

TANGAZA COLLEGE

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN AFRICA

DEPARTMENT OF PASTORAL STUDIES

**THE ETERNITY OF UOI (WITCHCRAFT) IN UKAMBANI:
A CASE STUDY OF MATUU PARISH**

**A PROJECT PAPER SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF PASTORAL
STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR A
BACHELOR OF ARTS DEGREE IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES**

BY

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(i)

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

The eternity of Uoi (witchcraft) in Ukambani
A case study of Matuu parish.

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I declare that this project paper is my original work and has not been submitted to any

University for academic credit.

Signed: *NDumbi*

Date: 13/2/1998

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the college supervisor.

Date: _____

(ii)
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated with gratitude to My parents Ndumbi Kavuu (RIP) and Mary Serah Nzisa, Rev. Fr. Magnus Rau (RIP) my Community and all my firends who assisted me to develop the art of Inquiry.

(iii)

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ABSTRACT

Witchcraft is a subject which has been discussed by many scholars of African culture. However, for us we have undertaken to investigate what it is, who practises it, and finally why bother about it? This we have done by having a case study of Matuu parish of Machakos diocese. The people under study are Akamba, both Christians and non Christians.

In Pastoral Psychology we came to realize that witchcraft is one of the problems or issues that confront the pastor in his pastoral ministry. This is true also of pastors working in Machakos diocese. We hence thought it is an important subject which needs a careful study and a critical analysis in order to address it properly. Throughout this long essay/project, we have come to realize that not every Mukamba is a witch and that witchcraft affects Christians and non Christians alike, and so a cause for our concern. We have also come to realize that witchcraft cannot be eradicated by a pastor preaching against it, more is required in terms of catechesis and open dialogue between the Catholic Church and the local culture.

It has become clear to us that riches or economy has its part to play in this phenomenon. This then reminds us that what we are dealing with here is more than we often read about witchcraft in books.. Witchcraft is the power that counters the good in society, that is, good life and prosperity, and as we have found out, it cannot be narrowed to a clear definition. The more we have tried to understand it, the more mysterious it has become. We have also found out that it is an eternal phenomenon always taking new forms as the society takes new forms of development. In our research we have found out that the Akamba have a clear distinction between a witch and a priest /ess doctor and whoever has to work in this society as a pastor has to be aware of this distinction if he has to address the phenomenon of witchcraft effectively. The two are opposed to one another in theory and practice.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates the phenomenon of witchcraft **Uoi** in Ukambani. The paper being an undergraduate paper project and due to time limit covers specifically Matuu Parish. The phenomenon is described using various names. It is called black magic , white magic while others call it Devil worship. For the purpose of our study however, we shall refer to it as a phenomenon until when our study suggests the more appropriate term for it among both the Akamba traditionalists and the Akamba Catholic Christians. The word 'traditionalists' in this case refers to Akamba who practice the Akamba traditional religion. By 'Christian' we mean the Catholic Christians of Matuu Parish ,unless otherwise specified.

The work is divided into four chapters. Chapter one introduces the problem and purpose of our study. It includes (i) the background of the problem, (ii) the statement of the problem, (iii) the objectives of the study, (iv) hypotheses, (v) the scope of the study, (vi) justification, (vii) limitations, (viii) literature review, (ix) definitions. Chapter two is divided into section: Section one provides the research methodology employed in the field work. Section two provides the findings. Chapter three provides the analysis and interpretation of phenomenon of witchcraft as per research. Finally chapter four makes the conclusion of our paper with a summary of basic concepts, discussions and some suggestions for future research.

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

The researcher being a **Musomi** (a Christian) like all the others, thought that witchcraft is not a problem for us, it is an issue for those who have not believed in Jesus Christ and his way of life. To me it was an issue for non-Christians.

It was not until my last holiday in July last year (1996) when I saw so many people going to Kangundo to see an exorcist called Kanini and others going for the **Masya** ritual. The purpose of those either going to Kangundo to see Kanini or going for the **Masya** ritual was to get their names cleared from those whom society accuses of being possible witches.

Kanini is a young lady from Kangundo. She was a former Catholic and a choir member. She is now popularly known in Machakos for her powers of neutralizing the powers of the witches. On the other hand, we have the **Masya** ritual which is also gaining ground in all of Machakos and even in Makeni districts. **Masya** is the name of the owner of this ritual. However, he died for revealing the ritual secrecy due to love of money. It is said that he treated a witch who paid him a lot of money after she was affected by the ritual power. However, this ritual retained his name. It is under the custody of his grand children.

My problem has been why so many people go to see these people yet some of them are Christians? While I was still in primary school, our Bishop would write pastoral letters warning Christians against participating in this ritual. I thought that was the best way of dealing with the matter. However, after my years of studying philosophy and now pastoral psychology, I think a careful study and analysis of the matter, **uoi** (witchcraft) is required.

THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The aim of this study is to find out what Uoi (witchcraft) is, and how it has affected the lives of the Akamba of Matuu parish. It also examines the different methods used by the Akamba of Machakos in general and of Matuu parish in particular to try to eradicate this problem of witchcraft.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- (1) To establish what Uoi (witchcraft) is and who practices it.
- (2) To establish whether it can be eradicated or not.

HYPOTHESES

- (1) A Mukamba Christian lives a dualistic life.
- (2) The Kamba Uoi (witchcraft) is eternal.

SCOPE OF STUDY

Our research covered Matuu parish of Machakos diocese. Matuu parish has thirty four out stations and these were our targets. Our research was geared to towards getting information from Akamba traditionalists and Christians who are quite familiar with what witchcraft is. Consequently we targeted those who have already started having responsibility as family people.

JUSTIFICATION

We have chosen this study on the Eternity of Witchcraft Uoi in Ukambani: for pastoral reasons, and deeper personal understanding since the researcher is from a parish where this practice exists and because we witnessed a case of our parish priest being bewitched in our parish in 1982. Efforts have been made at the highest position of the local Church to condemn the practice and the methods used to eradicate it by the Akamba but all these have been in vain. So this makes it the more reason to make an investigation on the matter and find better ways of a dialogue between the Catholic Church and the local culture. Finally, no one has ever attempted to write on this disturbing phenomenon with the intention of trying to cultivate a climate of dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Akamba on this issue. It is our hope

that this research will be of great help to both Akamba and non-Akamba who have been unable to penetrate the existing mystery of Uoi.

LIMITATIONS

Interesting as our topic is, it has been hindered in many ways by other obstacles. Some of these are:

- (1) The College limitation, that work must be between ten thousand to twelve thousand words.
- (2) Secondly, this is just an undergraduate project paper and therefore very limited in its nature and scope.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the Literature Review, we shall try to find out what other authors on African culture have said about this phenomenon of witchcraft. Witchcraft is a subject which has been dealt with practically by almost all the writers of African culture. However, this subject is not limited to the Africans but it is human problem. Some might view it as white or black magic but basically it is a phenomenon that is very disturbing.

Let us see the findings of those who undertook the study before us. Fr. Aylward Shorter (1985, 95) in his book Jesus and the Witchdoctor writes, "witchcraft is a kind of penumbra of human wickedness, an inborn preternatural power to harm and kill, enjoyed for it's own sake."

E. Bolaji Idowu (1973, 175) in his book African Traditional Religion a definition writes, "African concepts about witchcraft consists in the belief that the spirits of the living human beings can be sent out of the body on errands of doing havoc to other persons in body, mind or state..."

Erick O. Ayisi (1979, 75) in his book An Introduction to the Study of African Culture writes, "both witchcraft and sorcery are regarded as reprehensible and antisocial..." In his book Mukamba Wa Wo, D. N. Kimilu (1962, 130) says, "Kati wa maundu ala me vinya kumanyika mekoni ma Mukamba wa wo umwe ni Uoi." Translated into English means, one of the most difficult things among the actions of a typical Mukamba is witchcraft.

The reason he gives for this is the fact that, witchcraft uoi is done in secret. As a consequence, he says what he presents in his book is witchcraft as spoken of by the Akamba or as it is given in the testimony of former witches. In the same book, Mukamba Wa Wo (1962, 130-133) Kimilu goes on and gives different attempts used by the Akamba to destroy, or better in Kikamba **Kwananga, Uoi** (witchcraft) These are:

(i) **MAKIO** - This was before 1900. It was a portion given to the people to protect them from being bewitched, he goes on and says it was also given to the **Ndoi**(witches) so that they do not bewitch again. He says the person who brought **Makio** in Machakos was called Muthalanya from Kaathi, but it was his son Mutune who gave the people **Makio**.

(ii) Kimilu points out that there were three **Sembe**. This was an attempt to eradicate witchcraft through the ritual of **Sembe**. **Sembe** was precisely a portion to be drunk by those who wanted to be protected from the wicked design of the witches and those who wanted their names to be cleared from those whom society accuses of being witches. The practice occurred in three phases: 1900, 1914 and 1922.

KAVISU - This was after 1940. The owner of this was a Mukamba from Machakos in the region of Kivauni, Ikalaasa village. The **Kavisu** (the pot) belonged to his father. During the life time of his father and his, the **Kavisu** was not very famous. It became famous with the coming of the second world war after 1940, and it became known not only in Ukambani but also as far as Kikuyu land, Luo land, Masai land and other parts of Kenya. Those who went to Kitivo for the ritual afraid of being bewitched, would stir the ritual pot. This act would then protect them from being bewitched. The **Kavisu** was inherited by Kitivo's son Kyunguti and after him by another son Munywoki. The wealth brought by this **Kavisu** to Kitivo's family was enormous.

(iv) **KAVWELE** - **Kavisu** has become a useless attempt of eradicating witchcraft **Uoi** like all the other attempts before it. Kavwele comes from Malindi in the Coast Province. His fame also spread much in Ukambani, Kimilu says often Christian women asked him whether it is evil for them to go to Kavwele in order to protect their children from being bewitched. He talks of his experience in 1959 when he went to Malindi only to find people from his village who had gone to see Kavwele. For him this was a real waste of time and money on an expedition that is fruitless. Kimilu says that by the time of writing his book Mukamba Wa Wo (1962) the fame of Kavwele had not yet reached the whole region of Ukambani.

