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Citation

Pels, P. J. (1996). 'Kizungu' rhythms: Luguru Christianity as 'ngoma'. *Journal Of Religion In Africa*, 26, 163-201. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4258>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

75. There is evidence of one Imam as healer. The anonymous author of *Gleanings in Africa* witnessed an instance of a sickly woman visiting an Imam who 'was equally skillful in the art of curing the diseases of the body as well as the soul.' *Gleanings*, 246.

76. For a description of the Turkish Sultan's birthday see Kollisch, *The Mussulman population*, 30-32.

77. See Kollisch, *The Mussulman population* about the controversy, and for a general description see the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, July 1861.

78. Kollisch, *The Mussulman population*. On weddings see 24-25, on funerals see 26 and 36, on a Quranic reading ceremony, Ramadan and gift giving to Imams see 27. Hudson has a detailed description of a 'Malay' burial. See Shell, 'Introduction to S.E. Hudson's "Slaves,"' 55-56.

79. Duff-Gordon, *Letters*, 135.

80. Mayson, *The Malays*, 13.

81. See Kollisch, *The Mussulman population*, 13-15.

82. Kollisch, *The Mussulman population*, 14.

83. Mayson, *The Malays*, 17.

84. For this view see Adil Bradlow, 'Exploring the roots of Islam in Cape Town in the eighteenth century: state, hegemony and tariqa,' (Paper presented at the 'Slavery and after' conference, University of Cape Town, August 1989).

(678.2) 22/28 299.612.7 301.185.12 Luguru
325.4(43) 292.05

KIZUNGU RHYTHMS: LUGURU CHRISTIANITY AS NGOMA¹

BY

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In the 1930s, shortly before the arrival of the first Dutch Bishop of the Holy Ghost Fathers in the Uluguru Mountains, Christianity swept the whole of its non-Muslim areas, with hundreds of people being baptized every year. One missionary reported home that conversion for political protection, gifts, medals, or employment was largely a thing of the past; conversion out of conviction was now the rule. Some Fathers pondered, in awe, the mysterious workings of Grace among Waluguru. It was, one of them recalls, as if they were prepared for it.² In this essay, I will explore the extent to which Waluguru were, indeed, prepared for Christianity by an institutionalization of changes in the rhythm of life—by what Waluguru themselves call *ngoma*.

Ngoma, in Swahili, is 'dance,' 'drum' or 'rhythm,' and among Waluguru, it also denotes some of their rites of passage. Contrary to John Janzen, I do not take *ngoma* to be a musical 'symbol' which 'defines' healing institutions (1991: 291). Although there are many uses of *ngoma* among Waluguru that indicate its healing potential, the term is not a mere analogy or metaphor for something else: *ngoma*, in all its senses, means the embodied—danced, drummed, or otherwise performed—change in the rhythm of life that metonymically connects different states of being within Luguru society and beyond it.³ It is therefore not just an institution that reinforces the legitimacy of Luguru systems of authority (cf. La Fontaine 1985: 17), but also a moving pattern that can include alternatives and counterpoints to these systems of authority in its movement, and by including them, can change itself.

I was brought to this interpretation of *ngoma* by two hunches. The first occurred when Mama Adriani, widow of Mzee Mloka, my late adopted father, finished her mourning period. The elder who guided the proceedings had removed the signs of mourning and buried them in the bush, together with small shavings of Mama's hair, and Mama had changed from the white mourning cloth into her normal, brightly-coloured *kanga*. When she was ceremonially returned by her husband's lineage to representatives of her father's lineage, the leading *mzee* said:

colonial society, and I shall concentrate on that dynamic in this essay. The boys were directly involved in the opportunities for work and accumulation that colonial wage labour and cash cropping offered, and it was through them that elders in Luguru society experienced the need to adapt their *ngoma* to these novel rhythms of work, or found that Christianity was a viable alternative to these adaptations.

The importance of treating Christianity, for Waluguru, as a *kizungu* rhythm (or a 'white' *ngoma*), lies in the way in which it shows how the adoption of a European institution was mediated by an African one. John Chernoff has argued that many African communities are 'not held together by ideas, by cognitive symbols or by emotional conformity' but by a musical performance that establishes community 'through the interaction of individual rhythms and the people who embody them' (1991: 1095). The relevance of this participatory potential of the rhythmic medium to the way Africans related to colonialism is brought out by A.M. Jones' analysis of a rhythm called *mganda*. Each drum, taking its cue from a beat of the preceding one, beats its own sequence and time (to which the rhythm of the song adds another). Thus, while '[a] band-master can beat time to a military band and keep all the instruments in time, no bandmaster could beat time for *sefa* (the introductory rhythm of *mganda/pp*) for his beating would only coincide with one out of the three drums' (Jones 1945: 184).⁴ Yet, the give-and-take of the drummers' rhythmic interaction achieves a 'wonderfully clever imitation' of the military march rhythm (Jones 1945: 184), creating a copy of colonial regimentation through a medium foreign to it. This is why we should take the 'rhythm' element of the *ngoma* metaphor seriously, for it attunes us to a mediation of European forms that goes far beyond direct imitation.

But I already indicated that rhythm is not merely a useful metaphor for colonial contact, it at the same time metonymically relates social forms coming into contact. Since Karl Bücher, scholars have recognized the importance of rhythm for the regulation of work, that is, for the material embodiment of a political economy (Bücher 1902). Bücher taught Malinowski that, for calling something 'economic,' one should also attend to the structuration of time by ceremonial acts and magical incantation (see, for instance, Malinowski 1912). Although ethnomusicologists have stressed similar points (see Chernoff 1979; 1991; Keil 1979; 1987), it has only recently been highlighted again how important rhythmic structuration is for the interaction of different political economies in colonial Africa (Cooper 1992). In an independent African Church, the dance and the drum can be seen as the 'drill of the troops

of the theocracy' that defies 'the physical regimentation of the workplace' (Comaroff 1985: 248). Such forms of opposition go back upon a history of rhythmic structuration, in which missionaries very often—and in retrospect, not without reason—opposed the alternative bodily discipline provided by *ngoma* and its cognates. But in the Luguru boys' *ngoma*, the vertical axis of discipline—the control of the boys' labour by Luguru elders—not only opposed, but continually interacted with a horizontal one—the young men's attempts to gain power by subjecting themselves to colonial labour regimes. It is within this tension that Christianity could become a 'white' (*kizungu*) rhythm.

Ngoma and the Initiation of Luguru Boys

The most exhaustive demonstration of the importance of *ngoma* for colonial contact has been given by Terence Ranger. His *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa* (1975) tells the fascinating story of the *Beni ngoma*, which derived its surface appearance from the European military brass band. From the 1890s until the middle of this century, *Beni* spread in the wake of colonial power in various guises from the East African coast to the mainland of what is now Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi. Ranger argues that it was not a mere adoption of the forms of absolute power: such parroting occurred only under conditions of severe discipline, in particular in the freed slave settlements of the missionaries on the East African coast (1975: 9).⁵ Instead, *Beni* came to Mombasa and Lamu through Zanzibar and not from the Kenyan Coast where the missionary settlements were (1975: 21). Like the military march forms of Jones' analysis of the *mganda* rhythm—which was, in fact, an offshoot of *Beni* (Hartwig 1969: 56; Mitchell 1965)—*Beni* was 'made use of' in another medium: the competition between the two moieties in which the towns of Lamu and Mombasa were traditionally divided (1975: 15, 18). Similarly, on the Tanganyikan coast and in the towns in the interior it was made to fit the performance of a distinction between elite and commoners prevalent there (1975: 40).

Despite this innovative analysis of *Beni* in coastal societies, however, Ranger still thinks of its appearance elsewhere in terms of 'false consciousness' or mere 'carnival' (1975: 104-5), or as a direct imitation of prestigious forms 'to express the essence of colonialism' (1975: 244). This may be the result of his concentration on a *specific* fashion in the hope that it will exemplify the movement of fashion in general. But just as the study of a Western type of dress or musical genre does not necessarily produce understanding of the movements of commodities in

the marketplace of fashion, so the study of the diffusion of *Beni* does not necessarily produce understanding of the movements of *ngoma*. In following the traces of *Beni* in Eastern Africa, Ranger is seduced into writing as if these traces somehow retained a link with the original produced in Mombasa and Lamu.⁶ From one of the case studies cited by Ranger, however, it becomes clear that *Beni* is not a sufficient focus for understanding *ngoma*, because colonial relationships (and 'cash crops and Christianity' in particular) in Ukerebe produced a 'deluge' of different *ngoma* long before *Beni* arrived (Hartwig 1969: 46, 52, 56). This was the result of the loss of control over *ngoma* by traditional elders, who could not contain the initiatives of modern youths tapping new power resources available in colonial society (1969: 46, 51). Given that one commentator has argued that the 'prime function' of the Luguru boys' *ngoma* was to 'curb rebellion of youths against elders' (Brain 1980a: 370), it might be useful to think of *ngoma* in the rural areas in terms of patterns of intergenerational power interwoven with patterns of new colonial relationships. This would explain why the Luguru boys' initiation changed at every significant intervention of the colonial world: it was their contact with the outside world of the towns and coast, through colonial railworks, armies, schools and plantations, through selling cash crops, and through their involvement in the nationalist party that produced the potential for generational conflict. In the colonial situation, young men had opportunities to tap new sources of power which elder men and women and the girls lacked.⁷

All *ngoma* incorporate *tambiko*, sacrifice to and reconciliation with the ancestors (see Pels 1996: ch. 6). Because the ancestors give the elders their power, *tambiko* is always a reconciliation with the elders at the same time. In each *ngoma* there is a moment where the initiand passes from the liminal phase and has to be reconciled with social routines. This reintegration, however, did not just encompass the boundaries between ancestors and elders on the one hand, and the younger generation on the other: the more the younger generation was influenced by relations with an outside world and the career possibilities it offered, the more the *ngoma* had to reconcile outside influences with Luguru patterns of authority. Because the nature of the initiands—the boys—changed under the influence of colonial society, the nature of this reconciliation had to change, too. While lineage relations remained in force, they had to incorporate new types of *persona* (social masks) and adapt their ritual accordingly. Thus, the adoption of signifiers of the European presence in Luguru *ngoma* was not so much a colonization of Luguru imaginations as an attempt to *embody* and survive the effects

of this presence.⁸ Although the history of Luguru *ngoma* shows that this process was often a conscious one, the necessity of *tambiko* and of keeping clan authority intact implied that the reconciliation had to pass off as eternal and unchanging. Therefore, we often have to rely on other than oral sources—archival, statistical—to demonstrate the significant moments of this pattern of innovation.

