlier that it is important for the Sukuma to have a society that is in balance – for which both queen and chief are inherently important – it is here that we see a possible breach of the health of the society by the birth of *mabasa* or *kashinje*. The birth of twins could mean that the lives of the parents and their families are threatened. Above that, the whole district could suffer as the fertility of the fields and the rainfall is endangered (Tanganyika Society: 39). The purification ritual, thus, has to be performed in order to secure prosperity and rainfall (Millroth 1965: 131; Stroeken 2018: 105).

Nowadays, the custom of the killings of twins and children in breech positions is disappearing and organisation of the *ngoma ya mabasa* is very loose (Cory 1954: 88; Tanganyika Society: 19). The cleansing ceremonies of the parents and the children, functioning as their initiation into the secret society of the *mabasa*, is still performed but without the killing of the children (Cory 1960: 54; Millroth 1965: 131; Tanganyika Society: 36). After the birth of the child, the parents of the twins would get a *ganganeke* (necklace) tied around them and their hair would not be shaven. They will return to their home places and wait for offerings to be prepared (Interview 7: 2018). They would have to follow certain rules such as not go to the farm, not touch ashes after cooking, not give or take money as to avoid economic activity (this is probably done in order to avoid their cursed status being implemented upon others of their village and spreading), not cutting their hair after the child is born up until the ceremony occurs. Only after the ceremony are they allowed to resume normal life (Interview 6: 2018). The *ngoma ya mabasa* would come to their house and slaughter an animal as an offering. For *kashinje* this would be 2 goats and for *mabasa* 4 goats. The animals are slaughtered, prayed for and eaten. The parents will receive white beads and wear them around their chest and wear a round shell on a rope around their head – which is a symbol of power usually worn by a chief – and their heads will be shaved near the door. This is when the parents start running. The *ngoma ya mabasa* will sit away from the house and the parents together with their kids – carrying them or running with them – will run towards them and the *ngoma ya mabasa* will spit on them with a millet mixture that is in *vyungu* (little calabashes). They sip from the bottles and spit on the chest of the parents and the children representing the blessing. In case of a *kashinje*, the parents run twice. In case of twins, they run four times. They are spitted on by the *ngoma ya mabasa* and then run back to their house and hit with their hands above the door, put water in their mouths, run back to the *ngoma ya mabasa* and spit the water on them. They yell the name of their birth place whilst

hitting the door in order to inform others of their roots, to call upon their ancestors and to add blessing to the place they came from as you have just put it in danger by having *mabasa* or *kashinje* (Interview 6 2018; Interview 7 2018).

When Mwandu, the father of Makwai I, was born, he was one of twins and they tried to kill him, but he survived and only his brother passed away. He grew up and became chosen as chief. At his inauguration, he blessed the twins. And from now on, the parents of twins became the *bakango* (blessed). The twins went from being perceived as a curse to a blessing. From now on, the *bakango* were used at ceremonies in order to bless the chief and wish the chiefdom prosperity. Most of the time *bakango* are women because the mothers of the twins are most involved in the cult. A *mkango* will carry two small calabashes (representing the dead twin spirits as they are still very influential) with a mixture of millet and water and drink from these in an alternating motion before spitting on the neck and the shoulders of the chief. This is a sign of the blessing of the chief, which can be seen in the figure on the following page (Interview 7 2018). It shows two *bakango* women at the inauguration of Chief Balele in chiefdom Mwadui, holding two calabashes (representing the twins) and drinking from them in an alternating motion. Afterwards, they spit this on the chief who is being initiated and who is sitting on the ground with his head shaven. The men speaking to him are *bagong'hogong'ho* of the region.
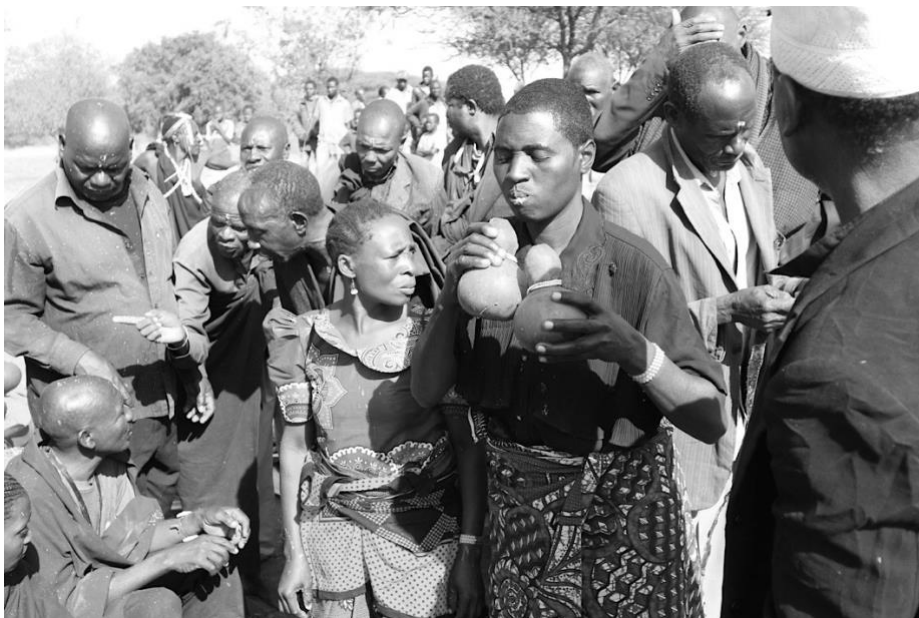

Figure 8 Blessing of Chief Balele and *bagong'hogong'ho* at the inauguration in chiefdom Mwadui. Picture by author.

In the past, the *ngoma ya mabasa* would go to the *itemelo* before the ceremony in order to go get the *ngoma* (drums) for the initiation into the cult. Because the *ngole* was living in the *itemelo*, she would be the one to hand over the *ngoma*. Upon doing this, she would bless the *ngoma ya mabasa* with mixed millet from two calabashes (*vyungu*). This is no longer done because the *ngole* does not live in the *itemelo* any longer and the organisation is less denoted. But this again is a function that argues on the centrality of the *ngole*.

