

Bargaining With Spirits: Consulting a Swahili Diviner

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Abstract

This article discusses an encounter between a young British social anthropologist and a Swahili diviner, shaman and healer which took place in 1967. At that time, the anthropologist, who had visited the diviner about her grandmother, was carrying out her first fieldwork and dismissed much of what the diviner told her. It has taken many years for this event to begin to make more sense to the anthropologist, who has utilized her knowledge and memory, as well as her own life experience, to interpret the diviner's words. The article shows how part of the process of divination involves the client not only in bargaining with the spirit concerned through the diviner, but also assisting in the process of meaning-making. Like ethnographic understanding, such interpretation is difficult for the client, whether she or he be a local or a foreigner, and may only happen over a period of time, but this process forms an essential part of the dialogues between diviner and spirit, and diviner and client.

Divination must be thought of as a continual querying of the why, whose and wherefores begun in the family setting in the face of misfortune, but carried through by specialists with expert judgements and training (Janzen, 1986: 57).

1.0 Introduction¹

On the night of the 4th of March 1967, accompanied by my chief informant 'Mohammed', I went to the house of one of the spirit shamans in Minazini village, Mafia Island, Tanzania. My ostensible purpose was to consult him as a diviner about the illness of a relative. My real intention was to find out more about the way in which diviners operated.²

Spirit possession cults are widespread on the Swahili coast of East Africa (Koritschner, 1936; Giles, 1987, 1999; Caplan, 1997; Larsen, 1998, 2001, 2008) and indeed, in other parts of the continent.³ On Mafia Island, the cults of the land spirits, with rituals such as *kitanga* or *mwingo*, have much in common with cults found throughout East, Central and Southern Africa. In addition, there are on Mafia cults of sea spirits (*majini*) which strongly resemble the *zar* cults of the Islamic northeast of Africa: the Sudan (Constantinides, 1972, 1977; Boddy, 1989), Ethiopia (Messing, 1958) and Somalia (Lewis, 1966, 1969), and also have

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similarities with cults reported for North Africa (Crapanzano, 1973, 1977, 1980). On Mafia, these are known as *mkobero* or *dhikiri* and they utilize aspects of the rituals of the Sufi mystical orders (*tarika*). Land spirit cults are connected to the illnesses and misfortunes of both women and men, as well as to ancestry and the cultivation of bush land, whereas sea spirit cults are concerned mainly with women's afflictions, especially those to do with fertility.

In both the northern and southern villages of Mafia, where I first carried out research in the mid 1960s, I had become interested in spirit possession and had attended large numbers of the highly dramatic rituals which were held to cure illness by placating spirits (*majini* or *mashetani* sometimes also referred to as *mapepo*), which were afflicting people. Such rituals (*ngoma*) involved drumming, dancing and singing, usually all night, and many culminated in the slaughter of an animal and the drinking of its blood by the patient (*mwali*) and others possessed at the same time. Others involved the presentation of a tray (*chano* or *sinia* - see below) of offerings to the spirit. Subsequently, any shamans present, including the one conducting the ritual, would act as diviners while still possessed by their spirits. People would come to consult them about a variety of problems, mainly sickness, and receive advice, often couched in very oblique forms and translated into somewhat plainer language by one or more of the shaman's assistants, who would not themselves be possessed. Some shamans would also hold private divination sessions on request at other times, as in the case discussed here.

In this article, I seek to understand one aspect of spirit possession, namely the diagnosis and treatment of illness and other problems by a possessed shaman through the examination of an encounter between a shaman⁴ and myself which took place in 1967 on Mafia Island Tanzania. For three decades after this event, I found it difficult to deal with the issue at all and in spite of the fact that half of the data I had collected in the 1960s concerned spirit possession, I initially published very little about it; even when I eventually did so,⁵ I did not utilize the encounter which is the subject of this article. Nonetheless, at the time I considered that the consultation had been successful and that I had learned a great deal about divination.⁶ In retrospect, I consider that my understanding at that time had been fairly superficial, but suggest here that I may have gained some clearer insights since that time.