The adaptability of Luguru *ngoma* is displayed by the proliferation of names for ritual practices and their accompanying rhythms which predate the first major colonial intervention. Sometimes these names refer to different moments in the ritual process: thus, *lungu* refers to the bundle of medicine carried by the initiands to the village on the day of coming out, medicines which played an important role throughout the passage. *Kitawa* refers to the shouting of abuse which accompanied this coming out, while *ng'ula* or *kukula*—derived from a Kiluguru root which means 'growing'—often refers to the ceremony as a whole (like *lwindi* or *mwangazi*). The use of certain medicines and rhythms suggests that some of the ceremonies were only practised by Waluguru who were in daily contact with the people of the plains. Other ceremonies, like *sae* or *kong'ongo* are said to be typical of the higher mountain range and deemed to be 'original' Luguru (and therefore accompanied by *mbeta* or *mkenge*: Luguru rhythms).⁹ Whatever the case may be, most commentators stress that *sae* proceedings were later incorporated into the richer ceremonial of the *ng'ula/lwindi/lusona* and *jando* ceremonies. The multitude of names shows that these 'original' Luguru ceremonies were acts of location that were far more specific than *jando* (circumcision), which retained the same name while it spread throughout the mountain area and other parts of Tanganyika at the turn of the century (see Cory 1947; 1948).

Given the diversity of the ceremonies associated with the words *lwindi*, *ng'ula*, and *lusona*, it is impossible to sketch a uniform picture of Luguru initiations before the coming of *jando*. Moreover, the conception of *ngoma* advanced here makes this an enterprise of doubtful value. Often, the ceremonies are said to have other than Luguru origins: *lusona* is supposed to come from Ukwere (between Dar es Salaam and Morogoro), *lwindi* from Usagara (in the West, beyond Kilosa). *Lwindi*, however, is also called *kikami*, suggesting an origin in the Ukami plains between Uluguru and Ukwere. Because Wakami were taken to be the same tribe as Waluguru by British administrators, this lends support to the claim made by Wazaramo (on the coast near Dar es Salaam) that *ng'ula* (which in many respects is identical to *lwindi*) is originally a Luguru *ngoma*. If *ngoma* is indeed an activity in which communications with the

world outside the lineage are incorporated in order to adjust to new influences brought by the younger generation, it comes as no surprise that it is hard to ascribe a *ngoma* to a specific 'tribal tradition' (as most anthropologists do): their ties to territory or cultural background cannot but be diverse. It is interesting to speculate upon the way in which Luguru generations have adjusted their initiation activities to the people with whom they communicated after their arrival in the mountains in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Hunting, in cooperation or competition with plains peoples, may have been one of the most important activities which produced interlocal contact, and thus, new forms of *ngoma*.¹⁰ Lack of detailed evidence compels us to leave it at that.

Both *lwindi*, *ng'ula* and *lusona* were ceremonies in which the initiand was taken to the bush to be initiated in lineage histories and proper forms of conduct. Someone who had passed through *sae*¹¹ no longer had to pass through one of the other ceremonies. The initiation usually entailed removing the boy from the women's realm: the boy was said to be dead during *lwindi* and the word referred to a pot symbolizing the vagina. In this way, the *ngoma* provided a new birth into the realm of men. In *ng'ula*, the boy's hairs were plaited like a woman's, symbolizing his subjected status and his femininity, which had to be removed before coming out. The boy, by dying, entered the land of the spirits (*kuzimu*). These acts of entering and leaving the spirit-land were always accompanied by sacrifice to and reconciliation with the ancestors (*tambiko*), symbolized by repeating an act seven times: seven times up and down above the hole where the medicine called *lungu* was put; seven times eating and spitting out of food when reentering the normal world. The period in spirit-land was characterized by acts common to an inverted world: walking through the wilds, walking at night, abusing one's elders, putting excrement all over the house.¹²

The ceremonies were, like their successor *jando*, meant for boys who had reached the age of discretion, and could be taught to distinguish 'between good and bad.' They taught proper sexual behavior towards one's future wife, and proper deference towards elders, parents and generally everyone superior. The teaching was often harsh and usually proceeded by means of riddles (*mizungu*), sung or chanted, which the pupils were meant to memorize under the threat of being penalized. Only when they learnt the riddles and their meaning by heart were they allowed to leave the camp. Sexual knowledge was taught through symbolic examples, with the use of objects created with sticks of the ebony (*mpingu*) and the *mkole* tree. Several riddles emphasized the boy's proper behaviour towards his mother: henceforth, he had to keep his

distance from her. After a stay in the bush or in a camp close to home the initiand (*mwali*) would 'come out' under great rejoicing. Apart from some 'cleaning up' work, in which the powerful remains of the medicine would be disposed of by the initiands and their teachers, the boys had now finished the transition to full members of male society. In Matombo, *ng'ula/lwindi* disappeared in the early 1950s, shortly after a big expert (*fundi*) of the ceremony had died.¹³ By that time, however, it had already been overlaid by two successors: *jando* and Christianity.

Jando: the First Modern Ngoma

Jando—circumcision—was introduced in the Uluguru mountains at the beginning of this century, and most sources agree that it came from Usagara. According to Mzee Mloka, circumcision was brought to Matombo by a Mluguru who had lived in Bagamoyo and Kilosa for a while, where he became impressed by the cosmetic beauty (*urembo*) of the Arab's circumcized penis. He therefore brought the practice to Uluguru, along with a *ngoma* called *ndenge* (I could not find out whether this was a drum, a rhythm, a ritual, or all three together). Most Catholic priests insisted that Muslims introduced circumcision to Uluguru in order to counter the work of the missionaries. The British administrator E.E. Hutchins disagreed, because *jando* was introduced at an age (ten to fifteen years) at which an ordinary Muslim would already have been circumcized for eight years or so.¹⁴

The history of the introduction of circumcision in Uluguru shows that, on the whole, Hutchins was right, even though Islam played a role in the process. The Matombo Fathers noted in January 1904 that in some areas under their missionizing influence, Islam was on the move. The note is important, in the sense that it shows how the rival creed was already spreading before the introduction of circumcision in the Matombo area. In August 1905, news of unrest reached the mission: stories of a medicine hunter (*mganga*) who urged people not to pay their tax (except to him) and proclaimed the end of the world, show that the Maji Maji revolt had by that time reached Kisaki and Kasanga on the Southeastern slopes of Uluguru. Headmen in the Matombo area came to assure the Fathers that they were still willing to pay their tax and would not revolt. The German-appointed headman (*jumbe*) of the Western (Mgeta) area, however, who was the son of the lineage head, magician and 'big man' Mbago, came to Mvuha to bring his tax to the leader of the movement. A first skirmish of insurgents with German

troops near Kisaki coincided with the first mention of circumcision in the Matombo diary, at Tawa, September the 4th, 1905.¹⁵ For the missionaries it meant apostasy, not remarkable in the case of the old Christian headman of Tawa (who had already taken several wives anyway), but threatening when it was committed by two Christians in Mbagalala (near Gozo) and even worse, by one of their carpenters, Franz Josef.

The reports about circumcision ceased for a while. Mbago was arrested and died in jail in Morogoro. The Maji Maji warriors were driven south to Mahenge, and Mbago's son was arrested and executed. The *mganga* suffered the same fate, having been arrested and brought to Morogoro by a Christian (who got the post of *jumbe* of Mvuha as a reward). Two years later, many Christians were having themselves circumcized. Many Christian headmen were taking several wives and the number of catechumens decreased in their areas, only the higher slopes excepted. Despite his promise, the *Bezirksamtmann* did not replace these *jumbes apostats*. Again, in November 1909, *le diable de circoncision* haunts the missionaries' fields.¹⁶ Given such a chronology, it is tempting to interpret circumcision as a Muslim-inspired symbolic resistance against European power which replaced the actual physical resistance of the Maji Maji war. But interpreted in such a way, *jando* becomes, like some instances of Ranger's *Beni*, a 'false consciousness'; a weak response to power. Its only positive aspect is a kind of collective psychotherapy.

That interpretation would only be based on a part of *jando* history in Uluguru. Father Vermunt reported that *jando* was introduced to the Mgeta area in 1915, a full ten years after the arrest of Mbago and coinciding with a large increase in the number of Christians. In Singiza, circumcision only made headway in the 1930s, while in Kasanga, closest to the Maji Maji prophet's influence, circumcision was spreading only in 1942. In both cases it coincided with the increase of Christians after the foundation of both missions in 1931 and 1937, respectively, although in the case of Kasanga, Islam was on the increase, too.¹⁷ Moreover, the early reports in the Matombo diary—although they mention 'apostasy' from Christianity—never state that circumcision meant conversion to Islam at the same time. In fact, the *jumbes apostats* who were circumcized in 1907 are still referred to as *jumbes chrétiens* in 1908. Apparently, the relationship between circumcision and religious creed was less direct than the missionaries thought.

Before we can say more about the reasons for the adoption of *jando*, it is necessary to look at the *ngoma* itself as it was reported to have taken place in the 1940s and 1950s. *Jando* incorporated most of the

previous Luguru initiations: someone who had passed through the latter still had to pass through the former but not the other way around. The circumcision was added to Luguru routines. It was done early in the morning, during the cold months, so that the boys' bodies were not yet completely awake and the blood wouldn't run fast. After the operation, the circumcizer (*ng'ariba*) was treated to a feast in the village, while the boys were kept in a camp in the bush by the *showari* (the one to hold the boy during circumcision) and the *kungwi* (the boy's dresser). In the camp, lessons in sexuality and proper conduct would be held until the wounds had healed and the boys could go *kugongola*: show themselves in the village, covered by black cloth so that no one could recognize them, and ask for food. I have no evidence that this was accompanied by *ng'ula*-like rituals of inversion (abuse, the spreading of excrement), but that absence may have been due to the missionaries' presence in Matombo. Shortly afterwards, there was the feast of *mvogo*, the first bath after circumcision, accompanied by a sumptuous meal of rice and goat. The boys could then go home until the coming out ceremony (*mlao*) had been prepared. Three days before 'coming out,' the boys returned to the bush camp. There, they received their last lessons. The night before *mlao*, the Ndengela drum was beaten in the village for the *tambiko ya ngoma*.¹⁸

[drumbeat] *Kimbamizungu gona* (7×)

[drumbeat] *Banguzi gona* (7×)

[drumbeat] *Chete gona* (7×), etcetera

Thus, the names of the Lords of the Dance (*wafalme wa ngoma*), or Head Circumcizers (*mang'ariba wakuu*), the organizers of *jando* in Matombo, were recited and they were urged to 'sleep in peace' (*gona, kil.*). The position of head circumcizer was, like a lineage headmanship, something which was passed on from one generation to the other. Kimbamizungu ('The Riddle Singer') was the last of the head circumcizers to have any real authority: when he arrived at a coming out ceremony in the 1940s, he could take all the beer, money and food he wanted, and no one would get something without his consent.¹⁹ His successor was unimportant; *jando*, moreover, was slowly dying out: circumcision is now mostly done in hospital.