The regular *bakango* women or men are any parents who have *mabasa* or *kashinje* and who have offered two or four goats to the others of the cult. This is not seen as a spiritual act, but as a present to the *bakango* who have come there to do the ritual and eat the meat. However, there is a different group of *bakango* whom are referred to as the *Nyangogo*. These are a very select group of members who have gone through the initiation of a *bakango*, but have offered *pombe* (home made beer) above these goats. For a *kashinje* this is four buckets, for *mabasa* eight buckets. The parents offer this *pombe* to the other *bakango* and the old people are given some as well. A *nyangogo* has more power than a *bakango* person as he can remove the curse from parents giving birth to twins, bless anyone who gives birth to twins and anyone who is sick (Interview 7 2018).

Millroth described that the *mabasa* members would perform tasks that were similar to those of *waganga* (traditional healers). In occasion of disease or possession, two twins were invited and they brought the two calabashes which they had received at their own initiation at birth. They would go to the sick person's house and put the bottles filled with millet mixture on their back in order to heal (Millroth 1965: 165). I would presume that this is not something that all *mabasa* did, but actually something that the *nyangogo* – a very select group of them – performed. Millroth probably interviewed the most 'knowledgeable' *mabasa*, but ended up thinking that this ability to heal was instilled in every single parent of twins or childen in breech positions. I argue that I do not think this was the case, but that only a part of them was able to heal.

12. The bachwezi and their healing powers

The *bachwezi* – a cultic, medicinal association with a considerable amount of power – are said to have their roots in the Kitara empire – a huge empire covering a big part of East African countries including Northern Tanzania, my region of study – in the 15[th] century. From Western Uganda to northwestern Tanzania, the Bantu speaking empire was governed by the Chwezi.

They were famed in the area as being the founders of sacred kingship, but their dynasty no longer exists in that region (Beattie 2013: 159; Cory 1954: 88; Cory 1955: 923; Mulokozi 2002: 15; Okello 2002: 39; Stroeken 2018: 217). It is quite unclear where exactly the *bachwezi* went, just like it is not entirely clear where they came from. Their descendants dispersed and migrated further towards other regions (Mulokozi 2002: 15; Okello 2002: 39). The final Chwezi king handed his cattle to his brother Ryangombe who founded a spirit cult within which some would gather around the tree (this symbolises royalty and immortality) (Stroeken 2018: 217). The *bachwezi* and Sukuma have been living together for a long time through intermarriage and they arrived in western Tanzania through marrying with Nyamwezi (Interview 6 2018).

One becomes a *bachwezi* either because you are born from Chwezi parents or because a spirit starts troubling you (this usually happens when you are a child). When a spirit possesses you (*mzimu*) as a child, you start to behave like a maniac and sometimes start hurting yourself or others uncontrollably. This is how people around you will realise that you are possessed, upon which the Chwezi will be contacted. A ceremony will be arranged and the possessed person is brought to do the *kutambika* (sacrificing and praying). A medicine of red millet mixed with other materials is used as a form of blessing. A cow will be slaughtered as an offer and it will be eaten by everyone present. Beads – worn around their head and waist – are handed to the parents. The child has now become a Chwezi, but this spirit that has possessed him does not go away. The spirit remains in their body, yet it has to be pleased through offers and gifts in order for it not to act up. This process is called the 'first possession' (Interview 6 2018; Beattie 2013: 164, 166).

The child who is now a Chwezi can become possessed again at a later time, which is called the 'second possession'. This denotes his transformation to a Chwezi healer, which usually happens when one is an adult. The possessed Chwezi serves as a medium as the spirit inside him starts demanding things such as offerings of animals, physical objects like beads and so on. This spirit is usually from a previous healer. In order to get rid of this possession, the Chwezi move into the forest and take the possessed person with them. They have to find the roots of a tree and use the medicine (mixed millet) in order to treat the person. They slaughter a sheep or a lamb and look at the inner organs in order to tell if a person is ready to become a healer or not. The meat of the offered animal is cooked and it is eaten. In returning from the forest, the person is now rid of their possession and has become a healer themselves upon which they can start practicing (Interview 6 2018; Beattie 2013: 164, 166). The second possession is shown on figure nine on

the following page. A woman at the inauguration of Chief Balele in the chiefdom of Mwadui, became possessed and as the spirit had taken over her body, she went in front of the audience and fell before the feet of the *bachwezi* (who were possessed at that moment as well which is denoted by their beaded headbands). These *bachwezi* were doing their notorious dance which consists of singing praise songs in the tongues of their spirits and dancing whilst sitting. The possessed woman dressed in black, remained in that exact spot for their entire performance and was later convinced by the *bachwezi* (read: their spirits) to stand up and go with them. What I assume followed this occurrence, is that she must undergo an initiation to please her spirit and get rid of the possession. Because it is the second time this had happened to her, she will become a healer hereon after.

Figure 9 The second possession of a woman at the inauguration of Chief Balele. Picture by author.

When a person is sick and possessed, the Chwezi healer – who has undergone both possessions and initiations – is able to heal them. The spirit says that they want to meet with a Chwezi. The healer comes wearing their attire which denotes that they are under the possession of their own spirit. The *bachwezi* are all possessed by an omen or a spirit but they know the spirit will not harm them because they are wearing their beads. This is why they invite the spirit to come inside them with the purpose of healing others. Medicine is not supposed to be brought as this will make the spirit of the possessed person angry. The spirit of the possessed patient and the healer spirit will talk to each other in tongues. The people function as the medium and

mouthpiece for the spirits. The spirit of the healer will ask to leave the diseased person through his head or to say what it wants from the family (*kukemea*: urge). If the spirit wants anything in return for leaving the human, such as slaughtering an animal or beads, they give it to them. The healer will tell the family after the ritual, what they must bring or do in order for the possessed person to become healed. If they do not listen to the demands of the possessed person through whom the spirit is speaking, the spirit will come back to the person to make demands again (Beattie 2013: 161; Interview 6 2018).

Apart from their healing powers, they are invited for other types of ceremonies as well – such as 7SABA and the inauguration of chiefs – because of their powers to perform *kutambika*. They call upon their spirits to possess them and wear their beads at these ceremonies. They have a specific type of dance which is done whilst sitting on the ground and moving their hips around whilst chanting (which can be seen on figure nine on the previous page). It is known that one cannot talk to them at these occasions, because they will be speaking in tongues only the spirits understand. Above that, and importantly in light of the chief's task for preserving the fertility of the land, they also function as part of rain making ceremonies where they are also invited for their powers and connections with the spirits. They perform the *kutambika* for acquiring rain mostly at the *itemelo* and the graveyard of Makwaia I.