A skilled diviner, such as the one who is the subject of this article, requires a number of qualities: one is the ability to utilize every detail of his⁷ knowledge of the background of his clients as well as his understanding of human emotions and feelings, the other is to give information ('divine') in such a way that the major act of interpretation is actually performed by the patient/client and his or her relatives. Divination thus consists of a complex series of dialogues: between patient

and diviner, diviner and spirit, diviner's assistant(s) and patient, and often between patient and relatives. The attribution of meaning to the words of the diviner emerges from all of these dialogues. A patient is thus an agent in this process, who uses her own knowledge and memory in a significant way to make sense of the diviner's words, and hence of her affliction.

In what follows, I look firstly at different kinds of explanation given by the diviner, and secondly, at the ways in which a client, in this case myself, can interpret them. I ask: To what extent do shamans use culturally specific explanations, and to what extent do they reach beyond these to address the universal human condition? In my case, the shaman was not quite sure exactly why I had come and what he was to make of my request for his help. He sought to interpret the reasons for the problem presented (the illness of my step-grandmother), while I sought to understand what he was saying and work out what possession and divination meant and how he operated. Fortunately, I was not the only client that evening: there were two others, a factor which allowed for some comparison with my own case.⁸

2.0 First Part of the Séance: Jealousy and Greed Lead to Witchcraft and Illness

At the time of my encounter with this shaman, I had been carrying out fieldwork on Mafia for almost a year and a half, most of which I had spent in a single village, Minazini, in the north of the island. The end of my field-work period and return home was only a few days away, and I had gone back to Minazini from the southern Mafia village where I had spent the previous few months gathering comparative data, in order to fill in a few gaps and make my farewells.

My companion on this particular evening, Mohammed, had become a close friend and confidante and I have written elsewhere of our relationship, especially his keeping of a diary in Kiarabu (Swahili written in Arabic script) and our joint work in transliterating and discussing its entries (Caplan, 1992, 1997). It was he who had arranged this session with the diviner. He was extremely interested in matters to do with spirits, and had himself inherited a relationship with a tutelary spirit. Although at that stage he had never become possessed, he used to communicate with his spirit by burning incense before he slept and talking with it in his dreams. I had been told by Mohammed that I would have to pay for the shaman's services and that I had to bring with me fifteen shillings plus two eggs, a pound of sugar and some dates. Mohammed called for me and we walked through the dark village to the shaman's house. We arrived and entered a room which, like most village houses at night, was only very dimly lit - the village had then no electricity and few villagers can afford pressure lamps. Instead, they rely on small wick lamps filled with kerosene.

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Shaman (sings): [Only] when you have trouble do you come that I may treat you. Hey, how has this person (Pat) come?

Mohammed (to me): Do you have the money? (hands it to the Shaman). Here are the 'spectacles' for you to see through. As clearly as with a pressure lamp. These spectacles have been provided by your friend (Pat), so that you may see her (the patient) where she is.

Shaman: Shall we go and find her over there where she is?

Mohammed: Yes, aren't these the spectacles (that you need)?

Shaman (sings): I will go there then, to where she is... Let her come to the spirit so that he may cure her. (Divining) That woman has been made sick by her companion, and not her alone... The reason is that he (my grandfather) is deceiving her. And she (the witch-mistress) has got to her (made her ill) by going to outside Shamans for herbal medicines.

Wife: And she (the witch) has her friend (the spirit) [helping her].

Shaman: He got another woman, and put her in his house, until the time when this one (i.e. Pat) was born.

His wife explained to me in clearer Swahili that my grandfather had not married his mistress who had wanted him to do so, but another. He had then left his first mistress, who was the witch, and got another one as well as a wife, and when the rejected mistress saw that she had a second rival as well as the wife, she bewitched them both.

Shaman: And another thing, she inherited it (either witchcraft or property) from her mother. And there is money around at the place of that woman (the sick step-grandmother), and that is the reason for her being treated thus (i.e. bewitched).

Mohammed: The witch thought that if your grandfather married her after the death of his present wife, she would enjoy the property his deceased wife would have left him.

Shaman: That is the reason (for the illness). And perhaps she (Pat) will go to see her in 120 days. And the doctors do not yet know (that she is bewitched). The one who has played around with her (bewitched her) is far away. She (step-grandmother) said she would go to hospital. When she (Pat) gets there, maybe she will see for herself (what the situation is), but perhaps if she spends a long time en route... (it will be too late).

Mohammed: So what is the cure?