The next morning, after a last exam, the boys received a Muslim name when they left the camp (by stepping over the body of one of the camp attendants, Mzuanda 1958: 139). They burned the camp, all their camp clothes, shavings and other attributes except the new clothes they were wearing now: a white *kanzu* (the Muslim dress), white cap

(*kofia*) or preferably (if their father could afford it) a red fez. Singing, they would return to the village:

Keakea Keakea
Kivetu kuna limba
la kiwanja pembe
Kianja alongole eeh eeh

K.A.R. K.A.R. K.A.R. K.A.R.
 We have a *limba*
 of the horn-field
 Kianja went ahead eeh eeh

Kianja ('He who started') was the camp-name of the first boy to be circumcized (he is followed by *Fumbi*, then *Fumbi-Gogo*, *Fumbi la mbele*, etcetera until the last, *Kifunga-Limba*, 'to close the *limba*,' Mzuanda 1958: 134). The 'horn-field' was the camp itself: the *pembe* (horn) stood for the penis. The *limba* was the point just beyond the entrance of the camp where someone had to show, by identifying certain medicines and symbolic objects, that he had been circumcized: it therefore stood for the secret knowledge of the initiated.²⁰ Most important is, however, the mention of the K.A.R.: the abbreviation of 'King's African Rifles,' the British battalions of African soldiers in the First World War. The son of a wealthy man would, on coming out, wear the red fez of the British soldier. Apparently, the *jando* camp could be likened to conscription in the British army.

This is not the only reference to the British. When the boys returned from the camp singing *keakea* and still covered by cloth, they circled the *ndengela* drum seven times and entered a house. After taking a meal together with their dressers, they reappeared to circle the drum another three times and then laid off their cloth. Then they danced, one after the other, in the order of their circumcision. When they reentered the house after that, the women sang:²¹

Ndole Ndole Mwanangu, aiééé
Mgeretsa katenda

I see I see my child, aiééé
 The Englishman did it (brought the
 ngoma/pp)

A curious mix of possibilities: a *ngoma* with Muslim names and clothing, brought to Matombo at a time when the Southeastern peoples of Tanganyika rose against the Germans, is associated in the 1940s and 1950s with the experience of Africans conscripted in the British Army.

These articulations of an 'outside world' become even more muddled when we see that Cory's paper about *jando* (which is at least partly based on the knowledge of Luguru informants: Cory 1947: 159) does not mention European colonial powers, but abounds with references to the Swahili coast. Of course, the fact that the language of *jando* is Swahili (even in Uluguru, where many of the riddles were not sung in Kiluguru but in Swahili) and that the initiated get Muslim names, point

to this crucial influence of Swahili culture.²² Cory's rendering of *jando* is important in the sense that it shows that the *didactic* songs he recorded show no reference whatsoever to outside influences (the Swahili coast in particular). They taught proper sexual behaviour, the appropriate distance taken from the women's and especially the mother's world, and respect for superiors (1948: 93) and can therefore be said to mark the intergenerational axis of power within the initiation. In contrast, songs marking the contact with the world outside the camp, all used the metaphor of a journey to the coast. Take this story, which served to explain the meaning of two figurines used as *limba*, that is, as the marker of the initiates' secret knowledge:

One doll represented a *mshenzi* ('bush nigger') with a load on his head who was supposed to be on a journey to the coast looking for work. The other doll was supposed to be a coastal man on a journey from the coast inland. The coastal man asks the *mshenzi* what he is carrying. The 'bush nigger' answers *nyamafu* (that is the name given to the carcase of an animal which has not been killed according to Islamic rites). The doll representing the coastal man is then made to jump up and down and says: 'If you go to the coast with this load, you will be expelled; on the coast everybody is a Mohamedan. Throw away your load and take one like mine which is not so heavy.' It is a *msala* (a praying mat). Now the 'bush nigger' doll dances up and down pulled by the strings (Cory 1947: 165).

The heavy load referred to the 'extra luggage' of the *mshenzi*'s prepuce. Once he drops that, he will not be expelled. It is tempting to associate it with sexual contact with women on the coast, who will expel an uncircumcized man (see Pels 1996: ch. 4).²³ Another of Cory's songs, sung by the women this time, associates *jando* with 'going into war' (1948: 85). It is significant that Luguru women also, in a sense, sung about the war when associating their circumcized sons with K.A.R. soldiers.

Cory was even more enchanted by the magic of the name *jando* than Ranger was with *Beni*. He thought that because among all different tribes there was something called *jando*, there must have been one 'correct sequence' in the ceremonies and one 'authentic text' for every song (1947: 159; 1948: 83). Luguru *jando*, however, departed in many respects from the sequence recorded by Cory, and in particular by including *mlao*, which is completely absent from Cory's account. Cory's assertion that '[i]t was not possible for me to find the general rule for the rhythm of the songs' (1948: 92) seems to hide the fact that there was no 'general rule,' for the ways of life of the different ethnic groups in Tanganyika Territory were affected by different sequences of historical experiences mediated by different rhythms. Instead, we can suppose that *jando* spread through Tanganyika because it could be intertwined, on the one hand,

with existing intergenerational balances of power, expressed in songs and dances that celebrate respect for elders, and on the other, with a number of different experiences of an 'outside' colonial rule that young men had, or were expected, to undergo. Just as Tanganyika Territory *Beni* quickly changed its orientation from German to British power after World War One (Ranger 1975: 56), just so *jando* in Matombo seems to have rapidly incorporated the experience of the British army and its conscription policies.²⁴ These adaptations of *jando* show that this *ngoma* was both a metaphor for colonial contact, and a way of mediating this contact by initiating young boys into its secrets and adapting them to its rhythms of work—the rhythm of wage labour in particular.

The latter interpretation—of *jando* as a 'wage labour' *ngoma*—is reinforced when we return to the events of the first decade of this century. Recall that by 1907, after the defeat of the Maji Maji warriors, circumcision was making headway among Eastern Waluguru. In 1906, Mkuyuni and Kinole people moved to the plains near the new railway (while holding on to their plots at home). The railway stretch from Dar to Morogoro was opened in October 1907 and work continued on the line from Morogoro to the Western part of *Deutsch Ost Afrika*. In 1909, the Matombo Fathers complain that many young boys leave school for the railway works. Not only are the wages so high that the Fathers cannot compete with them,

le contact quotidien de nos chrétiens avec les noirs arabisants de la côte a produit des effets désastreux: la circoncision et d'autres usages musulmans se sont introduits; quelques chrétiens vent retournés à la polygamie, d'autres ont apostasié, et enfin le travail d'évangélisation est devenu beaucoup plus difficile.²⁵

This at least suggests that *jando* was not a cultural reaction to the military defeat of the Maji Maji warriors: on the contrary, its early introduction in Matombo may have been related to the fact that Matombo Waluguru did *not* participate in Maji Maji. The coming of *jando* to Matombo coincided with the participation of Waluguru in the German railway works, where they met the example of fairly powerful Africans—most of them from the Swahili coast—working in the employ of the German authorities. This experience was incorporated by the adoption of a new *ngoma*, that adjusted Luguru boys to the prominence of Africans who were their employers in the colonial communities formed in the hinterland. The adaptation went both ways: Iliffe records the fact that Waluguru took a prominent place in the dances held at the Kaiser's birthday (1979: 238), which inaugurated a folklorization of 'tribal' identity through *ngoma* that would continue throughout the twentieth century. The conscription of Waluguru into the German and

British carrier corps during the War was another form of 'initiation' of the younger generation into secrets which the Luguru elders did not know and which provoked them to change their *ngoma*. *Jando*, therefore, adapted Luguru initiation practice to a world in which young men were liable to go out of the mountains to sell their labour, at railworks and plantations and in the army.²⁶

Missionary Sounds and Sensibilities

The missionaries were not at all happy with the coming of *jando*, which they associated with Islamic competition and polygamy. Moreover, the drive towards town (Morogoro in particular) drew young men from their influence, destroyed marriages, and exposed Waluguru to the material attractions of colonial society (BHG 29 [1933]: 5-6). If *jando* partly incorporated that influence and thus gave it a place in Luguru practice, the struggle of missionaries against Luguru rhythms no longer appears as mere ethnocentrism, fed by a desire to impose an arbitrary Christian aesthetic. Instead, this aesthetic may turn out to be a strategic and reasonable response to a rival pattern of social control. It is therefore worth while to examine the missionaries' own musical preferences.

Many missionaries were irritated by the sound of the drum. Some of them asked people to stop the noise (*kelele*) when they had to sleep anywhere near a dance while travelling. Others went as far as to confiscate the drum (especially when it was beaten during Sunday Mass) or even to destroy it. As one French Holy Ghost Father put it, the beat of the drum is attractive to the African because he is a child, and children love noise.

For centuries impervious to the inquiries of the spirit, the pleasures of knowledge and the attractions of civilized life, [the negro] claims a place for his body and senses in the least material of his enjoyments: clamour in company and organized rhythm are to him almost as enticing as a banquet or drinking-bout.²⁷

The quote clearly shows the missionary preference for a music of the spirit, at odds with the embodied rhythm of the dance. But despite the revulsion felt by some of the missionaries, drumming played an important part on many Christian occasions: the reception of the Bishop or of a new Father, or a Father's farewell-party; the ordination of an African priest; first communion or marriage, all were framed by the rhythm of the drums. Moreover, the success of Christianity after 1928 seems to have convinced the Dutch Fathers that it was not the music, nor circumcision as such which made *jando*—or any other *ngoma*—objectionable. Although *jando* practice was forbidden, the Fathers themselves

organized circumcision, taking care that it was done early, and thus preventing its association with a puberty ritual.²⁸ In this way, the missionaries tried to pull Luguru initiation practices apart.

Despite this early form of 'accommodation' to indigenous routines, the association of rhythm with bodily movement and ecstasy continued to raise missionary suspicions. Although judgments became less severe in the decades after 1930, dancing not associated with Christian ritual remained a sure sign that something was wrong. The Dutch missionaries never went as far as the Alsatian Brother Simon, who fired his gun at a women's *ngoma* because it was 'obscene.' Still, dancing was often equated with sexual licence. A Christian who had been seen at a Luguru *ngoma* could be accused before the mission council of a *peccatum publicum* and penalized.²⁹ Because sexual instruction was central to both male and female initiation, and because the missionaries associated sexual education not supervised by themselves with licentiousness, their combative attitude was reasonable, given their preconceptions. Just as a Luguru initiation defined and thereby appropriated sexuality for a specific gender category, just so did the missionaries try to appropriate sexuality, or any other element of *ngoma*, to Christian strategies. They did not aim at the wanton destruction of all *ngoma* practice: instead, they selectively incorporated its 'good' aspects, while opposing what they thought was 'obscene.'

Moreover, they took special care to introduce music which fitted the elevated sensibility of the true servants of the Lord. Every parish had to have its choir; the missionaries, and later their catechists and organists, trained the Christians in Gregorian chants. The *Liber Usualis* (the book of Catholic liturgy) and the conductor, the sweet but hierarchical tonal harmonies and the bell tolling the Angelus had to displace and subordinate the drummer and his 'conversation' with his co-players. Luguru Christians took this up with enthusiasm, and the descriptions which the missionaries give of Christmas celebrations praise the Africans for remembering and singing harmoniously (if a little bit loud) ten out of the twelve Masses. The Luguru choir, which 'gave what it had,' compared favourably with the 'rodent squeak' of the average Dutch Catholic.³⁰ The time when the missionaries started to appreciate the complexity of African rhythms (which, according to a trained musician among them, were so complex as to 'defy notation') and incorporate them into liturgical practice was still far off, but Waluguru and their neighbours do not seem to have been less enthusiastic about Gregorian chant. Moreover, although the priest would not participate in a dance, Mluguru and missionary shared songs: on Christmas Eve, for

instance, the missionaries would be among the Christians (who had come to the church from far away during daylight) and chat, joke, and, above all, sing until midnight mass.³¹

Thus, the missionaries had other forms of musical participation to offer besides the occasional drumming. In Christian practice, both the drums of joy, the togetherness of singing and the beat of the choir-master had their place, although the latter took precedence. At the same time, however, the missionaries fought a running battle with the 'obscenities' and 'superstitions' of Luguru initiation. Even when they were revolted by the physical ecstasy which they associated with Luguru rhythmic performance, they selectively appropriated it to Christian initiations. Could it be that, in the heat of battle, they overlooked that Waluguru did not share their exclusiveness and desire for Christian 'spiritual' purity, and that Waluguru interpreted Christianity as a new *ngoma* to be added to existing ones? To answer that question we must locate—'temporalize' is a better word—Luguru conversions to Christianity in their historical context.