To me it was not entirely clear from conducting interviews and doing fieldwork, if there was any type of shift within the *bachwezi* cult under influence of exogenous forces or because of Makwaia's policies. Interestingly enough, these were the people who were least interested in talking about their history, whilst others would be glad to tell me how they had arrived at the place and mind frame they were at today. This is surprising, but then again not entirely as their history has been a mystery from the get go. Beattie argues that before colonisation, the initiated mediums formed what were virtually corporate groups and they stressed their differences in opposition to each other and to ordinary people. They were conscious of strong mutual loyalties. Mediumship now is a more individualistic affair. Groups are still formed for ceremonies, but in every day life they are more on their own (Beattie 2013: 165). I cannot argue with conviction whether this is true or not. I actually perceived there to be quite a collective perception being present with the *bachwezi*.

That the Chwezi have medicinal power, is not merely a guess but is a certainty. Their capability of doing *kutambika* acquires them a position of power that none others in society have. They

have abilities that a *ntemi* or a *ngole* do not have and are denoted as incredibly important for any type of ceremony. It is argued that there is no difference between men and women *bachwezi* as they both exercise power in the same way. I was told that this has been the case since the beginning of their cult (Abrahams 1967a: 64; Interview 6 2018). This leads me to argue that the *bachwezi* are a vital way through which women acquire and express power with the Busiya (and more generally the Sukuma). It has been heavily discussed how and why these exact women possess power.

An answer to the questions on women having power through possession, was formulated by Lewis. He gave an instrumental answer to this as he argued that the spirit possession – with the Zar cult – is an instrument for women to cope with the social inequality present in their daily lives. Through possession, they would be able to demand objects such as dresses and beads or offers that they would not be able to ask for in normal life. Women would enter the cult of the Zar as a coping mechanism for inequality and their lack of power (Lewis 1966). Mediumship, thus, got a very functional explanation as it was said that it was merely a way for women to get attention, respect and an escape from the patriarchal political and domestic institutions (Schoenbrun 1996). Beattie argued that mediumship is a way for women to provide a steady income for themselves because they have the means to practice divination as a Chwezi healer (Beattie 2013: 169). It is Boddy who moved away from this conception of the mere material and functional reasons behind spirit possession. She argued that there were therapeutic and cultural dimensions to it as well. Zar possession is an instrument to cope with infertility or marriage problems in which women consciously try to find a solution and manipulate certain symbols to cope with this. The actor as manipulator is still central to her argument, but the materialism of Lewis is replaced by symbolism. A positive relationship will restore her health. These arguments start from a notion of cultural *over*determination. As the body of the woman is determined in her social and cultural roles, this is done to such an extent that she must find ways to escape it and break the cultural determination – as during the possession they are performing a role that is not socially acceptable – for denoted periods of time, to then return to the original state (Boddy 1989). Cory mentioned that the Chwezi cult was in fact joined by people not because they were possessed, but because they were recommended to join by relatives or friends for example if they had a childless marriage (Cory 1955: 926).

Doyle argues, however, that this is not true and that women do not use it as a way to get out of dominant forms of power. The gendered nature of domination is seen by him to be a product of

re-imagining the precolonial. It appealed to the vulnerability of both sexes and brought female exploitation as well as empowerment. The hegemonic and counter hegemonic logic of religion might have been overestimated (Doyle 2007: 1- 2). As argued by Doyle: "To see Cwezi-kubandwa as either a religious system manipulated by the powerful, or as a religion of the oppressed, is thus an unhelpful over-simplification" (Doyle 2007: 563). The idea that it merely existed because it appealed to women as a form of social protest or as a weapon of the weak – as argued by Lewis – is incorrect.

Even though I assert that it could be possible for this therapeutic argumentation to be true for some cults, I denote that it is false in the case of the Chwezi. In looking back at the previous chapter, I must argue that perceiving women in this light leads to the homogenisation of the Third World woman as an oppressed victim as argued by Mohanty. In the light of Lewis and Boddy's work, it is true that this oppressed victim in some way acquires the agency to perform a different power structure than has been opposed upon her day to day. However, this translates itself in such a way that she merely remains part of this overarching structure even though she has ways of momentarily countering it. It seems that in the Chwezi cult, there is mostly an equal relationship and status of men and women. They both have agency through this cult, as much as disempowerment during possession by the spirit. They both do *kutambika* in a way that others do not because gender was not conceptualised with the Sukuma – as we look back upon Oyewumi's work – in a way that was similar with the West. There is not just a global gender order based upon universal patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity that defines the cultural lives of the Sukuma in such a way that women (and other minorities for that matter) must find ways to escape it. This is such a simplification that it becomes irrelevant. I argue for the presence of a fluid patriarchy – that came about through exogenous influences – that allows both men and women to have power in medicinal sense that is there because it fits the frames (the endogenous logic), not because of a functionality or intentionality instigated from these subjects. This is reflected in groups such as the *bachwezi*.

13. Missing links?

As I argued in the beginning upon discussing Stanley's words on the Sukuma, I do not wish to include secretive information that has not been given to me by my informants, or that they have disclosed to me as something that they do not want me to write about. There is information that I have decided not to include, merely because I believe that if one is spending time considering

if something is ethically justifiable or not, it probably is not. I am not supposed to know or have the details on many medicinal acts or on the details of ceremonies, because me – nor the reader of this work probably – are initiated members into these various cults. Because of this very reason, I cannot even disclose some of the information I acquired through reading works such as those by Hans Cory. He provides great detail on medicine and the use of it, but there is no way for me to verify if that is still true for Busiya today, nor do I even comprehend how he acquired this as a non-initiated member. But because of these problems, there are positions of women that are incredibly important that I have not been able to describe in this work.

For example, the position of the *bamanga* (mediumistic healer) or the *bafumu* (diviner-healer), have not been given any attention in the past chapter. The reason for this is that I was never able to get in contact with one or acquire information on them through others. Their roles are very important as they provide individuals with knowledge and solutions to diseases and dilemmas (Abrahams 1967a: 78; Millroth 1965: 135 – 137; Moffett 1958: 8). Apart from that they also attend ceremonies such as 7SABA or inaugurations of chiefs, as they are very skilled in *kutambika* and have plenty of medicinal knowledge which is often asked for by dancers or performers for prosperity in their performances, I do not know much on them.