After Kavwele, Kimilu points out that there was another person in the Coast Province called **Mwakatengu** (son of Katengu). Kimilu says that this is to prove that all the attempts of the Mukamba to eradicate witchcraft are fruitless and that the Mukamba has not learnt from past experiences." We shall disagree with him and say that this proves that this phenomenon called witchcraft is an eternal problem which seems to exist as long as humanity exists. It also proves that man is constantly looking for the good that may lead to fullness of life. In her book, Our Religious Heritage, Judith Mbula (1983, 105) says:

it is difficult to say exactly what witchcraft is, since it touches all the dimensions of man. It is spiritual and touches the human mind, the family, society and the physical well being of man. Africans believe that witchcraft is also a mystical power which is granted to some individuals by the evil spirits. It enables these individuals to inflict harm on the other people.

On another note, Mbula (1983, 105) goes on and says, "sorcerers and witches are therefore an anti-social element which threaten the very foundation of the African society"

In his book, Akamba stories, Mbiti (1966, 13) says, "belief in witchcraft and magic is very prevalent. Everything that harms a person is attributed to some form of magic and another person is nearly always blamed for it." In another book African Religions and Philosophy Mbiti (1969, 202) goes further to say "in popular usage the term witchcraft is employed to designate the harmful employment of mystical power in all its different manifestations." In another of his books, Introduction to African Religion, Mbiti (1972, 165) says, "witchcraft is a manifestation of these mystical forces which may be inborn in a person, inherited or acquired in various ways.

Talking on the transfer or inheritance of witchcraft, D.N. Kimilu (1962, 130-133) in his book, Mukamba Wa Wo, says that harmful magic can be bought, learnt from another person, or handed from parent to child. He is very particular when he says, "it is mostly believed that men buy witchcraft while ladies inherit from their mothers."

Kivuto Ndeti (1972, 122) basing himself on various accounts found among traditional African societies, in his book Elements of Akamba Life, says, "witchcraft may be conceived as an evil power backed by mental disposition, culturally conditioned and associated with every deviant force in the social organisation. It thrives best in secrecy." As regards the relationship between witchcraft and sorcery he says "both witchcraft and sorcery are included in the term **uoi** (the general principle which explains the presence of evil in Akamba society)".

D.J. Penwill (1951, 93) in his book Kamba Customary Law, writes, "witchcraft-'**uchawi**' in Kiswahili, in Kamba **woi** is a field in which the Kamba are reputed by other tribes to have high accomplishments (their run of success in 1949 in local sweepstakes, which were then opened to Africans, was attributed by many to this)."

DEFINITIONS

Eternity: By this term we mean having neither a beginning nor an end. Witchcraft has its beginning in the creator of all that is. This is because the Akamba belief that God created humanity in all its totality, some were created with the power to bewitch, while others without.

Witchcraft: According to Collins Concise English dictionary, witchcraft is defined as :"(i) the art of bringing magical or prenatural power to bear or the act or practice of attempting to do so. (ii) The influence of magic or sorcery (iii) Fascinating or bewitching influence or charm." ¹ We shall take the first definition for our research project.

Bewitching: Is the ritual through which the witch brings magical or prenatural power to bear on his or her victims.

Medicine men or women Priest / ess doctor: By this term is meant, persons with supernatural powers of healing and of protecting one from the powers of the witches. These persons also have the power of divination, they also act as moral arbitrators, and lead in rituals for the sake of bringing harmony between the people and God.

CONCLUSION

Different authors in our literature review have come up with a number of conclusions concerning witchcraft some of these conclusions are: (a) Witchcraft is an inborn power to harm and kill enjoyed for its own sake.(b) The spirits of living human beings can be employed for the purpose of harming and causing havoc to others. (c) Witchcraft is an anti-social element and threatens the very foundation of the African society and thrives best in utter secrecy. (d) Witchcraft is possessed by a few and not all the members of the society. (e) Witchcraft can be acquired in various ways. In the following chapter we shall present the research methodology and our findings.

¹ Collins concise English Dictionary. 3rd ed. (Glassgow: Harper Collins publishers, 1992).

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY/FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

This research is designed to target Christians and Traditionalists of 28 to 37 years and above respectively. People in this age category have already participated in the Akamba rituals and if they have not they are familiar with it. They also know quite a lot about witchcraft and the operations of the priest doctor, and all that pertains to the Akamba wisdom. Out of the one hundred people we expected, we only managed 49; 19 Christians and 30 traditionalists. The turn-up was relatively favourable considering our time limitation and communication in terms of transport.

Section One

Research Methodology

To get the information from these groups of people, a number of techniques were employed. For the Christians we visited them in small Christian communities and after introducing ourselves and our purpose we always asked whether they were willing to help us and often we got good responses. To those who were literate we gave them the questionnaires and explained when necessary what they were required to do.

To the illiterate, one would ask the questions and the other would write down or rather would fill in the questionnaire. When the people explained more details we could always write down in a different sheet. We visited the traditionalists most of whom were either illiterate or semi-illiterate, we used interview method. We first employed the tape recording method but after realizing that it was not very effective, that is, some old people were not audible enough, for some were as old as a hundred and twelve years, we decided to employ the interview method whereby one asked the question from the questionnaire and carefully filled in the gathered information.

We interviewed or gave the questionnaires to 25 men and 24 women in order to make our research more objective. Since much of the happenings in our parish takes place in the town where the parish is situated we targeted the urban population and those from around the town. But since what happens in the parish is shared by all the parishoners, we also extended the research to the out stations. We were a team of five seminarians, of the five, three went to their nearby out stations and distributed the questionnaires or interviewed the illiterate. The researcher shared with them on how to go about the work. Two of us remained in the parish and went about interviewing the illiterate men and women or giving the questionnaires to the illiterate. We had a special interest in medicine men and women and also the diviners. We would make special appointments through friends and explain the purpose of our visits. At time it was difficult to get information when it became sensitive like, how is witchcraft inherited?

The language used was Kikamba and it was quite easy for all of us, because we were Kamba. Whenever we went to meet the old people, we created the situation of a young man seeking wisdom from the old. We could even carry a kilogram of sugar to the old ladies (Susu)so that it appeared really an informal meeting. Some of the questions were: What is witchcraft Uoi? And also whether Christians can be bewitched, and for the sake of our topic, "Eternity of witchcraft" there was the question, will there be an end to witchcraft in Ukambani? Let us now go to the section of our findings.

Section Two

Findings and analysis

Q.1. What is witchcraft Uoi?

(a) Christian View.

Out of nineteen Christian Respondents, four (21.05%) said, they do not know. Then 2(10.5%) said, "it is plants that are powdered and boiled, as this goes on, the buyer and the seller are naked, the steam from the boiling plants accompanied by the ritual words makes witchcraft. This then is what one buys and is shown how to use; the purpose is to kill and destroy the enemy." And 5(26.3%) said , "it is a belief that one is bewitched and that all the evils that befall one are as a result of being bewitched". While 7(36.8%) said, "it is an evil power inherited from mother by daughter for destroying, causing suffering and finally killing enjoyed for its own sake." Finally 1(5.26%) said, "it is speaking with evil spirits **Majini** which are normally bought from the coast - you ask them to harm or kill your enemy and they do so, and in return you offer them sacrifice."

(b) Traditionalist View.

Out of the 30 respondents, four (13.3%) said, "witchcraft is an evil charm which is used by a witch to harm someone, his property, make him/her suffer or even kill him/her." And 3(15.8%) said "it is a belief that you have been bewitched by a witch." Then 5(26.3%) said, "it is plants that are powdered and boiled, as this goes on, the buyer and the seller are naked, the steam from the boiling plants accompanied by the ritual words makes witchcraft. This then is what one buys and is shown how to use it. The purpose is to kill and destroy." And 10(52.6%) said, "it is an evil power inherited from mother by daughter for doing evil to other persons or their property. Then 4(13.3%) said, "it is, all bad means, used by a witch to kill a person, destroy his/her property or make him/her poor". And another 4(13.3%) said, they do not know what it is.

Q.2. a. Is it easy to identify a witch? Table 1

Data presentation of Both Respondents on identification of a witch.

CHRISTIAN RESPONDENTS 19 AGE 27 YEARS - ABOVE.			TRADITIONALISTS, 30 RESPONDENTS. AGE 37 YEARS ABOVE.	
	FQ.	%	FQ.	%
YES	2	10,53	3	10,00
NO.	17	89,47	27	90,00
TOTAL.	19	100,00	30	100,00

This table reveals that it is not easy for the respondents to identify a witch. This also may suggest the fact that the practice and those involved are really secretive.

Q.2.b. Explain three ways of identifying a witch. This question was asked to 19 Christians and the following are the responses. eight (42.1%) said, these are: (i) going to enquire from the diviners, (ii) if he/she is aggressive or jealous, (iii) if his/her words uttered against the enemy are effective. And 5(26.3%) said, they do not know. Another 4(21.05%) said, these are , "if one is born from families known to practice witchcraft and if one is accused by others of bewitching them." While 1(5.26%) said, "by observing how one is behaving with his hands, mouth, eyes and legs." And another 1(5.26%) said, "another of identifying a witch is by finding him or her on the act of bewitching especially if he/she went to bewitch a family that is magically protected" **Musyi muvinge.**²

Q.3. Can Christians be bewitched? Out of the 19 respondents, nine (47.37%) responded Yes!, And 10(52.63%) responded No!. The same question was asked to the traditionalists, that is question 10 on the traditionalists questionnaire, and these were the results. Out of the 30 respondents twenty three (76.6%) responded Yes!. And 2(6.6%) responded No!. While 3(10.%) said, "some are". Then 1(3.3%) said, "I do not know." And another 1(3.3%) said, "it not only affect Christians but even Europeans.

From what has been presented we can conclude that though there are some Christians who believe that they cannot be bewitched, the reality as the data presents, is that they are very few. The rest live an amphibian sort of life. We can also say that the traditionalists believe that witchcraft affects anyone regardless of his/her race.

² **Musyi Muvinge:** The Akamba use **Mbingo** as a special ritual of deterring witches from bewitching their homes. **Mbingo** is also used to protect the property from being stolen. **Musyi Muvinge** then will be the family or home that is magically protected with **Mbingo**.

Q.4. If you Catholic Christians are bewitched what do you do? Out of the 19 respondents, fifteen (78.9%) said, "because we do not believe in witchcraft, we go to the hospital or pray to God for He is Almighty." While 4(21.1%) said, "we go to consult a diviner." From the responses to Q.4., we can conclude that many Christians have strong faith in God, and consequently when faced with sickness they go the hospital or pray to God. However, there are some who live an amphibian life that is,they live like Christians when convenient and as Akamba traditionalists when convenient.

