The participation in cross-cultural ministry brings two different concepts of being human to light: one's own concept of being human and that of the members of the culture with one comes to work. This fact causes unwanted misunderstandings and obstacles for the Gospel. How different the concept of man of the Bemba in Zambia in comparison to the western concept of man is, is the subject of this book.

Diese Arbeit untersucht das Menschenbild der Bemba, eine Ethnie im Norden Sambias. Das Menschenbild ist ein zentrales Thema für tradionelle Kulturen und wurde unter Berücksichtigung zweier Komponenten erarbeitet.
Erstens: Das Menschenbild einer Kultur ist ein kognitves Konzept das in den Köpfen der Leute verborgen und nur über die Sprache der jeweiligen Mitgleider dieser Kultur zugänglich ist.
Zweitens: Eine Untersuchung dieses Konzepts kann sich deshalb auf die Beobachtung von Sitten und Gebräuchen alleine nicht stützen. Hier kann die kognitive Anthropologie in der Datenerhebung große Hilfsdienste leisten. Die kognitive Anthropologie hat gezeigt, dass sie in der Lage ist, die Zusammenhänge von cognitiven Konzepten zu erhellen.
Erkenntnisse und Ergebnisse sind für die kultur-übergreifende Missionsarbeit von Bedeutung.

Robert Badenberg, born 1961, Training in Mechanical Engineering, 1982-1987 theological studies at the Seminary of Liebenzell Mission International. Since 1989 missionary in Sambia for Liebenzell Mission. 1999 he earned a M.A. in missiology from the external study center of Columbia International University in Germany with this thesis.

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Fundamental Characteristics of Being Human of an African Ethnic Group

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2. Auflage

Umschlagfotot/Cover foto by Rita Badenberg

To

Rita, Ralph & Frank,

my faithful companions

and

Chewe,

who taught me much about being human

Undoubtedly there are all sorts of languages in the world,

yet none of them is without meaning.

If then I do not grasp the meaning of what someone is saying,

I am a foreigner to the speaker, and he is a foreigner to me.

1 Corinthians 14: 10-11 (NIV)

Contents

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ABBREVIATIONS

Africa(L)	Africa Journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures
AJET	Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology
AJIAI	Africa: Journal of the International African Institute
AmA	American Anthropologist
EAJET	East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology
EMQ	Evangelical Missions Quarterly
ERT	Evangelical Review of Theology
Exchange	Exchange – Journal of Missiological and Ecumenical Research
IRM	International Review of Mission
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JRA	Journal of Religion in Africa
JTSA	Journal of Theology for Southern Africa
Missiology	Missiology: An International Review

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I wish to express my profound gratitude toward Prof. Dr. L. Käser, who has a twofold part in the completion of this thesis. First, he helped me to understand what I was doing when I was engaged in the research and fieldwork in Zambia. Second, his lectures during the Fall Semester 1998 structured what I had brought from the field and his encouragement, advice and help while I was writing, provided the emotional strength to stay on the project.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1. Reason for the Project

During the years of active service in Zambia, I realized that mere interaction between Missionaries and Nationals, Christians and Non-Christians alike, does not form a sufficient base to resolve all areas of concern relating to the communication of the Gospel. In addition, it became apparent that even language skill is but one important part in the complex structures and dynamics of a given culture. Of particular interest was how Bemba people understand themselves as human beings. I believe this understanding is an essential part in sharing God's message. God incarnate is the climax of God's act of redemption as expressed in John 1. The whole Gospel is God's message for humans, communicated through humans, and addressed to humans. The active involvement in this communication process helped me to evaluate my own conception of being human and to realize where this conception provided either an obstacle or an alternative to the meaningful sharing of the Gospel with the people with whom I worked.

2. Purpose of the Project

The Bemba understanding of what a human being is constitutes both a challenge and an opportunity for Christian evangelism. This thesis tries to suggest a theory on Bemba anthropology based on linguistic material I collected in the field. Due to the nature and the formal restrictions of this thesis, not all material gathered (though possibly relevant) can be critically examined and incorporated into this paper. The topic of the thesis calls also for restrictions in terms of contrasting Bemba anthropology to the biblical concept of man[1] as well as offering a detailed proposition and application to the contextualization of the Gospel. It will, however, attempt to answer pertinent questions

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[1]An introduction to biblical anthropology is found in Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropologie des Alten Testaments*, 4., durchges. Aufl. (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1984). Also Hannes Wiher, *Missionsdienst in Guinea: Das Evangelium für eine schamorientierte, von Animismus und Volksislam geprägte Gesellschaft*, edition afem, mission scripts, Bd. 14 (Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1998), 39-44.

arising from the results of the thesis related to cross-cultural ministry among the Bemba. Theological and missiological considerations presented in a comprehensive manner would be the object of a project on its own merits and would certainly gain their significance subsequent to the establishment of a theory of Bemba anthropology. Bemba thought on being human is very complex. It revolves around three key concepts: body *(umubili),* heart *(umutima)*, and spirit *(umupashi).* In order to bring Bemba thinking to light, I use the tools of cognitive anthropology to analyze the data on these concepts, which I collected in the field and how they structure Bemba thought on being human.

3. Significance of the Study

Bastian appears to have been the first ethnologist to pay attention to the concepts of soul and spirit in 1860.[2] The interest in the early beginnings centered on the collecting of information which would fit into a Western concept of soul and spirit. The book lacks a systematic description of certain concepts and is mainly concerned with categorizing certain elements of those concepts.

One of the most influential publications in the field of soul concepts was Tylor's book *Primitive Culture*[3] (1871). He first introduced the term "animism" as an anthropological term, though it did not stem from him.[4] The object of intense interest to him was the problem of the origin of soul concepts and their development. The basis of his work was a collection of material which dealt with the

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[2]Adolf Bastian, "Der Mensch in der Geschichte," *Pschychologie and Mythologie*, Bd. 2 (Leipzig: n. p., 1860). Bastian's collection of material was centered around the existence of the soul after death, the "dreaming soul," the "roaming soul," the "imprisoned soul," and the "visible soul." Quoted in Hans Fischer, *Studien über Seelenvorstellungen in Ozeanien* (Munich: Klaus Renner Verlag, 1965), 1; hereafter cited as Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen.*

[3]E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1871) quoted in Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 2.

[4]Contrary to a commonly believed idea that Edward B. Tylor first coined the term "animism," as expressed in Philip M. Steyne, *Gods of Power: A Study of the Beliefs and Practices of Animists* (Columbia, SC: Impact International Foundation, 1996), 36, Tylor was the first person who introduced animism as a religio-ethnological term. See E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1871), 384 and Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 2.

terms shadow, heart, blood, eye, and breath from all over the world.[5] His theories, however, followed an evolutionary scheme which stated that all soul concepts follow a pre-described, linear development among all cultures on earth.[6]

Tylor's theories did not remain unnoticed. In fact they became object of a heated debate. Wundt[7] (1910), Crawley[8] (1909), Boas[9] (1940), and others argued against the animistic theory. Ankermann (1918) argued that within the African context, one has to consider two concepts of soul. The concept of "life-soul" is related to the terms "heart" and "breath" and disappears with the death of the body. The concept of "image-soul" is like a double which is embodied in the shadow and survives the death of the body.[10]

Lévy-Bruhl[11] (1956) strongly objected to using the English term "soul" altogether. The drawback of the subjectivity of one's own concept, he argues, does not allow for the adequate presentation of the concept that an insider of a given culture has.

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[5]He also created the term "apparitional soul" which he understands as the "soul" which is visible in dreams and visions. Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 3-4.

[6]Compare Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 3.

[7]Wilhelm Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, 2d ed., vol. IV *Mythos und Religion* (Leipzig: n. p., 1910), 25. Wundt introduced the terms "breath-soul" and "shadow-soul," in Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 6-7.

[8]A. E. Crawley, *The Idea of the Soul* (London, n. p., 1909), 13 in Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 10.

[9]Franz Boas, "The Idea of the Future Life among Primitive Tribes," in *Race, Language and Culture* (New York: n. p., 1940), 596. The terms "life-soul" and "memory-image soul" were first introduced by him. Quoted in Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 11-13. Boas became one of the most influential persons in the field of anthropology. It is even suggested that he is the "father of American Anthropology." See Stephen A. Grundlan and Marvin K. Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology: A Christian Perspective*, Fourth Printing (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1981), 66; hereafter cited as Grunlan and Mayers, *Anthropology*.

[10]Bernhard Ankermann, "Totenkult und Seelenglaube bei Afrikanischen Völkern," *Z[eitschrift] f[ür] E[thnologie]* 50 (1918): 89-153, 129 quoted in Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 15.

[11]L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Die Seele der Primitiven* (Düsseldorf and Cologne: n. p., 1956), 206 quoted in Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 18.

Of academic interest is the dissertation of Körner[12] (1936). His research concentrated on a relatively small geographical area and was focused on defining terms which do not match the Western concept of soul. His basic assumption was that, for East-Indonesian peoples, two components structured a human being. He called them "life-force" and "shadow-image-being."[13]

In 1953 Hultkranz published his book *Conceptions of the Soul among the North American Indians*.[14] His research was concerned with the concept of "soul" and its function during the lifetime of a person.[15]

In conclusion it may be said that the period between 1860 to 1960 saw much work done in the field of soul concepts. One of the results of the quest for a better understanding was the insight that one should differentiate between two soul concepts among tribal societies which both fall under one and the same European or Western concept of soul.

Of further interest in examining previous research is the work of Hochegger (1965).[16] He provides an excellent overview of soul concepts in Africa based on publications dating from 1881 to 1963. Of great value is the listing of literature and its content according to regions of Africa. Highly interesting is the fact that under the Bemba of Zambia only one very concise article appears. Hochegger makes

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[12]Th. Körner, "Totenkult und Lebensglaube bei den Völkern Ost-Indonesiens," Bd. 10 *Studien zur Völkerkunde* (Ph.D. diss., Leipzig, 1936), 166-168 quoted in Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 28-29.

[13]The major distinction between both concepts is that the principle of "life-force" is at times closely related to a spot or an organ of the body. Its absence means unconsciousness and death and its withdrawal entails illness and death. The concept of "shadow-image-being" allows for a temporary withdrawal without serious consequences for a person (e.g. sleep, dream). Compare Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 29.

[14]Ake Hultkrantz, *Conceptions of Soul among North American Indians*, Monograph Series, Publication no. 1 (Stockholm: The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, 1953) quoted in Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 34.

[15]His terminology included the terms "body-soul," "functional soul," and "free-soul." Compare Fischer, *Seelenvorstellungen*, 35.

[16]Hermann Hochegger, "Die Vorstellungen von 'Seele' und Totengeist bei Afrikanischen Völkern," *Anthropos* 60 (1965): 273-339; hereafter cited as Hochegger, "Vorstellungen."

reference to Barnes and his article published in 1922[17] and concludes that his information is too vague to arrive at a thorough analysis of the Bemba concept of soul.[18]

Willoughby's remarkable contribution to soul concepts of Bantu people in his monumental book, *The Soul of the Bantu,* was first published in 1928. In contrast to Ankermann (1918), who differentiated two concepts of soul, Willoughby appeals strongly for a necessary distinction between "soul" and "spirit."[19]

Audrey I. Richards, a British anthropologist, began work among the Bemba in the early thirties. Her research culminated into an extensive ethnographical description of the Bemba.[20] In describing customs, beliefs, and traditions she makes reference to *imipashi,* the ancestral spirits.[21] The mentioning of *imipashi* occurs within the general context of beliefs and religious practices and does not offer a concept of soul and spirit.

In 1973, Werner tried to show how the religious system of the Bemba developed based on linguistic evidence concerning the terms *Lesa* (God), *imipashi* (ancestral spirits), and *Ngulu* (nature spirits).[22] His documentation, however, does not provide a concept of soul within the context of the concept of Bemba anthropology as indicated earlier on.

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[17]H. Barnes, "Survival after Death among the Ba-Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia," *MAN* 22 (1922): 41-42, 41.

[18]Hochegger, "Vorstellungen," 319.

[19]W. C. Willoughby, *The Soul of the Bantu: A Sympathetic Study of the Magico-Religious Practices and Beliefs of the Bantu Tribes of Africa* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1928; reprint, Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 10-13 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

[20]Three books are of interest. Audrey I. Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe*, Second Impression, Published for the International African Institute (London: Oxford University Press, 1951); hereafter cited as Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet*. Audrey I. Richards, *Chisungu: A Girls Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959); hereafter cited as Richards, *Chisungu*. And Audrey I. Richards, *Mother-Right Among the Central Bantu* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1934; reprint, Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970),

[21]Richards, *Chisungu*, 28-29. Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet*, 354-359.

[22]Douglas Werner, "Some Developments in Bemba Religious History," *JRA* vol. IV, no. 1 (1971): 1-24, 7.

Maxwell (1983) was interested in showing that "virtually every religious belief of Bemba tradition"[23] has an anthropocentric dimension. Being human is to take a regulative place in the spiritual and physical universe. His emphasis was on demonstrating how sound and acoustics defined being human in an oral tradition and what impact literacy has on this perception.

A totally different approach is taken by Hinfelaar (1994). He directed his main focus toward the drastic changes Bemba women underwent in their roles within the Bemba religious system under the harsh rule of the Bemba Royal Aristocracy (*Bena Ng'andu*). His references pertaining to *imipashi,* the ancestral spirits, are centered around the previously occupied traditional role of women in mediating between transcendence and immanence.[24]

Both recent publications view Bemba anthropology from a different angle. None, however, provides a description of how the concept of body, the concept of soul, and the concept of spirit form the three indispensable components to give a theory on the concept of Bemba anthropology.

I shall attempt to show what these three components or concepts are and how they form the elements which provide a theory of Bemba anthropology. In this regard the findings presented here will add to the data already gathered in the history of research of the Bemba people. Furthermore, I hope that insights gained from this paper will be of help to the Christian community. Envisioned in particular are mission personnel who are engaged in cross-cultural ministry among the Bemba.

4. Logic of Presentation

The last three to four decades have demonstrated the value of the social sciences for Christian work. The contribution anthropology has

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[23]Kevin B. Maxwell, *Bemba Myth and Ritual: The Impact of Literacy on an Oral Culture*, American University Studies, Series XI Anthropology / Sociology, vol. 2 (New York: Peter Lang, 1983), 22.

[24]Hugo F. Hinfelaar, *Bemba Speaking Women of Zambia in a Century of Religious Change (1892-1992)*, Studies of Religion in Africa, Supplements to the Journal of Religion in Africa, eds. Adrian Hastings and Marc R. Spindler, vol. XI (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 1-33; hereafter cited as Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women.*

made to our understanding of the totality of human reality should not be underestimated. The concept of being human can only be partially derived from behavior. A more comprehensive understanding of being human can be attained by way of investigating how this concept exists in the minds of people.[25] This investigation is where cognitive anthropology can be of great assistance. Chapter two will show how theology, the social sciences, and cognitive anthropology should relate to each other.[26] In addition, it will be necessary to outline briefly the development of cognitive anthropology as a sub-department of anthropology and to show the value of this discipline in cross-cultural ministry.[27] The particular interest will be in the methods and techniques of cognitive anthropology especially those which were applied to elicit the data and information in order to gain under-standing of cultural concepts such as Bemba anthropology to enhance cross-cultural interaction.[28]

The thesis topic is focused on the Bemba, an ethnic group in Zambia, a country in Southern Africa. A general description of the geography, the government, the land and climate of Zambia will aid in introducing the Bemba people in the northern part of the country. The heartland of the Bemba,[29] their ethnic affiliation, and their tribal

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[25]Culture as such cannot be observed directly but is defined by the knowledge people have learned. The challenge is to find out what people know. That is, in what categories is this knowledge stored in their minds? This is the where cognitive anthropology can help. Compare also James P. Spradley, *The Ethnographic Interview* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979), 8; hereafter cited as Spradley, *Ethnographic Interview*.

[26]See Paul G. Hiebert and Eloise Hiebert Meneses, *Incarnational Ministry: Planting Churches in Band, Tribal, Peasant, and Urban Societies* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995), 1-19.

[27]Grundlan and Mayers, *Anthropology*, 35-36. See also Gary Burlington, "Cultural Anthropology," Lecture Notes at Lincoln Christian College, Lincoln, IL., 19 January 1998.

[28]Spradley, *Ethnographic Interview*. It would be dissatisfactory to single out certain pages of Spradley's book since he introduces the applicable methods in sequential chapters. Major features would be the collection and sorting of linguistic material, the help of an informant, analyzing material collected, and giving a statement of relevance. Compare also Stephen A. Tyler, *Cognitive Anthropology*: *Readings* ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), iv.

[29]Joseph Melvin Doucette, *The Clans of the Bemba and of some Neigbouring Tribes* (Kasama, Zambia: Malole Parish, Archdiocese of Kasama, [1997]), 1.

history[30] as well as selected fundamental characteristics of Bemba culture (the matrilineal system and the state and religious system)[31] are dealt with in chapter three. Of further relevance will be an outline of culture and worldview in general and the inter-action of environment and worldview of the Bemba[32] in particular. Since cognitive concepts are only accessible through language, the relationship between culture and language needs to be addressed, specifically how the Bemba language and their concept of being human relate to one another.