Shaman: Maybe she (Pat) will arrive in time, she will go to the doctors to discuss the issue. But for that discussion, let her not go to the hospital. There are herbal medicines, let her go around asking (from one healer to another). Those hospital doctors, their things are quite different. Or should she (the patient) be brought here?

Others: No, it's too far.

Shaman: Or shall I go there myself?

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Mohammed: You (spirit) could go there, but Athman (the Shaman) could not.

Shaman (to Pat:) Or will you take Athman?⁸

Mohammed: She doesn't have the means to take you.

Shaman (to Pat): Is this true?

Pat: Yes, that's true, I don't have the means to pay your fare.

Shaman: Alright, let's change tact. (to Pat) Make careful enquiries, and find out how our patient is. Could you recognize herbs?

Mohammed: No, she (Pat) couldn't recognize them. What is the preventative so that the bad person doesn't get her (step-grandmother) again?

Wife: Won't it come from that Shaman (i.e. the one I am supposed to find for my step-grandmother)?

Shaman: She won't see that bad one (the witch) again. And there are the same matters of competition (between spirits) there as here. Here there is one spirit (jinn) which is stronger than all of its fellows, (so if) it is that one which is treating her, it can prevent (the other one from harming her). Then that's it, no one else can get at her. And there are jinns over there, and there are spirit dances, even there. One of them even came here (i.e. a European spirit).

Mohammed: Who was that? Was it brought by someone, or did it come by itself on its travels?

Shaman: It was a jinn of these creatures (Europeans). And you (Pat) you have the origin of a jinn in your place, and you came with it, and when you sleep, it comes.

Mohammed: Is it a guardian spirit?¹⁰

Shaman: Yes, it is guarding her...

Mohammed: This means that when you return home, the jinn will return with you, and then go with your sister when she goes on her journey.

Shaman: But just one thing, don't let us go there and quarrel with our friends (the spirits), otherwise we will lose each other.

Mohammed: If you didn't quarrel here, why should you go there and quarrel?

Shaman: The thing to quarrel about is if she tells everyone about our matters here, such as the names of spirits in a public place where everyone can hear.¹¹

2.1 Discussion on the First Part of the Séance

This encounter reveals many of the classic aspects of the widespread ngoma complex which Janzen, who has written extensively on the issue, notes has 'provided African societies with a far more pervasive concept of disease and health than that which has prevailed in the Western world' (1992: 56). The healer not only has to suffer to become a healer (what elsewhere has been termed the 'wounded healer') but continues to suffer as 'healing is painful'. Further, as Janzen points out, healing is not just about the relationship between the healer/shaman and the patient, but involves a 'therapy management group'. So it was no surprise to the shaman in this case that I should be responsible for assisting in the healing of my step-grandmother. The shaman also claimed that I myself was guarded by a spirit which had come with me

from Europe to Africa, again scarcely surprising, given that 'European' spirits were not infrequently said to visit the East African coast (see Larsen, 2008). Further, as I have shown elsewhere (1992, 1997), there is frequently a link between sexual activity, especially of an illicit kind, and affliction by spirits. Those crossed in love are believed to invoke spirits to harm their rivals by getting a shaman to send his spirit to harm them, or, as was suggested in this case, using their knowledge of herbal medicine to cause harm. The shaman told me that my grandfather, about whom he knew almost nothing other than that he had married twice, had also had at least two mistresses, and that one of them had tried to kill the other, as well as his second wife, my step-grandmother, out of jealousy so that he would marry her and she would also benefit from the deceased wife's property. In other words, he used two powerful human emotions - jealousy and greed - to explain why my step-grandmother had been bewitched and fallen ill.

I remembered my grandfather - a Methodist local preacher of exceptional probity who had given me many of my early lessons in morality - and could not begin to imagine him involved in any adulterous affair, let alone in two. I thought that the shaman had projected a not infrequent Swahili scenario onto a situation and culture of which he knew nothing. I dismissed what he had said as irrelevant to the situation as I understood it at the time.

3.0 Second Half of the Séance: Paying the Spirit its Dues

Once he had finished dealing with the matter of my step-grandmother's illness, the shaman insisted on having some of the things which I had brought: the remaining egg and some of the sugar and dates. His wife set out a plate and he invited everyone present to share. We all declined politely and he ate with relish about half the contents of the plate, then pushed it away and turned to one of the young women waiting on the bed.

Wife: Tell us plainly. She is sick and so is her older brother.