Q.5. If you go to consult a diviner is that not going against God's commandments?

Table 2

▶		
	RESPONDENTS:	
	19 CHRISTIANS.	
	FO	%
YES	18	94.74
NO	1	5.26
TOTAL.	19	100.00

This table shows that most respondents know that going to consult a diviner is against the commandments of God. The reason why they still go to consult a diviner is that some still believe in the power of witchcraft.

Q.6. If it is going against the law of God, what do you do ? (a) we go for confession. (b) We just pray to God because the priest cannot help us. This question was asked to 19 Christians and these were their responses. Twelve (63.2%) said, "we go for confession." While 7(36.8%) said, "we just pray to God because the priest cannot help us.

From these responses we can see that the majority go for confession. However, some do not go for confession because they believe that the priest might not understand their situation , and consequently cannot help them.

Q.7.a. What is **Masya** ? This question was asked to 19 Christians. Eight (42.1%) said, "it is an oath one takes so that he/she does not bewitch." While 6(31.6%) said, "**Masya** was the owner of the Oath which one takes and swears that he or she will never bewitch, and in case you bewitch, you die." And 3(15.8%) said, they do not know. But 2(10.5%) said, "**Masya** is a person with the power of the devil and is very powerful, he neutralizes the power of the witch. After participating in it you are in harmony with your neighbours, no one can suspect you for bewitching or possessing it."

From the above presentation we can hold the position that the majority of the Christians in this particular Parish, know the **Masya** ritual. This leads us to hold the position that this is why some lead an amphibian sort of life.

Q.7.b. How is the **Masya** ritual carried out?

Out of the 19 Christians who responded to the question, fourteen (73.68%) said, the following, "**Masya** is the ritual which involves the following mixture: the participants blood from the penis and the vagina is collected and mixed with the blood of the bull which was slaughtered for the occasion, their urine and saliva plus the bull's urine and its bone marrow are also collected and mixed together. All this is put in the bull's caecum, which is then hanged in a cylinder which is turned upside down and the participants pierce it with a stick of *Acalypha Fruiticosa* and taste with their tongue seven times. There is also fried meat which they are supposed to dip in the mixture and eat. While doing the tasting of the mixture and eating the meat they swear they shall never bewitch or do any harm to their neighbour or their property. During the ritual both men and women are naked, but in different places, that is, men alone and women alone. After participating in this ritual one stays for one week without touching water." While 5(26.3%) said, they do not know.

Q.7.c. Have you participated in the ritual?

Table 3

	RESPONDENTS:	
	19 CHRISTIANS	
	FO	%
YES	7	36.80
NO	12	63.20
TOTAL	19	100.00

This table informs us that majority of the Christians may just be hearing about this ritual but do not really know how it is performed. They may also not have taken it seriously and therefore do not believe in it .

Q.7.d. If one refuses to participate in the ritual when others are participating what happens? There were 19 Christians respondents. Nine (47.4%) said, "he/she is beaten by clan member but if the husband is tough and refuses, in case of his wife, she is ex-communicated by the rest of the community, especially those who have participated in the ritual." But 1(5.26%) said, nothing is done. While 5(26.3%) said, "he/she is suspected of being a witch by other people." And 4(21.1%) said, they do not know.

From the above presentation we can say that many people participate in the **Masya** ritual not because they are witches but, as we have said in the background of the study, because they want their names to be cleared from those people whom society accuse to be witches, and also because they want to participate in the society's life fully.

Q.8.a. How does Kanini neutralize the power of the witch? Out of the 19 Christian respondents, fifteen (78.9%) said, they do not know. While 1(5.26%) said, "she uses evil spirits **Majini**." And 3(15.8%)said, "she calls the witches by name, tells them to bring all they use to bewitch, and this is collected in a bucket, and she then prays. If she calls and some one refuses to come forward, such a one, is threatened with death, and other evils."

From the above presentation it seems that the majority of Christians who responded to our question do not know Kanini's operations. Those who know about her operations have different opinions as regards her method. Others still believe she has the power of exorcising witches, from what this group says, we can say that Kanini unlike the **Masya** ritual, has the power of identifying a witch and does not use the trial and error method. That is, only witches are called out so that they can be exorcised.

Q. 8.b. Have you gone to consult or see her?

Table 4

	RESPONDENTS:	
	19 CHRISTIANS.	
	FO	%
YES	3	15.80
NO	16	84.20
TOTAL	19	100.00

This table reveals that most of these Christians have not gone to see Kanini therefore they have never participated in her rituals , and consequently they do not know how it is carried out. They only hear from what others say.

Q. 8.c. Why? Out of 19 Christian respondents, One (5.26%) said, "I went to find out what she does." Another 1(5.26%) said, "because the Bishop and the priest said the faithful should not see Kanini." But 2(10.5%) said, they were not near when she came to Matuu, another 2(10.5%) said, "because her teachings and faith are questionable." While 5(26.3%) said, they believe in Jesus and only he has the power to neutralize the power of the witches. And 4(21.1%) said, they could not leave their work to go and see her and she did not call them. There was a mixed reaction to either why they went to see Kanini or did not. But some of the reasons were: (i) out of curiosity (ii) because of what the local Ordinary and the priests say. Yet others said, "well, we had no good purpose or reason for seeing her. We can hence conclude that Kanini unlike the **Masya** ritual has no serious societal impact.

Q.9. Will witchcraft come to an end in Ukambani?

Table 5

	RESPONDENTS:	
	19 CHRISTIANS.	
	FO	%
YES	8	42.10
NO	11	57.90
TOTAL	19	100.00

This data information reveals that many people are not sure that witchcraft will come to an end in Ukambani.

Q.10.a. For the time being Kanini and the Masya ritual are the best solutions of eradicating witchcraft.

Table 6

	RESPONDENTS:	
	19 CHRISTIANS.	
	FO	%
YES	8	42.10
NO	11	57.90
TOTAL	19	100.00

From the table we can learn that most Christians do not believe that the Masya ritual and Kanini are the best solutions of eradicating witchcraft. However a good percentage, that is, 42.1% seem to suggest they are. This might explain the reason why some Christians still go for the two rituals or why some Christians live an amphibian sort of life.

Q.10.b. If no give reasons. Out of the 11 who responded No, five (45.45%) could not give reason. And 1(9.09%) said, "because the custodians of the Masya ritual, and even Kanini are people and they will die, but Christ has the power to eradicate witchcraft because He is immortal." Another 1(9.09%) said, "because for a Christian all these are temptations and only God can eradicate witchcraft." Another 1(9.09%) said, "because witchcraft is inherited and there are those people who are witches and these co-exist with the non-witches." And 3(27.27%) said, because true belief in Jesus can eradicate witchcraft.

Questions To The Traditionalists.

Q.2. Is every Mukamba a witch?

Table 7

	RESPONDENTS: 30 TRADITIONALISTS.	
	FO	%
YES	2	6.70
NO	28	93.00
TOTAL.	30	100.00

From the table we can see that most traditionalist know that not every Mukamba is a witch and only a few are .

Q.3a. Does every Mukamba believe in witchcraft?

Table 8

	RESPONDENTS: 30 TRADITIONALISTS.	
	FO	%
YES	24	80.00
NO	6	20.00
TOTAL.	30	100.00

This table reveals that most traditionalists believe in witchcraft very strongly.

Q.3.b. Why? Out of the 30 respondents, ten (33.3%) said, "every Mukamba believe in witchcraft because in Ukambani, there are families which have witchcraft by inheritance. Or when they go to consult diviners, they are told that so and so is a witch." While 13(43.33%) said, "every Mukamba believes in witchcraft because this part of the Mukamba belief system and before Christianity it existed and Christianity has not conquered it. And 3(10%) said, "some do not believe in witchcraft because they are strong in Christian faith and they do not believe in witchcraft Uoi." Another 3(10%) said, "people believe in witchcraft because its effects are everywhere seen." 1(3.3%) said, "every Mukamba believes in witchcraft because some sickness can not be treated in the hospital but when taken to the priest/ess doctor, he or she can diagnoze and say the cause and can hence treat it."

Q.4.a. Is witchcraft a secretive phenomenon? The data below reveals that witchcraft is a secretive phenomenon from the 30 traditionalist respondents, only 1 thought it is not . This suggests why it is difficult in question Q.1.to give a one answer as what witchcraft is.

Table 9

	RESPONDENTS:	
	30 TRADITIONALISTS.	
	FQ	%
YES	29	96.70
NO	1	3.30
TOTAL	30	100.00

For Questions 4.b, c and d. that is, b. where is witchcraft kept? c. is it observable? d. whether you have seen it? There were only 8 respondents. b. Out of the 8 respondents three (37.5%) said, they do not know. And 2(25%) said, "it is kept in a basket, in the forest, in trees and in cave." While 1(12.5%) said, "it is kept in the body of the witch, or rather it is in the body of the witch." Another 1(12.5%) said, "it is kept in secrecy by the owner. While Another 1(12.5%) said, "it is kept in a small basket **Kathungi** and hanged in a secretive place."

Q.4.c. Is it observable? Out of the 8 respondents, three (37.5%) responded Yes. Another 3(37.5%) said, "only the items used for bewitching are seen when **Mundu mue**³ is removing them from a bewitched home or person." While 1(12.5%) responded No. Another 1(12.5%) said, "you only see the witch bewitching at night, but what exactly witchcraft is no one has ever seen."

Q.4.d. Have you ever seen it? Out of the 8 respondents three (37.5%) responded Yes. Another 3(37.5%) responded No. While 2(25%) said, they only saw the paraphernalia used by the witch when the medicine man was removing them from a bewitched home.

³ **Mundu Mue** means the priest/tess doctor.

Q.6. How is witchcraft passed on? Out of the 30 respondents, nine (30%) said, "the mother passes it on to her daughter, this is inherited witchcraft. The other type is bought and it is the type practiced by men. The mother passes it on to the daughter when the daughter is still young but she can only bewitch after she has given birth to a boy and a girl." While 4(23.3%) said, "the one to give the power and the one to inherit incise their buttocks and then face opposite directions and make the blood from the cut parts of the buttocks mingle with each other by rubbing their buttocks together. This is done very early in the morning in the bush or in any other hidden place. The person being given is told so and so I have given you the power to do evil, **Kunuva**."⁴ And 2(6.7%) said, "women give it to their daughters using a flame of fire." While 4(13.3%) said, "the mother makes cut on the tongue and the buttocks of the daughter, and applies some charm **Muthea** ⁵ on the cut parts while uttering all the powers she is giving the daughter for destruction." And 1(3.3%) said, "one can buy from medicine men or women **awe** ⁶, first they treat you and then show you how you will be using it." Another 2(6.7%) said, they do not know how it is passed on. And 8(26.7%) said, "it is given in an opening in the kitchen, the mother is inside the kitchen and the daughter is outside, this is after the daughter's "second circumcision."⁷

Q.7.a. Is it only old women who are witches?