Witchcraft is seen as something very secretive, there are local healers everywhere who are still actively pursued by people. However, it is very hard to find them as they do not walk around portraying their skills to the outside world. Above that, people do not like to talk about them (Interview 12 2018). In trying to address their positions, people would tell me that they only existed in the past and would give me names and stories about them and their powers. Witchcraft was argued to not be there anymore as it had disappeared with the coming of Europeans. However, this is anything but the case as I later found out that medicine was actively employed by performers and people looking to acquire prosperity in life. With whom they acquired this, never became apparent to me. Even when I got very close to proving my point about witchcraft in Busiya – as some people had given me the name of a Chwezi *mganga* who was very appreciated because of her healing powers – I never managed to talk to her as she refused to disclose any information to Europeans. I very much respected her opinion, which is why I am not capable of giving more information or any names here. Her secrecy and her bold statements on wanting to preserve her knowledge from European influences, do give me the opportunity to state here that women as traditional healers or diviners are active agents in the

reproduction (which implies enactment and innovation) of the endogenous logic and remain to exercise power through their own means.

14. How to make sense of all of this?

What I have attempted to illustrate in this chapter has been that medicine as an underlying cultural structure runs throughout. In researching this, I have focused upon the various positions of women that I have come to known through doing fieldwork. As I wanted to avoid employing an ethnographic scope that would project an image of static traditions, I have set out to describe not only the various positions, but also the changes they might have undergone as I reconstructed the timeline of these changes (summarised in figure ten below). I tried to maintain the balance between endogenous and exogenous as I have continuously argued for the presence of medicine as an underlying premise that is flexible and adaptive, without denying the gravity of outside forces such as colonisation and Christianity.
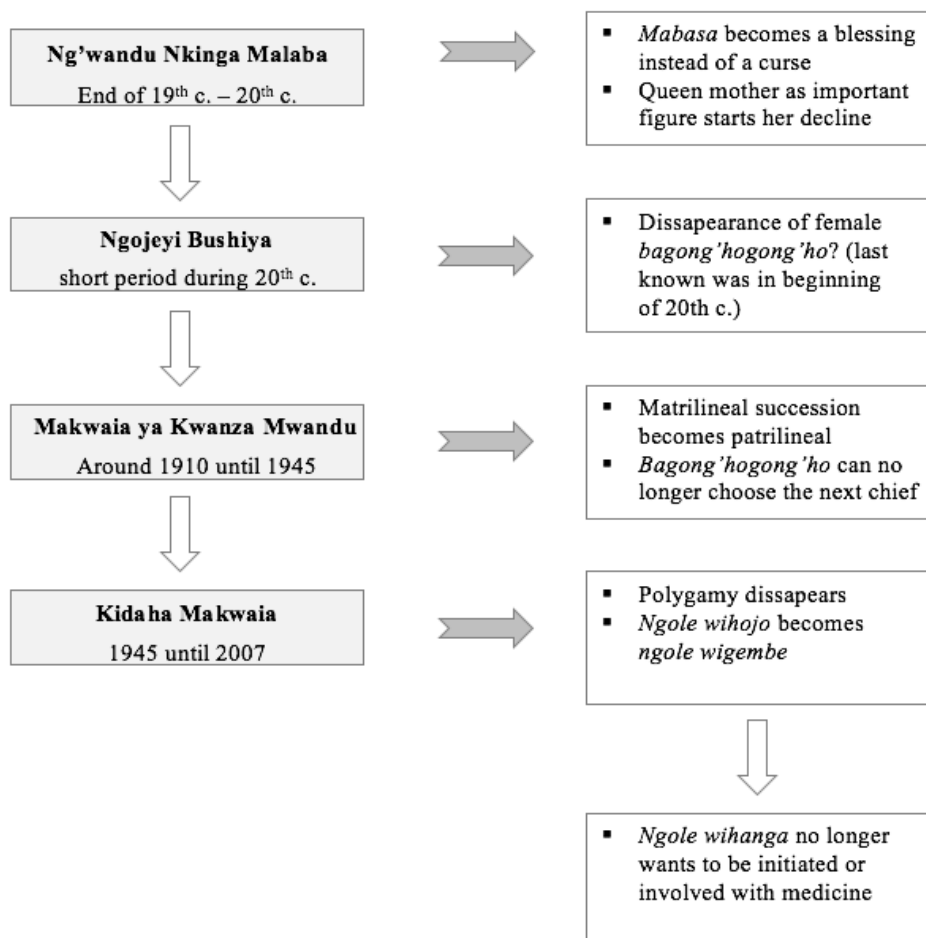

Figure 10 Cultural changes in the positions of women placed on the timeline of chief number 16 to 19 of Busiya.

Now how do I interpret all of this data? To put it bluntly: women have 'power' (understood in local terms). They are knowledgeable in the medicinal sense and through this acquire and perform power at multiple levels of the society. An example illustrates my point. At the inauguration of chief Balele in Mwadui chiefdom, after the *bakango* had blessed the *bagong'hogong'ho*, the *ntemi* and the *ngole wigembe* (as was explained before with the spitting of the mixed millet from the calabashes), the ceremony continued with the blessing of cows. I do not dare to state with certainty what the blessing of these cows means, because I never had the opportunity to interview the *bagong'hogong'ho* who executed this, but I assume it is for the prosperity of the chiefdom. A string was tied around the leg of the cow before it was fed a mixture of millet and water. It was fed through a bowl by the *bachwezi*, *bakango* and *bagong'hogong'ho*. At the bottom of this bowl was a necklace which was latter handed to the *ntemi* when he was putting on the rest of his chiefly attire for the first time. After this, water was smeared on the back of the cow. A person would step forward, take water in their hands from a big bowl, start from the head of the cow and spread it all the way until his tail. This was done by the *bachwezi*, *bakango*, *bagong'hogong'ho*, *ntemi* and *ngole wigembe*. At the moment at which they would smear the water, each individual would pray or wish something for the *ntemi*, the chiefdom or for themselves. Various kinds of wishes were made as some wished for rain, others for prosperity of the chiefdom under the new *ntemi*, others for a new car. Suddenly, whilst someone was making their wish, a *bachwezi* woman steps forward and interrupts. She is crying heavily, throwing her arms in the air and screaming in tongues. On the figure on the following page, we see her with her hand on the cow wearing a beaded headband and a big jacket. The woman behind her – with the black cloth on and the beaded headband as well – had brought her forward and guided her to the cow. She stands next to the cow and starts praying in a very thorough and lengthy manner. Upon asking others around me why she was doing this, I was told that her spirit who was possessing her (who usually is a deceased *bachwezi*) was probably upset because the ritual was not being done properly according to 'tradition'.