Chapter four will provide a theory on the concepts of *umubili* (body) and *umutima* (soul). It will have to be shown that without a concept of body (anatomy and biology) a concept of soul will lack an essential component and will fall drastically short of establishing a concept of being human. The chosen approach is to look at linguistic evidence in terms of the terminology for body *(umubili)* as well as analyzing linguistic evidence in reference to *umutima* (soul). I will show that *umutima* is not congruent with the term soul according to a Western concept but has to be understood as the seat of emotions, the faculty of intellectual processes, and the sole reference to personality.

Chapter five will provide evidence that the concept of *umupashi* (spirit) carries a dual dimension. *Umupashi* is the being that survives the death of the body and retains and continues the personality of a person after death. The concept of *umutima* blends with the concept of *umupashi* in such a comprehensive manner that both are inseparably linked. An attempt to define Bemba anthropology will have to take both concepts into account.

Concluding comments on the concept of Bemba anthropology will be made in chapter six. It will be shown that Bemba anthropology has far reaching implications on Theology and, equally important, on current mission practice among the Bemba. Three pertinent issues will be addressed:

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[30]Hugo F. Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 2. Compare also Michael O'Shea, *Missionaries and Miners* (Ndola, Zambia: The Missionaries of Africa, Mission Press, 1986), 25.

[31]Compare Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet,* 15-33; See also Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women,* xi-18.

[32]Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women,* 2.

(1) Bemba anthropology and Bible Translation, (2) Bemba anthropology and the person of the Holy Spirit, and (3) Bemba anthropology and the biblical understanding of illness.

The Nine Noun Classes of the Bemba Language as well as an introduction to Bemba Orthography will be placed in Appendices. Maps also appear as appendices, and foreign words or technical terms are listed in a glossary. All publications cited—such as books, articles in magazines or periodicals—are listed in the Bibliography.

CHAPTER 2
THEOLOGY, SOCIAL SCIENCES AND COGNITIVE ANTHROPOLOGY

1. Introduction

Within the realm of science[1] some disciplines, such as theology and the natural sciences, have a long standing tradition. Such is not the case with anthropology in general and cultural anthropology in particular. In this chapter emphasis is put on the relationship between theology and the social sciences and, more specifically, cultural anthropology and cognitive anthropology. I will discuss the value of cognitive anthropology in cross-cultural ministry, looking first at what cognitive anthropology is, how it developed, and in what ways it can tie in with missions. Next, an outline of how cognitive anthropology works, that is, what kind of method makes it possible to elicit relevant information from certain cultural concepts, will be presented. The particular interest will be how this method can be applied to the concept of Bemba anthropology.

2. Theology and the Social Sciences

The relationship between theology and the social sciences has not always been good. In fact, they were rather keeping aloof from one another during the decades of the twentieth century. Evangelical Christians in particular demonstrated a reluctance to pay attention to the contributions anthropology in general was able to provide as regards to cultural concepts. At times, there was fear toward subjects

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[1]The academic disciplines can according to Grunlan and Mayers be divided into two basic groups: the humanities and the sciences. See Stephen A. Grunlan and Marvin K. Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology: A Christian Perspective*, Fourth Printing (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1981), 35-36; hereafter cited as Grunlan and Mayers, *Anthropology*. Also Philip K. Bock, *Modern Cultural Anthropology: An Introduction,* Third Edition (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1979), 15-17; hereafter cited as Bock, *Modern Anthropology*. Other disciplines which fall under anthropology are listed in Lothar Käser, *Fremde Kulturen: Eine Einführung in die Ethnologie für Entwicklungshelfer and Kirchliche Mitarbeiter in Übersee* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission; Lahr: Verlag der Liebenzeller Mission, 1997), 13; hereafter cited as Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*. See also Charles H. Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996), 4; hereafter cited as Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness*.

which are not exclusively a biblical discipline.[2] Anthropology has very often been viewed as a tool used to attack Christianity.[3] Hiebert calls this attitude "theological reductionism."[4] He rightly points out that in this particular situation—that of theology versus scientific knowledge—Christians find themselves in the predicament of taking theology seriously but are reluctant to acknowledge scientific knowledge altogether. The result is a certain degree of mental dishonesty and the unwillingness to acknowledge achievements already made. Credit is not given where it is due.[5] This situation is rather unfortunate. Both disciplines have much to offer in terms of describing human realities, and a better understanding of both should be sought. The issue is not separation but integration.[6]

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[2]The role of the behavioral sciences was the focus of the annual meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society in 1975. The difference of opinions is discussed in William J. Larkin, Jr., *Culture and Biblical Hermeneutics: Interpreting and Applying the Authoritative Word in a Relativistic Age* (Columbia, SC: Columbia Bible College & Seminary Press, 1992), 129-136.

[3]Kraft expresses this situation with following words: [Anthropology has often been seen] "as a discipline that advocates evolution and ethical relativism and is often regarded as anti-Christian." Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness*, 2. At the same time, there are anthropologists who did and do aim at discrediting and denouncing Christian work. Beidelmann a social anthropologist writes: "Christian missions represent the most naive and ethnocentric, and therefore the most thorough-going, facet of colonial life." To express it even more clearly, he continues saying: "Missionaries invariably aimed at overall changes in the beliefs and actions of native peoples, at colonization of heart and mind as well as body. Pursuing this sustained policy of change, missionaries demonstrated a more radical and morally intense commitment to rule than political administrators or business men." In Thomas O. Beidelmann, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 5-6.

[4]Hiebert is of the opinion that "theological reductionism" is common among evangelicals. He defines it as taking theology seriously, but being afraid of the social sciences. Paul G. Hiebert and Eloise Hiebert Meneses, *Incarnational Ministry: Planting Churches in Band, Tribal, Peasant, and Urban Societies* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995), 10; hereafter cited as Hiebert, *Incarnational Ministry*.

[5]Hiebert, *Incarnational Ministry*, 10.

[6]The recent past has seen articles, books and evangelical apologetics in the debate of homosexuality. The issue of the Church and social science was raised even on this subject. Beck is of the opinion that "…we must admit that sciences in general as well as social science in particular can inform us and equip us in powerful ways to facilitate our determination to defend a Biblical position on the subject [homosexuality]." James R. Beck, "Evangelicals, Homosexuality, and Social Science," *JETS* vol. 40, no. 1 (March 1997): 83-97, 87. There is good reason and legitimate ground to transfer this stance to cultural anthropology as well.

2.1 The Interdependence of Theology and the Social Sciences

Each field, both theology and the social sciences, has much to contribute to enhancing our understanding of the whole of human realities.[7] Theology introduces us to God as the creator and originator of all life. Furthermore, theology depicts God in his redeeming acts of humanity culminating in the incarnation of Christ. This divine mission is the matrix of all subsequent missions, proclaiming Christ as the only and once for all mediator between man and God for everyone in every culture. On the other hand, all of human behavior, or the whole of human experience *per se*, takes place within culture. The social sciences have provided many useful insights into culture. Theology shows God's primary assumptions on and intent with man, whereas the social sciences show man's primary assumptions on the world expressed in different cultural settings. Put differently, theology and the social sciences, and anthropology in particular, both seek to give an answer to the question: "What does it mean to be human?"[8]

2.2 The Interdependence of Anthropology and Cross-Cultural Ministry

Anthropology offers a meaningful integration of theology and cross-cultural ministry because it elicits specific knowledge of cultural laws directly linked to mission work. The notion that the Holy Spirit overrules such laws *per se* is an unlikely reality. We do not usually expect the Holy Spirit to overrule when we act against natural laws. In the same way should we not expect Him to overrule when we act against cultural laws.[9] To know and understand what cultural laws are

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[7]Hiebert, *Incarnational Ministry*, 13.

[8]Bock, *Modern Anthropology*, 17.

[9]Suppose a Preacher is invited to preach at a certain Church on Sunday morning. Since he is not very familiar with the area he misses a turn off and gets lost. Due to this, he is running out of time and is under enormous pressure to get there on time. He knows that the Church does not take kindly to late-comers, especially preachers, and speeds down the inner-city highway. Robot lights become an obstacle to his mission and he keeps going whatever color the robots display. "After all" he says to himself, "I am traveling on God's mission. The Holy Spirit might just as well take care of the traffic." The Holy Spirit might as well do so, but it would be foolish and dangerous to count on it, even more so if it grew into a habit. For another example see Grunlan and Mayers, *Anthropology*, 21-22.

and how they work is of profound significance to any type of cross-cultural ministry. We should, therefore, make efforts to establish how both disciplines can complement each other and hence recognize the value of anthropology in cross-cultural ministry.

3. Cognitive Anthropology and Cross-Cultural Ministry

As a significant contrast to anthropology, which mainly concerned itself with searching for a "generalized unit of behavioral analysis"[10] in the first half of this century, cognitive anthropology "attempts to understand *the organizing principles underlying* behavior."[11]

This emphasis makes possible an approach that allows us to study how material phenomena are organized in the minds of men and, therefore, to bring to light valuable insights of the "deep structure"[12] of a culture. This line of approach to behavior is of utmost importance in order to understand and interpret behavior according to an insider's point of view. The same criterion would be true for other cultural concepts. The application of this approach will be of great assistance in the process of learning a foreign culture.

3.1 What is Cognitive Anthropology?

Cognitive anthropology is both an academic discipline and a tool. As an academic discipline it is directly linked to anthropology which contrasts and compares cultures on a wide scale trying to make generalizations about human behavior. As a more specialized approach, cognitive anthropology "investigates cultural knowledge,

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[10]Stephen A. Tyler, ed. *Cognitive Anthropology: Readings* (New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, Inc., 1969), 3; hereafter cited as Tyler, *Cognitive Anthropology*.

[11]Tyler, ed. *Cognitive Anthropology*, 3.

[12]Käser, Chomsky, Kraft, and others argue that behavior (as part of the "surface-structure") is governed by a "deep structure". Like the grammar of a language governs the text in the same way does the "deep-structure" govern the "surface-structure" of a culture. See Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*, 33; Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures* (The Hague: Mouton, 1957) in Roy D'Andrade, *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995), 10; hereafter cited as D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*. On the surface-structure, "we see human behavior usually following the guidelines of cultural patterning." At the deep-structure, "we see human worldview assumptions following cultural guidelines as well." Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness,*133-134.

knowledge which is embedded in words, in stories, and artifacts, and which is learned from and shared with other humans."[13]

As a tool, cognitive anthropology investigates that part of culture which exists as concepts hidden in the minds of people. Cognitive anthropology is concerned with the cognitive dimension of human experience. Worldview and the specific concepts of how the world is structured will inevitably have an impact on behavior.

3.2 The Development of Cognitive Anthropology

The scientific history of cognitive anthropology spans a relatively short period of time. Its story begins in the late 1950s. Cognitive anthropology was not a new invention but rather an adaptation, because its principles were already successfully applied to linguistics in order to analyze phonemic systems.[14] Due to the limitation of this study, only the ground-breaking period of cognitive anthropology is highlighted.

Historically, cognitive anthropology has it roots in anthropology, which began to gain significance as a professional field of study in the late nineteenth century.[15] The lead in the development of cognitive anthropology was taken by Lounsbury,[16] Goodenough,[17] Wallace,[18] Conklin,[19] and Romney.[20] The new method was a

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[13]D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, xiv. Hiebert ascribes three basic dimensions to culture: "ideas, feelings, and values." But all of them have to do with knowledge which is shared by members of a group or culture. Paul G. Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights for Missionaries*, Thirteenth Printing (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1998), 30; hereafter cited as Hiebert, *Insights*.

[14]D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 245.

[15]D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 1.

[16]Floyd Lounsbury, "A Semantic Analysis of the Pawnee Kinship Terminologies," *Language* 32 (1956): 158-194 in D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 14.

[17]Ward Hunt Goodenough, "Componential Analysis and the Study of Meaning," *Language* 32 (1956): 195-216 in D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 14-15.

[18]Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *AmA* 58 (1956): 264-281 in D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 16.

[19]Harold C. Conklin, "The Relation of Hanunóo Culture to the Plant World" (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., in Anthropology, Yale University, 1954) in D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 32.

paradigm shift from the institutional behavior (e.g., marriage, work, religion etc.) to the ethnographic study of how idea or symbol are systematized.[21] The premise was that, if culture is knowledge, how can one make statements on the content of such knowledge, and moreover, how is it organized?[22] Goodenough applied a strict method for identifying "idea units"[23] and analyzed how these units were organized or structured. With this approach he began analyzing the kin term system of the Truk people in the Pacific. F. Lounsbury worked on the semantic analysis of kinship terms among the Pawnee American Indians.[24] The impact of these two papers was great because they provided detailed information on how concepts were structured. The greater value lay in the discovery that "the general principles involved in identification and analysis could be extended to other domains."[25] This new approach opened a gateway to domains which were other than material, such as kin term systems or the concepts of body and soul.[26] How, then, does cognitive anthropology concern Christian cross-cultural ministry, and what is its value in this field?

3.3 *The Value of Cognitive Anthropology in Cross-Cultural Ministry*

Cognitive anthropology relates to Christian work in terms of both its tasks for the wider community and its tasks for the academic community. All Christian personnel involved in cross-cultural ministry need the results of anthropology in general and, to a certain degree, cognitive anthropology in particular to help them understand

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[20]A. Kimball Romney and Roy D'Andrade, "Cognitive Aspects of English Kin Terms," *AmA* 68 (1964): 146-170 in D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 28.

[21]D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 12.

[22]D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 244.

[23]D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 17.

[24]D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology,* 14.

[25]D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 17.

[26]See Lothar Käser, "Der Begriff Seele bei den Insulanern von Truk," (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Geowissenschaftliche Fakultät, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg i. Br., 1977).

the beliefs, practices, ideas, issues, problems, hopes, and fears of the communities with which they work. More specifically, it shows the reality of various concepts such as the concept of sin,[27] or that of body, soul, and spirit.

Cognitive anthropology connects to Christian work academically, because its account of a given culture may point out how, for example, the religion of a certain society works to maintain the advantages of the elite. In this regard it challenges Christian theology because it raises the question of whether the spiritual is real or whether people seek the spiritual merely as another way to ensure their material well-being.[28]

The value of cognitive anthropology for Christian work derives its significance from challenging ethnocentrism (the assumption that one's own culture presents the only and best way to do things).[29] On the other hand, it also disallows reverse-ethnocentrism (the assumption that somebody else's way of doing things is the only and best way to do things).[30] Within the provisions of the context mentioned, cognitive anthropology leads to a desired and fruitful interaction. The obvious opportunities cognitive anthropology offers to Christian workers should be regarded as truly valuable in cross-cultural interaction. What are the principles that make cognitive anthropology an essential tool in cross-cultural ministry?

4. The Method of Cognitive Anthropology

Any systematic approach or method applied to establish a theory on a specific subject should be measured by what it tries to accomplish.

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[27]In the context of sin, cultural anthropology can help to see that it is a "systemic as opposed to merely individual problem." Gary Burlington, "Cultural Anthropology," Lecture Notes at Lincoln Christian College, Lincoln, IL., 19 January 1998; hereafter cited as Burlington, *Lecture Notes*.

[28]Burlington, *Lecture Notes*, 19 January 1998.

[29]Burlington, *Lecture Notes,* 19 January 1998. Following the same line of thinking and argument Kraft says, "an anthropological perspective makes it possible for us to avoid being crippled by the enemy within us – our own ethnocentrism." Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness,* xiii.

[30]Burlington, *Lecture Notes,* 19 January 1998.

4.1 Basic Assumptions on Method

The decisive criteria for any method used are whether it determines the content and, consequently, the result of the subject matter, or, whether the subject matter devises the method to describe its content. The latter allows a presentation of the findings in a categorized and systematized framework on its own merit leading to a theory.[31] Cognitive anthropology follows this approach, since it tries to investigate the emic[32] aspects of a concept under research rather than its etic[33] aspects. As mentioned earlier, cognitive anthropology shows particular concern for the insider's viewpoint on a given subject. It aims at "*discovering* how different peoples organize and use their cultures."[34] The key feature in this process is to describe cultural elements or concepts in the language of the insider of a culture. A brief introduction to the method of cognitive anthropology follows.

4.2 Particular Assumptions on the Method of Cognitive Anthropology

The first step in proceeding with the research is to identify the area of one's prime interest. Second, acquisition of knowledge is always connected to the acquisition of data. The primary interest is in the names for things[35] in the native language. This is best undertaken by

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[31]"Discovering the *insider's* view is a different species of knowledge from one that rests primarily on the *outsider's* view." James P. Spradley, *The Ethnographic Interview* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979), 4; hereafter cited as Spradley, *Interview*.

[32]"…emic (to understand culture as those living in it)." Hiebert, *Incarnational Ministry,* 14. Emic is "based on the '-emic' suffix of the word 'phonemic'." D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 18.

[33]"…etic (using the categories and methods of anthropology, which is both the science and the art of studying and comparing cultures)." Hiebert, *Incarnational Ministry,* 15. Pike described the effects of "emic" and "etic" in detail calling "emic" culturally conditioned insider's viewpoint and "etic" objective outsider's viewpoint. See Kenneth L. Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* (Glendale: Summer Institute of Linguistics), 1954. Referred to in T. Wayne Dye, "Toward a Cross-Cultural Definition of Sin," *Missiology* IV, no. 1 (January 1976): 27-41, 35. More on emic and etic aspects see also Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*, 305. Etic is derived from the "term 'phonetics'." D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 19.

[34]Tyler, ed. *Cognitive Anthropology*, 3.