Shaman: (This is because) their younger sister was ill, she did not get a child. They burned incense for her (i.e. invoked their guardian spirit) to cure her, she got better, and gave birth. But they did not go (to inform and thank their guardian spirit). I don't know about the other spirit (whom they had consulted) and whether it got something. (i.e. its reward for the birth of the child).

The woman moved to sit beside the shaman's wife and whispered in her ear.

Wife: She was very ill, she nearly died in fact.

Shaman: Very well, let them go there (i.e. to give the spirit his due). Because even if they were to go through the ngoma ritual..., still you would see that the trouble remains for the reason given (i.e. no matter what shaman and spirit they deal with, unless they bring the guardian spirit its dues, the trouble won't go away). And as for the sea-spirit, half (of its

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dues) has already been prepared (the sick woman, who is possessed by this *jinn*, has already gone through the first stage of initiation), but that is only the first half. So how will it be now?

Wife: We don't know.

Shaman: So when it (the child the younger sister finally bore) is able to walk, go to Athman (and pay the dues).

Wife: (on information from young woman). Only the other day he (her older brother already referred to) finally got out of bed (after his illness), and he has made (the promise of) a cow (for the spirit).

Shaman: No matter what they do in the way of possession rituals or treatment, they will not get better unless they come here first (and pay their dues to the spirit). And then on the day of her (younger sister's) journey you (older sister and brother) take her there. On the eve of the journey, let her come here, so that she may burn incense and inform the spirit so that we will go with her.

Wife: (He means that) she might go through any kind of ritual - sea spirit, land spirit - but the trouble will remain for the reasons he has said.

3.1 Discussion on the Second Part of the Séance

A very common reason given by diviners for people's afflictions is that patients have previously sought help from a spirit, either a guardian spirit of their own family, or another, and promised to pay it dues in return for healing, but have then failed to do so. The case being discussed here, of a brother and sister, both of whom had been very sick, concerned their joint failure to pay dues to their guardian spirit (who was also Athman's possessory spirit) after their younger sister had finally succeeded in bearing a child. Her previous inability to do so was attributed to her possession by a sea-spirit. These afflict mainly women and are thought to be 'love-spirits' (*majini ya mahaba*) which come to them at night and cause them either to refuse sex with their husbands or, not wanting their human lovers to get pregnant, cause them to have miscarriages or still births. Women who are possessed by sea spirits are also initiated into the relevant guilds in a ritual known as *mkobero* or *dhikiri*. This woman had already gone through the first stage of initiation into a sea-spirit possession guild by offering a tray, but would need to go through the second phase, in which a goat is slaughtered. However, the shaman pointed out that even if she completed her initiation into one of the sea-spirit guilds, she and her close relatives would still find themselves afflicted if they did not pay the dues they had promised to their own spirit.

Either because of her ancestry, or because she had sought spirit protection in the course of her troubles, the woman client and her brother both considered the shaman's spirit to be their tutelary or guardian spirit. Such a relationship, regardless of whether or not it causes possession, is long-term and must be maintained. Not only should the spirit receive regular offerings, but it must also be treated with respect, and, most particularly, informed of anything which affects its 'ward' (*kengeja* - 'child' in spirit language). The shaman referred to the child the

younger sister had finally succeeded in bearing and told her that it was imperative that she paid up once the child could walk.¹² In addition, the shaman told the woman that when her sister was ready to go on her journey (to the District Court to seek her divorce), she had to first come to him and he would burn incense and inform the spirit (*kutia buhuri*) of her intentions, so that the spirit would go with her and protect her, just as Mohammed was to do for me on the eve of my own journey.

At this point the shaman ceased to be possessed and asked for water. His wife discussed what he had said about the young woman, and they then went on to talk about her brother. The shaman went outside and his wife divided up the remainder of the dates and sugar and they were eaten by those there, except for me - she did not invite me. I wondered if this was because I had provided the offering and therefore should not consume it myself, or if she thought I would not want such food.

3.2 *Comparing Issues in the Two Parts of the Discussion*

In the initial séance, the diviner was consulted both by myself, about whom he knew relatively little, and by a woman whom he had already treated and therefore about whom he knew a great deal. In both cases, the shaman used spirits and their activities as an explanation for affliction.