Unfortunately, because I could not talk to her and others could not explain more to me, I do not know exactly what was being done wrong. I assume that the wishing for a new car – which some in the audience found very amusing – was not received that well by everyone. Yet, under possession of her spirit she does not understand the people who are not speaking in a tongue. So if it was not about the words that were being used, it must have been about the actions. The first few people put water on the cow from its head to its tail in a detailed way. But the more it went on, the hastier people had become and it was more of a routine (combined with the joke

of wishing for a car). Maybe the lack of attentiveness for the cow and the prosperity of the chiefdom were bothering the spirit possessing that woman. Maybe the ancestor spirit was offended because he or she felt like it was not being given enough attention, care and thought. These are just mere interpretations or even guesses of what I think might have occurred at that very moment.

Figure 11 The interference of the praising of the cows by a *bachwezi* woman
(or moreover by her spirit). Picture by author.

The power of that *bachwezi* woman and the knowledge of her spirit, permitted her to walk up in front of all the (male) *bagong'hogong'ho* and the *ntemi* and exclaim and call upon all others to give this part of the ceremony more thought and care. Nobody dared to intervene. In fact, this was not seen by anyone as a strange act or as a woman permeating the sphere of male dominance as a male *ntemi* was being inaugurated by male *bagong'hogong'ho* at that very moment. It was not perceived as such. I argue here that medicine, which includes the relation between spirit and possessed, overrules gender. That was the intrinsic thing about this inauguration. It was after the inauguration when all important *batemi* and male administrators went to sit in a circle and the females were cooking tea, soup and *maandazi* to serve these to the men, that I felt like I was entering a patriarchal space. But during the actual inauguration at the moment where the *ntemi* was being initiated and the knowledge was medicinal, I did not perceive a gendered space. I analyse it in this way because the roles of women are the basis of this work and I want to specifically highlight these to undo cultural misunderstandings or misrepresentations of the past. But at this given moment, gender was not the defining factor.

Medicine was. The person – man or woman – with the right medicinal knowledge had the right to step up and claim their own space at any given time for the purpose of conducting this inauguration in a medicinally and culturally appropriate manner.

This is exactly what leads me to my argument that endogenously, women do not have their own medicinal world. Male and female spheres are not separated. Patriarchy is not the overarching and all-determining societal structure here and does not clarify the institutions we perceive in other cultures (as I have argued that the global gender order based upon hegemonic masculinity is incorrect). There is, thus, no such thing as a male medicinal world and a female one, because gender is intertwined to a level that cannot be grasped through these Western scopes. Gender is present in a different way which is why I have used the scope of endogenous logic in order to make an analysis that is somewhat culturally sensitive. As medicine is a structure that underlies societal and cultural occurrences, both men and women are integrated into this. In this way, I do not only argue for a holistic approach on the level of structure and agent or endogenous and exogenous. But I also argue for holism on the level of male and female. I do not over-romanticise this though, as it would be quite incorrect to state that Busiya chiefdom is an utopia in which men and women are at all times perceived as equal.

First of all, I stress that I speak here of the medicinal world. I do not argue on economy, wages, rights, politics, administration, law and so forth. I am merely employing the scope of the medicinal to its limits, which just appear to stretch further than expected. To some, my statements might be of low value because I do not take into account some of the most important ways in which people acquire power or obtain respect from others. Yet, as we have argued for the importance of medicine as an underlying dialectic, which hopefully has also been reflected in this past chapter as it has become apparent just how fundamental medicine and the powers acquired through it are, t is in this realm that I argue for the inherent importance of knowledge *over* gender.

Second of all, merely stating that knowledge always superposes the gender of a person, would be overly simplistic. It is in cases such as the preceding one, that I deem it clear that gender is in fact not relevant as the commonality of medicine is more important. But, in other occurrences, it would be more accurate to state that gender is merely not the main criteria of differentiation, but that it remains one of the determining factors. I argue that the status of gender shifts. For example, the *ntemi* and the *ngole*. She has the role of supporting the *ntemi*.

Even though she still possesses great medicinal knowledge and has power, she does stand in opposition to the *ntemi*, whilst maintaining a balanced position (as argued in this chapter). Yet when it comes to the *bachwezi* or *bakango* at the inauguration of chief Balele, there is no gendering principle that argues that they exist in gendered opposition with the *ntemi* or the *bagong'hogong'ho*. On the contrary, they have more knowledge and more links with the ancestors (or specifically the twins as a blessing) which is why they bless the *ntemi* and the *bagong'hogong'ho* and not the other way around. Because my argument on the notions of medicine above gender, runs so deep, I must in a way argue against my own idea for this thesis. These women who are providing blessings at the inauguration are part of the *bakango* and *bachwezi*. These groups are non-gendered groups and have both men and women (because knowledge is greater than gender). But this means that because I have only ever witnessed one inauguration of a *ntemi* ever, I cannot state with certainty that these figures who bless him are always women. Is this a coincidence? Do these just happen to be women because the most knowledgeable people available at the time are women? Could these otherwise all be male figures and would that have crushed the entire argument of this thesis if I had happened to have witnessed this? I am playing the devil's advocate here for my own argument, but I want to illustrate that gender is not such an overdetermining principle of society as has been argued by many over the past decades as I have here perceived a predominance of medicine.

Figure 12 Chief Balele and his entourage walking from the *itemelo* to the stage to finalize his initiation. Picture by author.

My argument is reflected in the figure on the previous page. This depicts the moment at which Chief Balele at his inauguration in Mwadui is led from the *itemelo* – at which the blessing of the cows and prayers had happened – towards a stage where his inauguration and introduction to the public will continue. The *ntemi* is the man with the tall lion manes on his head. To the right of him (from his perspective) is the *ngole wigembe* – who actually is not visible on this picture – but is walking at the right hand of the *ntemi*. Behind and to the left of the *ntemi*, we see men dressed in black cloths carrying spears and sticks. These are the *bagong'hogong'ho*. Right in front of the *ntemi* is a *bakango* woman (the same woman who was spitting on the *ntemi* and the *bagong'hogong'ho* earlier to bless them). She is carrying the tray with the calabashes representing the twins. Next to her are a *bachwezi* woman and man whose eyes are covered by their beaded headbands. At the direct right of the chief is a woman carrying a stick and further at the back there is another woman carrying one. Their positions are unclear to me. I did not see them at the inauguration at the *itemelo* themselves, yet the fact that they are walking together with the *ntemi* and his entourage and are carrying sticks like the *bagong'hogong'ho* must indicate a level of power. I assume that they must have medicinal power, perhaps as *baganga* (traditional healers who tend to be dealt with in a more secretive manner, justifying why I would be unsure of their identity), *bakango* who are not carrying calabashes (but this would be odd as earlier on there were only two women spitting on the *bagong'hogong'ho* and *ntemi* for his blessings, yet only one of these women is in this formation. Why would there suddenly be others that I had not seen before, be walking in it too?) or perhaps the nuclear family of the *ntemi* (but his wife was known to not be there and his children could not have been the age of these women). They being *baganga* would make the most sense in my perception.