Cash Crops, Christianity and Indirect Rule

The Morogoro District Annual Report of 1920-1 records that only eight out of the fifty-six planters in the District imported labour during that year. After six years and the introduction of Indirect Rule, the situation was changed: complaints about labour abound and the estates (mainly sisal) had to recruit people from as far away as the Eastern Congo and Nyasaland. In 1929, the Fatemi Estate even took the unprecedented step of trying to *attract* instead of *contract* labourers, because many Waluguru did not respect the terms on which they were recruited. The Public Works Department could only avoid delays in the execution of works because it was supplied with a suitable number of tax defaulters and prison convict labour. Thus, the problems with imposing a novel rhythm of work, outlined by Fred Cooper for Mombasa harbour (1992), were, in Uluguru, aggravated after the introduction of Indirect Rule.³²

Shortly before labour shortage became a problem for employers in Morogoro, the authorities had to restrict food sale after a bad harvest in order to conserve native food reserves. If cash cropping started in this, for Waluguru slightly self-destructive, way, it soon turned into a more profitable venture. In 1926, millet (*mtama*) became a cash crop; in 1928, native cotton growing (on the new 'indirect' rulers' commands) took off with a harvest of 3,197 tons (as compared to 945 tons in 1927), while in the same year, 7,500 coffee seedlings were distributed by the

government. The new economy immediately had its impact on the availability of land, judging from the fact that in 1928, the mountains were thought to be so congested that the government had to close them temporarily for non-native settlement.³³ The 1930s saw the further innovation of cash cropping in Eastern Uluguru through the growing of peas and beans for the Dar es Salaam market (Mlahagwa 1974: 23), while the inhabitants of the Mgeta area started to follow the example of the missionaries in supplying the Morogoro market with European vegetables.³⁴

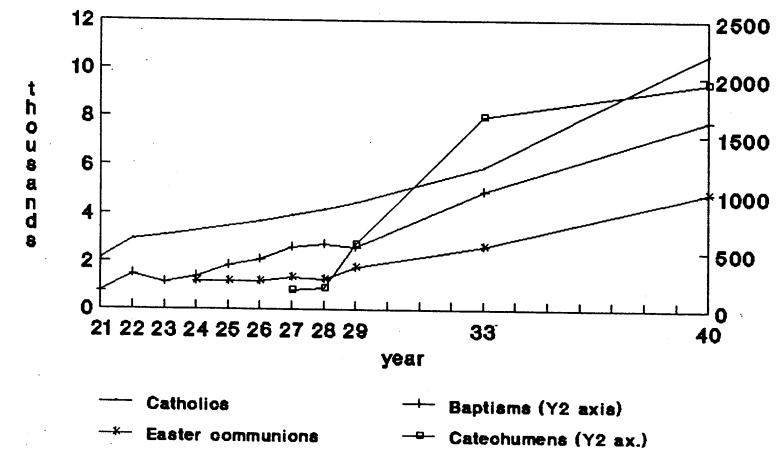
Some years before this take-off of cash cropping, District Commissioner Hutchins wrote:

The Christian Missionary cannot hold his own in Morogoro against Islam nor are the methods adopted by the younger missionaries (Dutch and Irish/pp) calculated to advance their cause. We have been able to assist them by placing Christian Akidas (native officials before Indirect Rule/pp) in Christian areas in three cases, but we have not been overwhelmed with gratitude for this concession. It is possible that some day these missionaries will realise the fallacy of attempting to combine commercial and religious aspirations. Proselytism is too often combined with demands for labour at inferior wages. . . . No traces of organised Islamic propaganda have been observed.³⁵

This was only some five years before the spectacular rise in Christian participation by Waluguru from 1928 onwards. Although the Matombo mission diary does not mention an increase in Islam, it noted the lack of enthusiasm for the schools, and the statistics of the mission show that the growth of the number of Christians slackened and the number of baptisms even fell in 1923 (see fig. 1).³⁶ Contrary to stereotype, therefore, government support and the provision of labour opportunities by the mission did *not* enhance the popularity of Christianity before 1928. After that, however, the number of candidates for baptism (*catechumens*, those who followed the four-year course of catechetical instruction) rose spectacularly, while the number of practicing Christians (measured by Easter communions) also started to rise after having been stationary since at least 1924. The growing number of catechumens in 1928-9 is reflected in the comparatively sharp increase in the total number of Christians after 1933: because the catechumenate took approximately four years, most of them had by that time been baptized (fig. 1).

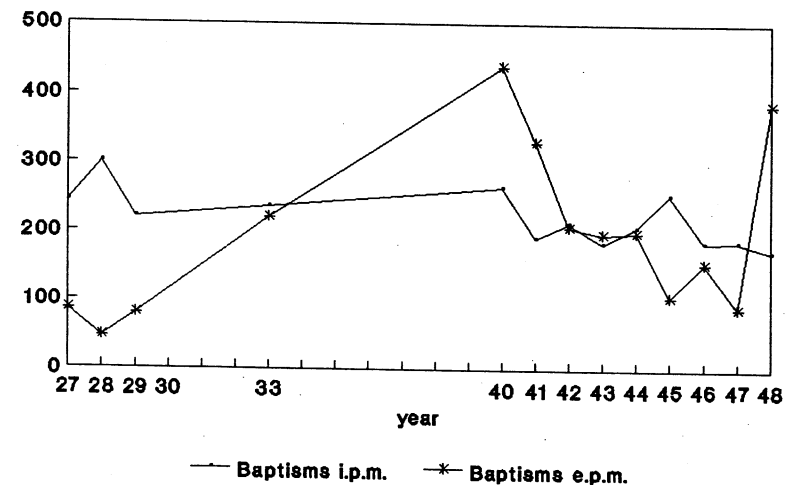
This spectacular rise in the number of Christians therefore coincides with the successful introduction of cash crops since 1926. At first sight, this seems an evident explanation. After all, didn't the native cotton growers see that non-native growers got a 30 per cent higher price for their crops because they entered into a written contract with prospective buyers and were therefore less vulnerable to price fluctuations when

Fig. 1. Matombo parish, 1921-1940



Sources: BG 29 (1923-4): 320-1, 33 (1927-8): 89-100; BHG 29 (1933): 168, 180; MD 1.7.27, 1.7.28, 1.7.29.

Fig. 2. Matombo, baptisms, 1927-48.



Sources: DAM, Annual Statistics; MD 1.7.27, 1.7.28, 1.7.29; BHG 29 (1933): 168, 180.

supply was high.³⁷ Where could the necessary trading skills—reading, writing and arithmetic—be learned except in the missionaries' schools? But the mission schools, teaching the four subjects of the three R's and the catechism, had already been in operation for a while (see Pels 1996: ch. 5). Why didn't the Eastern Waluguru flock to them in 1926, 1927 or early 1928? In this and the following section, I want to suggest that the intervening variable was the successful introduction of Indirect Rule, which, like the Maji Maji war in 1905-6, provoked a tremendous upheaval in the political economy of Eastern Uluguru. Indirect Rule was prepared in 1925 and implemented in 1926, but due to the weak health of the old sultan of South Uluguru, the new form of administration only started to make an impact on Eastern Waluguru in 1928, when his nephew, Kingalu Mwanarubela, succeeded him.³⁸ Significantly, his first job was to help the Agricultural Officer in getting people to improve their crops.

Elsewhere, I have argued that Indirect Rule in Uluguru created a 'pidgin' of Luguru political discourse in the form of an administrative ethnography that elevated certain 'traditional' headmen above others, and made a hierarchy of chiefships and subchiefships out of a formerly fluid rivalry between 'big men' operating from different power bases in the mountains (Pels 1995). The newly appointed 'sultan' of South Uluguru thus took precedence over his rivals, whom he had to approach with much caution, magical protection, and placatory gestures before, and these processes were replicated at all the lower levels of Luguru politics. The Mbago who was hanged after becoming involved with the medicine hunter and prophet leading the Maji Maji rebellion, had been such a 'big man,' and his successor was now subordinated by British decree to someone who used to be his equal. Thus, the introduction of Indirect Rule drastically reshuffled the political balances pertaining in Uluguru. The difference with the upheavals around and after the Maji Maji rebellion, which, as we have seen, led to an emphasis on wage labour in German employ, was that power was now once more predicated on the control of land—needed for cash cropping—by 'traditional' claims which had to be recognized by the British, in order to appoint 'Native Authorities.'

The implementation of Indirect Rule in Uluguru was immediately followed by the arrival of a travelling medicine hunter, Ngoja bin Kimeta (see Lee 1976). He came to Uluguru in the last months of 1926, after the new Native Authorities had been installed by the British. Ngoja's father was said to have been a leader in the Maji Maji rebellion and the authorities feared a recurrence of African protest. Ngoja

was put under house-arrest in Dar es Salaam in December, but his agents probably continued their practice in his absence.³⁹ Ngoja, unlike the Maji Maji prophet Kinjekitile, did not add anti-colonial prophecy to his work of cleaning villages and individuals from the accusation of possessing evil medicines. The coming of Ngoja right after the implementation of Indirect Rule can be compared to the arrival of the next witchcraft eradication movement in Uluguru, that of Nguvumali (in 1958), which followed immediately upon the rise to power of TANU members (in 1956-7) in the wake of the upheavals created by the Uluguru Land Usage Scheme (in 1950-5). That supports the idea, advanced by David Parkin (1968), that witchcraft eradication is above all an attempt to modify medicine as a source of power. Related to Uluguru, it would imply that a witchcraft eradicator is called in when changes in power relationships have created an imbalance between the possession of medicine (*dawa*) and the possession of a position of power. By eradicating medicine, witchcraft which harms a newly found or imposed order is avoided.⁴⁰

But if the headmen who threw in their lot with the Germans, instead of the Maji Maji prophet, felt they could use *jando* to attune their young men to this new constellation of power, how did the new order established by Indirect Rule respond? I want to suggest that, when it became clear that the new Native Authorities had settled down and the disruptive potential of the medicines of previous powerholders had been neutralized, Christianity provided the obvious alternative. *Jando*, based on the contact with the outside world through migrant labour or war service, could not sufficiently accommodate to this change. *Ngoma* practice now had to adapt to a situation where power was first of all based on *local* factors: on lineage authority reified by British administrative ethnography and on authority over land which gave an advantage in the production of cash crops. While *jando* incorporated global powers that had settled in towns and plantations, now the possibilities of a career were once more localized on Luguru land itself.