[35]We name and classify "because life in a world where nothing was the same would be intolerable." Tyler, ed. *Cognitive Anthropology*, 7.

the engagement of an informant.[36] Three leading questions may form the basis of the acquisition of data and their relationship to one another. (1) What is the name/term of this thing, this action, this attribute, or this condition? (2) What else does this term mean? (3) What kind of thing, action, attribute, or condition is this?[37] The answers will make it possible to identify the major term of a hierarchically arranged grouping which will form a taxonomy.[38] In the course of time a compilation of data will be readily available. A third element comes into force as the collection of data expands. The problem of utter chaos, which one increasingly has to face, can be avoided by placing the data into their respective semantic domains.[39] Once a number of semantic domains have been identified, a "statement of *relevance*"[40] can be made. In other words, one is in a position to speak about things and concepts correctly,[41] that is, as a native speaker would speak about them.

My data forming the base of establishing a concept of Bemba anthropology has been collected by using the method as outlined above. My main informant was Mr. *G. Chewe Pitiloshi* (about forty years old of *Andele* village). We first met in 1989. As time past, a deep friendship developed that lasted more than a decade. Mr. *S. Kaluba* (about sixty years old of *Ngulula* village) and Mr. *P. Lupupa* (thirty-two years old residing in a village near Kasama town) contributed to the compilation of vocabulary and function of the Bemba body anatomy. Of great help in collecting data on *umutima*

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[36]On the advantages of engaging an informant see Spradley, *Interview*, 25. Ethical principles related to the engagement of informants see also Spradley, *Interview*, 34-39.

[37]This kind of questioning is also known as "eliciting." See Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*, 304. Also Lothar Käser, *Die Besiedlung Mikronesiens: Eine Ethnologisch-Linguistische Untersuchung* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1989), 77.

[38]Taxonomies have two characteristics: "items at the same level contrast with one another" and "items at different levels are related by inclusion." Tyler, ed. *Cognitive Anthropology*, 7.

[39]"A semantic domain consists of a class of objects all of which share at least one feature in common which differentiates them from other semantic domains." Tyler, ed. *Cognitive Anthropology*, 8.

[40]Tyler, ed. *Cognitive Anthropology*, ix.

[41]Compare Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*, 304.

(heart) and *imibele* (character traits of a person) were Mr. *A. Chituta*, forty-one years old from Mungwi, and Mr. *S. Bwalya*, in his mid-forties, resident of Kasama town.

5. Summary

The quest for a better understanding of being human involves theology as well as the social sciences in general and the behavioral sciences in particular. By seeking to "understand people and divine revelation within the context of history,"[42] anthropology contributes significantly toward understanding people in a holistic manner. The insights gained from anthropological studies are invaluable in missions. This fact neither challenges nor diminishes the authority of the Scripture but is meant to aid the efforts of communicating God's truths within the frame of diverse cultures. The challenge is to integrate theological and anthropological views of humans.[43]

As a specific branch of anthropology, cognitive anthropology serves as a useful tool in eliciting information from cultural concepts. The basic problem which cognitive anthropology encounters is how cultural knowledge is organized in the mind. The answer to this question is not an easy one, because mere observation of behavior by an observer (or outsider) merely scratches the surface level. The value of this academic discipline lies in the approach to identifying semantic domains according to the linguistic features of the language of a cultural insider.

This kind of methodology is most significant if concepts of abstract nature, such as soul and spirit concepts, are to be researched. It may, therefore, be said that cognitive anthropology has made headway in the provision of "detailed and reliable descriptions of cultural representations" and the provision of a "bridge between culture and the functioning of the psyche."[44]

Before I attempt to construct a concept of Bemba anthropology, it will be necessary to offer a description of the geography of Zambia. The homeland of the Bemba, their history, and their way of defining

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[42]Hiebert, *Insights*, 20.

[43]Hiebert, *Insights*, 21.

[44]D'Andrade, *Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 251-252.

descent and succession will provide helpful information on their way of life. A short introduction to the complex structures of the state and religious system of the Bemba will follow next.   The interaction between culture and worldview and its relation to Bemba worldview will also be reviewed. Considering the fact that the concept of Bemba anthropology is based on linguistic data, reference will have to be made to the way in which culture and language relate to one another.

CHAPTER 3
THE BEMBA OF ZAMBIA

1. Introduction

This chapter will give an introduction to the Bemba of Zambia. A general description of the geography, government, land, and climate of Zambia shall provide background information about this country in southern Africa. Next, the Northern Province—the heartland of the Bemba—their tribal history, and selected fundamental characteristics of Bemba culture (the matrilineal system, the state, and the religious system) will be presented. Along with these cultural elements about the Bemba comes the question of how culture and worldview relate to one another and, more specifically, how Bemba culture and Bemba worldview interrelate. At the same time, the question of the relationship between culture and language is one of necessity. Language not only describes but also determines the conception of cultural concepts such as Bemba anthropology. How Bemba anthropology is determined by language is a question which needs to be addressed.

2. Geography, Government, Land, and Climate of Zambia

Zambia is a landlocked country in southern Africa. It comprises an area of 752,614 sq km.[1] Its neighbors are the Democratic Republic of Congo in the North, Tanzania in the Northeast, Malawi in the East, Mozambique in the Southeast, Zimbabwe and Botswana in the South, the Caprivi Strip of Namibia in the Southwest, and finally Angola in the West. The official name is The Republic of Zambia.

The president who is elected by direct universal vote leads the government. His term of office is restricted to a maximum of two-five years terms. He appoints a cabinet which is headed by a prime minister. Zambia's legislative body, the National Assembly, has 150 elected members.[2] The president simultaneously holds the highest

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[1]Peter Körner, "Sambia," *Munzinger Archiv: Internationales Handbuch – Länder aktuell, Politik* (9/1998): 1-6, 1; hereafter cited as Körner, "Sambia," *Politik.*

[2]Microsoft Corporation, *Microsoft® Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Zambia," [CD-ROM] 1993-1997; hereafter cited as *Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia*, "Zambia." Compare also Körner, "Sambia," *Politik,* 2.

office of the ruling party (Movement for Multiparty Democracy, MMD).

Zambia's geography is characterized by a high-plateau. The terrain is mostly flat or gently undulating. The average elevations range between 1100 and 1400 m (about 3500 and 4500 ft). The Northeast, beginning at Lake Tanganyika in the North and going South along the Tanzanian border up to the northern tip of Lake Malawi, is rather mountainous, with mountains reaching 2164 m (7100 ft). The Zambezi, feeding the majestic Victoria Falls in the far South, is the most famous of all major rivers in Zambia. The enormous amounts of water pressing through the Zambezi gorge in an eastern direction are collected in Lake Kariba, a man-made large reservoir formed by Kariba Dam.[3]

The pleasant subtropical climate is a much appreciated fact about Zambia. The reason is the high altitude mentioned above. The favorable climatic conditions exist despite the country lying within the Tropic Zone. Temperatures range between 16° C (61° F) in July, the coldest month, and 21° C (70° F) in January, the hottest month.[4] The annual rainfall varies from region to region, though in general the South experiences less than the North. An average rainfall would be 750 mm (30 in) in the South and 1300 mm (51 in) in the North. The rainy season begins in late October and rainfall usually stops in April.[5]

3. The Bemba of the Northern Province

The Republic of Zambia consists of 9 Provinces, each governed by a Minister directly appointed by the President. Each Minister resides in the Provincial Capital. One of these Provincial Capitals is Kasama, the hub of all governmental administration in the Northern Province. The Province is subdivided into Districts differing in infrastructure, size, and population. Kasama itself is one such District with a total surface area of 20,550 sq km. The total population was 255,334 in

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[3] *Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia*, "Zambia."

[4] These figures represent average temperatures in Lusaka, the Capital City. *Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia,* "Zambia." Temperatures on the high plateau are slightly higher on average ranging from 20° C to 22° C. See Peter Körner, "Sambia," *Munzinger Archiv: Internationales Handbuch – Länder aktuell* (9/1998): 1-6, ii; hereafter cited as Körner, "Sambia."

[5] Compare *Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia,* "Zambia."

1997.[6] The more urban part of the District is situated within a 30 km radius around Kasama town. Half the District population lives in this 2,827 sq km large area. The other more rural part of the District is more than six times larger (17,723 sq km) and accommodates the other half of the population.[7]

The Northern Province is part of what is called the Lunda high plateau in Central Africa, comprising extensive woodlands and shallow marshes. This area is inhabited by the Bemba-speaking peoples.[8] The whole of this terrain is shaped by the sources of some of the major tributaries, the *Chambeshi* or the *Luapula*, to the major rivers of the continent.[9] A major reason why, until recently, this area was thinly populated, is its potential to being "the breeding ground of many parasitical diseases,"[10] as well as the poor fertility of the soil.

3.1 The Ethnic Affiliation of the Bemba

As a Nation, Zambia represents about 73 ethnic groups. The Bemba belong to the group of Bantu tribes.[11] They form the largest tribe in the Northern Province, and they are "one of the major tribes in the

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[6]Frank LeBacq, "Community Based Health Promotion: An Opportunity within the Zambian Health Reforms for a New Cultural Approach to a Generic Community Based Health System in Kasama District, North-Central Health Region, Zambia" (TMs, Kasama: 1998), 1; hereafter cited as LeBacq, "Kasama District."

[7]LeBacq, "Kasama District," 1.

[8]Hugo F. Hinfelaar, *Bemba Speaking Women of Zambia in a Century of Religious Change (1892-1992)*, Studies of Religion in Africa, Supplements to the Journal of Religion in Africa, eds. Adrian Hastings and Marc R. Spindler, vol. XI (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 2; hereafter cited as Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*.

[9]The Zambezi and the Zaire. Compare Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women,* 2.

[10]Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women,* 2.

[11]There are several theories about the migration of tribes in Africa. Some are mainly based on linguistic features, and others on common features of certain cultural elements (initiation rites, matrilineal or patrilineal descent and succession and others), or the material culture. For further readings see O. Köhler, "Geschichte und Probleme der Gliederung der Sprachen Afrikas," in *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre Traditionellen Kulturen,* Hg. Hermann Baumann, Teil 1, Allgemeiner Teil und Südliches Afrika (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1975), 141-375. Also H. Baumann, "Die Sambesi-Angola Provinz," in *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre Traditionellen Kulturen,* Hg. Hermann Baumann, Teil 1, Allgemeiner Teil und Südliches Afrika (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1975), 513-594.

country."[12]   Not all of the Bemba people live in their tribal territory. Many of them have moved away, especially to the greater cities of the Copperbelt[13] and to the Capital, Lusaka.[14] The total number of Bemba people is not known. The approximate population of the tribe could be around one million.[15] Unlike the other tribes in the Province, the Bemba are highly organized in terms of religion and government. Both entities are under the jurisdiction of *Chitimukulu,*[16] the Paramount Chief of the Bemba people.

3.2 *The Tribal History of the Bemba*

According to tribal tradition the Bemba originated from a place called *Kola*[17] in the West. On their journey to the East they trekked through the Luba-Lunda nation states and finally crossed the Luapula River, now the state border between the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of Zambia. As early as the seventeenth century,[18] wave upon wave of Bemba migrants pressed across the river and settled in what is presently the Northern Province. Their immigration was a successive wave of conquest and subjugation of previous immigrants such as the Lungu, the Tabwe, and the Fiba.[19]

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[12]Joseph Melvin Doucette, *The Clans of the Bemba and of some Neigbouring Tribes* (Kasama, Zambia: Malole Parish, Archdiocese of Kasama, [1997]), 1; hereafter cited as Doucette*, Clans*.

[13]Copperbelt is the name of a Province bordering the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The main feature, as the name already suggests, is the mining of copper. It also stands collectively for all the towns situated within this area.

[14]Doucette, *Clans,* 1. See also Körner, "Sambia," ii.

[15]Doucette, *Clans,* 1.

[16]*Chitimukulu* is a composition of *Chiti*, the name of the founder of the Bemba people, and …*kulu* an adjective prefixed with the preposition *mu*, meaning: "great." All successive Paramount Chiefs inherited the title rather than the name. See also Doucette: *Clans*, 1.

[17]See Michael O'Shea, *Missionaries and Miners* (Ndola, Zambia: The Missionaries of Africa, Mission Press, 1986), 25; hereafter cited as O'Shea, *Miners*. One oral tradition says: "*Twafuma ku Kola, ku Masamba* / we came from Angola, from the West." Quoted from Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 3.

[18]Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women,* 19.

[19]O'Shea, *Miners,* 25-26. For a more extensive and detailed history of the Bemba, see Andrew D. Roberts, *A History of the Bemba: Political Growth and Change in North-Eastern Zambia before 1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973).

3.3 The Matrilineal System of the Bemba

Kinship is one of many social institutions in societies, but it constitutes the major social institution among non-literate societies.[20] One part of kinship relations is how descent and succession are perceived and whose family line is given priority. A person whose lineage is defined through the mother is part of the matrilineal system. Lineage defined through the father places a person into the patrilineal pattern.[21] Descent and succession require a further element to be taken into account. Apart from the legal rules of kinship, there are the emotional ties which come into force between the paternal and maternal group of a person.[22]

A unique feature of the Bemba matrilineal system is the fact that it is not embedded in agriculture, but in war and conquest. This feature has a definite impact on how inheritance is treated. Material property is of little importance in determining ties of kinship in Bemba society. Wealth is not defined in terms of possessions and property but in terms of power to command services.[23] Agriculturally inclined societies are very often attached to particular tracts of land. The Bemba have a more passionate interest in their ancestors, that is, from whom they descended, going back to the time when the first ancestors left "Lubaland in search of new worlds."[24]

At this point it will be necessary to draw out three characteristics of the Bemba matrilineal system. Some of it is described as the ideal found in proverb and song. The following three features, however, are still pillars of traditional Bemba culture. First, the Bemba still cherish the clan system. Within the boundaries of

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[20]Roy D'Andrade, *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995), 18, 28.

[21]Compare Lothar Käser, *Fremde Kulturen: Eine Einführung in die Ethnologie für Entwicklungshelfer und Kirchliche Mitarbeiter in Übersee* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission; Lahr: Verlag der Liebenzeller Mission, 1997), 102; hereafter cited as Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*.

[22]Audrey I. Richards, *Mother-Right Among the Central Bantu* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1934; reprint, Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 268 (page citation is to the reprint edition); hereafter cited as Richards, *Mother-Right*.

[23]Richards, *Mother-Right*, 269.

[24]Richards, *Mother-Right*, 269.

Bembaland some twenty-eight clans can be found.[25] Membership of the clan[26] follows that of the mother.[27] Second, the legal emphasis is matrilineal. The first successors of a chief are his brothers, then the sons of his sisters, and then his sister's daughter's sons. Sisters, nieces of sisters or granddaughters of chiefs are called *banamfumu.* They enjoy great privileges and are above all tribal laws.[28] They may also reign over territories in their own right. Their succession to chieftainship is strictly matrilineal. A special role is accredited to the mother of *Chitimukulu* (Paramount Chief) since motherhood experiences a state of glorification in the royal line.[29] A third feature of the Bemba matrilineal system is marriage. Marriage is matrilocal.[30] A young man wishing to get married is supposed to move into the village of his wife-to-be. He is to build his own hut but the mother-in-law and his bride will provide food and water. In return he offers his services in doing fieldwork for the father-in-law. This work-for-food relationship may go on for several years. Even the bond of marriage more or less obliges the couple to stay in the village of the wife. This situation may change after several children have been born and the husband may then move his family to his own village.[31] By this time, however, the children will have developed very close ties to their grandmother as well as their maternal aunts. The affiliation and affection to the kinship of one's mother will without doubt leave a deep imprint upon a person's life.

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[25]See Doucette, *Clans*, 15.

[26]The Bemba term for clan is *umukowa* (singular) and *imikowa* (plural).

[27]Richards, *Mother-Right*, 270.

[28]Richards, *Mother-Right*, 271.

[29]Richards, *Mother-Right*, 271.

[30]This term means a man resides with his wife's relatives. Compare Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*, 111. Also Philip K. Bock*, Modern Cultural Anthropology: An Introduction*, Third Edition (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1979), 308; hereafter cited as Bock, *Cultural Anthropology*.

[31]Richards, *Mother-Right*, 274.

3.4 The State and Religious System of the Bemba

As pointed out earlier on, the area of present-day Northern Province became home to invading groups from the Luba-Lunda empire in the West. Their conquest was marked by bloodshed and the assimilation of conquered original inhabitants. As time went on, the invading groups established superiority over the *Bashimatongwa*[32] (original inhabitants) and earlier fractions of Bantu immigrants. The last immigrants to arrive were the *Bena Ng'andu* (Crocodile people) who established supreme authority over all other groups at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[33] The *Bena Ng'andu* succeeded in becoming the overlords over all subjugated tribes and not only changed their religious landscape,[34] but also enforced the Royal Charter[35] as the tenet of politics of the Bemba state.

The Bemba have developed a complex political system. All political power is centered around the Paramount Chief *Chitimukulu*.[36] He is surrounded by the Royal Councilors *(Bakabilo)* who form the Bemba Aristocracy. Entrance to the Bemba Aristocracy is through inheritance. The Aristocracy comprises seventy-two titles and become "vacant either by death or removal by the Paramount Chief

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[32]The *Bashimatongwa* were people "of Khoisan extraction." Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 20. About three kilometers east of Kasama, cave paintings of "bushmen" origin would support this view.