In the second case, a woman had failed to become pregnant and had sought treatment both via the sea spirit cult and also through the shaman's possessory spirit who was also her own guardian spirit. She had promised an offering to the latter if she got a child but had failed to pay up when she should have done. As a result, the shaman maintained, both her brother and sister had become sick, for they were all responsible for the carrying out of the promise. It is highly likely that the woman client already knew even before the séance began that the diviner would remind her of her sister's unpaid dues to the spirit since frequently in such cases, clients are not seeking new knowledge so much as an opportunity to bargain with the afflicting spirit. They try to persuade it either to wait for its offerings or to accept a lesser one than was previously agreed, or they may use the occasion, as Lewis (1966) suggests, to bargain with other relatives whose help is needed to pay the spirit's dues. Thus my fellow participants in the séance did not balk at the explanations provided which fitted in with common ideas about relations between humans and spirits: guardian spirits should be informed of their wards' doings, and all spirits must receive dues promised them.

In my own case, he maintained that a human agent (my grandfather's former mistress) had activated the spirit and caused the illness, an explanation hinging on negative human emotions and their evil effects, something which at the time I

found totally unconvincing. However, perhaps my understanding then was inevitably limited by two factors: one was my relative immaturity and lack of experience of deep emotions, the other was that the discipline of anthropology had not yet become reflexive. It was only many years later that I began to interpret what he said rather differently, and to be aware that, just as both the discipline and the ethnographer had changed in the interim, so too had my understanding of his words. The sick step-grandmother was my grandfather's second wife. She and her first husband had been friends of my grandparents, and she had become his housekeeper after the death of his first wife, my mother's mother. She was herself by this time a widow and my grandfather had married her in spite of the opposition of my mother and her brother. At the time, young as I was, I had been aware of the intense feelings aroused in the family, but found my mother's resentment about his marriage somewhat ironic, since my grandfather had withheld his blessing from her own marriage on the grounds of religious difference.¹³

Furthermore, I realize that my earlier view of my grandfather as imbued with a Victorian morality which denied sexuality was probably somewhat simplistic. Only when I was writing this article did I remember a conversation I had had with him when I was a teenager. We often used to discuss books and he once asked me if I had read Freud, adding 'I think he was right, sex is the main motivation of human action'. I was very surprised at this remark, not only because he had for the first time used the word 'sex' in my hearing, but also because he had always told me that religion was of paramount importance in human affairs. I later mentioned this conversation to my mother. She was amazed, repeating what I already knew, that all mention of sex had been taboo in her childhood, and commented 'He must have changed a lot!'

I do not mean, of course, that I now believe that the diviner had uncovered some secret adulteries of my grandfather. But at a later date, some years after this encounter, when my own mother died early and my father remarried shortly afterwards, I understood much more clearly the emotions aroused in a child - even an adult child - of a parent's second marriage. As a result, I was able to place a rather different construction upon the diviner's words and to understand that he had perhaps put his finger on some of the negative feelings surrounding a second marriage, as well as being well aware that marital transactions involve not only emotions, but also property.

Thus my later interpretation of the shaman's words suggests that both of us were operating with universalizing, as well as culturally specific, principles, seeking explanations for affliction by connecting it with apparently universal human desires and feelings around such issues as sexuality, property, and parental love.

Such explanations do not come only from diviners, but also from clients who themselves have to interpret the diviner's words (or the translation given by diviners' assistants) and make sense of them in terms of their own lives and experience, both of which change over time, leading to new meanings. As Janzen puts it, the sufferer (or his/her relative) has to move toward a formulation of his or her personal articulation of that condition (1992: 118).

4.0 Conclusion

As both Lewis and Crapanzano have pointed out, anthropologists, like other westerners, have been fascinated, even enthralled by shamanism (Lewis, 1971:26, Crapanzano, 1977:5) which involves elements of theatricality as well as therapy (including psychotherapy), and appears to represent the quintessential other. Yet for many western ethnographers, it is the search for transcendence which motivates their quest: he or she wants first to understand the other, and then to be able to convey that understanding to a wider audience. Spirit possession and witchcraft appear to offer the greatest challenge to that endeavour.