Where were these global powers more localized in Eastern Uluguru than in the imposing mission buildings of Matombo, surrounded by large tracts of mission land, bought from Waluguru and even rented out according to Luguru 'traditional' custom? Given the fact that a neo-traditional office holder was told by his British superiors that literacy would become a necessary requirement for holding office, what was more logical than to send his future successor to the mission school to be initiated in its powerful mysteries? Now that the younger generation looked to the production of cash crops for improving one's life,

the promise of the technological skills and spiritual powers of the school, and the proof of these powers given by the local missionaries themselves, became the most fitting model for modern success. Moreover, if one was not in a lineage which commanded a Native Authority position and large tracts of land, the career of a teacher or catechist (*mwalimu*) was the most immediate means of upward mobility (see Pels 1996: ch. 5).

The Mediation of Luguru Christianity by Ngoma

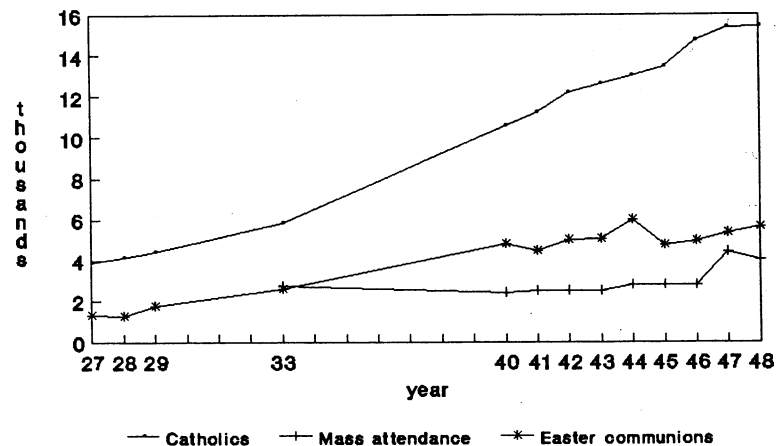
The previous discussion should in itself be sufficient to show that there is reason to treat Luguru enthusiasm for Christianity as comparable to their adoption of *jando*, and *ngoma* as a useful metaphor for the sudden acceptance of Christian baptism. But I would also like to show that Luguru responses to Christianity were mediated by the routines of *ngoma* practice; that the initiation into Christianity of Waluguru conformed in many respects to existing *ngoma* routines. Christian 'initiations' in Uluguru—baptism, first communion, marriage, taking the vows, ordination—were (and are) always accompanied by drums playing Luguru rhythms; the initiand was (and is) called *mwali*, just like the initiands in both male and female initiations. However, that would be only a superficial correspondence if there was no evidence that, in 1928, Eastern Luguru Christianity underwent a fundamental *qualitative* change. As indicated in the introduction to this essay, *ngoma* is related to a change in the rhythm of *life*: it is not used for the ceremonies surrounding birth, and although a drum (the Ndengela) is used to announce death and burial, it does not beat an ongoing rhythm.⁴¹ Christianity, however, like *tambiko*, referred to both death and life: its ritual articulated birth and death as much as changes in the rhythm of life (first communion, confirmation, marriage). The Matombo statistics show that until 1933 most baptisms were *in periculo mortis*, in danger of death. Usually, the missionary would be called by a catechist to come to the village to baptize a mortally ill pagan who felt the need for the extra safeguard of the Father's blessing (which might well have been interpreted by Waluguru as a cure to which one only resorted in the last instance). From 1933 to 1940, however, the number of baptisms *extra periculo mortis*—conversions for life, one might call them—rises steeply above the number of conversions at death (see fig. 2). This is, of course, the result of the baptism of large numbers of catechumens who came to the mission in 1928-9 (fig. 1). While the majority of adult converts to Christianity in 1927-8 adopted it for a better hereafter, or for a cure

that could no longer be expected otherwise, in 1928-9 the trend is reversed until in 1940, the majority accepted baptism for a better life in the here and now. (The reasons for the sharp drop in the war years shown by fig. 2 will be discussed below.) In other words, while before 1928 conversion to Christianity was mainly relevant to Eastern Waluguru because of its role in (preventing) the passage to an after-life, from 1928, the majority of (future) converts was motivated by its this-worldly relevance, suggesting that through the Christian *ngoma*, one could become attuned to the rhythms of an indirectly ruled, cash cropping world.

That some Waluguru actually looked upon Christianity as *ngoma* is suggested by the fact that young men and women who already paid tax or had become an initiand (*mwali*)—that is, had already (almost) passed into adulthood—refused to attend the school or be baptized.⁴² (Interestingly, the *Mkenge* rhythm is also called *Shilingi Mbili*, referring to the 2/- tax marking a young man's adulthood.) If Christianity was seen as a kind of new initiation into adulthood, then adults should not bother about it. Moreover, the 'bush' form of the mission school, which preceded its formalization by government intervention, resembled the initiation camp in its patterns of authority, teaching modes and form of discipline.⁴³ The missionaries, too, were anxious about the 'initiatory' interpretation of Christian baptism, as is evident from their worries about whether someone would lead a Christian life after the rite. As in Europe, a number of Luguru Christians failed to practice their religion after baptism (as is shown by the difference between Easter communions and the number of nominal, that is, baptized, Christians—see fig. 3). But this difference between practicing and nominal Christians increased after 1958, when the presence of the Tanganyika African National Union seduced an increasing number of youngsters to join another community of initiates and neglect the weekly observance of Catholic duties (fig. 5). If we combine the idea of Christianity as *ngoma*—a Western institution interpreted by Waluguru as an initiation into a different rhythm of Luguru life—with the intertwined effects of Indirect Rule and cash crops, we have a powerful perspective with which to interpret the mission's statistics, and thus, to write the history of Christianity in Uluguru in the late colonial period.

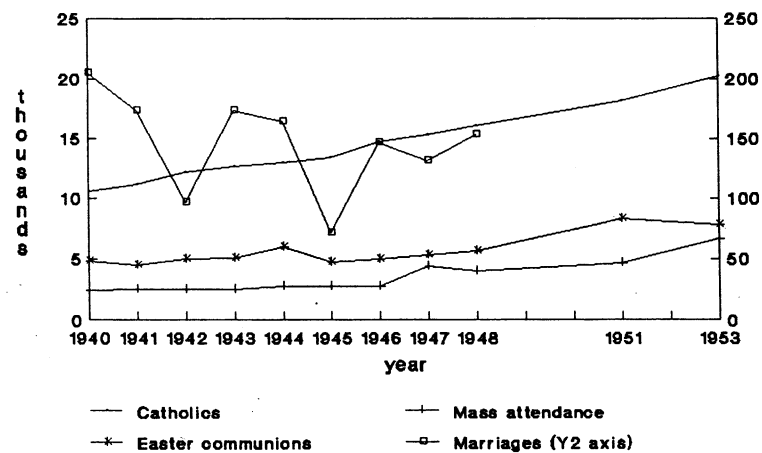
For such an interpretation, one needs to watch closely the variability of the direct indicators of Christian 'life' (baptisms *extra periculo mortis* and marriages), for these show the development of Luguru Christianity much more clearly than other variables can. We see, for instance, that both the number of baptisms e.p.m. and the number of Catholic marriages drops sharply in 1941 and again in 1945 (fig. 2, fig. 4). Although

Fig. 3. Matombo parish, 1927-42



Sources: DAM, Annual Statistics; MD
1.7.27, 1.7.28, 1.7.29; BHG 29 (1933):
168, 180.

Fig. 4. Matombo District, 1940-53 (incl. parishes split off since 1949)



Sources: DAM, Annual Statistics; MP,
Livre des Visites; BG 1956: 434 ff.

Waluguru never remarked on this period as being of particular importance in their history, it is significant that the war years were characterized by two different attempts by the British government to move Waluguru from the mountains—that is, from the land and the localizations of power of Indirect Rule—first, to make them grow cotton in the plains on the East, and second, to recruit them into war work. It is especially the first which seems to have created the biggest pressure on Matombo Waluguru. The Increased Production Campaigns initiated by the Depression were stepped up because of the war effort which Tanganyikan peasants had to make for the British markets. Before the war, in 1935-6, the authorities attempted to move Waluguru to the plains to plant cotton, a policy 'part way between encouragement and exhortation with a bias against the tax defaulter.' The policy was characterized by excessive pressure of the agricultural staff, compulsion and 'misguided prosecution' by Native Authorities (and this despite the fact that the object was not prosecution but 'self-improvement' of Waluguru). The policy led to the nearly complete failure of the cotton crop due to lack of disease control.⁴⁴

Thus, when the Matombo missionaries were told by the British to stimulate the growth of cotton and buy it from Waluguru in January 1941, they hesitated, because they understood Luguru doubts about its profitability. Although there is no evidence for 1941 that the cotton measure was coupled with an effort to move Waluguru from the mountains to the plains, for 1944 there definitely is. Moreover, throughout the war years, the British conscripted Waluguru for army work (some, in Matombo, accepting it for the high wages, others, in Kasanga, even hiding themselves from the British officer who came to show a war propaganda film in Mtamba). The period must have given the Waluguru the impression that power, money and work were once more to be obtained by migration out of the mountains instead of being mediated by the locally entrenched representatives of that power. Although we have no data showing an increase in participation in *jando* (the *ngoma* of migration), it is significant that in places like Kasanga, where fear of war recruitment was acute, this was the time when *jando* was first introduced. Some ten years before, the simultaneous introduction of *jando* and Christianity in the Singiza region, and the struggle between Luguru factions supporting either *jando* or Christianity, coincided with large-scale labour migration to the Kisi plantations and an increase in power of the Native Authorities (who promoted the mission schools).⁴⁵

This interpretation is reinforced by the developments around the Uluguru Land Usage Scheme (ULUS) in the 1950s. When ULUS was

planned in the late 1940s, its primary objective was to stop erosion in order to reduce the flash floods of the Ruvu river that damaged the economically important rice and cotton crops of the people living near the Ruvu delta. During its implementation, however, the emphasis shifted to the terracing of the steeper Uluguru slopes (partly because Waluguru showed no inclination to move to the plains to alleviate population pressure on the land higher up the mountains). The terracing work was extremely heavy and a nuisance (as most Waluguru recall). It further boosted the local power of the Native Authorities, who acted as overseers of the terracing work, and was directed at the improvement of Luguru agriculture and cash cropping in particular. The Kinole and Mtamba strikes of July 1955 put an end to terracing and created fertile ground for the spectacular rise to popularity of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in Uluguru in 1956-7. The emphasis of ULUS shifted to a kind of social development programme (road building, schools, women's organizations) and the original objectives of countering Ruvu floods and soil erosion were either forgotten or dropped completely. The medicine hunter Nguvumali came to mop up puddles of power left after the floods of government intervention and TANU popularity swept Luguru politics into the channel of African nationalism. At the time, Waluguru were no longer as inclined to put money into the *sadaka ya kueneza dini* (contributions to mission work); instead, they paid for Nguvumali's cleansing medicine (*usembe*).⁴⁶