[33]Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 22.

[34]Compare Douglas Werner, "Some Developments in Bemba Religious History," *JRA* vol. 4, no. 1 (1971): 1-24, 1-2; hereafter cited as Douglas, "Bemba Religious History."

[35]Hinfelaar explains extensively how the *Bena Ng'andu* forced themselves upon the others. He also shows how original clan narratives of the original inhabitants were replaced by the Royal Charter of the *Bena Ng'andu*. The clan narratives stressed equality of origin, reciprocal relationships, and specific functions of each community. The Royal Charter puts emphasis on "the divine origin of three noble sons from a heavenly mother." Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 22. As the nobles had settled among matrilineal people, *Kapasa*, a half noble, "was sent back to *Kola* to fetch the Noble's sister *Chilufya Mulenga*, so as to ensure royal descent." Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 22. The Royal Charter therefore establishes heavenly ancestry and divine authority for the Paramount Chiefs. For more detail on the Royal Charter, see Kevin B. Maxwell, *Bemba Myth and Ritual: The Impact on an Oral Culture*, American University Studies, Series XI Anthropology / Sociology, vol. 2 (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1983), 36-38; hereafter cited as Maxwell, *Bemba Myth*.

[36]Compare Douglas, "Bemba Religious History," 12.

Chitimukulu."[37] Each of the titles is attached to a clan.[38] Only men can become *Bakabilo.*[39]

The Bemba Aristocracy is divided into two houses. First, the House of *Chitimukulu (nganda yakwa Chitimukulu)* with forty-three members divided into four ranks.[40] Second follows the House of *Katongo (nganda yakwa Katongo)* with twenty-nine members.[41] The House of *Chitimukulu* takes supremacy over the House of *Katongo,* because to it "belongs the Sacred or Royal Relics"[42] *(Ababenye)* of the paramount chieftainship.

The preceding pages have sought to provide a brief description of the Bemba within the context of geography as well as selected but important features of their culture. Little has been said about how culture in general relates to the worldview of a particular people. Of interest should be what functions culture and worldview have and how environment and worldview interact. In addition, attention should also be given to the interaction between culture and language and more specifically how this interaction connects to Bemba anthropology.

4. Culture and Worldview

Each culture holds a particular view of the nature of things. This view is based on basic categories and assumptions people make about these things. How these categories and assumptions relate to each other is coherent with the understanding of reality. This viewpoint could also

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[37]Doucette, *Clans*, 121.

[38]Doucette, *Clans*, 121.

[39]Doucette, *Clans*, 123.

[40]The members of the first house are also called "*Bashilubemba*" which could be rendered as "the fathers of the Bemba." The four ranks include the Principal Councilors *(Bampandamano)*, the Commanders of the Army *(Bamushika)*, the Traditional Councilors *(Bakabilo)* and the Pallbearers *(Utunyelele)*. See Doucette, *Clans*, 128.

[41]The structure of the second House is described in Doucette, *Clans*, 128.

[42]Doucette, *Clans*, 128. An incomplete inventory of the Royal Relics is listed by Doucette, *Clans*, 125-126. It is extremely difficult to acquire information about the Sacred Relics because they are a very much guarded secret of the Bemba in general and the Paramountcy in particular. It appears, how-ever, that over time some facts have become known. Forty persons who served Doucette as informants were members of the Bemba Aristocracy.

be termed worldview.[43]   A worldview is also an expression of the beliefs, feelings, and values of a culture and how they relate to one another. It may be said, therefore, that a worldview always tries to give answers to what it means to be human within the context of a given culture.

4.1 Functions of Culture and Worldview

Culture has for a long time aroused the interest of scientists. Until 1950, at least one hundred-sixty-four different definitions of culture were proposed.[44] This multiplicity of definitions already indicates that culture is a very complex reality of being human. Hiebert defines culture as "the more or less integrated systems of ideas, feelings, and values and their associated patterns of behavior and products shared by a group of people who organize and regulate what they think, feel, and do."[45]

Kraft views culture as structuring the lives of human beings. This structuring exists on two levels: "the surface behavior level and the deep worldview level."[46]   Both levels are inseparably linked because worldview determines behavior.

A more pragmatic approach to culture is taken by Käser, who defines culture as a strategy of existence.[47] To be able to survive in this world, one cannot live without any plan of action or strategy to manage the various challenges life holds for one. Whatever approach one might take, culture and worldview exercise a dominant role in the lives of people. If culture is like a road,[48] then the worldview

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[43]Paul G. Hiebert and Eloise Hiebert Meneses, *Incarnational Ministry: Planting Churches in Band, Tribal, Peasant, and Urban Societies* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995), 41; hereafter cited as Hiebert, *Incarnational Ministry*.

[44]Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*, 30. See also James P. Spradley, *The Ethnographic Interview* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979), 5.

[45]Hiebert, *Incarnational Ministry*, 37. Also Paul G. Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights for Missionaries*, Thirteenth Printing (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1998), 30; hereafter cited as Hiebert, *Insights*.

[46]Charles H. Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996), 11; hereafter cited as Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness*.

[47]"Kulturen sind Strategien zur Daseinsbewältigung." Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*, 37.

[48]Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness,* 31.

determines how this road is negotiated, whether one walks or drives, or even who might be authorized to alter the course of the road. One's worldview gives meaning to beliefs and explanations to the assumptions a person makes about reality.[49] A worldview provides a map of reality by organizing our perceptions of reality.[50] Furthermore, one's worldview provides a frame within which emotions, values, and convictions are structured. These three elements have their expression within a particular cultural setting.[51] Having dealt with the two categories (surface behavior level and deep worldview level), it will also be necessary to investigate how a worldview is shaped, more especially in the context of the Bemba people.

4.2 Environment and Worldview of the Bemba

How do worldviews form? Is a particular worldview the sum of agreements by the members of a group in terms of their perception of reality and how they should act toward that reality?[52] Is there a connection between worldview and the physical world, that is, the environment in which people live?

Hinfelaar says: "there is a definite connection between the surroundings in which people live and the worldview they hold."[53] Due to the characteristics of the terrain of the Northern Province, the Bemba invaders considered it "an area through which people trekked on their way to greener pastures."[54] This historical fact made a deep imprint on people's life. It was the experience of an ongoing journey that became embedded in their worldview. This particular notion of a

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[49]Hiebert, *Insights*, 48.

[50]Compare Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *Reader in Comparative Religion*, eds. W. A. Lessa and E. Z. Vogt, 3d ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 169.

[51]Compare Hiebert, *Insights*, 48.

[52]Compare Charles H. Kraft, *Christianity in Culture: A Study in Dynamic Biblical Theologizing in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Second Printing (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1980), 53.

[53]Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 2. Käser says: "Umwelt formt Kultur" (environment forms culture). Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*, 52.

[54]Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women,* 2.

perpetual journey found its expression in the religious role the women held prior to the change which occurred as the *Bena Ng'andu* established their supremacy, and which was preserved in the initiation rite *(Chisungu)* of Bemba girls.[55]   In the context of this thesis the question arises whether this ingrained perception of perpetuity is also reflected in Bemba anthropology.

5. Culture and Language

What could be, or what is, the connection between culture and language? Is there an inseparable link between one's own culture and the language he or she speaks?

5.1 Functions of Culture and Language

Language is more than sounds, words, and vocabulary. Language is not merely a by-product or just another part of culture; language is the used tool to fix culture. Moreover, it is the vehicle of one of the most dynamic activities in which people engage: "the process of communication."[56]   What we perceive as reality is made manifest through language.   There exists a profound connection between language, thought, and reality.   The one and the same physical evidence does not necessarily lead all observers to the same picture of reality, unless they speak the same language.[57]   Language describes the reality according to the assumptions we make about it. To put it differently, we are bound to certain patterns of thought, action (that is behavior), and description by the language we speak.[58]   Language is the most accurate tool we possess with which we map reality; and yet, the access to reality is also one that is conditioned by language.

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[55]This is extensively discussed by Hinfelaar. He devotes a whole chapter to showing the change women experienced in their religious role. Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 3-33.

[56]Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness*, 236.

[57]See Andreas Fuglesang, *About Understanding – Ideas and Observations on Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. D. Chandler (Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1982), 19; hereafter cited as Fuglesang, *About Understanding*.

[58]Benjamin Lee Whorf was let to coin the term "linguistic relativity." He argued that language, and the grammar in particular, does lead people to different observations which in turn entails a different evaluation of the same. Benjamin Lee Whorf, *Language, Thought and Reality* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1974). Referred to in Fuglesang, *About Understanding*, 19. See also Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*, 179-190.

5.2 Language and Bemba Anthropology

The way a German and a Bemba perceive themselves as human beings may significantly divert from each other as they do not speak about being human in the same way. Though their languages might produce similar sounds, the speakers do not follow the same rules of grammar, semantics, and syntax.[59] Even if both speakers used similar vocabulary to refer to the same physical evidence, the meaning of the terms would be settled in actual life situations.[60] This difference is heightened by the fact that Bemba culture is still primarily an oral community. It is for this reason that one's primary task is to consult linguistic evidence which is put in the context of meaning as ascribed to by people in reference to their life situation. How language determines the concept of Bemba anthropology will have to be shown later.

6. Summary

One of the main points discussed in this chapter was how the Bemba people, who belong to the Bantu group of African peoples, came to settle in present-day Northern Province of Zambia. Their immigration was not one of consent or peaceful negotiated settlement but one of conquest and violent subjugation of original inhabitants *(Bashimatongwa)* and earlier settled Bantu immigrants.

It was also discussed how the matrilineal system permeates the whole of Bemba culture, in that it forms the essential part in descent and succession within family, clan, and the Royal Dynasty. The matrilineal system is, however, only one subsystem of Bemba culture. It is one mainstream or partial strategy which the whole of culture uses to cope with life.

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[59]"Grammar… denotes the basic laws of language, … Semantics looks at the meaning of individual words as each functions in the sentence, … Syntax studies the configuration of the sentence units and the way the message as a whole can speak in differing cultural contexts." Grant R. Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 41. See also Bock, *Cultural Anthropology*, 53-62.

[60]Compare Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness*, 241. See also Maxwell, *Bemba Myth,* 57, 81.

The realization that culture is not a compilation of practices, customs, traditions and physical objects, made it necessary to connect culture to worldview as the foundational structure of culture. Worldviews, on the other hand, are not simply projections of imaginary ideas. They are closely linked to the physical world around an individual. The experience of perpetual traveling until arriving at the place of permanent settlement became ingrained in the worldview of the Bemba. The land and the kind of environment—extensive woodlands and shallow marshes as well as poor fertility of the soil of the Northern Province—have had a further impact on their worldview inasmuch as it developed and supported their martial way of life.

Another subsystem of culture is language. Language, however, stands out from all the other subsystems because it is the supreme vehicle of communication. Sounds, words, and vocabulary are segments of language and derive their value from the meaning people ascribe to them when spoken according to the rules of grammar, semantics, and syntax. How language influences or determines certain concepts of a culture is a central subject of this thesis. The concept of Bemba anthropology and the elements constituting this concept will be discussed in chapters four and five.

CHAPTER 4
THE CONCEPTS OF *UMUBILI* AND *UMUTIMA* AS FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF BEMBA ANTHROPOLOGY

1. Introduction

The objective of this chapter is not to provide a complete description of either the external or the internal anatomy according to medical science. Equally, there is no intention to provide a complete description of the same kind according to Bemba thinking. In the frame of this thesis a necessary degree of selection will have to be exercised. The human body is a unit, though it may be essential to think of it as composed of parts.[1] How this unit is perceived and how these parts are arranged will be shown in a selective manner.

The soul concepts of the European and the Bemba diverge significantly. The task ahead will be to illustrate where the divergence line is placed and what the content of the Bemba soul concept is.

2. Basic Perceptions of Body in African Cultures

"Our bodies, our languages, and our ways of life must be understood in relation to one another."[2]

2.1 Body in Reference to Health

One elementary category of being human is how body and health relate to one another. Traditional African cultures put little emphasis on talking about health as such. This fact is etymologically underscored, as health is very often expressed in terms of peace, wholeness, strength, purity, or blessing.[3] For example, in the Bemba

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[1]Philip K. Bock*, Modern Cultural Anthropology: An Introduction*, Third Edition (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1979), 62; hereafter cited as Bock, *Cultural Anthropology*.

[2]Bock, *Cultural Anthropology*, 16.

[3]Hans-Jürgen Becken, "Afrikanische Stammesreligionen", *Gesundheit*, *EthRel*, Hg. Michael Klöcker u. Udo Tworuschka, Bd. 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlag; Munich: Kösel-Verlag GmbH & Co., 1985), 123; hereafter cited as Becken, *Stammesreligionen*.

language people say *Mutende*,[4] peace, quietness, meaning: "one wishes good health." Similarly, one can hear the phrase *tauwele iyoo, uli fye mutuntulu*,[5] you are not sick, you are whole, complete, living, meaning: "you are in good health." The situation may change drastically when health turns into illness. The experience of a shift in the physical condition due to illness will bring great concern over a person and to the community to whom the person belongs. Illness is reflected in the way people speak about themselves and how they greet one another. Also, concern is shown in the many phrases used to lament over one's ailment.[6]

2.2 Body in Reference to Fecundity

One of the most trying and exiting moments in the human life cycle is when husband and wife, and the family as a whole, hold a first-born child in their arms. Bemba society is no exception in this. Yet, this much anticipated event creates great anxieties during adolescence for many young people in Bemba society. Adolescents are very often quite anxious about their ability to "function properly" and their ability to "provide"; that is, to fulfill apparent expectations on the side of the parents and the relatives once two people are a married couple. It is a dogma that "the womb of a woman must be fruitful."[7] The body as the bearer of life is so essential that it was customary law that a girl should "remain a virgin until she was legally married."[8]

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[4]*Mutende* has a wider range of meaning than mentioned above. It is a wish one expresses toward his fellow men in order to have them enjoy the state of good health. More generally it is a substitute greeting to *Mulishani*? meaning: "how are you?"

[5]*Mutuntulu* is a compound adjective: *mu* is a Locative Particle but its value is prepositional and adverbial; *mu* may mean: "in, inside, within, on, etc." The adjective …*tuntulu*, meaning: "whole, living, complete"; *Mutuntulu* in extension then: "to be in good health."

[6]Becken, *Stammesreligionen*, 123. The same is true for the inquirer who elicits relevant information about a persons health, or rather illness, by questioning and commenting exhaustively.

[7]Sebastian K. Lutahoire, *The Human Life Cycle Among the Bantu* (Arusha, Tanzania: Makumira Publication, 1974), 22; hereafter cited as Luthahoire, *Life Cycle*.

[8]Lutahoire, *Life Cycle*, 22; As an example a Bemba Proverb. *Sungo mukoshi impande tayayafya,* meaning: "If you take good care of your neck then the *impande* is a not a rare ornament, meaning that if you guard your virginity, then the *impande*, which is a precious ornament given to you by the grandmother of your husband when you marry as a virgin, will

2.3 Body in Reference to Witchcraft

Witchcraft poses an ever-present danger to African societies. Persons who become victims of witchcraft activities often suffer bodily harm. They may fall sick, become mad, or even die.[9] The agents,[10] male or female, practicing this art do it with utmost secrecy.[11] Their bodies, too, play an important role. The medicine thought to possess power to cause harm is often carried in hand, mouth, nose, anus, or vagina.[12] In the event of meeting somebody on the way who would be in a position to identify the practitioner about to bewitch someone, the unexpected passer-by will cause him or her to "simply expose the part where the medicine is hidden. It will emit fire and scare the person away."[13]

2.4 Conclusion

Against this background it seems justified to view the body as more than the part of being human which does not function properly when stricken with illness. At the same time, one should avoid viewing the body merely as a sum of parts put together to make up something, and to a higher degree, the body must not be reduced to a "principle of

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not be difficult to secure," quoted from Frank LeBacq, "Community Based Health Promotion: An Opportunity within the Zambian Health Reforms for a New Cultural Approach to a Generic Community Based Health System in Kasama District, North-Central Health Region, Zambia," (TMs, Kasama: 1998), 21.

[9]Compare Simon S. Maimela, "Traditional African Anthropology and Christian Theology," *JTSA* 76 (September 1991): 4-14, 6-9. Also R. J. B. Moore, "*Bwanga* among the Bemba," *Africa(L)* vol. xiii, no. 3 (July 1940): 211-233, 221, 229.

[10]In Bemba they are called *Bamuloshi* and the practicing of witchcraft is called *Buloshi*.

[11]If their identity was openly known, the community would take instant action by the engagement of a "witchfinder" to rid the village of the danger posed to them by *Bamuloshi*. Compare Robin Lamburn, *From a Missionary's Notebook: The Yao of Tunduru and other Essays*, eds. Noel Q. King and Klaus Fiedler with Gavin White, Social Science Studies on International Problems, eds. Diether Breitenbach and Manfred Werth, Bd. 164 (Saarbrücken; Fort Lauderdale: Verlag Breitenbach Publishers, 1991), 98; hereafter cited as Lamburn, *Yao*.