Table 10

	RESPONDENTS:	
	30 TRADITIONALISTS	
	FQ	%
YES	1	3.30
NO	29	96.70
TOTAL	30	100.00

⁴ **Kunuva** means the act of doing evil.

⁵ **Muthea** means charm. It's important to note that there can be good or bad charm, but in Kikamba they are all called Muthea.

⁶ **Awe** means Medicine men or women.

⁷ Second circumcision: Traditionally there were two circumcisions in Ukambani, the first one called minor circumcision Nzaiko nini was the real surgical operation while the second called major circumcision Nzaiko nene was for instruction on what the implications of manhood or womanhood are.

From the data readings not many people believe that only old women are witches. These findings support our choice for the range of age in the category of the traditionalists, that is 37 years and above.

Q.8. Are young men and young ladies witches? Out of the 30 respondents to this question, twenty four (80%) responded No. And 4(13.3%) responded Yes. While 2(6.7%) said, "ladies are given by their mothers but they only begin being active witches after giving birth to a boy and a girl. The young men are not witches nor are they given."

Q.9. Does it necessarily follow that one must bewitch when he or she has inherited Uoi? The following data shows so that most of the people believe that a witch regardless of how he/she acquires it must bewitch.

Table 11

	RESPONDENTS: 30 TRADITIONALISTS.	
	FQ	%
YES	22	73.30
NO	8	26.70
TOTAL	30	100.00

Our table reveals that the end reason for possessing witchcraft is to practice it.

Q.11.a. When Christians are bewitched do they consult a medicine man?

Table 12

	RESPONDENTS: 30 TRADITIONALISTS.	
	FQ	%
YES	27	90.00
SOME GO.	2	6.70
DONT KNOW	1	3.30
TOTAL	30	100.00

The above table reveals that most of these people still visit these medicine men, and may also show how Christians still live an amphibian sort of life.

Q.11.b. Give reasons.

Out of the 30 respondents, twelve (40%) said, Christians go to consult a medicine man when bewitched, because the problem of witchcraft can only be solved by the medicine man, and the Mukamba believes so. Again every Mukamba believes there are some sickness that cannot be treated by modern medicine. And 8(26.7%) said some Christians go to consult a medicine man because they have weak faith. And 5(16.7%) said, some Christians go to consult a medicine man for fear of death. While 3(10%) said, some Christians go to consult a medicine man to find out the why of their problem. But 1(3.3%) said they do not know whether Christians consult a medicine man. Another 1(3.3%) said, Christians do not go to consult a medicine man because of their faith in Jesus Christ. The medicine man at all times but Christians at night. Out of the 30 respondents to this question, twenty nine (96.7%) responded Yes. While 1(3.3%) said, "some Christians go at night."

From this data we can conclude that most traditionalist know that the Christians go to consult the priest/ess doctor at night.

Q.12.b. Why is it the case? Out of the 30 respondents, seventeen (56.7%) said, " the Christians go to consult the priest/ess doctor at night because they are afraid of being seen by others and despite of this they go to see him/her because they have a problem. Again the source of their fear is that if found out by the Parish priests, they can be excommunicated." And 8(26.7%) said, "if a Christian is born in the traditional families he or she will grow knowing and believing that some sickness can only be treated by medicine men or women /priest/ess doctor e.g. barrans , but will go at night for fear of being known by others or leading others astray." While 3(10%) said, "the Christians go at night because they are afraid of being seen by none Christians because these will say, "it makes no difference being a Christian." And 2(6.6%) said, the Christians go at night because they are afraid the others will know that they still believe in witchcraft."

Q.13. Is it true to say that witchcraft practices will come to an end in Ukambani? Out of the 30 respondents ,twenty four (80%) responded No. While 20%) responded Yes. From this data we can conclude that the majority of the traditionalists do not believe that witchcraft will ever come to an end in Ukambani.

Q.14. For the time being the **Masya** ritual and Kanini are the best solutions to the problem of witchcraft. Out of the 30 respondents, twenty four (80%) responded Yes. While 6(20%) responded No.

From what has been presented we can say that the majority of the traditionalists believe that the **Masya** ritual and Kanini are the best solutions to the problem of witchcraft for the time being.

Q.15.a. What is **Masya**? Out of the 30 respondents, twenty four (80%) said, "**Masya** is an Akamba oath aimed at eradicating witchcraft." And 4(13.3%) said, "it is an oath taken by people so that may not bewitch or go to buy witchcraft to harm their neighbours." While 2(6.7%) said, "it is an oath one takes so that he or she, is not suspected of being a witch, for when one takes it he or she cannot bewitch or else he or she dies."

Q.15.b. How is the ritual performed? There were 30 respondents. The answer for this question is as in Q.7b. to the Christians on page 14.

Q.16 How does Kanini neutralize the power of the witches? Out of the 30 respondents. Sixteen (53.3%) said, they do not know. And 8(29.7%) said, "she prays for the witch after she Kanini has called him or her and collected the paraphenalia he/she uses for bewitching and put it in a basket. Her Christian choir sings and then she prays that the person might not bewitch or buy witchcraft again. If the person goes against and does practice again he or she is threatened with death and other evils." But 3(10%) said, "Kanini is a magician and uses the power of the evil spirits **Majini**. She also does not distinguish between a witch and priest/ess doctor." And 2(6.7%) said, "Kanini has a choir, the choir sings then she calls the witches by name.

When she calls them they come running and bring their paraphernalia they use for bewitching and these are put in a bucket. She then prays for them that they might not bewitch again and if they do, something worse may happen to them, death or even mental confusion. They said people question her power and others say she uses evil spirits-**Majini** -from China." And 1(3.3%) said, "Kanini treats the person using the power of evil spirits-**Majini**- so that, that person cannot bewitch again."

Q.17. Apart from Kanini and the **Masya** ritual were there other attempts made in Ukambani to eradicate witchcraft or are there other attempts being made? Out of the 30 respondents, ten (33.3%) said, "Yes, and that it is to go to the priest/ess doctor, **Awe** for treatment, and bring the priest/ess doctor to magically protect your family and property from witches. This is called in Kikamba **Kuinga Musyi** and the priest/ess is said to have used **Mbingo** or protective charm." And 8(26.7%) responded No, that is, there are no other attempts. But 4(13.3%) said "Yes, If a witch was found out in former days, he/she would be killed by the **Kingole** ⁸ or was asked to give the witchcraft then it was burnt." While 2(6.7%) said, "Yes, from a Christian view, attempts have been made to catechise people seriously, about the problem of death and the gift of life." And 2(6.7%) said, "Yes, there was also a another type of **Ndundu**, a bull was slaughtered and the undigested food removed from its stomach. This was mixed with other charms and put in a pot, again it was mixed with human urine of the participants. This mixture was taken to a private place and human blood of the participants was collected, a piece of meat from the slaughtered animal is put on the cut parts made of the penis or vagina to collect the blood, and added to the mixture. Then the participants using a sharpened rod of *Acalypha fruticosa* - **Mukulwa** - dip it in the mixture and taste it while swearing never to bewitch again or go to buy witchcraft.

⁸ **Kingole** is the killing of an evil doer by a group of adult males on behalf of the **Utui** (village).

" And 1(3.3%) said, "another attempt was by preparing beer and mix it with some herbs and the suspects were made to drink and then they could confess all the people they have bewitched. There was also **Sembe** which people were made to drink so that they are protected from being bewitched." Another 1(3.3%) said, "another attempt has been by people believing very strongly in God and if they are sick they go to the hospital." Another 1(3.3%) said, "Yes, there was Kavwele from Malindi. This is how the ritual was carried out: he would take the participants blind folded to the forest, then he would give them some solutions to drink while he uttered some words. The participants were then taken to his home and their eyes opened, and told never to touch witchcraft or buy it. They were threatened with death if they did. Another attempt was **Ndundu**. This was, done like this, a bull was slaughtered and a particular meat was shaped like a human being and hanged on **Acacia Spirocopa-Mulaa** - and the participants are made to pierce it using a sharpened rod of **Acalypha fruticosa Mukulwa** and taste the blood from this meat while swearing, 'If I ever bewitch again, may I become like the meat of this bull.' "

CONCLUSION

Our findings suggest that most Kamba Christians and non-Christians in Matuu parish believe in **Uoi** witchcraft. On the other hand, the Christian still embrace their Christian faith. From this we can say that they lead an amphibian sort of life whereby when convenient they live as Christians and when not as Akamba traditionalist believing and practicing all that the Akamba traditionalists do. We have also found out that the Akamba traditionalists are aware of the double sort of life lived by the Christians. We have also found out that witchcraft cannot come to an end with the condemnations it receives from the Christian pulpits but much more and deeper catechises needs to be done. If condemnation would work then witchcraft would no longer be a problem in this parish. In our next chapter we shall have a critical analysis and interpretation of the phenomenon of witchcraft.

CHAPTER THREE
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF
THE PHENOMENON OF WITCHCRAFT.

Introduction:

In this chapter we are going to critically analyse and evaluate the witchcraft phenomenon as it is known and practiced among the Akamba of Matuu parish. We shall also analyse the different concepts used in this phenomenon.

Origins of Uoi

In our field work, we managed to meet a practicing priestess doctor, **mundu mue**, who gave us a very valuable information concerning the beginning of witchcraft. She had this to say: "In the beginning, God created two types of people, one type of people were created with the power to bewitch, and the other without, those with the power continue passing it over to their children, while those without continue being without."⁹

This little story is an attempt to explain the origin of this phenomenon, just as Genesis 11 is an attempt by the author to explain why there are different languages if the people have an origin in one God. This indeed is a story of faith and likewise is the story of the Akamba given by Nzasu. The Akamba were confronted with the situation whereby some people are witches and others are not so why the situation? The answer was to go back to the origin, since everything has its origin in God, "**Ngai Mumbi**."¹⁰ Then this too was attributed as having origin in Him. This story also supports the claim of our topic, "Eternity of Witchcraft."