In other words, the Christian *ngoma* seems to have held its own as long as the local representatives of global power, responsible for the implementation of ULUS, could maintain their position. The sequence suggests that membership of TANU, headed by Julius Nyerere, was regarded as a kind of new, alternative *ngoma*. If so, it was a *ngoma* which deprived Luguru elders of their local control over initiation. The educated African elite of TANU showed that schooling, rather than initiation, provided career opportunities and suggested that the legitimacy of local power holders—the Native Authorities, discredited already by their association with ULUS—had come to an end. In fact, I believe that TANU was the end of *ngoma* (as a dynamic balance between the generations) and the beginning of a period in which youngsters could no longer be sufficiently controlled by elders in Luguru society (except, perhaps, through the threat of lethal magic; see Pels 1996: ch. 6). Unfortunately, the data fail to show the precise fluctuations of Matombo Christianity in those crucial years: 1949-1950, when the effort to move Waluguru to the plains was revived;⁴⁷ 1954-56, when Eastern Waluguru rose in protest against ULUS terracing work. The graphs *do* show,

Fig. 5. Matombo District, 1953-66 (incl. parishes split off since 1949)

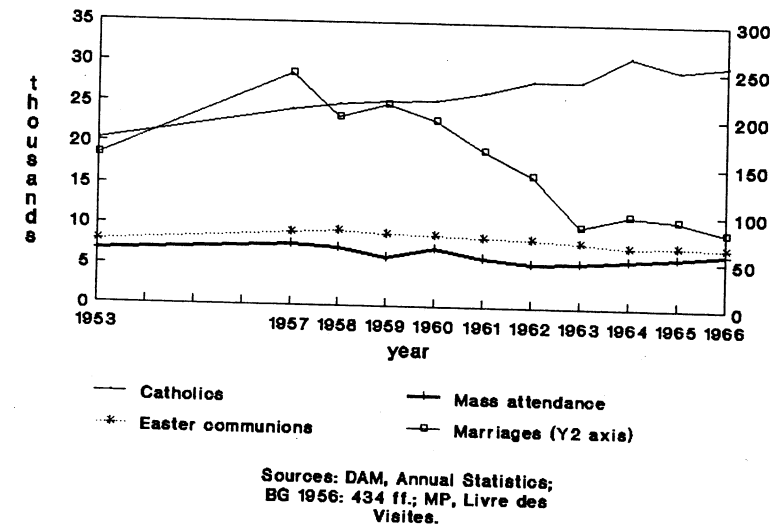
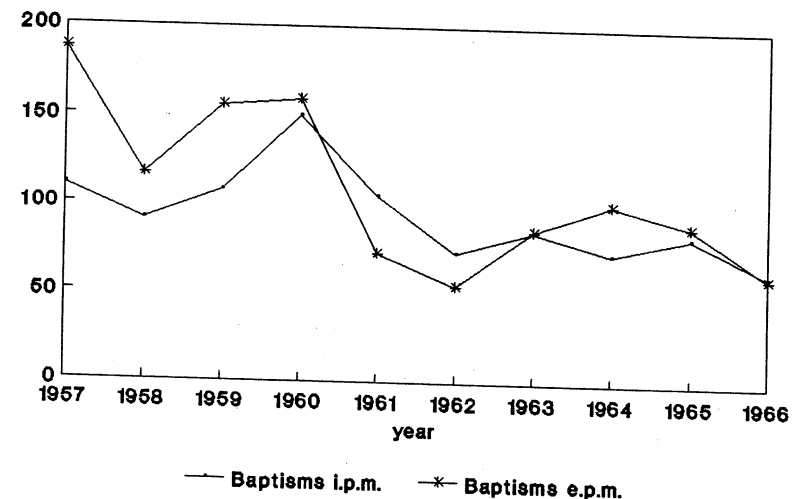


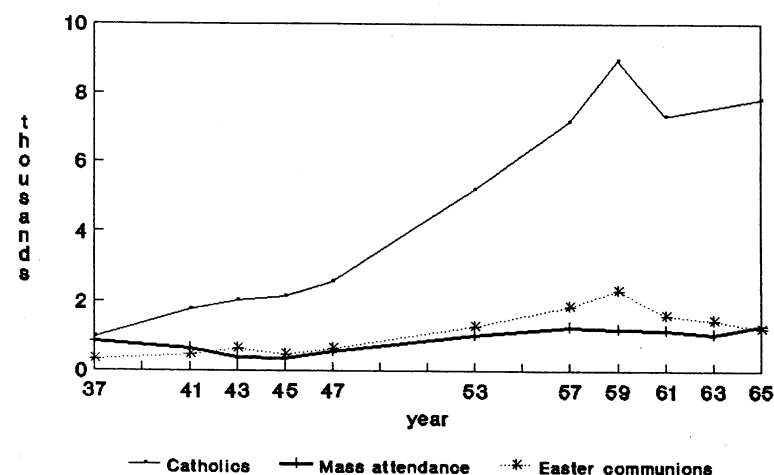
Fig. 6. Matombo, baptisms, 1957-66 (incl. parishes split off since 1949)



however, that the number of adherents of the Christian *ngoma* in Matombo continued to grow until 1957, when marriages reached a peak (fig. 5). Apparently, the introduction of ULUS made no difference to participation in the Christian *ngoma* up to 1957 (neither the interviews with missionaries nor the mission diaries gave me reason to doubt that conclusion), but when ULUS shifted to a social development scheme that stressed mobility (through roads and schooling) rather than the control of land and crops, and TANU emphasized that the road to power led out of the mountains, Christianity lost much of its relevance. The drop in the number of marriages after 1957 (fig. 5) shows that the elders could no longer compel their children to marry in the church.⁴⁸ When, in 1961, TANU politics had emphasized that lineage power through the Native Authorities was to be abolished, the number of baptisms *extra periculo mortis* drops below the number of baptisms *in periculo mortis* for the first time since 1957, and perhaps—but here data are lacking—since 1948 (fig. 6).

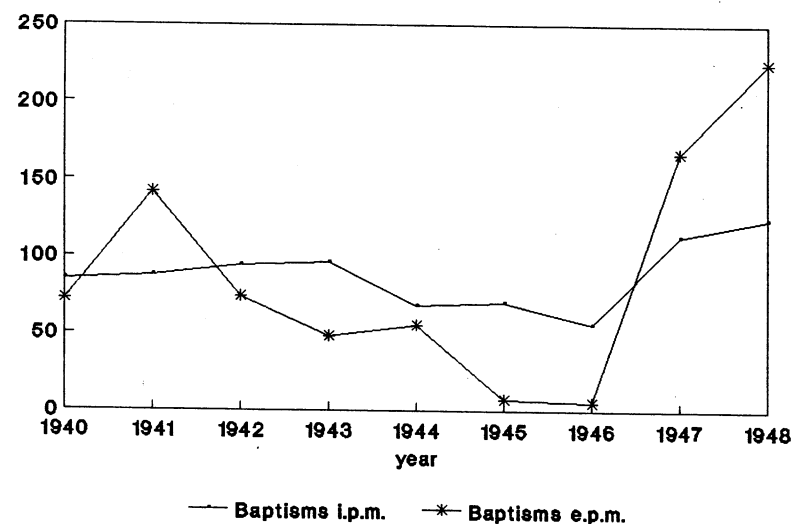
The correspondence between Christianity and *jando* as modern *ngoma* can also be gleaned from the fact that the head circumcizer (*mwinzi* or *ng'ariba mkuu*) was likened to a bishop. Where Christianity was strong, as in Mgeta, circumcision was abolished 'voluntarily' indicating that the Christian *ngoma* seemed a sufficient replacement. Where Islam was strong, however, circumcision held its place: Muslim boys could, of course, hardly gain prominence in Christian circles, and needed to remain attuned to their own religious community. In the predominantly Muslim environment of Tegetero mission, mission school attendance and conversion to Christianity were highest in the 1930s and shortly after World War Two, but the opposition against (predominantly Christian) Native Authorities surfaced regularly in between, which culminated in making the area the heartland of opposition to ULUS and support for TANU in the 1950s. The patterns of conversion and *ngoma* differed from place to place in other respects: in Kasanga, for instance, just as *jando* did not become popular until the war years, Christianity took off only after the war. While the foundation of the parish in 1937 must have created an initial enthusiasm, still, in 1938, people in the outschools did not 'follow the religion' but were eager to be baptized when in danger of death; marriages were rare. When the Kasanga Waluguru saw themselves threatened by war recruitment, *jando* was introduced while Christian conversion declined (see figs. 7 and 8).⁴⁹ It was only during the ULUS period, when government intervention through the Native Authorities first started to bother the people of Kasanga, that Christianity really took off, only to be stopped in its tracks by the rise of TANU (fig. 7).

Fig. 7. Kasanga parish, 1937-65



Sources: DAM, Annual Statistics; KD, 30.7.37.

Fig. 8. Kasanga, baptisms, 1940-48



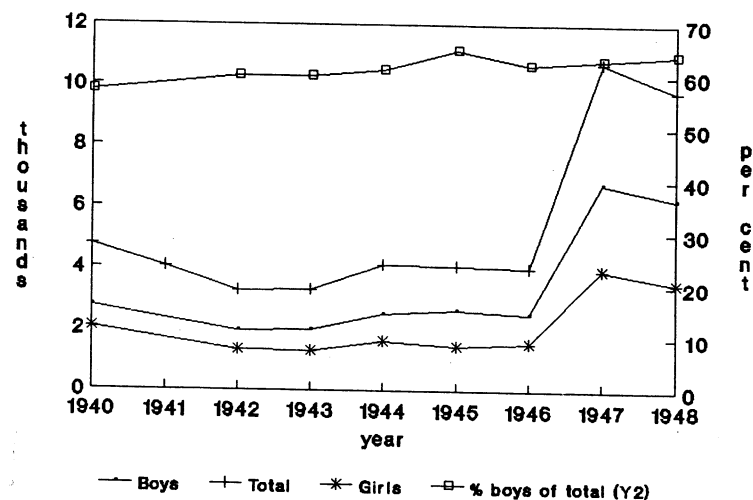
Source: DAM, Annual Statistics.

It is important to repeat that in the preceding pages, I have mainly described the history of the young men's initiation. The women had their own dance. The female initiand passed into adulthood through a sequence of acts which focussed on the domestic sphere, and which were far less directly related to experiences of the world outside Uluguru. On the one hand, the elder women who organized the female *ngoma* must have looked favourably on Christianity, for it promised a relief from the threat of migrating husbands setting up households outside the mountains, in their place of work. At the same time, the patriarchal inclinations of the missionaries tended to reduce the power of women in Luguru society. The girls' *ngoma* was a form of resistance against those aspects of Christianity that reduced the women's power base, and it was therefore maintained with much more vigour than the *ng'ula/lwindi* or *jando ngoma*, even when girls also attended the mission schools and were baptized.⁵⁰ It may be for that reason that the participation of girls in the Christian *ngoma* was always less than that of the boys. Sixty-three per cent of the pupils of the Matombo schools in 1928 were boys, while males only made up forty-seven per cent of the total Luguru population at the time. At the same time, several men (and only men) from Matombo formed the first *association pieuse* and pledged, among other things, to keep away from everything *ya ngoma*.⁵¹ The Matombo statistics show that girls were a relative minority at school (fig. 9). This imbalance was redressed when the Christian *ngoma* lost its force (fig. 10).