I do not argue for some shield-like Roman empire formation of medicinally embedded people surrounding the *ntemi* and the *ngole*, but I do argue that this structure is an interesting occurrence. Again, I can only speak for this case, as it could be mere coincidence. But there is not one person in this picture who does not have a medicinal role or medicinal status and we very clearly here see both men and women. That the women are walking more to the front and the men such as the *bagong'hogong'ho* at the back providing security for the chief, really does not mean anything. I am not trying to argue for a completely flipped patriarchy in which women are equal to men or supersede men. That would be, again, too utopic. But the structure does allow me to continue my argument that women are integrated into the medicinal world to the same extent as men are and that these co-exist in such a way that we can perceive that in general: knowledge overrules gender in the medicinal sphere.

But I do not try to romanticise the idea of a genderless society, as it has been my intent throughout this entire work to address women (because I argue that this is a category of peoples) and accurately acknowledge exogenous factors of change. I am aware of the West and the presence of patriarchy as a structure leaving its traces in the entire world. I have illustrated the cultural changes in the positions of women in this chapter and I hope the reader can deduct from this that there has been a move towards greater power for men and less power for women. The *bagong'hogong'ho* are no longer female, matrilineal succession became patrilineal, the queen mother has ceased to exist, polygamy has disappeared, the *ngole wihojo* has become the *ngole wigembe* and finally, the *ngole wihanga* loses power faster and faster under pressures of Christianity and capitalism. If we list these changes, it does not look great for women. Yet I have also argued for the adaptive nature of culture and 'tradition' and how these practices have innovated themselves over time. That patriarchy and Western cultural ideals of gender have had an impact upon Busiya, Mwadui and possibly other Sukuma chiefdoms is becoming quite obvious. Yet I continue to argue that this has happened in a fluid manner and not in the rigid capacity of an overarching patriarchal structure. I continue to provide a final example.

Suzan Ngeme, a pottery artist of Busiya, was telling me how she felt like women used to be 'oppressed' and how this shifted through colonisation leading to women acquiring their own voices. At the same time, she indicated a loss of respect for women (Interview 2 2018). I asked her to explain what she meant by the concept of 'respect' as this is quite a culturally denoted and even personal concept. She told me that, for example, when a woman sees a man, she should bow down as a sign of respect and that these kinds of acts used to be embedded in culture but have now disappeared. She told me that she appreciated these forms of standardised expressions of respect from men to women and from women to men. I was confused by this as this was the same woman who had just told me she was no longer 'oppressed' and was thankful she finally had her own voice in regards to her husband. From my own perspective, a liberated woman who has fought free from patriarchal institutions would not bow down for a man as she would have an equal social status (or at least something remotely close to that). However, within the cultural structure of Suzan, she made distinctions between having a voice or no longer being 'oppressed' and maintaining 'traditional' forms of respect within a hierarchical structure. Through the eyes of my own Western cultural structure, there is one frame: a practice is moral or not; all or nothing. 'Emancipated' or 'oppressed'. However, in the cultural conceptualisation of this woman, there are multiple frames that intermingle and overlap. The co-existence of respect for men and voicing her opinion is reconcilable within one person.

Thus, not only do women possess medicinal power and do they endogenously co-exist with men in a structure that emphasises medicinal knowledge over gender, women are placed within this structure in a fluid manner. Patriarchy in the sense of women's power positions disappearing or at least minimising to certain extents and the roles of men becoming more rigid (as for example, women are not allowed to become *batemi* anymore) are undeniable. These have been instigated by imperialism and capitalism and have formed the exogenous factors in this thesis. Yet, this has not denoted the start of a rigid conceptualisation of power. Women such as Suzan Ngeme have a great ability to shift frames and see the notion of respect for a man as something distinct from having the capability to overrule a man in knowledge. Of course, this is at the level of the actor which stands in contrast to the notion of endogenous logic, but the woman has the capability to shift frames through the employment of the cultural structure which stands in opposition to the more Westernised conceptualisation of power produced through the all-encompassing frame of patriarchy. Thus, in the co-existing between men and women in the medicinal structure, one could wonder how this is translated on the level of the actor. Does the man function in more rigid ways because of the notion that he must exist in a hierarchically higher position than the woman as a consequence of patriarchy? And does the woman have greater leverage to capture fluidity and perform her gender in a less static way than men because she is not as overly determined by patriarchy as men are?

Conclusion

In the introduction of this work I raised the question of how we can write women back into African history and how we could do this through using an anthropological scope that focuses upon both endogenous and exogenous factors. In attempting to answer this question and the problem statement on how to appropriately address positions of women who had previously been underrepresented, I constructed the framework for a holistic approach in the first few chapters. The cultural misunderstandings that had come about because of Western academics and colonials focusing too greatly upon Western notions of power – both in the sense of political power and male power – created obscured historical accounts. In looking at these histories in the first chapter, I remained critical and provided multiple concrete examples of where cultural misunderstanding took place in order to emphasise the conflicts between Western and local frames. I stressed that the Tanzanian territory and its people have been going through periods of change, migration, power, rule, adaptation, decline and prosperity for centuries on end. Their power structures have been formed, invented, reformed, forced upon, removed, changed and transformed more times than anyone can count.