⁹ This information was give by Alice Nzasu a former Christian but now a priestess doctor. She is sixty years old and works in Matuu town.

¹⁰ Ngai Mumbi means God the Creator.

Uwe and Uoi

That there is witchcraft, a power that threatens life and property, then there is its opposite **Uwe**, which has same root with the Kikamba word for wisdom **Uoi**. Then **Uwe** would be the wisdom of the priest/ess doctor, **mundu mue**, whom earlier on we called a medicine person. **Uwe** as opposed to **Uoi**, represents the good forces in the Akamba world. **Uwe** is used to find out the wickedness of the witch **muoi** and other causes of misfortunes in the Kamba world. Its important to note that "**Mukamba Ndakusa mana.**"¹¹ Literary translated, there is always a cause to the death of a person. We can then say that **Uwe** came in as an answer to the people's quest for the "Why?" misfortunes and calamities befall people.

This question "Why?" misfortunes befall people is disturbing not only for the Akamba traditionalists, but also for every mukamba born in this world view. This is why when the question, does witchcraft affect Christians? was asked to the Christians, some said, it not only affect Christians, but even Europeans. For them, anybody as long as he or she is a human being, is liable to the effects of witchcraft. This can also explain why Christians go to consult the priest/ess doctor at night.

In this world view where everything that happens has a cause, then **Uwe**, the wisdom of the priest/ess doctor will have a role to play, and since **uoi** is very mysterious, the wisdom of the priest/ess doctor will be required to help the people establish what the cause of sickness and misfortunes is. From what has been said then, we have to distinguish **Uwe**, the wisdom of the priest/ess doctor from witchcraft. We will then say that witchcraft is the art of bewitching. **Uwe** then, will be the art of finding out the "why?" of the misfortunes and calamities, and the remedies to be taken.

Having made this clear, let us now see the Christian view of witchcraft, the traditionalist view and the Church's teaching concerning witchcraft.

¹¹ **Mukamba Ndakusa mana.** means there is a reason for whatever happens.

WITCHCRAFT

(a) **Christian View.**

Witchcraft is a secret power possessed by some members of the akamba society. However, what people know of it is through the confession of former witches. **Kuowa** (bewitching) is the ritual through which the power of the witches comes to bear effects on their victims. The power of the witch is communicated through the spoken words. The witches use materials from the profane world and it is only through the ritual words and actions that it takes effects.

Nowadays however, there is a new form of witchcraft which has taken the spiritual dimension. This new form of witchcraft is the "**Majini**" - spirits phenomenon and are bought from the coast. They are associated with riches for those who possess them. However this is on condition that those who possess them give them the required sacrifices. Failure to give the required sacrifices, results to the destruction of the family and its property, and can even result to the spirits terrorising the whole village. Whether it is the traditional or the new form of witchcraft, we can say witchcraft is a power enjoyed by a few people and it is ever taking new forms as the society takes new forms of development. It is a very disturbing phenomenon.

(b) **Traditional View.**

Witchcraft is an evil power inherited from mother to daughter for doing evil to others and their property. One can also be shown how to perform the ritual by specialists, he however has to pay for the training. This is basically the type practiced by men though women also but it, or are trained and then buy the services. This is done by the women who originally do not come from those members of Akamba society who have it by inheritance. The power of the witch is communicated through the spoken words, signs and gestures. Witchcraft is in the mouth, legs, hands and eyes of the witches. Why? it is because these are the parts of the body through which the gestures are performed. Witchcraft, or that power to bewitch is in the blood and inner disposition of the witches.

In the Akamba belief system, there are witches and these are the ones society accuses of being the cause of all misfortunes that befall the society. Uoi (witchcraft) is the noun and the verb is Oa, this word in Kikamba apart from describing the action of the witch means, be rotten. So the work of the witch is to make rot, but since witchcraft brings about rotting in the society, that is, death of people and destruction of property, we can then say that "Uoi" is the agency of evil that terrorises the good of the society which is prosperity and good life.

A COMPREHENSIVE DEFINITION OF MUNDU MUE

There is on the other hand **mundu mue** who is suitably defined, by A Keiv. who, although talking of the Shaman, the definition suits well on the akamba **mundu mue**. He says:

The Shaman, like the physician, tries to cure the patient by correcting the causes of his illness. In line with the culture's concept of disease, this cure may involve not only the administration of the therapeutic agents but provision of the means for confession, atonement, restoration into the good graces of the family and tribe, and intercession with the world of the spirit. The Shaman's role may thus involve aspects of the roles of physician, magician, priest, moral arbiter, representative of the groups world view and agents, of social control.¹²

We hence can say, **Mundu mue**, is the representative of the good of the society and is the person who has a lot of wisdom which is used for the good of the Akamba society.

¹² A. Keiv, ed. Magic, Faith and Healing: studies in Primitive psychiatry Today (London: Collier Macmillan Ltd., 1964), vii.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN MUOI AND MUNDU MUE

Looking at the role played by the **mundu mue** and that played by **Muoi**, we can conclude that **muoi** represents evil in the society, but the **mundu mue** represents the well being of the society. When discussing witchcraft in our paper then, we exclude **mundu mue** whose role in society is as we have seen is for the well-being of society. So our discussion will focus more on the **Muoi** and **Uoi**, although we still hope to say more of **mundu mue** priest/ess in the light of the Catholic teachings found in the New Catechism.

The witch performs rituals for bringing evil upon society, while the priest/ess doctor performs rituals to undo the evil done by the witch. As good and evil co-exist, so does the witch and the medicine man or priest/ess doctor co-exist.

Both the Christians and the traditionalists agree that, there is a difference between a witch and a medicine person or priest/ess doctor. They also agree that, witchcraft is a secretive phenomenon.

As concerns how to identify a witch, the traditionalists and Christians agree on the means although the Christians said what they answered in the paper is what the traditionalists say. However a careful observer will find out that Christians know of the means not because others have told them, but because they have been brought up in a culture in which this practice is prevalent. It is important to note that, neither the Christian nor the Akamba traditionalists, cherish witchcraft, but how to do away with it is the problem.

WITCHCRAFT'S EFFECTS ON THE CHRISTIANS AND THE CONSEQUENCES

Various questions were asked to the Christians and some to both Christians and Akamba traditionalists. Going through the Questions, one would gather the following: Witchcraft surely affects the Christians that is, all the evils intended by the witch befall them, and only due to fear, they hide when going to consult medicine men or women whom we could better call priest/ess doctor.

Witchcraft then is not only disturbing to the Akamba traditionalists, but also to the Christians. As to whether the traditionalists know whether Christians go to consult the priest/ess doctor, the answer was yes, and this is because they at time meet at the priest/ess doctor's place. As a matter of fact it is said that some sickness cannot be treated by modern medicine, but when taken to the **Mundu mue** he or she diagnoses and then finds the cure.

It is true that the Christians know that going to consult a priest/ess doctor **mundu mue** is going against the teachings of the Church which according to the Catechism of the catholic Church Number 2117, states:

All practices of magic sorcery, by which one attempts to have occult powers, so as to place them at one's service and have a supernatural power over others even if this was for the sake of restoring their health-are gravely contrary to the virtue of religion. These practices are even more to be condemned when accompanied by the intention of harming someone, or when they have recourse to the intervention of demons wearing charms is also reprehensible. Spiritism often implies divination or magical practices; the Church for her part warns the faithful against it. Recourse to so-called traditional cures does not justify either the invocation of evil powers, or the exploitation of mother's credulity.

And again in Number 2138; of the same catechism, we read the following:

Superstition is a departure from the worship that we give to the true God. It is manifested in idolatry, as well as in various forms of divination and magic.

However, as there is no clear alternative to their problems, the Christians result into secretism. From Monday to Saturday, they practice all that the Akamba traditional

approach to witchcraft involves but on Sunday they behave and act as Christians. Now, when one says all practices of magic and sorcery, by which one attempts to tame occult powers, ... even if this was for restoring health is gravely contrary to the teaching of Christian religion, leaves a lot to be desired. Surely sorcery and witchcraft are bad and should be seriously addressed. But Uwe and rituals like *masya* and exorcists like Kanini are attempts to seriously address the problem disturbing the Akamba. So if they are gravely against the virtue of Christian religion, so what alternative do we propose? But examining the rituals quite well, we see that they use their materials from the profane world and this become effective with the use of the enchanting words. So we could get some ideas from this and see how we can make our sacraments effective.

In the rituals used by the Akamba to eradicate witchcraft, there is a lot of threat of death. That is, witches are threatened with death if they ever bewitch after participating in the ritual. The point here is, although the witch has the power to kill, the same power can be used to kill him or her prematurely just as he or she kills others. We also have seen that the power to bewitch is in the blood of the witch or in some charms, this is what the owner of the ritual mixes, for example in the *masya* ritual, and gives all the participants to eat or taste and swallow. By so doing, the power goes back to them, just like when the daughter refuses to cooperate with the mother, after the ritual of inheriting witchcraft, she looks back at the mother and calls the mother and the power goes back to the mother and kills her, so if the participants of the *masya* ritual go back and practice witchcraft, the same power kills them.

The *masya* ritual is most feared by those who have participated in it, because they say it effects what it promises. I think, as witchcraft is passed through the rubbing of the buttocks of the mother and daughter and the mixing of the blood as they rub the cut parts, the drinking or tasting of the blood from the vagina and the penis of the participants has some psychological effects. We can say you drink back the power to kill and so it kills you.

Kanini's power is a bit mysterious and apart from some people (my informers) guessing where she gets the power from, that is China or Korea, it seems it is a power that has no origin in Ukambani and if it does, it is very mysterious. However for our interest, that is eternity of **Uoi** (witchcraft) we will say it is an attempt at reducing the practice or to counter this feared phenomenon.

The only problem with the rituals used is that, they only seem to be effective for a time, as we have seen earlier in Kimilu's attempt to see all the attempts used by Akamba to counter witchcraft. Kimilu as I noted earlier says, all the attempts are a useless venture and a wastage of money, but I would say that all these attempts show that as witchcraft evolves taking new forms as devil worship, **Majini** and any other form it might take, the Akamba wisdom also evolves new methods of dealing with it.