Conclusion

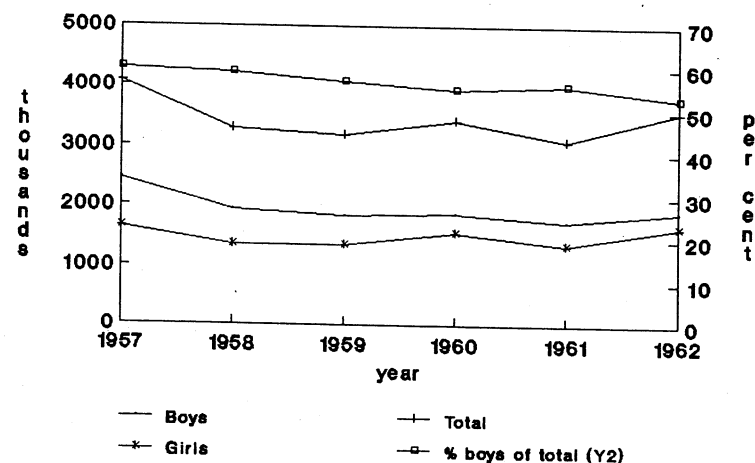
Let me stress that in this paper, I have not tried to argue that Luguru Christianity was *ngoma*. Even if my interpretation holds, it still leaves out the agency of the missionaries and many other aspects of Luguru interpretations of Christianity. I have tried to show that, just as *mganda* 'imitated' the military march by grafting it on a rhythmic pattern completely different from military discipline, just so Christianity was carried into Luguru society by being grafted on their *ngoma* patterns. Taking the Luguru use of *ngoma*, as both rhythm and initiation, seriously, I have tried to show the creative potential of Luguru initiation in combining the reproduction of the balance of power between the generations with a way of adapting to, and incorporating, novel forms of the exchange of labour and the control of land. This creativity and adaptability of *ngoma* prepared Waluguru for the acceptance of Christianity after a novel localization of power within the mountains had made

Fig. 9. Matombo, schools, 1940-48



Source: DAM, Annual Statistics.

Fig. 10. Matombo, schools, 1957-62 (incl. parishes split off in 1949)



Source: DAM, Annual Statistics.

previous adaptations, and *jando* in particular, less viable. Thus, *ngoma* served both as a metaphor for a change in the rhythm of life, and as a mediation of novel rhythms of work introduced by the colonial economy; as both a representation of the contact between different structures of power and signification, and the mobile microphysics that mediated between them.

But if Waluguru were prepared for Christianity by *ngoma*, Christianity was also a major cause of the crisis in the balance of power between Luguru generations which led to the disappearance of *ngoma* as male initiation. The mission incorporated Waluguru, as priests, as lay members of the Church, and as pupils and teachers, to exert the disciplinary power of the state and the Roman Church through the school (see Pels 1996: ch. 5). The male *ngoma* attuned Luguru boys to colonial power, but in the process, it was contextualized by it. That does not mean that we can reduce *ngoma* to a magical mimesis, based on an illusory hope to influence the future which did not materialize. The marked improvements that reading, writing and arithmetic brought to the control of land and the cash crop market, and that the catechists' and teacher's careers brought to one's functioning in colonial society, show how reasonable the decision was to be initiated in Christianity. If the young men were, given their position in the lineage relations of production, the ones most likely to use such colonial advantages for their individual benefit, elders could only try to incorporate their experience as something integral to the rhythm of Luguru life.

But with Christianity, they incorporated a Trojan horse. Luguru *ngoma* became so attuned to global power that it lost the capacity to locally reproduce it. If it is true that African nationalism succeeded Christianity as *ngoma*, it was a *ngoma* that became too global, too much directed by powers located outside of the Luguru mountains, to function as a local balance of power between generations. This process of reduction of the Luguru elders' ability to control their youngsters' careers plunged Luguru society in a crisis marked by the loss of the capacity to be its own source of valuation of work and life (see Van Donge 1993). The male *ngoma* disappeared, and its rhythms became a folklorized and commercialized 'Luguru tradition.' Luguru drummers were now called up to play their rhythms before a TANU audience for money. This commoditization process of *ngoma* had been inaugurated by the Kaiser's feast and the missionaries, and produced some of the best and most popular music of Tanzania in the 1970s. But these 'rhythms of home' were played outside the mountains, in the dance-halls of Morogoro and Dar es Salaam.⁵²

NOTES

1. This essay will appear, in revised form, as the third chapter of my forthcoming book, *The Microphysics of Crisis* (Pels 1996), and permission from Harwood Academic Publishers to publish it in advance is hereby gratefully acknowledged. I thank Johannes Fabian for his work on the first version of the chapter, the participants in the 11th Satterthwaite Colloquium on African Religion and Ritual, and Brad Weiss, Adrian Hastings and Dick Werbner in particular, for their encouraging comments, and Gerd Baumann for his incisive critique and ability to pose precisely the right question. None of them is, of course, responsible for the essay's remaining imperfections.

2. KMM 710/1a:166; BHG 28 (1932): 132, 269; IPAC 2a:478.

3. Although Janzen acknowledges the relevance of *ngoma* to African constructions of political communities and rites of passage, his overview unduly emphasizes more or less marginal 'cults' or 'drums of affliction' that 'resist co-optation by the nation-state' (1992: 177). His emphasis on 'discourses of healing' does not take account of the way in which the drum could embody state power in, for instance, the interlacustrine kingdoms of East Africa, or the way in which Luguru rhythms embodied the transition to different states of being within and beyond Luguru society.

4. The majority of analyses by Europeans reintroduce an imaginary regimentation into African rhythm (by the 'biggest drum,' by motor behavior, or a mysterious 'metronome sense'; see Merriam 1959: 76-85). Jones' 'crossing of the beats,' however, indicates a rhythmic ordering through interlocution or 'conversation' (Chernoff 1979: 55). The opposition between models of the 'conversation' of musical performance and the 'regimentation' by a conductor or musical score, appears in anthropological theory when we compare Gregory Bateson's attempt to think of the 'pattern that connects' as 'a dance of interacting parts' (Bateson 1979: 13-4) with Claude Lévi-Strauss' argument that music's 'first articulation' is the 'hierarchical structure of the scale' (1975: 16, 22).

5. By this argument, Ranger tried to escape from the accusation by Magubane (1971) that some social scientists (like Mitchell 1965) emphasized African colonial 'fashion' to prove that acculturation consisted of parroting of white prestige forms. Below, I show that he was not completely successful.

6. Yet he has to conclude that in the rural areas 'it [is] difficult to see Beni history in any one district as part of a coherent development of dance and musical forms' (1975: 112).

7. A close tie to the lineage implied a close tie to the land. Lineage elders (*wenye mlungu*) were not allowed to travel away from their land for longer than a week. Daughters were thought to be more close to the lineage than sons and thus were more likely to take care of the land when men travelled to work elsewhere (see Van Donge 1993: 65-7).

8. Thus, it was 'an active mode of coping, not just passive imitation' of the European influence (Fabian 1990a: 56). Healing *ngoma*, and spirit possession in particular, can be similarly characterized (cf. Kramer 1987; see also Ranger 1975: 47; the conception of ritual as embodiment of societal possibilities is further elaborated in Pels (1996: ch. 4).

9. Before the introduction of *jando* (circumcision), Waluguru say they engaged their sons in *sae*, *kong'ongo*, *lusona*, *lungu*, *kitawa*, *kigoma*, *kikami*, *mwangazi*, *kwindi* or *ng'ula*, and these ceremonies were accompanied by different rhythms beaten on different drums: *mbeta*, *mkenge*, *chatu*, *ndengela*, *mkwaju* or *mganda* (the list is not exhaustive). The use of medicines which cannot be obtained higher up in the mountains (such as *mpingu*, ebony) suggests that the *ng'ula* and *kwindi* ceremonies were more related to the plains; often, *mganda* or *mkwaju* rhythms, said to come from the Wakutu and Wazaramo who live in the Eastern plains, accompanied *ng'ula*. The 'dirty' (sexually explicit, magically profuse) nature of the *ng'ula*/*kwindi*/*lusona* ceremonies may well have led missionary commentators, defending Luguru 'purity,' to describe the other ceremonies (*sae* and *kong'ong'o*) as 'original tradition' (Mzuanda 1958: 95; MSS. Vermunt, 3.1).

10. Cf. Hartwig 1969: 42-5. Like Hartwig, Caplan shows how a *ngoma* can be identified because it retains the language of the area from which it was introduced: on Mafia Island, this was Kingindo for *jando* and Kizaramo for the girls' initiation (1976: 30).

11. In Kiluguru, called *ingoma ye saye*, or *kumbi bye chikahenga*, 'camp of the ancestors' (Mawinza 1965: 19).

12. FN: Andre Averini, Kiswira, 4.10.89; Mzee Stefani Sabini Matiasi, Gubi, 10.10.89; Mama Mkoba, Kiswira, 17.9.90; Mzee Alois Mkoba, Morogoro, 7.11.90.

13. The *mkole* tree is also crucial to the girls' initiation and is associated with growth and fertility (see Pels 1996: ch. 4). In Kiluguru, the bush camp was called *kiwalani*; the camp closer to home, *kponera* or *seto*; it is not clear in which sequence these camps were occupied (FN: Mama Mkoba, Kiswira, 17.9.90, Mzee Alois Mkoba, Morogoro, 7.11.90).

14. FN: Mzee Petri Mloka, Kiswira, 28.1.90; TNA MF 19, MDB: 'The Waluguru,' by Father v.d. Kimmenade, MSS. Vermunt 3.1: 'Nyando 1' (but see Mzuanda 1958: 133); TNA MF 19, MDB: 'Notes on the Waluguru and Wakami,' by E. Hutchins. Brain is also sceptical about the 'Muslim origin' interpretation, but is then seduced—against all other sources—into believing that *jando* was somehow more ancient than *ng'ula* (1980a: 374). Cory says *jando* is the result of 'Islamic missionary work' but agrees that it is a 'good example of the way in which Bantu institutions sometimes react to foreign influences' (1947: 160).

15. MD Jan. '04, Aug. 05, 4.9.05. The mention of a *mganga* near Mvuhia suggests that this was an assistant of Kinjekitile, the medicine hunter and prophet who triggered the Maji Maji rising. The assistant probably used the shrine of the spirit (*mzimu*) of Koleru, which was related to Kinjekitile's spirit Bokero, to increase the latter's following (Gwassa 1972).

16. MD 25.10.05 (arrest Mbago), 2.11.05 (death Mbago), 10.12.05 (soldiers to Mahenge), 15.1.06 (hanging of *mganga*), 20.4.06 (hanging of Mwanambago), MD Apr.-Jun. 07, Aug. 08, 25.11.09 (new circumcisions).

17. MSS. Vermunt 3.1, 'Nyando 1'; BG 1923-4: 321; FN, Th. Winkelmolen, Morogoro, Dec. '89; KD 29.9.41, 17.8.42.

18. Thus, this was a *tambiko*, reconciliation with ancestors, not *ngoma* or rhythm: before each incantation, the *Ndengela* was only beaten once (see note 41).