[12]Kwame Boakye-Sarpong and Kwaku Osei-Hwedie, *Witchcraft: Myth or Reality?* (Lusaka, Zambia: Multimedia Publications, 1989), 15; hereafter cited as: Sarpong, *Witchcraft*. *Yao* informants in Malawi state that the material object (the *uchawi*) used to carry out witchcraft attacks by the *mchawi* (a practitioner of *uchawi*) will hide his *uchawi* in his body, "in his bowels or genitalia, and which is the source of his power." Lamburn, *Yao*, 98.

[13]Sarpong writes this about witches in Ghana. Sarpong, *Witchcraft,* 15.

gardening."[14] A much more comprehensive view is required which involves looking at the body within the framework of the whole. Body combines biology, psychology, and cosmology. Health matters when this whole is in disarray. Fecundity matters when people take up their role in society, that is, as life-bearers who give their contribution toward securing the survival of the family, clan, and tribe. Abnormal physical and psychical conditions matter when one becomes a target of witchcraft attacks. Looking at these ideas, it may be said that all have their expression in the language, particularly in the vocabulary and the meanings ascribed to them.

3. *Umubili* in the Context of Bemba Anatomy

The term *umubili* may be integrated within different contexts of speech. A figurative usage, for example, may express the quality of a relationship.[15] In connection with verb constructions, *umubili* can express a body condition.[16] *Umubili* is also the proper term for body as such and with extensions describes everything that pertains to the anatomy,[17] or the functions of body parts or organs. This thesis will focus on *umubili* in relation to the anatomy in general and selected internal organs in particular. The reason for this selectivity is the concept of soul which, as will be shown, revolves around particular body areas and in the strict sense one internal organ, the heart *(umutima)*. Before these specifics of internal organs can be tackled, it will be of advantage to dwell briefly on the more general perceptions of body in a wider sense.

3.1 *General External Anatomy of the Body in Bemba*

The most general term with which the Bemba language classifies the human body is the term *umubili*. This term includes all parts, whether external or internal, which compose the body. Furthermore, all body

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[14]The idea is that the body, the womb of a woman, is like a garden in which "seed" is sown.

[15]*Ambika ku mubili*, lit., he or she put me close to his body, meaning: "he or she likes me, looks after me, takes care of me."

[16]*Umubili walopokela*, lit., the body is smelted (like iron ore is smelted), meaning: "the body is without strength, there is no strength left in the body."

[17]*Ifilundwa fya mubili*, lit., the add-ons of the body, meaning : "the body parts."

functions and internal organs are an integral part of the term *umubili*. The domain[18] *umubili* incorporates all other terms which in themselves may form a domain on their own. For example, the term head *(umutwe)* falls under the domain *umubili* but simultaneously forms the domain *umutwe* to which the terms nose *(imyona)*, mouth *(akanwa)*, ears *(amatwi)*, and so forth belong.

The external back area of the trunk is divided into several areas, starting with the shoulders *(amabea)*, the back *(Kunuma)*, the spine *(umongololo)*, the waist *(umusana)*, and the buttocks *(ilitako, icipolo* or *ubwikalo)*. The external front area of the trunk is subdivided into two main domains. First, the area between the hip and the chest is termed *icitimbatimba*.[19] Second, the area starting with the collar bone reaching down to the end of the ribs comprises the domain *Cifuba* or *pa cifuba* (chest). Other main features of the front part of the trunk are the breastbone *(pa nkombe)*, the pit of the stomach *(akameeme)*, the belly *(nkombe)*, the flanks *(pa mpafu* or *mu mpafu)*, and the lap *(Ceni)*. The abdomen is called *umutete we fumo* (navel downward), and the upper half of the belly is called *pa lufumo* (navel upward).

Umubili also denotes the proper term for the body of animals. In rare instances *umubili* may stand for affections, emotions or feelings.[20] In addition, *umubili* is the most important characteristic of a person in contrast to a spirit being. Spirit beings do not possess a body.[21]

3.2 *Selected Internal Anatomy of the Body in Bemba*

All major internal organs such as *Bapwapwa* (lungs), *amabu* (liver), and *umutima* (heart) belong to the domain *Cifuba* or, to be more

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[18]"A domain is an area of conceptualization like space, color, the human body, kinship, pronouns, etc." Roy D'Andrade, *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995), 34.

[19]*Icitimbatimba* applies to all living creatures without distinction of sex, but cannot be applied on things or objects. For example, a fish consists of three parts: the head *(umutwe)*, the middle section *(icitimbatimba)*, and the tail *(umucila)*.

[20]Like *mubili waba uwafina*, lit., the body is one of heaviness, meaning: "my inner-being, my innermost is heavy, sad." *mubili waba uwaanguka*, lit., the body is one of lightness, meaning: "my inner-being, my innermost is light, is happy."

[21]They may appear in a human-like form, but their existence does not require a body.

precise, *mu cifuba*.[22] The stomach *(icifu)* acts like a storage chamber for the food entering the body. The gall bladder (*Ndusha*) melts the food *(ukusungulula*[23] *ifyakulya)* and leaves the stomach with the task of separating *(ukusalangana)* the good *(ifisuma)* from the bad *(ifibi)* ingredients. The good parts of the food are absorbed and carried away by the blood *(umulopa)*.[24] The intestines *(amala)* are thought to help the remains of the food travel until they are thrown out.[25] The kidneys *(imfyo)* exercise a life sustaining function. Fluid taken in through the mouth passes through the gullet *(mukolomino),* eventually reaching the stomach. The liquid is dispersed throughout the body, and what is dispensed of flows into the bladder. The water reaching the bladder is turned into "bladder-water" *imisu* (urine).[26] A major function is attributed to the lungs (*bapwapwa*) and the heart *(umutima)*. The latter must be understood in a twofold way. First, all functions of the body are sustained by the heart, pumping blood to all parts of the body. Second, *umutima* is the organ which is associated with emotions, intellect and personality. The second dimension of *umutima* will be dealt with next.

4. *Umutima* in the Context of Emotions and Intellect

At first glance, a person with a Western cultural background residing among the Bemba people in the Northern Province of Zambia, will notice that people express emotions more or less in the same way as members of his own culture. Laughter, joy, happiness, or spontaneous dancing as occasions arise are common features when one walks the

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[22]Literally: in the chest, meaning: "inside the chest."

[23]*Ukusungulula* is a transitive verb with various meanings: first, "to melt (like iron in the furnace)." Second, "to dissolve (like a powder in water)," and third, "to digest food." It may also be used figuratively in connection with certain body parts (*uyu muntu amusungululo mutima,* lit., this person melted my heart, meaning: "this person touched my heart," or *ukusungulula mabu*, lit., to melt the liver, meaning: "to worry."

[24]*Ifyakulya ifisuma nga fyasendwa mu mulopa elyo mushala ifiseekwa*, meaning: "the good food is carried away in the blood what is left then are the remains."

[25]*Ifi fyakulya ifiseekwa fitampa ukwenda ukukonka mu mala elyo panuma fyayaposwa kunse*, meaning: "the good particles, the remains start traveling following the intestines then they will be thrown outside."

[26]*Amenshi ayaya mu cisu e yetwa imisu*, lit., water that goes to the bladder, it is called urine.

streets or shops at market places. Joy and feeling good in general are not concealed. One will also notice, however, that anger, displeasure, or open confrontation are subject to a very effective psychical control mechanism whose mode of function is not obvious to a surface glance. In such situations, people endure with a smile and skillfully avoid denting ones prestige or losing face.

Behind the similarities an outsider seems to be able to identify at first glance are, in reality, significant differences. Bemba people are far more open to communicate their emotions either by speech or in writing than a Westerner. This characteristic is where the key to understanding their emotional world is to be found. The way they speak about what they feel and in what present situation they find themselves, provides understanding as to how emotional dispositions are being felt and perceived. It is by the language—its grammar, syntax and semantics—that the emotional world is exposed and by which a classification is possible. It is the structure of the Bemba language in particular which allows a Westerner to locate and identify the differences between their emotional world and his own. Surface similarities vanish to the degree that Bemba language structures are comprehended in their context. This comprehension may well lead to the discovery that terms a Bemba speaker uses to describe emotions are placed into the intellectual compartment in his own understanding.

4.1 Umutima in Reference to Temporal Psychical Dispositions: Imyumfwikile

The Bemba classify physical and emotional feelings with the term *imyumfwikile*.[27] Under this term they group all feelings which they perceive as a change in their physical and emotional dispositions. There are, however, a number of features in which physical *imyumfwikile* are distinguished from emotional *imyumfwikile*.

When asked to place feelings into one or the other group, informants occasionally use the term *imyumfwikile* with the extensions *ya mubili* and *ya mutima*. Physical feelings are then called *imyumfwikile ya mubili* and emotions are termed *imyumfwikile ya*

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[27]*Imyumfwikile* is a Class two noun (see Appendix 1) in the plural from. It is derived from the verb *ukuumfwa,* meaning: "to feel" and may be best rendered as: "the feelings, emotions."

mutima. These terms, however, are not part of the language in common use.

In addition to hunger *(insala)* and thirst *(icilaka)* all feelings which pertain to the sense of touch, the sense of pain, the sense of warmth, the sense of hearing, the sense of taste, and the sense of smell are counted as physical *imyumfwikile*. Impressions perceived with the eye are excluded.[28] The major difference between the two kinds of feelings is the fact that physical *imyumfwikile* can occur and be felt in all parts of the body, whereas emotional *imyumfwikile,* or the temporal psychical dispositions, are confined to one place.

4.2 *The Place where Temporal Psychical Dispositions are being felt*

When a Bemba person speaks about his feelings and emotions, he occasionally points to the upper half of the belly—about where the pit of the stomach is—to his chest, or to where the heart is located. Anger, fear, joy, and so forth are identified with this location. This is the place associated with emotions.

The place associated with emotional feelings is either understood as a non-material substance or area inside the belly (but is more or less treated as an organ), associated with a particular area inside the chest, or tied to a particular organ, the heart. This place is not thought of existing as an independent organ as in Greek philosophy.[29] At the moment of death this place (standing for the

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[28]The functions of the sense organs are called *ukuumfwa* (hearing, tasting and touching!), *ukumona* (seeing), and *ukununsha* (smelling). A term describing the five senses as such is non-existent. The role of the nervous system and the brain in regard to the origin and perception of physical and emotional feelings is not known. The same is true of perceptions through the ear, eye, the nose, and the tongue. A term for nerves is unknown too. Feelings like itching or pain is conveyed by the blood. All blood is pooled in the heart and dispersed from there. Itching or pain information is then transferred via the blood to the brain and sorted out accordingly.

[29]"Plato described Socrates' body as a prison from which his immortal soul yearned to be released." Jeffrey H. Boyd, "One's Self-Concept and Biblical Theology," *JETS* vol. 40, no. 2 (June 1997): 207-227, 208. See also Plato, "Phaedo," *Plato in Twelve Volumes* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1982), 1193-1404.

Western term soul) stops its function like all other body parts and ceases to exist.[30]

The place inside the belly where emotional feelings are realized and felt is called *mukati ka mu nda.* The synonym for *mukati ka mu nda* is *mukati ka mutima* (in the center-point of the heart), commonly expressed with *mu mutima* (in the heart) or *mu cifuba* (in the chest), though the latter is not in common use. *Mu mutima* is not only the seat of emotions like anger, fear, or joy, but also the faculty which is responsible for thoughts, considerations, intentions, memories and exercising will-power. Apart from exercising will-power, Europeans ascribe these other terms and processes to the intellect and form an association with the mind or the head. In contrast, the Bemba regard processes like thinking or remembering, even character traits, as processes and conditions of the very spot where emotional feelings are registered.

In view of the complexity of the content of the term *umutima,* a clarification on the usage of terms is required. The term "place in the upper half of the belly, or the immaterial area inside the belly, or the heart in special reference to emotions, intellect, and personality" is far too long a phrase to be sustained for the future of this discussion. The term "soul" is too narrow a term and is linked too closely to the person itself to be sufficient for what should be contained. It is for this reason that in future the term "psyche" shall be used.[31] This term will mean everything Bemba people understand when they use *mu nda*, *mu mutima* and *mu cifuba,* that is, the place where emotional, intellectual and intentional processes occur and where the character traits or the personality of a person are manifested. For reasons of convenience and the supremacy of *umutima* over the other two termini *mu nda* and *mu cifuba* in terms of frequency of occurrence of contexts, *umutima* will be used as the term for psyche in the rest of this thesis.

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[30]See also Lothar Käser, "Der Begriff Seele bei den Insulanern von Truk," (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Geowissenschaftliche Fakultät, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg, 1977), 36; hereafter cited as Käser, *Seele.*

[31]Käser, *Seele,* 37.

4.3 Umutima as the Term for Psyche According to European Categories and Selected Meanings

The foregoing pages have shown that *umutima* comprises categories that are of biological, physiological, and psychological nature as well as being the sole reference to the individual personality of a person The following examples are meant to reflect *umutima* according to European categories.

4.3.1 Heart and Mind

Psyche means heart and mind whenever these terms are intended to denote the seat of exercising will-power or when psychical feelings are being expressed.

(1) *Aba no mutima wa cikuuku* (he has a psyche of kindness, mercifulness, meaning: "he is kind, merciful").

(2) *Alecita imilimo no mutima onse* (he has a psyche of wholeness, meaning: "he is doing the work wholeheartedly").

4.3.2 The Self of a Person

Psyche can mean the self of a person:

(1) *Umutima uletunta* (the psyche is palpitating, meaning: "I am worried, anxious").

(2) *Mutima wandi lucebu* (my psyche is beckoning, meaning: "I have a presentiment").

(3) *Mutima ushifuntuka* (the psyche that never retreats, meaning: "he is fearless, stubborn, not giving up easily").

4.3.3 Intention and Wish, Resolution and Decision, Will and Wanting

Example for intention, plan:

(1) *Alefwaisho kwishiba ifyo umutima wandi upanga nefyo utontonkanya* (he wants to know my psyche, what it does and what it thinks, meaning: "He wants to know what intentions I have").

Example for resolution, decision:

(2) *Umutima taunjebele* (my psyche has not told me yet, meaning: "I have not yet resolved, I have not yet decided").

Example for will, wanting:

(3) *E pa mutima obe apo utemenwe we minwe* (it is up to your psyche and what it likes, meaning: "it is just as you will").

4.3.4 Intellect

Terms where psyche describes areas of the intellect are less numerous. Examples for opinion, thought:

(1) *Ifya kutontonkanya fya mitima yabo fyalisansantika* (whatever they think in their psyches, it is dispersed, is shattered, is full of holes, meaning: "whatever they think, whatever their opinions are—it is meaningless").

(2) *Ine kwali ku mutima wandi* (I had it toward my psyche, meaning: "it was on my mind, it was my thought").

4.3.5 Character

Descriptions of personal features or character traits of a person are expressed by saying his or her psyche has the characteristics of a thing or of a condition.

(1) *Aba no mutima we libwe* (he has the psyche of a stone, meaning: "he/she is hard-hearted, has no feelings; he is insensitive").

(2) *Aba no mutima wa munofu* (he has the psyche of flesh, meaning: "he/she has feelings, understanding").

(3) *Muntu wa mitima ibili* (he is a person who has two psyches, meaning: "he is a hypocrite; he is a double-minded, uncertain person").

(4) *Aba no mutima wa kulonda* (he has the psyche of safeguarding, meaning: "he/she is protective, safeguarding").

4.3.6 Conscience

Mu mitima yabo batila abati: "ico tucitile taciweme" (in their hearts they said: "what we did was not good," meaning: "they had a bad conscience").

4.4 Metaphorical Descriptions of Temporal Psychical Dispositions: Imyumfwikile

Temporal psychical dispositions have, apart from their metaphorical[32] element, two further elements: positive or negative. In other words,

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[32]Metaphors are not merely substitutes for literal meanings; they generate meaning "by fusing sensory apprehension and abstraction in a moment of experiential plentitude…" Kevin B. Maxwell, *Bemba Myth and Ritual: The Impact of Literacy on an Oral Culture*, American University Studies, Series XI Anthropology / Sociology, vol. 2 (New York: Peter Lang, 1983), 27.

emotions are attributed with the two elements of quality, namely positive and negative. They are called *imyumfwikile (ya mutima) iisuma* (good, positive emotions) and *imyumfwikile (ya mutima) iibi* (bad, negative emotions). In consideration of space, a positive and a negative example of each metaphor group will be provided. In addition, a Present Perfect Tense for the verb has been selected.[33]

4.4.1 Metaphors of Form

(1) *Umutima nawisuka* (the psyche is wide open, meaning: "to be about to understand a thing or person; to have come to accept advice at this moment; feeling of openness").

(2) *Umutima naunyongaana* (the psyche is twisted, meaning: "to have worries, to be nervous about something; to have had great concern at a particular time; not to be doing what one was told to do, to act contrary to what was arranged").

4.4.2 Metaphors of Quality

(1) *Umutima nautwa* (the psyche is sharp, is of sharpness, meaning: "to have reached a point of great willingness to carry out work of any kind").

(2) *Umutima naufuupa* (the psyche is blunt, has lost its sharpness, meaning: "to be in a condition of refusing to continue with something; to have lost all interest in pursuing something, to be not in the mood of trying again at all").

4.4.3 Metaphors of Motion

(1) *Umutima nawima* (the psyche is getting up, is standing up, meaning: "to have comprehended something; to have gained insight and understanding of something which was obscured").

(2) *Umutima nauluba inshila* (the psyche is lost, has lost direction, meaning: "to have no idea what is going on at this moment; to be in a condition of having forsaken that which is good and acceptable, e.g., morals, behavior").