The good thing to note, is that, when people have participated in these rituals and especially **masya** ritual, they live in harmony, can trust one another, and can continue being authentic Christians. Indeed it is important to note that, burning the tools of a witch, especially those of wizards, as can easily be proposed, might not help because they already know the skill and can look for new ones and again, we must remember witchcraft is a secretive phenomenon. However when one participates in the **masya** ritual as my informers told me, you cannot participate in witchcraft practices any more.

THE MUNDU MUE (PRIEST/ESS DOCTOR)

We have already seen the definition of **mundu mue**, let us now say more about him/her. This person is one endowed with mystical power and wisdom. He or she can find out the wicked plots of a witch. The role of traditional **mundu mue** was a vocation and their important role in society was two fold, that is, "to cure illness and tell fortunes."¹³ As such then we do not see where they contradict Christianity. The problem and become an expensive venture and some, as Mzee Mbithi informed me,

¹³ Ndeti, 117.

"sell witchcraft to people,"¹⁴ consequently abusing the trust people have in them. Consequently such **mundu mue** abuse the wisdom for evil and should be avoided. This action of selling witchcraft or abusing the wisdom is evil and any sensible person who looks for the common good of society should be careful of this. We suppose that is why the Church in the catechism of the Catholic Church (No 2117), warns her faithful against such practices as witchcraft and divination.

We will then say true **mundu mue** is highly respected in the Akamba traditional world view. Some before their call, might have been Christians or not. But what is interesting is the call of the Christians to be a **mundu mue**. They undergo a lot of troubles if they refuse to co-operate. When they cooperate, they recover from the troubles. Majority of these are simply healers and diviners and do not abuse the trust people have in them. Some in my village, Nzisa, and Bibiana Muthike, and my own sister, Philomena Mukami. When they gave their story, one could only be struck with awe. Important to note is that when you tell them to pray, they do it with no problem. They pray as Catholics do, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. They inherit their powers from their parents or from their great grand parents. At this point it is important to note with Ndeti that, "The Akamba concept of **mondo** (human being) is not the mere physical bipedal being which we encounter daily. He is a physical representation of the dead, the living and the unborn."¹⁵ Then we can say that a human being is a community incorporating the three principles. Life, spirit and immortality each of these principles must work in unison according to the Akamba, if one wishes to avoid chaos and meaninglessness in human life. This is the truth the Akamba know and live. The course of action which the living take is always conditioned by the spirits of the ancestors (principal causality) and consequently affects

¹⁴ Mzee Mbithi, is 117 years old and is not only informed of what happened in his youth days, but knows of what is happening in Matuu today July, 1997.

¹⁵ Ndeti, 114.

posterity (teleological awareness). And this is how we can explain how a grand daughter can inherit from her great grand parents. Our Kenyan first president Mzee Jomo Kenyatta is more explicit of the principle. In dedicating his book to the youth of Africa, he states:

To Moigoi and Wambui and all the dispossessed youth of Africa: for perpetuation of communion with ancestral spirits through the fight for African freedom, and in the firm faith that the dead, the living, and the unborn will unite to rebuild the destroyed shrines¹⁶

Here again the trinitarian view of a person is reiterated, and whatever course of action the African youth is going to take (at this time i.e. the time of Mzee's writing, the fight for the African freedom), the force of unity of the living, the dead, and the unborn must come together in order to achieve this goal. We can connect this conception with our Catholic conception as it were, of the Church on Earth and the Church in Purgatory and the Church in Heaven, such that one is an anticipation of the other, and that the Church in heaven is the principle causality. In the sense that it influences the other two.

Having seen who a witch and who a priest/ess doctor is, it will be important to say that witchcraft cannot encompass both Uwe, and Uoi. Uwe as earlier seen is the wisdom of the priest/ess doctor while Uoi (witchcraft) is the wisdom of the witch with purpose of making rotten from the etymology of the term Oa, be rotten. Uwe is to enable the priest/ess doctor find out the causes of sickness and the right treatment. It is here that we shall beg to disagree with Fr. Aylward Shorter when he calls the priest/ess doctor, a witchdoctor, in his book, "Christ and the witchdoctor." This is because the priest/ess doctor does more in the Akamba world-view than correct the maladies brought about by the witches. He/She has to find out whether the causes of human

¹⁶ Jomo Kenyatta. "Facing Mount Kenya" in Elements of Akamba Life by Kivuto Ndeti (Nairobi: The East African Publishing House 1972)114.

sufferings are brought about by their neglect of ancestors, breach of taboos etc. He/She also performs rituals for cleansing the affected in case of breach of Taboos. In short the definition we have given of the Shaman fits well on what the priest/ess doctor is and so it is more representative of the person of a priest/ess doctor than what Fr. Shorter represents by witchdoctor. Ritualists like the **masya** ritual can best be called witchdoctor in the sense of finishing the witchcraft practices or addressing the witchcraft phenomenon than the **mundu mue** who is best translated as priest/ess doctor. He/She addressing more issues affecting the Akamba so calling him/her a witchdoctor will be missing the point and so a misrepresentation of who he/she is.

IS EVERY MUKAMBA A WITCH?

From the research we can conclude that not every Mukamba is a witch. As we have seen, some are witches by inheritance, others buy it, and if we have to go by Nzasu's story of the origin of witchcraft, then we shall conclude that only some are. Though not every Mukamba is a witch, this phenomenon is disturbing to many. It is part of the Akamba Traditional belief system and so every one born in the Akamba world view knows about it.

It is important to know that men, as well as women can buy witchcraft. Originally women inherited from their mothers but today, though the women still inherit, from their mothers, more people have involved themselves in witchcraft because of the material gains it promises, for example the case of those who buy **Majini**, are promised riches. However, if you do not fulfill your part of the deal instead of gains, loses and destruction of property follow. Emmanuel Eni rightly says, "the devil has no free gift."¹⁷ This is proved more, if you read his book and also from our own research findings.

¹⁷ Emmanuel Eni, Delivered from the powers of Darkness. (Nairobi: Kijabe Printing Press, 1992), 10

THE LOCAL CHURCH'S APPROACH

The approach of the local Church thus far, has been the Universal Church's approach of warning her faithful from participating in witchcraft practices or the rituals like **Masya** and neutralisers of witchcraft like **Kanini** which aim at eradicating witchcraft or better countering witchcraft. However, this approach which is effected by pastoral letters of the local Ordinary, and the teachings of the priest, does not seem to be very effective. as we found out in the research, that is, why the Christians go to visit or consult the priest/ess doctor at night. By so doing they hide from their pastors and fellow Christians.

The consequences of the Christians who go to consult a medicine person or priest/ess doctor, is that, they do not go for confession for fear of being excommunicated or given heavier penalties. Consequently we have Christians who are Christians and Akamba traditionalists at the same time, practicing all that the Akamba practice, in traditional communities. From this field-work, we realise that warning or threatening people would not deter them from practicing or going to consult a medicine-person. What we suppose would help, is to give an alternative, and a proper evaluation of the whole matter by all those involved in the pastoral work in Ukambani.

It is important to note that despite the pastoral letters, the teaching of the local priests, Christians still go for the **Masya** ritual, which to many, is the only way out, of countering witchcraft at the moment. People strongly believe that if they participate in the **Masya** ritual, they live in harmony and no one suspects the other of bewitching him or her.

THE "WORD" AND THE PHENOMENON OF WITCHCRAFT

It is important to note that "words" or the "word" is very important in this phenomenon. The witch effects his or her skill through the medium of the "word", the priest/ess doctor protects the families and property of those he or she treats through the medium of the "word." The owner of the magically protected home uses the

medium of the "word" to release the witch found bewitching in his compound. It is important to note that one way of identifying a witch as our informers said is when you find one bewitching in a magically protected home **Musyi Muvinge**. It's also important to note that one way of identifying a witch as our informers said is when you find one bewitching in a magically protected home **Musyi Muvinge**. It's also important to note that just as words in the celebration of the sacraments effects what they mean, so they do in all the Akamba rituals. That is why a witch and "**Mundu was Kyeni**"¹⁸ are said to have "**Ndeto Mbai**."¹⁹

WILL WITCHCRAFT COME TO AN END IN UKAMBANI?

From the word go, we started by calling our topic "the Eternity of Witchcraft (Uoi) in Ukambani." As we have found out witchcraft like humanity began in time, and is the manifestation of evil in the Akamba world. It would then be our argument that witchcraft will continue to be in existence as long as humanity exists and as long as evil exists. In that case then we shall say it is an eternal phenomenon. Some Christians also argued that if people believed in Christ strongly, they would certainly diminish the powers of the witches. However, we have known the forms witchcraft has taken in the western countries of Europe and America and here in Africa. Indeed reading through Emmanuel Eni's book **Delivered from the Power of Darkness**, we cannot help holding our position that witchcraft is an eternal phenomenon. We can also say that if people believe in Christ more faithfully they can counter witchcraft. But many are not. It consequently calls us to renew our faith, commitment to Christ, that is, to prayer, the Gospel and Holy lives of the children of God.

¹⁸ **Mundu wa Kyeni** means a person with an evil eye and evil tongue, that his/her eyes and tongue effects his/her evil into his/her victims.

¹⁹ **Ndeto Mbai** means dangerous words. They are words which are such that they effect what their author wants, his or her malice.

We will again say that, as long as we continue having the poor, the street-children and the less fortunate in our society like orphans, and the promises of the material gains like those promised by the devil worship phenomenon, and as long as we continue having leaders who will never want to relinquish power, this phenomenon of witchcraft in all its various manifestation will continue. It is true that when the prevailing circumstances make you poor and some-one promises you the way out, you will most certainly go out in search for this green pastures. But as Emmanuel Eni rightly says, "Dear reader, the devil has no free gift! Whatever he gives you is for an exchange with your soul"²⁰. This is well demonstrated in this research regarding the question of **Majini**. People must come to the realization that, "**Kindu Kiseo Kiyosawa nziani**."²¹ People must work for it and stop seeking short cuts. Finally we shall say that, witchcraft is an eternal phenomenon and the manifestation of evil in the Akamba society.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have analysed the concepts in this phenomenon and given interpretations of what is involved. We have found out that witchcraft is a power that stands opposed to the good of the society. It can be inborn, acquired in various ways but most important is that is an eternal problem. There are those in society who do not have this evil power and there are those with this power, and these co-exist. In the society under study-the Akamba of Matuu parish-there are also those who counter the evils of the witches and these are the priest/ess doctors whose knowledge is whole encompassing.

²⁰ Eni 10

²¹ "Kindu Kiseo Kiyosawa Nziani" meaning a good thing is not found on the road, is a Kikamba proverb which reminds the people that they have to work if they are to have a good life.