Through the scope of postcolonial anthropology, I addressed the issue of these cultural misunderstandings. Academics stepped away from a quest towards 'objective' narratives based upon ethnocentric knowledge and moved towards a positioned and interpretive stance together with an integrated notion of anthropology acknowledging both agency and structure, nature and culture, object and subject. It led to an awareness of problematic interpretations by our colleagues in the past. This instigated debate on topics such as the invention of tradition, the invention of Africa and the imagined communities which were later on merged into the 'imagined traditions'. As it became clear that the impact of academics and colonials had been detrimental to the descriptions and interpretations of the cultures of the 'other', people started to call upon the disciplines to provide interdisciplinary answers to these cultural misunderstandings. An alternative approach of *anthropologizing* history was proposed, integrating both fields in order to contextualise our findings. As historical accounts provide the ethnographer with the appropriate data, the ethnographer's narratives provide the historian with cultural interpretations. The goal of this holistic approach is to avoid or better understand the conflicts between Western and local frames in reducing the risk of (re)producing cultural misunderstandings.

Through the eyes of this newly acquired approach, we are able to clarify and detect commonalities on cultural levels that we could not before. These were referred to as the cultural structure reliant upon medicinal powers or the 'endogenous logic'. As I agree with the need for us to dare to be bold enough to argue for the presence of commonalities and structures – we have moved so far away from structuralism in order to not represent people as gullible that there is nothing left but agency – I argue that there is a danger in using the notion of 'endogenous logic' as it could come across as essentialising. It implies or at least seems to imply cognitivism as if culture is inherently part of the cognitive processes of the actor and thus as the only frame possible. Even though the term might not be perfect, looking for a new term would not help much, as this would create new lacunae. Thus, it was concluded that the use of local terms together with notions of commonalities, would serve our purpose best in maintaining a holistic approach. Above that, employing a differentiated vision of the endogenous logic would help avoid essentialising as well. This lead me to conclude that the positions of women – being a hiatus in the work by Stroeken – must be further researched on a culturally and endogenously relevant level.

As I had addressed the presence of a cultural structure and looked at women on the level of the culture, I was confronted with gendered exogenous factors instigating change. Western cultural ideas on gender were spread through globalising processes such as Christianity, colonisation and capitalism. Critical accounts of the global gender order and the universality of patriarchy were provided. I argued that the global gender order has some kind of truth, yet that it does not give me the tools to build a culturally sensitive and non-essentialised conceptualisation. Patriarchy as a universal notion, denotes the subordination of women in all cultures as structurally present. Yet, I argued that it is not as clear cut as this and that the fluidity and complexity of gender structures are not given the space they deserve in academic writing through the use of the concept of patriarchy in a singular way (because it is often interpreted as a synonym for 'men'). Which lead me to ask the question: can we use the concept of patriarchy in a dynamic way that is nor static nor a cultural norm that should be obtained, but exists in relation to a context in which woman can acquire power?

In the realm of this research, looking at both endogenous and exogenous cultural factors combined in one analysis was inherently instrumental. Through this scope, I would be able to argue upon or discover both cultural *misunderstandings* and cultural *changes* of the power positions of women. Within Western academics and colonisation, these women had previously

been silenced. The accounts constructed on the 'other' over the past century often did not look at women or sometimes did not address them at all. Western academics and colonials employed their own gaze and patriarchal ideas on power – which are highly embedded in our Western culture – and distorted how historical accounts and narratives were produced and reproduced. The goal of this thesis has been to try to undo this underrepresentation of women (at least on the scale of Busiya) and write women back *into* history.

In doing this, I attempted to describe the most culturally relevant positions of women in Busiya throughout history. I emphasised the importance of matrilineal succession and its shift towards a patrilineal system under chief Makwaia ya Kwanza. The positions of the different types of queens, their decline in power and the complete disappearance of the queen mother in accordance with this, were discussed in detail. I argued for the importance of the royal lineage co-existing with cultic groups such as the *bakango* and the *bachwezi* because these support and justify the power of the *ntemi* and the *ngole* through *kutambika*. Positions such as the *bamanga* were not discussed for the mere reason of the secrecy of their endeavours and my incapability to verify sources written on them or conduct fieldwork on them myself. Through the analysis construed in chapter five, it became clear that the positions of women are multiple, complex and changing under exogenous pressures. I described these – not for the mere purpose of documenting them – but in order to better understand the cultural structures of 'others' and create awareness around the lack of visibility in previously written histories.

This research has not 'rewritten women into history for the rest of eternity' or provided 'conclusive evidence upon the highly embedded power positions of women'. These are all statements that I do not make. But it has contributed by at least giving some ideas or hypotheses on how women have been present in an attempt to give them the space that they deserve. As I combined the idea of medicinal cultural commonalities on a larger endogenous scale and gendered cultural commonalities on a global scale I hoped to put forward a notion of a fluid and diversified patriarchy. This would function as a structure, but it is lived and interpreted by actors who have their own frames of experience and culturally determined ways of coping. In looking at the case of Busiya, it became clear that often male positions existed in opposition – or in balance – with female positions of power. And above that, groups such as the *bagong'hogong'ho*, *bachwezi* and *bakango* were usually not gendered at all, yet they co-existed with the *ntemi* and the *ngole* as well by providing them with blessings and medicinal knowledge that they did not possess. All of this has contributed to the notion of a 'chiefdom' as a place –

or imagined community? – of complexity. A notion of both male *and* female power, of cultural change *and* cultural misunderstanding, of cultural structure *and* frames of experiences, of the acquiring *and* losing of power, of the local *and* global. Patriarchy or male power structures have not been denied, but their inherent universal dominance has been questioned.

In my attempts to dismantle the concept of the patriarchal or male chiefdom, and move towards diversified views through holistic approaches, I have probably raised more questions or problem statements than answers.

First and foremost, the positions discussed within this thesis are merely my interpretations of what others have told me at a specific time, namely in July and August in 2018. The whole concept of the endogenous logic is based upon shifts, cycles, changes and reversions. It is not a linear 'development' that allows us to predict the future of these positions of power, because it is susceptible to both internal and external pressures of change. This to me is the beauty of culture – and life in general – as it lies in accepting the unknown. Yet, this also means that I cannot produce conclusive statements about the positions of women and whether or not they have disappeared for good. I question where in this cycle of endogenous logic based upon the cultic medicine producing offshoots such as chiefdoms or ceremonial states Busiya finds itself. Positions such as the queen mother and the queen are undeniably dying out, yet traces of every single one of these are still inherently present within the cultural structure. This means that a reversion of their power is quite possible. It is also a possibility that in a few generations, none of these positions will be left. Change can never be predicted. We can only formulate hypotheses based upon our own data, but we cannot argue on these positions of power with certainty because what other endogenous or exogenous factors will come into play and instigate changes?