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[33]The Present Perfect Tense refers to an immediate past and is translated into English by "is"/"are." This tense expresses: "from today and still going on" and denotes a present condition.

4.4.4 Metaphors of the Human Body

(1) *Umutima naukosa* (the psyche is strong, has strength, meaning: "to have mental strength to continue an undertaking, a plan; to bring something to its fulfillment").

(2) *Umutima naunaka* (the psyche is tired, meaning: "to feel emotional fatigue; to be emotionally drained immediately after a long discussion or argument; to long for a rest at this moment").

4.4.5 Metaphors of War or War Activities[34]

(1) *Umutima nawipaiwa* (the psyche has been killed, meaning: "to be in love with someone, to be mad about a woman or man, to be blind with love and to be totally unable to think about something else").

(2) *Umutima nausendwa bunkole* (the psyche has been taken prisoner, meaning: "to submit to authority; to consent to someone's leadership." This phrase is mostly used on men who have yielded to the leadership of their wives; men whose wives' wishes are their commands).

5. *Umutima* in the Context of Personality

Bemba society puts great emphasis on people. Most, if not all, daily activities are centered around engaging others for work (or being engaged oneself), requesting favors of this or that kind, and taking part in communal activities. This emphasis requires a great deal of conformity to achieve all one aspires for himself clad in visible and measurable conformity. This kind of communal life, of course, provides intimate knowledge about people and inevitably leads to the assessment of their behavior.

5.1 *Umutima in Reference to Permanent Psychical Dispositions: Imibele*

The way people think and talk about a person is dependent on the way in which he or she interacts with them and others. This interaction is

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[34]The metaphors in this metaphor group are the most numerous. Forty-four verbs and their possible verb extensions in connection with *umutima* make a total of two hundred twenty-two noun-verb constructions. In my own opinion, I think it to be most probable that the war-faring history (see chapter three) of the Bemba has penetrated deeply into their lives and has left a remarkable imprint upon their psychology. The great occurrence of phrases within this metaphor group describing temporal psychical dispositions as well as the permanent psychical dispositions, may very well support this assumption.

the measurement of how and who a person is, that is, what kind of *umutima* (psyche) he or she has. Behavior is directly linked to the personality, or the permanent psychical dispositions (character traits), of a person for which Bemba people use the term *imibele*.

5.2 The Term Imibele

The term *Imibele* is derived from the intransitive verb *ukuba*, to be. The applied form of this verb is *ukubeela,* as in: "that is why/how the lion is with strength."[35]

A derivative of the applied form of *ukubeela* is the Class two noun[36] *umubele* (singular) and *imibele* (plural) respectively. The term *imibele* can be used of persons, plants, animals, or objects. It mostly occurs in the plural form and refers, when applied to a person, to his or her individual characteristics. In a general way it denotes one's behavior, that is, how a person acts and behaves toward people in an habitual way. For example, someone's laughter is one distinct feature distinguishing his particular way of laughing from that of someone else. This characteristic is regarded as *umubele*.

In a more comprehensive manner *imibele* describe all the distinguishable features which make up the personality. *Imibele* are categorized in two groups: *imibele iisuma* (good or positive *imibele*) and *imibele iibi* (bad or negative *imibele*). *Imibele are permanent psychical dispositions that make up a comprehensive description of the personality of a person.* Out of one hundred eighty-four terms[37] directly designated *imibele* ninety-nine are referred to as *imibele iisuma*, seventy-four as *imibele iibi*, and eleven as either of the two depending on the context and the situation. Due to the limitation of space of this thesis, only a few phrases will serve as examples.

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[35]Original text: "*eco nkalamo yabeela na maka*."

[36]As a Bantu language, Bemba also has the outstanding feature of grouping nouns into Classes. Cibemba, so termed by the Bemba people, has nine Classes (see Appendix 1), where most of them consist of a stem and a prefix. See also Geo W. Sims, *An Elementary Grammar of Cibemba*, (Fort Rosebery [today Mansa], Northern Rhodesia [today Zambia]: Mansa Mission, Christian Mission in Many Lands, 1959), 9.

[37]This figure does not represent an exhaustive list of Bemba contexts, nor does it represent the total of gathered data.

5.3 *Metaphorical Descriptions of Permanent Psychical Dispositions: Imibele*

Permanent psychical dispositions have, apart from their metaphorical element, two further elements: positive or negative. In other words, personality features are attributed with the two elements of quality, namely, positive and negative. A positive and a negative example of each metaphor group will be provided. In addition, a Present Perfect Tense for the verb has been selected.[38]

5.3.1 Metaphors of Form

(1) *Umutima walisuka* (the psyche is open, is wide open, meaning: "someone who is always open toward something, who is always prepared to accept advice or critique;" it also means "to be quick to comment, to find the right words at the right time").

(2) *Umutima walinyongaana* (the psyche is twisted, meaning: "someone who always has contrary opinions about or attitudes toward something; someone who is absolutely unreliable when others want to achieve certain goals with or through him or her").

5.3.2 Metaphors of Quality

(1) *Umutima walitwa* (the psyche is sharp, is of sharpness, meaning: "someone who is always available for certain tasks; who is easily won for jobs or ventures").

(2) *Umutima walifuupa* (the psyche is blunt, meaning: "someone who is never in the mood to spend energy on something; a lazy person").

5.3.3 Metaphors of Motion

(1) *Umutima walima* (the psyche is getting up, is standing up, meaning: "someone who has a clear understanding of things which are just occurring; someone who provides good analysis of a thing, or a situation that is turning up; someone who has a strong desire to be involved in or contribute to wherever necessary").

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[38]This Present Perfect Tense indicates the present state of an action or condition which have their beginning in the past (expressed through the tense particle *li*), and is in this condition now. This tense is used to denote *permanent* actions and/or qualities of a condition.

(2) *Umutima waliluba inshila* (the psyche is lost, has lost direction, meaning: "someone who changed in character due to a certain incident in the past; someone who has lost good values and morals").

5.3.4 Metaphors of the Human Body

(1) *Umutima walikosa* (the psyche is strong, is of strength, meaning: "someone who cannot be convinced about something; someone who is not to be taught; a big-headed person").

(2) *Umutima walinaka* (the psyche is tired, meaning: "someone who always has excuses of being too tired to help; someone who pretends to be unable to offer help or assistance; someone who has the habit of excusing himself under false pretense").

5.3.5 Metaphors of War or War Activities

(1) *Umutima walicingilila* (the psyche defends, is one of defense, meaning: "someone who acts as go-between of two parties at war; someone who has skills and diplomatic abilities to cause a person who suffered injustice to make peace again; someone who, through his diplomacy and trustworthiness, can achieve lasting solutions").

(2) *Umutima walisendwa bunkole* (the psyche has been taken prisoner, meaning: "someone who is unable to solve or tackle problems or challenges on his own; someone who always engages others to help him come to grips with difficulties; someone who always needs others in the decision making process").

5.3.6 Metaphors of Positive Permanent Psychical Dispositions which match Western Categories: *Imibele iisuma*

(1) *Ukutambalala kwa mutima* (straightness of the psyche, meaning: "uprightness, honesty, trustworthiness").

(2) *Umutima wa luse* (psyche of mercy, meaning: "to be merciful, pitiful; to have kindness").

(3) *Umutima ushibepa* (psyche that does not lie, meaning: "a promise-keeper, keeping to the truth, telling the truth (e.g., in the court room").

(4) *Umutima wa bufuuke* (psyche of mildness, gentleness, humility, respect; obedience)

(5) *Umutima wa kubomba* (psyche of working, meaning: "willingness to work, a workaholic").

5.3.7 Metaphors of Positive Permanent Psychical Disposition which match Western Categories to a lesser Degree: *Imibele iisuma*

(1) *Ukukuusho mutima* (to widen the psyche, meaning: "someone who comforts and arouses joy; in a more particular way helping to shape, to guide the behavior of a person into adult behavior, that is, behavior which is acceptable to the group").

(2) *Ukupetamo mutima* (to bend, to make the psyche crooked, meaning: "to be still, quite, noiseless; a more specific meaning has this expression in the context of obedience, submission." A child is expected "to bend its heart" that is, to be obedient to its mother).

(3) *Umutima wa cikuuku* (psyche of mildness, friendliness, meaning: "in the specific context of someone who looks after somebody else without complaining or murmuring; someone who regards it a privilege to render this particular service").

5.3.8 Metaphors of Negative Permanent Psychical Dispositions which match Western Categories: *Imibele iibi*

(1) *Muntu wa mitima ibili* (a person of two psyches, meaning: "a double-minded, uncertain person; a hypocrite").

(2) *Ukutakalala kwa mutima* (prosperity, honor of the psyche, meaning: "pride, boasting").

(3) *Umutima ucenjeshi* (psyche of cleverness, meaning: "a cunning character").

(4) *Umutima wa buuma nkonso* (psyche of dryness, meaning: "obstinacy, stubbornness").

5.3.9 Metaphors of Negative Permanent Psychical Dispositions which match Western Categories to a lesser Degree: *Imibele iibi*

(1) *Aliba na kaso mu mutima* (he is with avarice, stinginess in his psyche, meaning: "someone who is stingy or greedy especially when food is concerned").

(2) *Mutima kaebele* (psyche of little talking, meaning: "someone who does not need the advice of others, an independent, self-reliant person."

Someone like this is feared, because this is the character of a wizard who is not in need of any counsel and therefore poses a great threat to the community).

(3) *Bunununu mu mutima* (homeless in the psyche, meaning: "someone who has no dwelling place, a vagabond." For this reason he has potential to pose a threat, since his heart, that is, his behavior, is not known).

(4) *Ukutefya mu mutima* (whimpering in the psyche, meaning: "a whimpering person, to be impatient, to act without much thinking beforehand so that others may laugh about it").

6. *Imibele* in the Context of Development and Acquisition

Whenever the behavior of a person is giving cause for commendation, people will do so through the kind of speech they adopt. Language is the ultimate "tool" to classify or categorize behavior (e.g., good or bad). At the same time, such classification communicates these categories to other people. Spoken words put together according to the rules of grammar and syntax convey meanings to the listener. It is the inherent or the "normal, popular, commonly accepted" meanings of phrases, which trigger certain reactions on the part of the recipient. The received message enables him or her to derive a certain view of this behavior and to classify it according to the semantic features of the words. In other words, one is instantly able to assess the one talked about and forming an opinion of him or her. At the same time, one's own behavior undergoes assessment and questions the validity of one's own actions.

As shown earlier on, behavior, or *imibele*, plays a pivotal role in Bemba life. *Imibele* are the ultimate marks imprinted upon a person's public life. They are the specifics by which a person is known and judged. The question that may arise at this point is: what is the origin, the formation of *imibele*? Are they "developed"? How are *imibele* "developed"?

6.1 *How are Imibele "Developed"?*

In both languages, German and English, people speak of developing or forming a person's character and personality. Children are given guidance and instruction with the intention of bringing about, or

forming their character. The question here is whether this concept also applies to Bemba culture.

6.1.1 Linguistic Evidence

There are three basic Bemba terms used in connection with the idea of formation of the personality of a person.

(1) *Ukumoneka*[39] *ne mibele,* meaning: "to appear with *imibele,* that is, to come to light, to become visible, to become known, to display measurable behavior." The phrase conveys the meaning that something hidden comes to light or is brought into the open. *Imibele* are not developed or formed as such. They are not brought about by actively imparting certain patterns of behavior or values, unless there is need for taking corrective measures. *Imibele* appear. They become known. A child appears with *imibele*. *Imibele* are true projections of a hidden "treasury" which present themselves as observable and measurable behavior.

(2) *Ukukula*[40] *ne mibele,* meaning: "to grow with *imibele,* that is, to grow up, to become tall, to grow of age." This term puts emphasis on building up on something. As a child grows up, more and more of the true nature or quality of its "wiring" comes to light. Special attention has to be paid to the conjunction *ne* (with) in both examples. A person is *with imibele.* The emphasis is on something which he or she is in conjunction with, rather than developing into in an ongoing process.

(3) *Ukulanga*[41] *imibele,* meaning: "to show *imibele,* that is, to make visible what is covered or hidden."

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[39]*Ukumoneka,* Infinitive of the transitive verb. The meaning ranges from "being visible, to appear" and to a more figurative usage, "to become manifest, to be known" (e.g. *mulandu wamoneka,* meaning: "the case is known by all").

[40]*Ukukula*, Infinitive of the transitive and intransitive verb. Intransitively used, conveys the verb a range of meanings. In our context it refers to "growing, becoming tall, coming of age" in the sense of "showing maturity."

[41]*Ukulanga*. Infinitive of the transitive verb, meaning: "to show (a thing, something, to give an example)."

6.1.2 Conclusion

These three examples clearly show the fundamental difference between Western and Bemba thinking. *Imibele* are the sum of an asset, of a treasury, of an inheritance which is not of biological or genetic origin. Since *imibele* are neither genetically conditioned nor educationally imparted *per se,* the question of their origin and their acquisition has to be answered.

6.2 How are Imibele Acquired?

Children under five or six years of age are not addressed in reference to *Imibele*. People simply say: *efya baice baba*, meaning: "that is how children are." With this saying much of the behavior of a child is excused and tolerated.[42] To a certain degree there is little determination intentionally to impart character traits on a child below a certain age. The key in coming to an understanding of the acquisition of *imibele* lies not in the years of education spent on shaping a person's character, but must be rather traced back to the beginning of one's life. The decisive factor is the name.

6.2.1 The Name of a Person

The name of a person is more than a word by which one can be known. Name is identity. "One's name represents one's authority, reality, and character. One's name has an influence upon a person and upon those who know that person,"[43] says Lutahoire about Bantu people in Tanzania. In Bemba culture the same idea is expressed when people say that only with the reception of a name, one will become a human being. To name means to give identity and to enact the reception of *imibele*, the personality structure of a person. At this point it is necessary to introduce another concept of Bemba anthropology, that of *umupashi*. Name, identity, and personality are

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[42]This type of education appears to find its equivalent in cultures as far remote to Africa as Papua New Guinea. Kasprus reports that a mother in the Middle *Ramu* River area in Northeast New Guinea returned a white persons remonstration on her boy holding a burning cigar between his fingers while he was suckling his mother's breast, with the remark: "leave him go, he is only a baby and he likes it." Aloys Kasprus SVD, *The Tribes of the Middle Ramu and the Upper Keram Rivers (North-East New Guinea)*, Studia Instituti Anthropos, vol. 17 (St. Augustin bei Bonn: Verlag des Anthropos-Instituts, 1973), 61.

[43]Lutahoire, *Life Cycle*, 39-40.

dependent on the involvement of *umupashi*. In the widest general context *umupashi* is the "spirit" of an ancestor of the family lineage. The union of *umupashi* and a person occurs at the moment he or she receives the name. *Only then does one become a human being*. As stated above, the name represents one's identity and carries the personality structure of a person. Consequently, personality is closely linked to *umupashi*. In fact, one of the primary tasks of *umupashi* is to impart the personality structures to a particular person of the family. In other words, to deposit *imibele* into a person's psyche—*mu mutima*.

6.2.2 Conclusion

Imibele, name, and *umupashi* form a tightly knit union. Each person born into a family, clan, and tribe is in need of a name. This name is not chosen randomly but with careful consideration. Family lineage plays a vital role in this decision. Deceased family members are thought to "live by closely,"[44] that is why a name is always attached to a specific person who at one particular time dwelled among them. The presence of a dead family member is not now in the form of a human being but as *Mupashi*, a spirit being. The particular way of *umupashi's* presence, his way of interacting with the living, his behavior towards them, is the manifestation of the *imibele* of the deceased which *umupashi* carried along and which are now tangible again in a person residing within the community of the living. *Imibele* are the "transcendental heritage" from *umupashi*. The *Imibele* of a specific person, who lives at a particular time and within a certain community are "stored" with *umupashi* and are revitalized by naming a child after its forebear.

7. Summary

The body and soul concepts are interwoven domains in Bemba anthropology. One's physical existence is understood in relation to biology, psychology, and cosmology. The Bemba concept of soul is strongly attached to the concept of body. Contrary to an European

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[44]Hugo F. Hinfelaar, *Bemba Speaking Women of Zambia in a Century of Religious Change (1892-1992)*, Studies of Religion in Africa, Supplements to the Journal of Religion in Africa, eds. Adrian Hastings and Marc R. Spindler, vol. XI (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 5-8; hereafter cited as Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women.*

concept of soul that carries at least a dual dimension (see Appendix 6),[45] the Bemba concept of soul hinges on three aspects (see Appendix 7). First, soul is to be understood as the center of emotions (*imyumfwikile ya mutima,* lit., the feelings of the heart, or the temporal psychical dispositions). Emotions are pinpointed at one spot: the internal organ heart *(umutima).* Second, soul also includes all intellectual abilities (thinking, memory, decision making, and intention) which take place *mu mutima* (in the heart). Third, soul is also the sole reference to the personality *(imibele)* of a person which are the label of the kind of character traits one has. These threefold aspects were combined in the term psyche. Such a psyche is formed through the involvement of *umupashi,* who is assigned to a person at the reception of the name. This event marks the beginning of a lifelong companionship between a human being and a spirit being. How and at what times this companionship between *umupashi* and a person gains relevance during his or her life cycle is the subject matter of chapter five.