In this chapter we have realised that as evil continues to exist, so will its manifestations continue in the form of witchcraft. We have seen that most Akamba of Matuu parish, both Christians and non-Christians believe in witchcraft and also that witchcraft affects Christians, and that is why most Akamba Christians of this parish live an amphibian type of life. They live as Christians when convenient and as Akamba traditionalists when convenient. It has also become clear to us that if one has to evaluate this phenomenon properly, he/she must understand the concepts and whatever is involved.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, SUGGESTIONS AND GENERAL CONCLUSION

Introduction

In this last chapter we have a summary of all we have discussed thus far. We propose some suggestions of how to address this phenomenon of witchcraft and finally give the general conclusion of our Research Project.

Witchcraft (Uoi)

The purpose of our study has been to establish what witchcraft is, who practices it, to find out whether it can be eradicated or better to find out ways of addressing the issue. And finally to establish whether there is a possibility of a positive understanding between the Akamba and the Catholic Church's approach, to this phenomenon.

From our research, we have found out that witchcraft **Uoi** is a secretive evil power enjoyed by a few members of the Akamba society. It is evil in the sense that those who possess it either by inheritance or buying it (that is, paying for the training) use it for harming their neighbours' property or even killing their neighbours. We also establish that what we have explained above is the traditional form of witchcraft. Today we also have another form of witchcraft, that is, the **Majini** form. These are spirits bought from the people of the Coast Province and they take different forms depending on your need. You can have a male one or a female one. They are associated with riches for those who possess them. They do all what the possessor wants but on condition that he or she fulfills his or her part of the deal, that is he does all the necessary sacrifices. The purpose of having the **Majini** is to get rich at the expense of your neighbours. Like the traditional **Uoi** (witchcraft) the goal is to kill and destroy what you consider your enemy. Indeed this form of witchcraft is highly feared by the people. Generally whether traditionalist or Christian, people detest witchcraft **Uoi** and witches **Ndoi**.

DIFFERENT ATTEMPTS USED SO FAR BY THE AKAMBA TO ADDRESS WITCHCRAFT (UOI)

There have been a number of attempts to destroy, and as it is put in Kikamba-**Kwananga Uoi**, as we have already explained both in the literature review and in the findings, let us mention them. Before 1900-there was a ritual called **Makio**. People who participated in it were protected from the powers of the witches. And it was also given to **Ndoi** (witches) to take away their power of bewitching. In 1900 there was the first, second and third **Sembe**. The aims of these was just like those of **Makio**. After **Sembe** there was the **Kavisu** in 1940 the aim of this was to protect people from being bewitched. After **Kavisu** there was **Kavwele** from the coast province whose ritual also aimed at eradication of witchcraft. During our research, we found out that many of our informers knew **Kavwele** very well, and many old people had participated in his ritual. After **Kavwele** there was another person from the coast province called **Mwakatengu** (son of **Katengu**) with the same purpose of eradicating witchcraft. There too was **Ndundu**, **Mbingo** and today we have the **Masya** and an exorcist called **Kanini**. All these are different attempts by the Akamba aimed at eradicating witchcraft **Uoi**. We think these will still not be the last attempts, for different generations of Akamba will have their own attempts.

Judging from these many attempts one will argue with us that witchcraft **Uoi** is an eternal phenomenon in Ukambani, and as it takes new forms the Akamba will evolve new methods of addressing or eradicating it.

IS IT POSSIBLE TO HAVE A POSITIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE APPROACH OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE AKAMBA AND WITCHCRAFT?

So far there has not been positive dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Akamba approach to eradicating witchcraft. The Church's approach so far has been that of condemning witchcraft and all other means of using occult powers either for harming or even for healing. Consequently the priest/ess doctor and his/her practices are condemned and so are the witches and their practices. Rituals like **Ndundu** and the **Masya** ritual are also seriously condemned. People like Kanini who neutralize the powers of the witches are also condemned. This is why in Machakos diocese people are warned against participating in either **Masya** or Kanini.

PROBLEM

Surely, in public, Christians confess and practice the Christian faith. In private, they practice all that the Akamba practice including consulting the priest/ess doctor at night. as a matter of fact witchcraft is feared not only by the old, or the young, but even by the literate in the Akamba society. There is also a saying among the Akamba that **Mundu ambaa Utwika Mukamba ayisa utwika muklisto**-translated this would mean before one becomes a Christian he or she has to undergo all that it means to become a Mukamba person. Critically understood this means one must undergo through the magically protective rituals that he or she cannot be bewitched. This is so because once you become a Christian, you are not expected to participate in the Akamba rituals, but the experience of the people is that, as we found in the research even Christians can be bewitched.

SINCE WITCHCRAFT (UOI) IS A SECRETIVE PHENOMENON, WHAT THEN?

Since witchcraft is a secretive evil power, then it means that a careful study of the phenomenon is required. And as it is secretive, it means that condemning it will not help since people will continue practicing it in secret.

We suggest that, the Church should invest more on finding out what this secretive evil power is, and see whether a ritual like **Masya** can help in addressing this problem. We even suggest a dialogue with **Masya** or the custodians of this ritual, can assist the Church find out why people still go for the ritual despite the condemnation it receives from the Christian pulpits.

THE DIALOGUE

The dialogue we are proposing is an authentic dialogue. The Church to be open to the culture and vice versa. The problem that might arise in a monologue is that one will condemn another and simply over look what the other proposes leading to what we have today, that is a syncretic religion. People living as Christians when it is convenient and as Akamba traditionalists when it is convenient.

We think an open dialogue can help even our priests learn something from the Akamba priest/ess doctors. As we have seen the Akamba priest/ess doctors use not only prayer, but even herbs-medicine, psychology, biology and all human knowledge to heal their patients. People can also confess to a priest/ess doctor easily, but often are unable to confess to our Catholic priests or seek God's absolution through a Catholic priest because they say he will not understand their problem. For example for a long time in Ukambani the witches, as our informers told us used to confess saying that they have killed a **dik dik-Kavii**, and the priest taking the dik dik for the animal, could easily give an absolution not knowing the issue at hand was killing of a baby or a person.

We also believe that our pastors can learn a lot from the priest/ess doctors instead of condemning them. This is because as we have seen in our definition of a priest/ess doctor, he or she has accumulated a lot of wisdom which can easily be shared with an open priest in a spirit of dialogue.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND WITCHCRAFT

Can Christians be bewitched? This question was asked to the Christians, 47.37% responded Yes and 52.63% responded No. From this we can say that a certain percentage, that is 47.37% see the possibility of Christians being capable of falling into the traps of the witches. The reason we gathered for this possibility is that some Christians do not have a strong faith in Jesus Christ. They still believe in the power of **Uoi**.

It is important to note at this point that witchcraft is not only a belief, but that it is an all encompassing evil, it involves food poisoning etc. Consequently even for the educated Akamba they will never trust if you serve the food in private and then bring it at table. Many will request you to taste it first. So we can say witchcraft **Uoi** leads to a lot of suspicion. Even when people are Christians and some have not participated in the **Masya** ritual, there is a lot of suspicion, but if they have, and many have, there is no suspicion.

Our suggestion therefore is, if really and truly **Masya** brings about harmony and trust in society, then why not have a careful study of its operations and see whether it is possible to Christianise it. This we say because the Christian Faith must seek dialogue with the local culture if it has to survive in Africa, if not, syncretism is the sort of religion we shall have.

SUGGESTIONS AND SOME METHODS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

We have used the questionnaire method, Oral Interviews and at time, tape recording. What we think should be put into use in future is the oral interview method. This topic is quite intereting and a wider scope is required, a research in future could be carried out among the Mbere, the Kitui Akamba, and the Tharaka of Eastern Province, and among Mijikenda and the Digo people of the Coast Province. This is because these people have common practices with the Akamba and especially the practice of witchcraft. Consequently much time will required.

We think a team of researchers could be dispersed to these regions and then after their findings try to see how witchcraft practices affect the Christian faith and practice. This done, will help the Church and her pastors find new ways of addressing this pastoral issue.

ECONOMY AND WITCHCRAFT

It is important to say that witchcraft and the rituals for eradicating it are associated with riches. When we talk of witchcraft here we mean the **Majini** type of witchcraft. Since this type promises wealth. It will surely continue gaining many customers in a land of poverty and greed. We have already seen that rituals like **Kavisu** (pot) brought a lot of wealth to their custodians. It should be noted the same is true of the **Masya** ritual. Then as long as witchcraft exists, new ways will always be found of addressing it.

THE WAY OUT OF THIS PROBLEM

We think it will surely take long if it will ever be, Ukambani without witchcraft. This is because the witches will continue existing. However, we believe that if many of witches become Christians and understand the law of love of God and of neighbour properly, then they could leave their evil practices. Some leave the practice after vonversion but majority do not. What we used to hear and have confirmed in this research is that after participating in the **Masya** ritual and witchcraft neutralizers like Kanini, people end up practicing authentic Christian lives, and leave witchcraft practices.

From our research and especially on the question whether witchcraft practices will come to an end in Ukambani, we found out that most people do not believe it will come to an end. As Kivuto Ndeti puts it, witchcraft is the manifestation of evil in the Akamba world view, so we can say that, it will exist as long as evil exists. We hence conclude as far as our findings are concerned, witchcraft is a problem which needs a careful study, and also, the methods used to eradicate it. If it is a phenomenon found among a certain people, then why not learn from them how they eradicate it or have attempted to eradicate it and then see what we can learn from their wisdom. This is because God is the author of wisdom and that which is the contrary of wisdom cannot be coming from God. So the wisdom to eradicate evil can only be coming from the good one, and that is God. For if we say that the rituals like *Masya* and neutralizers of *Uoi* like *Kanini* are evil and we know that they are used for eradicating witchcraft, we shall imply that evil is fighting evil and that cannot be the case because if it does, it will not be able to continue existing as a force opposed to the good of the society, life and prosperity. As we have found out that witchcraft is also associated with riches, we think a true teaching of the true values of riches as found in the Christian faith can help to somehow address the problem or the issue of wanting to possess everything for ourselves. What about life and death? A serious teaching of who the author of life is, can change the witches' perspectives. We propose then a new approach in Catechesis not that of condemning all that is from another culture, but of evaluating it in the light of Christian revelation which has always been communicating or dialoguing with the new cultures it encounters.