19. FN: Mzee Petri Mloka, Kiswira, 28.1.90. Knowledge of circumcision, however, was not necessarily passed on along family lines, although frequently, the father taught his son, contrary to matrilineal routines.

20. My field guide said that *limba* was the camp (FN: Thomas Martiniani, Kiswira, 3.10.89); Mzuanda, however, makes clear that it is the *mtego* or trap which people not initiated into the meaning of the medicines and metaphorical (mostly sexual) objects that lie underneath it dare not pass; secrets which Father Mzuanda could only summarize under the names *ushirikina na matusi* (superstition and abuse; 1958: 137).

21. The interpretation that the Englishman brought the *ngoma* was given by an informant (FN, Mzee Petri Mloka, 28.1.90), who also insisted that the initiands sang the song. The text of the song, however, supports Mzuanda's assertion that the women sang it (1958: 139).

22. See Pels (1996: appendix D) for some of Cory's material on *jando* and the coast. It was a Mluguru from Bagamoyo, one of the centres of Swahili culture, who brought the *ngoma* to Matombo. In Ukerebe, it was *Beni* which introduced the Swahili language into the local *ngoma* practices (Hartwig 1969: 56), but among Mafia Island Waswahili, *jando* retained its language of origin, Kingindo (Caplan 1976: 30).

23. The association of sexual prowess with power in general through the concept of *moto* (fire, heat) is, as among Bemba (Richards 1956: 35), common among Waluguru; moreover, *pembe* refers to both penis and powerful magic (see ch. 6).

24. This is not surprising, given that the victory of the British was particularly visible on the Eastern Uluguru slopes, along which they chased the Germans to Kisaki

and beyond, making a number of Waluguru the victim of either conscription or gunfire (MD Sep. '16, 27.12.17).

25. TNA MF 19 MDB: E.E. Hutchins, 'Notes on the Waluguru and Wakami,' 1929; MD 3.10.07, 2.08.09. The ambivalence of Luguru attitudes towards railway work ('fear,' MD 10.7.09, 19.2.10) or 'indifference,' MD 28.10.09) may be attributed to the fact that whereas young men profited from it, to elders and women it was a liability (see note 7 and Pels 1996: ch. 4). I thank Henny Blokland for giving me the quote, from *Annales de la Congrégation du St. Esprit* 25/8 (1909): 228.

26. It may not have been *jando* only which effected this adaptation, as the following Luguru *kigoma* song suggests: 'Two days nothing happens/the third day nothing happens/I work on my monthly labour card' (Cory 1937: 63; Cory fails to give the original text, but in Swahili the last line would probably read *ninafanya kazi kibaruni*). The monthly labour card was employed by both German and British, both official and private employers.

27. BHG 29 (1933): 41; SD 2.10.43; FN: Fr. Th. Winkelmolen, Morogoro, 7-12.12.89.

28. SD 12.8.35, 9.7.40, 29.8.49, KD 26.10.52, 17.8.43, TD 25.8.54; MP, Decreta et Documenta, Theological Conference Morogoro, 9.9.48; in 1942, *jando* seems to have been less associated with Islam: Father Vermeulen called circumcision an *affaire impure*, not a Muslim practice (KD 17.87.42).

29. On sexual licence and forbidden *ngoma*, KMM 111/1b: 054, 514/1a: 035; IPAC 12b:380, BHG 46 (1950): 134, AC 55 (1959) 17; for a dissenting voice, TNA MF 19, MDB: Fr. v.d. Kimmenade 'The Waluguru'; Brother Simon was accused, and acquitted, probably because his gun was loaded with salt (MD 3.11.12). Among the Dutch Fathers, however, there is a story of another Brother in the Belgian Congo who accidentally killed a woman because his gun was loaded with ball.

30. BHG 28 (1932): 11, 29 (1933): 13; KMM 43/1b:253, 111/2a: 139; compare this to Evans-Pritchard: 'Natives always sing the hymns out of tune' (1928: 449).

31. BHG 27 (1931): 45, 28 (1932): 9, AC 55 (1959): 17; KMM 43/1b: 235, 708/1b: 000; MD 25.12.66.

32. TNA: 1733/4: Morogoro District Ann. Rep. 1920-1; TNA 11676/I: Ann. Rep. Eastern Province, 1927; TNA 11676/III: Ann. Rep. Eastern Province, 1929.

33. The measure was made permanent by Governor Cameron in 1930 (TNA 1733/13: Morogoro District Ann. Rep., 1925; TNA MF 19 MDB: 'Notes on the Waluguru and Wakami,' E.E. Hutchins; TNA 11676/II: Ann. Rep. Eastern Province, 1928; TNA 18913: Cameron to CS Jardine, 13.5.30; Land Development Survey, Uluguru Mountains, by F.J. Bagshawe, 1930).

34. Thus, it was not the presence of the urban markets which introduced cash cropping (as Mlahagwa suggests, 1974: 23), but the presence of money earned elsewhere which developed an internal *mtama*-market. The market was internal because millet was almost exclusively used in the production of beer for (indeed!) *ngoma* and *tambiko*. Cotton, coffee, peas and beans for the Morogoro and Dar es Salaam markets were introduced a few years later.

35. TNA 1733/12: Morogoro District Ann. Rep., 1923.

36. It is surprising how little use has been made of mission statistics in assessing cultural change in Africa (as distinct from mere quantitative increases), by, for instance, comparing different types of baptism recorded. The Holy Ghost Fathers, like any other Catholic mission, were required to produce a *status animarum* ('state of souls') every first of July, and these data allow for year-to-year comparisons of the fluctuation of participation in Christianity with other events. These data must be available throughout Africa, even where—as in my case—only fragments survive. The graphs I use here are based on the statistics in the diocesan archive in Morogoro (1940-9; 1956-62), supplemented with other sources which are listed below the graph. Where data are lacking, the year is not indicated on the lower X-axis. 'Easter communions' indicate practising Christians, in contrast to nominal Catholics. 'Catechumens' are candidates for baptism.

If the legenda lists Y2 behind one of the categories of data, the numbers are given on the right hand vertical axis. If not otherwise indicated, the vertical axes give absolute numbers.

37. TNA 11676/II, Ann. Rep. Eastern Province, 1928.

38. The first incumbent of the South Uluguru chiefship was Kingalu the Tenth (Mwanamfuko). For an account of Luguru genealogy and other discourses of power, and their 'pidginization' by Indirect Rule, see Pels (1995).

39. TNA 11676/I, Ann. Rep. Eastern Province, 1927, which also mentions witch-cleansing after Ngoja's arrest; TNA 12333 for Ngoja in general, and TNA 12333: Acting Provincial Commissioner Eastern Province to Chief Secretary, 16.3.27, for Ngoja's father. See also the section on Nguvumali in Pels (1996: ch. 6).

40. This account is, of course, insufficient in the sense that, in the interests of brevity, it leaves most of the witchcraft eradication literature out of the discussion. It is dealt with in more detail in Pels (1996: ch. 6). I intend to deal with Uluguru witchcraft eradication sequences (Kinjekitile in 1905, Ngoja in 1926, Nguvumali in 1958 and Tekero in 1983-4) in a separate paper. The reader is referred to Larson (1974, 1976), Lee (1976) and Ranger (1966) for the appropriate references.

41. On the contrary: at death, one beats *mzunguli*, which begins with several slow and hard beats which peter out in fast and soft patters (Dum! Dum! Dum Dum dum dumddumddumddum...). It only begins in order to stop moving. It is closer to *tambiko* than to *ngoma* (see note 18).

42. SD 19.11.40, TuD 17.4.25.

43. This is elaborated in Pels (1996: ch. 5).

44. TNA 11676/V: Ann. Rep. Eastern Province, 1932; TNA 11676/VI: Ann. Rep. Eastern Province, 1933; TNA MF 19 MDB: 'Cotton Planting Propaganda,' J.F. De S. Lewis-Barned, 26.9.60; Mlahagwa (1974: 23-4).

45. MD Jan. 41, 28.8.41, KD 12.8.42, SD 4.9.34, TD 21.6.41; TNA MF 19, MDB, 'Cotton Planting Propaganda,' J.F. De S. Lewis-Barned, 26.9.60; IPAC 12b: 084-180. The fact that a similar project in 1920-1, coupling migration to cotton planting and its subsequent failure (MD 13.8.20, 4.10.20, 8.8.21, UDSM: Cory Paper 430), did *not* lead to a significant decrease in Christian participation (fig. 1) fortifies the interpretation of 1930s Christianity as *ngoma*.

46. On ULUS, TNA MF 19, MDB: 'Notes on ULUS,' by A.H. Savile and P.C. Duff; also Brain (1979), Young and Fosbrooke (1960), and Temple (1972), although I hope to improve upon their accounts in another book. On Nguvumali, see Pels (1996: ch. 6).

47. TNA MF 19, MDB: 'Cotton Planting Propaganda,' by J.F. De S. Lewis-Barned, 26.9.60.

48. It was this interpretation, put before me by Father Theodor Winkelmoelen and Jan Kees van Donge, that developed into the analysis of mission statistics presented in this essay.

49. KD 25.11.38, 19.2.39, 17.8.42.

50. This is elaborated in Pels (1996: ch. 4).

51. TD Dec. '34. MD Oct. '28, 30.12.28; TNA MF 15 MDB: Native District Census 1928.

52. SD 3.10.48. Luguru rhythms fed popular bands like Morogoro Jazz and Super Volcano in the 1970s. Their descendant, the Dar es Salaam-based Mlimani Park Orchestra, still plays the danceable and complex *ingoma ya ukae* (kil): 'the rhythm of home.'

ABBREVIATIONS; NOTES ON ARCHIVAL SOURCES

AC *Africa Christo*, the propaganda journal of the Dutch Holy Ghost Fathers; successor to the *Holy Ghost Messenger* (see BHG) since 1952.

- BG *Bulletin General*, the internal journal of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost produced by the mother-house in Paris.
- BHG *Bode van de Heilige Geest* (*Holy Ghost Messenger*), the propaganda journal of the Dutch Holy Ghost Fathers since 1904. Renamed *Africa Christo* in 1952.
- DAM Diocesan Archives Morogoro.
- FN Field notes kept in Dutch by the present author.
- IPAC Interviews for the project 'Africa Christo' done by the present author to complement the KMM material (see there). References give the number, (a or b) side of the cassette tape, and clock number.
- KD Kasanga mission diary, in DAM.
- KMM KomMissieMemoires; a collection of some 800 interviews with Dutch Catholic missionaries accessible (on tape) at the Katholiek Documentatie Centrum of the University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands.
- MDB Morogoro District Book.
- MD Matombo mission diary, in DAM.
- MF Microfilm.
- MP Matombo parish files.
- MSS Vermunt Ethnographic papers about Uluguru by Father Cornelis Vermunt CSSp, a copy of which is held in the Dutch Holy Ghost Fathers' headquarters in Gemert, the Netherlands.
- SD Singiza mission diary, in DAM.
- TD Tegetero mission diary, in DAM.
- TNA Tanzania National Archives.
- TuD Tununguo mission diary, in DAM.
- UDSM University of Dar es Salaam library.

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