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[45]Oosten provides a good example on the term *âme* which a French dictionary translates as: "soul, mind, spirit, life, conscience, feeling; ghost; person; essence, etc.," The diversity of meanings of the term *âme* and the problems this may cause, is apparent. The situation is even more complex outside of a European culture. Exemplified on the Eskimo term *inua*, ("owner, human soul, manifestation as a human being or in human form, spirit, mask") he concludes that all the different conceptions of the soul the term *inua* represents "result in a totally different anthropology from our Western one." J.G. Oosten, "The Examination of Religious Concepts in Religious Anthropology," in *Religion, Culture and Methodology: Papers of the Groningen Working-group for the Study of Fundamental Problems and Methods of Science of Religion,* eds. Th. P. van Baaren and H. J. W. Drijvers (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1974), 103-105.

CHAPTER 5
THE CONCEPT OF *UMUPASHI* AS FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTIC OF BEMBA ANTHROPOLOGY

1. Introduction

The foregoing chapter introduced *umupashi* as the spirit being who is attached to an individual person through the initial act of name-giving. All people who have left the realm of community life in the physical world have then proceeded to and passed the threshold of death of the body. This last rite of passage is the gateway for a human being, consisting of *body and umupashi,* to becoming exclusively a spirit being, that is, to exist as *Mupashi* according to Bemba thinking.

Two aspects of the concept of *umupashi* are of utmost importance. First, *umupashi* is the being that survives the death of the body. Second, *umupashi* is the being that retains and continues the personality of a person.[1] The first aspect is a commonly accepted idea belonging to the category of "ancestral spirits," a widely distributed concept among African cultures.[2] The latter has not yet received the full attention it should be given. The reason might be sought in the neglect of Western scholars that African Religions are anthropocentric.[3] This chapter seeks to contribute in a small way to alleviating this imbalance.

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[1]Compare Lothar Käser, "Der Begriff Seele bei den Insulanern von Truk," (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Geowissenschaftliche Fakultät, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg i. Br., 1977), 119; hereafter cited as Käser, *Seele.* Igbo Anthropology holds that "…it is the full individual person not a part of him or his soul which survives after death." Emefie Ikenga-Metuh, "The Concept of Man in African Traditional Religion: With Particular Reference to the Igbo of Nigeria," in *Readings in African Traditional Religion: Structure, Meaning, Relevance, Future,* ed. E. M. Uka (Bern: Peter Lang, 1991), 55; hereafter cited as Metuh, "Concept of Man."

[2]See Laurenti Magesa, *African Religion: The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life* (Maryknoll, New York, 1997, 48; hereafter cited as Magesa, *Abundant Life.* A. Scott Moreau, *The World of the Spirits: A Biblical Study in African Context* (Nairobi, Kenya: Evangel Publishing House, 1990), 105. Gehman has a whole chapter on ancestral spirits. Richard J. Gehman, *African Traditional Religion in Biblical Perspective,* Second Printing (Kijabe, Kenya: Kesho Publications, 1990), 149-164; hereafter cited as Gehman, *African Traditional Religion.*

[3]"Until recently, Western scholars have failed to appreciate the extent to which African religions are founded upon a systematic anthropology and ethics." Benjamin Ray,

2. *Umupashi* **in the Context of the Life Cycle of a Person**

Death is not at all considered to end communion with the living. On the contrary, the participation in the affairs of human experience is a most essential fact about *umupashi's* interaction from the Transcendent with the Immanent. The first fixed point in the world of the living is birth; the second is death. The passages of the human life cycle between these two fixed points will be highlighted in a selective manner after having given some thought to the term *umupashi*.

2.1 *The Term Umupashi*

Umupashi is a Class two noun[4] with the prefixes *umu* (singular) and *imi* (plural) respectively and the stem *–pashi*. Werner tried to show that certain Bemba terms, which are distributed among other Bantu dialects, must be of common origin. He based his argument on the fact that within a limited area the "process of dialect differentiation can be reasonably outlined."[5] This dialect differentiation can be achieved by investigating to what degree correspondence between basic vocabularies of the dialects in a given area occurs. Werner then presented an isogloss marking the score of correspondence in relation to the Bemba dialect. The areas which show eighty-five percent or more correspondence, are the immediate neighboring dialects.[6]

As regards *–pashi,* there is a *limited* and solid distribution among Bantu dialects, that is, those immediately adjoining the Bemba main area. Only the most immediate neighbors of the Bemba make use of the term *–pashi* in their respective dialects, suggesting that it came into use "before the dialects within the isogloss began to separate."[7]

African Religions (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1976), 132; quoted in Metuh, "Concept of Man," 69.

[4]E. Hoch, *A Bemba Grammar with Exercises* (Ilondola, Zambia: Language Center, n.d.), 68; hereafter cited as Hoch, *Bemba Grammar*. Also Geo. W. Sims, *An Elementyry Grammar of Cibemba,* (Fort Rosebery [today Mansa], Northern Rhodesia [today Zambia]: Mansa Mission, Christian Mission in Many Lands, 1959), 9.

[5]Douglas Werner, "Some Developments in Bemba Religious History," *JRA* vol. 4, no. 1 (1971): 1-24, 8; hereafter cited as Werner, "Bemba Religious History."

[6]Werner, "Bemba Religious History," 8.

[7]Werner, "Bemba Religious History," 9.

One main characteristic of the Bemba language is the verb. *All* verb suffixes end with a vowel. Nouns frequently carry the stem of a verb[8] prefixed with the proper Class prefix[9] and a vowel as suffix. The verb *ukupala*[10] is transitive as well as intransitive and carries at least four meanings. First, *to resemble*, *to look like*; second, *to scrape*; third, *to suit*, *to be suitable*, *proper,* and fourth, *to flow over.*[11] The transitive causative extension of *ukupala* is *ukupasha*, meaning: "to cause to resemble, to transmit hereditary traits, features, qualities (good or bad)."[12] The derivative noun of *ukupasha* is *ici-pasho* with the primary meaning: "likeness, resemblance (physical or moral)."[13] The likelihood of *umupashi* being a derivation of the transitive causative verb *ukupasha* is more than one of high probability, though this conclusion lacks sufficient evidence that could conclusively support this assumption.

In light of the grammatical argument that nouns derived from verbs also end with a vowel, however, the derivation *ici-pash-o* might as well have a counterpart in *umu-pash-i.*[14]

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[8]There are three different kinds of nouns. The Common Noun, the Proper Noun, and the Derivative Noun (a noun which derives from another noun, adjective, verb or adverb). Compare Hoch, *Bemba Grammar*, 44.

[9]See Appendix 1.

[10]Not to be confused with *ukupaala*, meaning: (1) "to invoke the ancestors," (2) "to bless," (3) "to blow out," (4) "to start growing." White Fathers, *The White Fathers Bemba-English Dictionary*, Revised Edition, s.v. "*-pâla*" (Ndola, Zambia: The Society of the Missionary for Africa, 1991); hereafter cited as White Fathers, *Dictionary*.

[11]White Fathers, *Dictionary*, s.v. "*-pala.*"

[12]White Fathers, *Dictionary*, s.v. "*-pasha.*"

[13]White Fathers, *Dictionary*, s.v. "*cipasho.*" As an example: *uyu mwana namwishibile cipasho, apala wishi uo naishiba*, lit., "this child, I know him by his resemblance, he resembles, looks like his father whom I know."

[14]Note that *ici* and *umu* are Class prefixes of their respective Classes (see Appendix 1). *Ici* (*Ifi* plural) are prefixes of the fourth Class of nouns and are used in an indefinite sense or as the Class for "things" in general. *Umu* (*Imi* plural) are prefixes of the second Class of nouns which refer to *parts of the body*, objects of daily life and the names of many trees. Hoch, *Bemba Grammar*, 68-75. Both nouns, *icipasho* and *umupashi,* do have the same stem -*pash*. As seen above, nouns of Class two refer to body parts. It might not be by mere accident at all that *umupashi* is grouped into this class since there is a definite connection to the body or rather the concept of body as shown earlier on. This reason would further operate in favor of *umupashi* as the author of a person's personality which is a resemblance of his own personality.

Furthermore, attention has to be paid to the fact that *umupashi* retains and continues the personality of a person after death. The stem of the transitive causative verb *–pash* (to cause to resemble, to transmit hereditary traits) would exactly describe the very mode of *umupashi's* operations with a person, namely, imparting character traits. The specifics, or the features and qualities (personality) of the late person, are transmitted to a child through the involvement of *umupashi*. In other words, a child is the recipient of a likeness or resemblance of a personality which stems from *umupashi*. For reasons outlined above and the close relationship *umupashi* and a person enter into, I propose to understand *umupashi* as the "spiritual double"[15] of a person. This understanding is of profound significance for the understanding of Bemba anthropology as a whole.

2.2 *Umupashi and Selected Stages in the Life Cycle of a Person*

What are the specifics of *umupashi's* interaction with a human being and at what times do they gain relevance?[16] This chapter sheds some light on this question by looking at selected stages (birth, childhood, adulthood, and death) in the life cycle of a person.

3. Birth

"For Africans, a name of a person involves his family and his clan."[17] This statement gathers momentum, as one looks closely at what has been said previously. The birth of a child not only links that child to the community of the living, but also to the "domain of the living dead."[18] The birth of a child is, therefore, a twofold event. First, it points to the future concerning the survival of the family, clan and

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[15]Compare Käser, *Seele*, 119. See also *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1911), s.v. "Doubles," by A. E. Crawley.

[16]Gehman points out that the living-dead (a term he borrowed from John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* [London: SPCK, 1969], 83) occur at significant points in the cycle of life. Gehman, *African Traditional Religion*, 143.

[17]Sebastian K. Lutahoire, *The Human Life Cycle Among the Bantu* (Arusha, Tanzania: Makumira Publication, 1974), 40.

[18]Hugo F. Hinfelaar, *Bemba Speaking Women of Zambia in a Century of Religious Change (1892-1992)*, Studies of Religion in Africa, Supplements to the Journal of Religion in Africa, eds. Adrian Hastings and Marc R. Spindler, vol. XI (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 8; hereafter cited as Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women.*

tribe, and second, it points to the past concerning the history. To be more precise, it points to the specific history of public life or behavior (which of course is a reflection of one's personality) of a deceased family member. This specific history, the personality[19] of a particular family member, comes to life again when a child receives its name.[20] Consequently, the naming of a person is given great consideration.[21]

3.1 *Umupashi and the Selection of the Name*

The selection of the name of a child is a delicate issue. It often happens that shortly before delivery, the expecting mother or some other family members dream about a certain ancestor (male or female). This dream is regarded as a message from *umupashi* of the very forebear. The dream is a clear indication that *umupashi* has the desire to "rejoin" the living by way of passing on his name (always with the connotation of identity and personality) to the future child. In addition, the timing of the dream, near the time of birth, is a further sign *umupashi* employs in order to sensitize the family concerned about the seriousness of the matter.

3.2 *Umupashi and the Name-giving Ceremony: Kwinika ishina[22]*

Until the name-giving ceremony *(Kwinika ishina)* a newborn baby is *not considered a human being*.[23] This fact is underscored by linguistic

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[19]"The name expresses the individual character of the being." Placide Tempels, *Bantu Philosophy,* trans., Colin King from "La Philosophie Bantoue," (Paris: Presence Africaine, 1959), 70.

[20]"A newborn child is often thought to be the reincarnation of some ancestor who is seeking to return to this life, or at least part of his spiritual influence returns." G. Parrinder, *West African Religion: A Study of the Beliefs and Practices of Akan, Ewe, Yoruba, Ibo, and Kindred Peoples* (London: The Epworth Press, 1961), 95 quoted in Magesa, *Abundant Life*, 84.

[21]Not only Bemba culture in particular and African cultures in general pay the name-giving highest attention, but it appears to be a universal phenomena. In Northeast New Guinea "names may indicate animals, totemic names, natural objects and designations of circumstantial happenings at birth." Aloys Kasprus SVD, *The Tribes of the Middle Ramu and the Upper Keram Rivers (North-East New Guinea)*, Studia Instituti Anthropos, vol. 17 (St. Augustin bei Bonn: Verlag des Anthropos-Instituts, 1973), 59;

[22]*Ukwinika.* Infinitive of the transitive verb: "to name, to give a name."

evidence.[24] The decisive moment for naming the child is the day when the umbilical cord has fallen off; until then, the umbilical cord *(umutoto* or *ubula)* represents evidence of the child's attachment to the mother. After this event, the family is informed and some family members (the parents of the child, the paternal aunt, the maternal aunt, uncles on both sides, grand-fathers, grand-mothers, and some members of the community or nearby neighbors who are mostly elderly women) assemble. The confirmation of the name is the duty of the maternal aunt or the grandmother of the child. Before the actual naming begins, present family members are asked if they have had dreams of a particular ancestor. In the event of two people having had a dream considered valid, a consensus is required. Once a consensus is reached, the child is named. This moment is the starting-point of a companionship between the child and its *umupashi* with the hope of a life long endurance. The ceremony ends with the elders sitting together for some time while drinking local beer.

The first-born child is always named after a person (regardless of sex) from the father's family line unless the father is not known. In such a situation a boy receives the name of the mother's father and a girl is given the name of the mother's mother.

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[23]Willoughby mentions Miss Werner who says that among the Yao, the death of a child before three to six days after birth have elapsed is not mourned. She believes that the people think the child has not yet "attained a separate existence of it's own." Among the Ashanti , "the infant for the first eight days after birth is scarcely considered a human being." W. C. Willoughby, *The Soul of the Bantu: A Sympathetic Study of the Magico-Religious Practices and Beliefs of the Bantu Tribes of Africa* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1928; reprint, Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 14-15 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

[24]A newborn baby is called *katuutuu.* This construction with the preposition "*ka*" places the term into the diminutive Class of nouns and not into the specific Class of nouns (see Appendix 1) for human beings. Secondly, the stem *-tuutuu* is found in connection with the verb *ukubuuta,* meaning "white" and in a wider sense "empty" (*mwashala fye tuutuu mu butala*, meaning: "what remains in the grain bin is absolutely white, i.e. completely empty"). One might therefore conclude that *katuutuu* conveys the meaning of something which is small (a small thing) with the characteristic of emptiness. *Katuutuu* is the specific term with reference to a newborn baby until it receives its name. No other being or thing is referred to with this term.

4. Childhood

A critical time begins when a child is five or six years of age. Up to that point little attention was paid to the child's behavior but now parents and family members observe the child closely. All interest is focused on the child's behavior. At the age of nine or ten years, the child is told the history and particulars of the name and the person from whom he or she inherited it. Furthermore, the child is made aware of who its relatives are, what positions they hold, how they have to relate or behave toward them, and where and how he or she has to fit in within the social structures of the community.

4.1 Umupashi and the Appearance of Misbehavior

Misbehavior or behavior that goes against a set of cultural rules and norms is a cause for worry and concern—and more so over a prolonged period of time. There is no greater threat to communal life than peculiar or abnormal behavior. Such a situation does directly implicate *umupashi*. There is cause for real concern, and it carries a twofold aspect. First, the child is instructed that such behavior is not congruent with the person from whom he inherited the name. Indeed, there is profound interest in discouraging the child from continuing in this behavior. Second, misbehavior is the reflection of an obvious discrepancy between the supposed character (personality) of *umupashi* and the noticeable kind of *imibele* (character traits, or permanent psychical dispositions) of the child. Misbehavior is closely linked to *imibele*. Linguistic evidence supports this statement. Whenever the phrase *ukutampa imibele*[25] is uttered, a warning signal is given. The implication is that somewhere something is going wrong in the way *umupashi* cooperates in his companionship with the child. People link the kind of *imibele* displayed in the child's behavior directly to *umupashi's* psychical disposition. Temporal psychical dispositions of *umupashi* other than positive may be ameliorated by way of intercession of the family elders and may be accompanied by a sacrifice.

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[25]*Ukutampa imibele* means: "to start, begin *imibele*." In other words, as soon as character traits are "activated" by the person itself, then this is automatically put in the category of *imibele iibi* (bad, negative *Imibele*; e.g., *ukutampa ukwiba,* "to start stealing;" *ukutamba ubufi,* "to start lying;" *ukutampa ubunang'ani,* "to start laziness," and others).

4.2 Umupashi and some Causes of Misbehavior

Behavior that goes against acceptable behavior may have different causes. First, misbehavior is always subject to judgment. Judgment in the first instance is not invoked on the person as one might expect, but on *umupashi*. The explanation people readily offer aims at the change of the personality of *umupashi* of the late family member during the period after the death and before the naming of the child. This "transformation" of *umupashi* occurs unnoticed and can only be seen in the misbehavior in the growing up of the child. The "transformation in attitude" could be attributed to a wrongdoing that was committed against *umupashi* during the "body-less phase."[26] Second, it is also possible that judgment is not invoked on *umupashi* of the child, but rather on *umupashi* of the parents, the mother in particular. For example, if an expecting mother steals, it is presumed that this behavior directly influences or even degrades or spoils her own *umupashi*. It will also affect the future *umupashi* of the child. Only time would tell if the child's future *umupashi* was affected by the mother's condemnable act when there is reason for complaint and fear of unacceptable behavior during the upbringing of the child.