When the candidates for baptism are to be baptized, we propose that this question should be asked: that you are to become a child of God and a member of His Church, do you promise never to get involved in witchcraft practices or anything that can harm or kill your neighbour or anything that belongs to your neighbour?

We also propose that a topic on **Masya** and other rituals used by the Akamba to counter the effects of witchcraft or even attempt to eradicate it, be introduced in the catechism and be taught in the light of the Eucharist. That is, as we have seen in the **Masya** ritual there is drinking of the blood of those participating in the ritual and eating of the body of the victim, the bull, also drinking its blood which is mixed with human blood, urine, and saliva, we propose that the teaching in the period of catechuminate on the Eucharist should stress that the bread we eat is the body of Christ and the cup we drink is the cup of his blood. We eat His whole humanity and divinity through which the power of bewitching and of doing all other evils is taken away, and are united with one another. Just as **Masya** ritual in the traditional set up brought unity, harmony and peace in the society, so does Christ bring all these and in addition love that harmonizes our lives. This we propose in the light of the second Vatican Council which proposes that the cultures of people be studied and where they can be adopted in our liturgy be adopted. By so doing, we shall make the catechism and the whole process of initiation truly Catholic Christian and truly Akamba. That is, we shall make Christianity abide in the hearts of the Akamba.

General Conclusion

We have already seen what witchcraft is, we have also found out that it is not an illusion but a reality affecting the life of the Akamba of Matuu parish where our research was carried out. We hence call upon all those concerned with the evangelization of these people not to stand aloof and imagine that by their condemnation of the phenomenon they shall eradicate witchcraft. Preaching on Sunday is surely not enough, the priests must join their Christians in the small Christian communities and share with them their joys and sorrows.

Priests if possible should visit the sick and accompany them in their sickness and propose good ways of treatments and pray for their Christians for it is when the new converts are left without pastoral care and especially in times of sickness, that they resort to consulting the priest/ess doctors. Why? Because only their former friends, that is those who practice the traditional healing methods visit them. Since some parishes, like our targeted one, that is, Matuu parish, are too large and have only two priests, we think Christian solidarity and especially that expressed in the small Christian communities we visited, can help where the priests are not available. We conclude by saying that witchcraft is a reality and the way out of it is not condemnation but those addressing it must know what it is and all its dynamisms and secondly they should understand or seek to understand the workings of the priest/ess doctors. When this is accomplished, their proposals for the alternatives will be properly grounded on what they know and not on proposals from other similar situations but from this particular situation. In short, when this is done, the priest's proposals will be contextualized.

However, it is important to note that witchcraft as the manifestation of evil in this society we have researched on, is there constantly countering the good of the society, that is, good health and life. It is really an eternal problem which will continue as long as the society continues. We take this position because as we found out in our research, many attempts have been made but to no permanent solution. **Masya** is still in use but not all the witches will go to participate in it. And even if all the people were to participate in it which will surely be a miracle, witchcraft will always be taking new forms. We simply say, **Uoi** is an eternal phenomenon which will continue as long as humanity exists. All we suggest is that, a good knowledge of what it is, and many people being taught in the catechism about it and the rituals associated in eradicating it, will help the Christians better fight it, reminding them Christ has conquered sin and death, and yet in their lives they must cooperate with His grace in order to overcome evil, in our case witchcraft.

It is important to note that as we have tried our best to uncover the mystery of what Uoi is, the more mysterious it has remained. All we can say is that, it is an evil power enjoyed by a few in the society for harming and destroying what is good in the human society: good life and prosperity. As we have found out it is very difficult to establish whether this mystery of evil, Uoi, can be eradicated, it is constantly taking new forms as the society takes new forms, and this renders it all the more a mystery.

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APPENDIX ONE
QUESTIONNAIRE

Uoi (witchcraft) is the phenomenon that is present in Matuu parish and in Ukambani in general. This project aims at studying this phenomenon. Your cooperation in answering the questions will be highly appreciated. Your cooperation, and your contribution is essential for the success of this project. All the information will be treated with confidentiality. I humbly ask you to answer the questions truthfully and objectively.

Personal information:

Age: _____

Gender: _____ male _____ female _____

Marital status: single _____ Married _____ divorced _____ widow _____

Widower _____

Education: primary _____ secondary _____ college _____ University _____

Urban dweller: _____

Rural dweller: _____

The questionnaire has two parts, part one is addressed to Kamba Christians and part two to the Traditional Akamba.

To answer. Where you have; ii or aie tick only one option. Where you have----
Please fill your answer.

Part One

Questionnaire to the Akamba Christians .

1. What is witchcraft?

2.(a) It is easy to identify a witch? Yes. No.

(b) Give three ways of identifying a witch.

(1)

(2)

(3)

3. Can Christians be bewitched? Yes. No.

4. If you Catholic Christians are bewitched what do you do?

(a) We go to consult a priest/ess doctor Yes. No.

(b) Since we do not believe in witchcraft,

We go to the hospital if we are sick Yes. No.

(c) We pray to God because he is Almighty Yes. No.

5. If you go to consult a priest/ess doctor,

is that not going against the law of God? Yes. No.

6. If it is going against the Law of God,

What do you do?

(a) We go for confession Yes. No.

(b) We just pray to God for the priest

cannot help us. Yes. No.

7. (a) What is masya?

(b) How is it carried out?

(c) Have you participated in it? Yes. No.

(d) If one refuses to participate in the Masyas ritual, what happens to such a One?

8. (a) How does Kanini neutralize the power of the witches?

(b) Have you gone to consult or see her? Yes No.

(c) Why?

9. Will there be an end to witchcraft practices in Ukambani?

10. For the time being Masya and Kanini are the best solutions of eradicating witchcraft.

(a) Masya and Kanini are the best solutions

to addressing witchcraft Yes. No.

(b) Give reasons.-----

Part Two

Questionnaire to the Traditional Akamba.

(1) What is witchcraft?

(2) Is every Mukamba a witch Yes. No.

(3) (a) Does every Mukamba believe in witchcraft Yes. No.

(b) Why?

(4) (a) Is witchcraft a secretive Phenomenon? Yes. No.

(b) Where is it kept?

(c) Is it observable? Yes. No.

(d) Have you ever seen it? Yes. No.

(5) (a) Is it easy to identify a witch? Yes. No.

(b) Give three ways of identifying a witch (1)

(2)

(3)

(6) How does one become a witch?

(7) (a) Is it true that the old women are

the witches? Yes. No.

(b) Are men witches? Yes. No.

(8) Are young men and ladies

witches? Yes. No.

(9) (a) Is it the case that when one

Inherits witchcraft must

bewitch? Yes. No.

(b) Give reason(s)

(10) Can Christians be bewitched?

(11) (a) When bewitched do they consult

a mundu mue (priest/ess doctor) Yes. No.

(b) Give reason(s)

(12) (a) A traditional Mukamba goes to see

a priest/ess doctor any time of the day but a Christian goes to consult

the priest/ess doctor at night. Yes. No.

(b) Give reason(s)

(13) Will there be an end to witchcraft

in Ukambani? Yes. No.

(14) For the time being Masya and Kanini

are the best solutions of addressing

witchcraft. Yes. No.

(15) (a) What is Masya?

(b) How is it carried out?

(16) How does Kanini exorcise witches?

(17) Apart from Kanini and Masya have

there been other attempts for addressing witchcraft?

APPENDIX TWO.**QUESTIONNAIRE**

Uoi(witchcraft) is the phenomenon that is present in Matuu parish and in Ukambani in general. This project aims at studying this phenomenon. Your co-operation in answering the questions will be highly appreciated. Your co-operation, and your contribution is essential for the success of this project. All the information will be treated with confidentiality. I humbly ask you to answer the questions truthfully and objectively.

Personal information:

Age:.....

Gender:..... Male.....Female

Marital status: single.....married.....divorced.....widow.....
widower.....

Education:primarysecondary.....college.....university.....

Urban dweller:.....

Rural dweller:.....

The questionnaire has two parts, part one is addressed to Christians, and part two to the traditional Akamba. To answer. Where you have; ii ,or aie,tick only one option. Where you have -----please fill in your answer.

Part One**Questionnaire to Akamba Christians in Kikamba**

(1) Uoi ni Mwau?-----

(2) (a) Ni Undu Muvuthu kumanya muoi? ii-----aie-----

(b) Elesya nzia itatu sya kumanya muoi. (1)

(2)

- (9) Muthenya umwe uoi ukathela ukambani? ii aie
- (10) (a) Kavinda kaa twinako Masya na Kanini nimo utethyo ula museo wa kumina uoi
ii aie
- (b) ethiwa ni aie, elesya kitumi.-----

Part Two

Questionnaire to the Akamba Traditionalists

- (1) Uoi ni Mwau?-----
- (2) Kila Mukamba nu Muoi? ii aie
- (3) (a) Kila Mukamba nuikia kwi uoi? ii aie
- (b) Niki?-----
-
- (4) (a) Uoi ni wa kimbithi? ii aie
- (b) Ethiwa ti wa kimbithi
- Uiawa va?-----
- (c) Niwonekaa?-----
- (d) We waa wona?-----
- (5) (a) Ni undu muvuthu kumanya muoi? ii aie
- (b) Ethiwa ni undu muvuthu kumanya muoi,
elesya nzia itatu sya kumanya muoi (1)
(2)
(3)
- (6) Uoi Unenganawa ata?-----
- (7) (a) Iveti Ila nguu ni syo aoi? ii aie
- (b) Aume ni aoi? ii aie
- (8) Eetu na anake ni aoi? ii aie

(9) (a) Nonginya mundu anengwa uoi

Aowe? ii aie

(b) Niki?-----

(10) Uoi nukwata Akilisto? ii aie

(11)(a) Akilisto maowa ni maenda kwona

Mundu mue? ii aie

(b) Niki?-----

(12) (a) Mukamba wawo aenda kwona

Mundu mue ivinda yonthe indi

Akilisto amenda umwona utuku ii aie

(b) Niki?-----

(13) Muthenya Umwe Uoi ukathela Ukambani ii aie

(14) Kavinda kaa twinako Masya na Kanini nimo utethyo ula museo wa kumina uoi.

ii aie

(15) (a) Yo Masya ni kyau? -----

(b) Yiithanawa ata?-----

(16) Nake kanini aumasya uoi ata?-----

(17) Eka Kanini na masyai ve nzia Ingi syatatiwe kana iendee na utatwa sya kumina uoi?

Elesya-----