Some anthropologists who have written about witches, spirits, possession and curing have found themselves achieving a kind of transcendence of Self and Other by becoming deeply involved in such matters on a personal level (e.g. Stoller and Olkes, 1987; Castañeda, 1969; Turner, 1992; Favret-Saada, 1980), even becoming adepts in cults through processes necessitating the adoption of systems of belief and views of reality which are very different from their own. In my case, this did not happen, but something else did, and I would suggest that this happens not infrequently with diviners' clients: 'making sense' of an affliction is subject to an on-going process of dialogue not only with the diviner/spirit but also with oneself. As with psychotherapy, it is not what happens during a séance (or a therapy session) which is most important, it is what happens afterwards as the anthropologist interprets and re-interprets. Inevitably, conclusions change over time. In this respect, then, I would not agree with Crapanzano who states:

The importance of patient participation in the Hamadsha cures should not, however, be exaggerated. The patient's role is not as active as in psychoanalysis or psychodrama. He is passive before the exorcist-seers, who uncover the sources of his troubles and suggest a cure... This passivity can be considered as indicative of the patient's basic existential stance towards his world or as a period of socially sanctioned regression to a stage of dependency which may be of therapeutic value (1973:216-7).

Patients/clients on Mafia seemed to me to be far from passive in seeking explanation and treatment for affliction. They would often argue with diviners and seek to bargain with spirits, change therapists, or utilize several therapies at once, as had happened with the sister of the woman at the séance who wanted to have a

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child. As Atkinson (1992) points out, the exchanges between shamans and clients are often "agonistic" and reveal "the contested nature of the shaman's attempts to define the patient's condition and understanding" which is "negotiated jointly by performer and audiences" (p. 321). Parkin too, writing about the East African coast, notes that "A common feature... of divination... is the reciprocal roles of diviner and client in helping each other reach a mutually satisfactory diagnosis and cure" (1985: 147).

In the séance discussed above, the shaman said that "Healing is painful". Those who would heal must suffer, for they must take on the sufferings of others. Before they can provide an explanation for misfortune – illness, death – they have to have exceptional insight into human motives and action. But the understanding which a client needs is likewise painful and only acquired with time and effort. The same is true, of course, of ethnographic understanding.

In this article therefore, an attempt has been made to show that it is possible to reach beyond the apparently enormous differences in belief and action between one society and another which is epitomised by spirit possession and its associated divination. As reflexive anthropology has taught us, the self of the ethnographer is a part of this task of interpretation. Who we are determines the way in which we will perform it. In this hermeneutic process, we utilize whatever wisdom we have managed to accumulate – our knowledge of Self as well as Other, our memories as well as theirs – and find common experience and emotions through a process of translation and interpretation negotiated between ethnographer and informants.

Notes:

1. Thanks to Lionel Caplan for reading various drafts of this article and for his useful suggestions
2. I have changed all the names of people referred to in this article.
3. See for example the work of Ioan Lewis, (more refs. 1997), Victor and Edith Turner (V. Turner 1968, E. Turner 1992), and Janzen (1978 *passim*), Michael Lambek (1993) and Janice Boddy (1989). There are also a number of collections which deal with this kind of spirit possession both in Africa and elsewhere: Beattie and Middleton 1969, Crapanzano and Garrison 1977, Feierman and Janzen 1992, Peek 1991, Behrend and Luig 1999, van Dijk, Reis and Spierenburg, 2000.
4. Shamans are those who can control their possession and use it for healing (or harm) as well as divination.

5. Eventually, I worked through the issue by writing a personal narrative, based on the diary of and conversations with a key informant (Caplan, 1997).
6. I originally had the idea from John Beattie, who consulted a Nyoro diviner in the 1950s. However, he considered that his own presence had seriously inhibited the diviner, scarcely surprising at a time (the colonial period) when activities to do with spirit possession were criminal offences which could lead to prison terms (Beattie 1967).
7. Most shamans in northern Mafia are male. There was one female shaman in Minazini village at that time, but she did not work as a diviner.
8. The third client arrived by chance and unfortunately I have had to leave out his case because of lack of space.
9. Note that the diviner refers to himself in the third person, since he is currently possessed by the spirit and speaking with his voice
10. Spirits become guardians by being 'given' a child, whose parents should then make periodic offerings and should also inform the spirit about its ward's doings.
11. The shaman and his wife are long since dead which has perhaps made it easier to write of matters which they considered secret.
12. On Mafia Island the child mortality rate is very high, but it is considered locally that a child who has 'got its legs' has passed the most vulnerable stage and is likely to live.
13. My father was an Anglican, not a Methodist!

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