In the previous passage, I addressed the notion of cultural *change*. But another factor that is also susceptible to change is the *perception* of people upon their own cultures and histories. Keeping in touch with my informants over the past year, I noticed how much people's perceptions had shifted. The same people who were discovering the world of medicine and women together with me as we conducted research together, were now so into it that they had joined the Sukuma Federation and attended every single meeting of the chiefs and administrative officials (which is a men's world). In communicating with them a year later, their interpretations have *patriarchalised*. The existence of the queen mother is denied by them

as "there were no queen mothers in Busiya ever". The historical evidence does prove that the queen mother had a position in Busiya for a considerable amount of time. She no longer does and I can merely make assumptions on how far her powers exactly reached, but that the mother of the chief had some kind of medicinal power and some kind of status is for certain. But the perceptions of the people who were unsure about medicinal powers a year ago have now shifted to new kinds of descriptions of women under the influence of them joining the men's world of administration and patriarchies. I now receive information about women merely in relationship – and dare I say in function – of men and no longer as standing on their own. This is not detrimental for my research, nor does it deny anything that I have argued upon, because I am speaking about a very small group of my informants here (the kind of people that have the money and position to purchase and own a smartphone and enter the Sukuma Federation). This is a very specific minority in the entirety of my informants and, thus, does not instigate an issue for this work. But the rapidness with which perceptions of people can change in the case of a history that is not written down, is quite staggering. I argue upon this in my conclusion, because for me it reaffirms my point about patriarchal notions heavily influencing people due to Western cultural factors. It also maintains my notion of culture as an organically ever-changing force. And above that, it illustrates the idea that there will be other endogenous and exogenous factors of change in the future. In the case of my informants, we are talking about a change in perception of an *individual*, but if this is spread more broadly over the next few decades or generations, this could have real impacts.

Second of all, a major downfall of this work has been that it is not even close to an exhaustive account. No single research can ever cover 'everything', but in the case of this work it does form an issue. I have implemented the notion of endogenous logic and cultural commonalities – which was established by doing comparative work over a large amount of chiefdoms – on what has frankly been a local scale. In some cases, I have made hypotheses that could be accurate for larger areas, but because of my inherent lack of data on these, I cannot formulate anything conclusive. The discrepancy between the historical account and the regionally salient ethnographic basis has been problematic in past academia and a basis for the coming about of the concept 'endogenous logic'. Yet in fact, I must admit that I have repeated the discrepancy within this work. The scale of this thesis did not allow me to do research over an area quite large enough to address cultural commonalities adequately. The choice was thus to do a regional research, whilst the principle of the overarching cultural structure is not based upon regionality whatsoever. We could argue that if all historians who have written a history without a regionally

salient ethnographic basis were inherently wrong, there would not be much 'accurate' sources left. Thus, it is not as if this is disadvantageous for my entire argument, but I must remain transparent because I did implement or presume commonalities without conducting actual comparative research. This leads me to my main call for future research. In providing an accurate analysis of positions of women, comparative work is needed. I must extrapolate away from a regional focus and move towards other scopes to cover larger areas such as eastern and central Africa. Because of the small scale of this research, the only statement that I can make is that there are definitely positions of women out there who have not been given the attention they deserve because medicinal power has not been acknowledged as highly relevant. If I want to state upon cultural commonalities, plenty more research in the field needs to be done. Only through doing this, I might be able to one day formulate more conclusive arguments on a larger area and discover possible trends. Of course, talking about culture, no argument will ever be conclusive, but the possibility to address commonalities through comparative data analysis will arise.

Third of all, continuing on this general call for research, I think that the figures of the queen mother and the queen (and their links with the end of matrilineal succession) need specific attention. There is clear confusion in academia on these positions: some authors seem to think they are one and the same person, others argue the queen mother is not actually the real mother, others argue the queen mother was never there and so forth. I think one of the main reasons for this uncertainty is that in the past the Western term of 'queen mother' was employed on a various array of positions over the entire continent of Africa. This would mean that there are in fact different practices hidden under this term. These need to be addressed through comparative work and their histories need to be rewritten by looking at local terms and notions. Or, another possible scenario, is that the area of the Bantu Expansion in fact accords with the practice of the queen mother and that there is a cultural commonality present here. If we would be able to do comparative research on this, we might be able to find an inherently important position of women that thus far, has not received enough academic attention (at least not in central and eastern Africa, even though in western Africa more has been published on the queen mother). These are possible scenarios I have in mind based upon my quite limited literature and field research. The 'reality' might deviate a lot from these, but I think that even the slight probability of one of these being accurate (or both as there could be different positions hidden under the umbrella term of the 'queen mother', but there also could be commonalities on more regional levels instead of on the scale of the entire continent) provides us with a very interesting research

topic. In looking at the queen mother specifically, we could contribute further to the idea of writing women back *into* African history and possibly creating views upon the chiefdom that are more diversified and gendered in order to move away from leaning into over-simplified conceptualisations of universal patriarchy.

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Annex – list of interviews

1	Mery Jimwage	10/07/2018	Busiya women
	Felister Kashinye		
	Felister Raphael		
	Dominique John		
2	Suzan Ngeme	11/07/2018	Busiya women
	Felister Mahona		
	Geni Masanja		
	Minza Mwandu		
3	Busiya women	12/07/2018	
4	Daudi Ngonyeyi	14/07/2018	Court historian
5	Nicholaus Luhende Makwaia	16/07/2018	Main informant
6	Msabila Shija	18/07/2018	*Bachwezi* and *bakango*
	Asha Seleman		
	Pendo Busasa		
	Ng'walu Saliungu (*bakango*)		
	Amina Nzemo		
7	Jipindila Bushiya	19/07/2018	*bakango*
	Dotto Shija		
	Fuke Mbuga		
	Malago Machiya		
8	Nhumbubanu Mahona	20/07/2018	*Bagong'hogong'ho*
9	Richard	23/07/2018	Guide of the Bujora museum/ Sukuma cultural centre
10	Chief Itale	29/07/2018	Head of the Sukuma Federation
11	Daudi Ngonyeyi	30/07/2018	Court historian
12	Daudi Ngonyeyi	02/08/2018	Court historian
13	Daudi Ngonyeyi	03/08/2018	Court historian
14	Daudi Ngonyeyi	04/08/2018	Court historian
15	*Bagong'hogong'ho* Mwadui	09/08/2018	