4.3 Umupashi and some Measures to Correct Misbehavior

Situations of misbehavior necessitate appropriate action. Often they turn become real family matters. The elders become involved, and meetings being held to discuss the issue. The approach to a solution of the matter is by way of pleading with *umupashi* of the child to try and find out the reason for such misbehavior. An answer from *umupashi* is expected through dreams. The content of the dream or dreams are thought to provide answers as to why *umupashi* is displeased and if a sacrifice is to be made to win back his cooperation.

A chicken, some maize flour, or some small amount of local beer would be the ordinary category of sacrifice being demanded. If a chicken is required, it is slaughtered, and the blood is poured onto the

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[26]This term probably lacks scientific accuracy and is therefore understood as an auxiliary term at the most. Meant is the time between the death of a person and the naming of a child which is called *ukupembela umupashi*, meaning: "to wait for *umupashi*, the waiting *umupashi*."

ground. Some words would accompany the ritual.[27] *Umupashi* is accredited with power to "straighten out"[28] these unwanted character traits. If not corrected, this behavior would definitely lead to turning into bad *imibele*, that is, turning into bad behavior or permanent negative psychical dispositions. After this intervention through a sacrifice, the child is closely monitored. The satisfaction which the altered behavior produces would find commendation by words like: *umupashi wakwe naupilibuka, nomba uli bwino*, meaning: "his or her *umupashi* has turned round, has changed; now he is good." The deeper meaning obviously is the change of attitude of *umupashi* that is reflected in the behavior of the child.

5. Adulthood

Bemba society maintains a system of dealing with people according to age groups. These age groups are somewhat similar to Western categories like infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age. There are some eight age groups in Bemba. Adulthood would find its equivalent in *abakalamba* (the grown ups, the mature people) who are in the age range of thirty-five to sixty years. A mature person is expected to display mature behavior as well as to have come to maturity in terms of personality. To be reckoned as *Bakalamba*, a mature person, is thought to be due to the harmonious companionship a person has achieved and maintained with his *umupashi*.

5.1 Harmony: The Ideal of Relationship between a Person and his Umupashi

Umupashi is the ultimate source of a person's humanness. *Umupashi* is also the ultimate force to sustain true humanness in a person's life. The desire is to live in harmony with *umupashi* in order to become a potential family "asset," culminating into becoming a "*Mupashi Mukankala*, a rich and generous spirit/forbear."[29] Until this goal can

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[27]*Twamipele inkoko iyi pakuti mutubeleleko uluse uyu mwana aleke ubupupu*, meaning: "we give you the chicken so that you forgive us and transform this child and he refrains from theft."

[28]*Umupashi ulelungamika imibele ya mu mutima,* lit.*, "umupashi* is straightening out *imibele* (the idea is to straighten something which is bent, crooked) in the heart, that is, the psyche."

[29]Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 6.

be realized, a person will have to negotiate a multitude of problems, fears, anxieties, and challenges along the paths of life. The physical world scarcely provides the equipment for successful navigation on this arduous and hazardous journey. *Umupashi*, as a superior being, is necessarily in a superior position to give reliable guidance throughout a person's life span. This assumption is the ideal, but a person can only experience its fulfillment through appropriate behavior in the reality of life. What, however, is reality like?

5.2 Disharmony: The Danger of Spoiling the Relationship between a Person and his Umupashi

Once again linguistic evidence will provide a gauge indicating how the companionship of an individual and his umupashi correlate. Certain grammatical constructions and language expressions are most helpful in this regard. The reality of life in this world is far from upholding the ideal as described above. Indeed, it is no rarity that people refer to other people as being in the process of "spoiling"[30] one's *umupashi*. For instance, when a person succumbs to excessive beer drinking, a disharmony between the person and his or her *umupashi* is in the making. The continuation of this behavior from bad to worse would find its expression by saying: *naonaula umupashi*, meaning: "a person is in the process of destroying, ruining, damaging *umupashi* completely." The deterioration of the situation is expressed by *naonaika*[31] *umupashi*, meaning: "a person has now indeed spoiled, rendered useless, or destroyed his *umupashi*." The matter is even further intensified by saying: *nomba umupashi naonaikilila fye*, meaning: "now he has absolutely, completely spoiled, made useless, destroyed his *umupashi*." A serious consequence of this state of affairs concerns a person in regards to having rendered his potential of

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[30]*Naaya aleonaula umupashi,* meaning: "he/she is in the process of spoiling, destroying *umupashi*."

[31]*Ukonaika* the intensive form of the intransitive verb of state *ukoneka*, meaning: "to be spoiled, damaged, destroyed, ruined." *Ukonaika umupashi* is "to be with *umupashi* who is completely destroyed, spoiled, damaged." At this point people have given up all hope of ameliorating the person's condition. It is feared that the person will die, suffer an accident or become mad. Special attention is to be given to the fact that *ukonaika* it is a verb of state and therefore refers to a condition rather than to an action.

becoming a *"Mupashi Mukankala"*[32] himself, most certainly null and void. *Umupashi* has changed from being good to being bad in the real sense. To put it differently, *umupashi* has undergone a drastic and traumatic change in his personality; he has turned into a *cibanda* (evil or malevolent spirit) while the person is still alive.

5.3 Dreams: The Access to the Transcendent: Umupashi as Mediator

It is one thing to project, analyze, and interpret dreams from a scientific point of view. It is another thing to give them meaning in the context of a worldview. In fact, worldviews give dreams a much more powerful thrust for all kinds of matters concerning life, than a scientific explanation could ever do. Worldviews have particular assumptions on the world and, therefore, find their particular expressions in a particular culture people have.

Many cultures have no cause to ask for the origin and nature of dreams in order to relate them to reality. On the contrary, dreams are reality.[33] Dreams provide reason for action,[34] and they influence considerations in the process of decision-making. To understand dreams in a traditional culture, one has to start from the premise of reality.[35] Meaning and understanding of dreams will come to light through questions built upon this very premise of what constitutes reality. How do these considerations fit into traditional Bemba

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[32]Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 6.

[33]The dream-world is real for Africans and is given the same attention as the affairs of daily life. Joseph Kufulu Mandunu, *Das "Kindoki" im Licht der Sündenbocktheologie: Versuch einer Christlichen Bewältigung des Hexenglaubens in Schwarz-Afrika*, Studien zur Interkulturellen Geschichte des Christentums, begr. v. Hans Jochen Margull, Hg. Richard Friedli, Walter J. Hollenweger, Jan A. B. Jongeneel und Theo Sundermeier, Bd. 85 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), 47.

[34]"In African life dreams play a central role." John S. Mbiti, "Dreams as a Point of Theological Dialogue Between Christianity and African Religion," *Missionalia* vol. 25, no. 4 (December 1997): 511-522, 511.

[35]African cultures give ancestors high esteem. "Ancestors are believed to offer advice through dreams, visions, or ghostly visitations." Robert R. Cook, "Ghosts," *EAJET* vol. 4, no. 1 (1985): 35-47, 35.

culture? The nature of this thesis calls for restrictions which will be adhered to by focusing on two categories of dreams.[36]

A first observation is an interesting linguistic finding. It is not possible to say: *umutima naulota icilota*, meaning: "the psyche has dreamed a dream." The first category of dreams is not related to the psyche as the center of meaningful, deep, and constructive thinking, but to the brain. It is the category of *ifiloto fya matontonkanya*, meaning: "the dreams of the thoughts." For instance, *icintu nga uletontonkanyapo kuti wacilota*, meaning: "a thing, if you think and think about it, you can dream about it." Although the prime faculty of thinking is associated with the psyche *(umutima)*, one can find the idea that at times thinking is connected to the brain *ubongo*. Such dreams, however, are irrelevant, because they are the product and projection of one's own wishes and aspirations. Dreams of this nature are neither given any bearing in taking action, nor are they thought to give guidance in evaluating considerations in the process of decision-making.

The second category of dreams is packed into the phrase *ifiloto fya ku mupashi*, meaning: "the dreams from *umupashi*." Dreams from *umupashi* have "quality" because they always have a meaning.[37] The points of reference of "quality" are that they become always true; they are very clear in the sense that one can remember every detail. Often times they point to the future, that is, they are a sign of something ahead. For instance, what sex a child to be born will be.[38] Such dreams are "windows" to the future. Dreams from *umupashi* bring the Transcendent into the Immanent and fuse them into a whole. It is important to note that dreams of this qualifying character fuse with life's present reality in such a way that they make up reality *per se*.

Umupashi acts as a messenger between members of the same family. Instances of great importance to the family are relayed

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[36]Among the *Akamba* there also exist two categories of dreams, good and bad. Gehman, *African Traditional Religion*, 157.

[37]People say: *iciloto ca ku mupashi cilakwata ubupilibulo*, meaning: "dreams from *umupashi*, they always have a turning to, pointing to, that is, they have a meaning."

[38]A very common statement is: *nacilota ndeloba imilonge*, meaning: "I dreamed I was fishing *imilonge*" (species of Bubble Fish). The interpretation is that there will be a child, and it will be a boy. There is also an equivalent phrase with regard to the sex of a girl.

through a dream given by *umupashi* to a certain person. The same dream would also be given to another family member. When people meet for discussions and relate to one another the dreams they have had, the two individuals who dreamed the same dream are identified. The family or the individual family members of concern now have total assurance of the direction they should take. Since the guidance of *imipashi* (plural of *umupashi*) is guaranteed,[39] relief and comfort can settle again in the lives of the family group members.

A long absence of *umupashi* from a person (caused by prolonged bad and unacceptable behavior doing damage to the companionship of *umupashi* and the person) puts him or her in grave danger. *Umupashi* cannot warn him of looming dangers, especially those which are caused by sorcery. Manifestations of bad dreams or nightmares[40] are thought to be a sign that *umupashi* is not in close vicinity to an individual. A person is then vulnerable to dangers of ultimate seriousness. In consequence, this absence would mean that a person is cut off from the access to transcendental knowledge so essential for one's journey through life.

6. Death

Death is part of life as are birth, childhood, and adulthood. Death in traditional African cultures does not include the element of finality, but rather that of transition.[41] Life in essence is always a transition from one stage to the other and, therefore, marked accordingly (e.g., name-giving ceremony, initiation rites, marriage and others),[42] but death has a transitional quality on its own merit. All other transitory stages concern a human being in reference to maturity in body and

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[39]People say: *umupashi wacenda*, meaning: "*umupashi* was traveling." This phrase indicates a guarantee on the kind of action that should be taken. It also indicates good communication and mutual understanding of the *imipashi* of the two persons who have had the same dream.

[40]Dreams about cows, fierce dogs, snakes (Python or Puff adder) are counted as attacks of sorcery. *Bamuloshi* (wizard, sorcerer) favors these animals all because he prefers to use parts of them to bewitch people.

[41]Compare Metuh, "Concept of Man," 62.

[42]The proper term is *rites de passage* or rites of passage and is found in many cultures.

personality and are, therefore, conditioned by space and time. Death is an exception. Death is not a transition of measurable maturity but of an elementary difference concerning one's existence. Death is the gateway to becoming a spirit being.[43]

6.1 Umupashi and the Moment of Death

The moment of death underscores the finality of the body and, therefore, the end of physical life. More importantly, it is the moment when *umupashi* separates from the body.[44] The point of exit of *umupashi* is not specifically referenced. The data gathered indicates that *umupashi* could leave together with *umweo*[45] through the nose and mouth. A corpse is without *umupashi*.[46] Life has ended.[47] Death is pronounced immediately after breathing has stopped. When death is near, two immediate family members come close to the dying person. They close the eyes and the mouth (the teeth must not show). The Fingers, hands, arms, and legs are stretched. Thereafter they say: *umuntu waonga*.[48] Then they tie a cloth around the head to keep the mouth tightly closed. This ritual is performed whether the late person was a man, a woman, or a child.

6.2 Umupashi and the Issue of Succession: Ubupyani

Bemba culture has a complex system pertaining to the rituals at death, immediately after death, at burial, the funeral gathering, and even

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[43]Ojwang says: "Death is … introducing a person into the world of the spirit." Benjamin Ojwang, "Death among the Acholi," ed. Markus Piennisch, TMs (photocopy), 1996, 44.

[44]*Umupashi wapatulukula ku mubili*, meaning: "*umupashi* has separated from the body."

[45]*Umweo*, meaning: "breath" and also "life." *Umweo* is an immaterial spiritual substance. At death it returns to God (this idea might already hold substantial influence of Christian teaching). The idea that *umweo* is the life-force of a person linking it to other life-forces in the universe is the more likely alternative as it is represented in other African cultures like the Igbo of West Africa. Compare Metuh, "Concept of Man," 53.

[46]*Umubili washala fye eka*, meaning: "the body alone remains behind."

[47]*Ukuleka umweo*, meaning: "to stop life, to breathe one's last, to die; life has stopped."

[48]*Ukonga*, the Infinitive of the transitive verb, meaning: "to arrange a corpse for burial."

thereafter. The most prominent feature is to succeed *(ukupyana)* a dead person regardless of age and sex. *Every person who dies must be succeeded by a living person*,[49] though the mode of succession differs according to age and sex.

A child is commonly succeeded by the grandfather or grandmother still alive who then becomes *impyani*, a successor. *Impyani* takes on *umupashi* of the child.[50] This appropriation happens at the first stage of succession *(ubupyani)* and is called *ukunwa amenshi*.[51] The ceremony takes place after the burial within a relatively short period of time. One main factor is the time that it will take to brew enough beer for the public to honor its participation and sympathy in remembrance of the late person. During the assembly of the family, the small calabash with beer *(umufungo)* is put in the midst of them and discussions on who is to become *impyani* start. When the right person is found, the calabash is removed and the person, who is now called *uwakunwa amenshi*,[52] takes a place in the middle. An authorized person takes a small cup of water, takes a sip, and sprays it on the chest or the back of the candidate. The rite of blessing is accompanied by words of blessing *(amapalo)*.[53] The ceremony is completed.

The death of an adult, especially that of the husband of a woman, requires the second stage of *ubupyani* called *Kupyanika*.[54] This stage takes place after a minimum of one year up to a maximum of two years after the burial. A family meeting is convened and discussions revolve around an eligible male candidate to succeed the late husband of the widow. A set of qualifications are applied and

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[49]This does not apply to mad people, lepers, wizards, albinos, and other people. The main criteria is the kind of *umupashi* one is associated with.

[50]*Asenda mupashi wa mwana*, meaning: "he/she carries away *umupashi* of the child." The deeper meaning is to rightfully and appropriately break the attachment of *umupashi* to the late child and transfer the companionship of *umupashi* to oneself.

[51]Literally: "to drink water."

[52]Literally: "the one to be drinking water."

[53]For example: *ulekula fye, ulelosha impumi mu mulu ube fye ngo mutaba*, meaning: "just grow, direct your face to heaven just like a *baobab* tree," that is, "just grow without any problems."

[54]*Ukupyanika*, meaning: "to appoint as successor."

meant to single out *impyani* (mostly a male person who is younger and from the late father's family line). Final discussions are reserved to a very few family members in order to keep the identity of the candidate secret. The completion of the second stage of succession demands sexual intercourse of *impyani* and the widow. The execution of the rite is done privately and only a few family members are informed when and where it is being performed. The following day an announcement is made introducing the new husband of the widow to the public and the new father to the children, if there were any. In this way *impyani* has fulfilled *ukupyana nganda*, the succession of the house of the late husband. If *impyani* is already married, he must obtain approval from his wife prior to the sexual union with the widow.[55] Her consent simultaneously makes her husband a polygamist, since he is still bound to his first wife through marriage and to his second wife through succession.[56]

Sexual relationship with *impyani* effects the clearing of the widow. The years of marriage bond have left their mark on each of both marriage partners. A good marriage relationship between husband and wife is due to having won each other's affection through the good cooperation between *umupashi* of either of the two. The bond of marriage has a transcendental dimension and cannot be obliterated at will. The engagement of *impyani* and the sexual union between him and the widow as the expression of the closest possible attachment to another human being, is thought to break this formerly existing marriage bond once for all. At the same time, *umupashi* is able to execute his separation from the body of the late person and will stay as a guardian with the widow in their house until succession is completed. During this time she is not allowed to have sexual contact with anyone else, as this act would most certainly entail madness *(ubushilu)* or even lead to death. Madness due to such illegal

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[55]This fact has often times been overlooked. The general notion among Missionary personnel and other expatriates, at least as I understood them, was that this practice sanctions extra-marital relationships at random.

[56]There is also the alternative of *ukubulako fye umupashi*, meaning: "to take away umupashi." The procedure is that *impyani* executes *ubupyani* (succession) through sexual intercourse with the widow but relationship ends here and he stays with his first wife. He does not become a polygamist.

union before succession is completed cannot be cured. Sexual relation between *impyani* and the widow is the only proper act to dissolve the close and unique union that existed between her and her late husband.[57] The decisive element is sexual union through which *impyani* takes *umupashi*[58] with him, that is, he inherits his name and the association with a second *umupashi*. He can now be called by either name. His identity is now associated with his original name or with the name he received by way of succession.

At this point, a further aspect of *umupashi* comes to light. An adult male person, who already is in companionship with his own *umupashi,* may acquire the companionship of yet another *umupashi*. The main task that falls to his second *umupashi* is to provide additional protection from harm, especially from acts of sorcery, rather than imparting *imibele* upon his personality. An adult person already has his own ways; his personality has already individual character traits. He is already with his own *imibele*. His personality has already come to maturity. That is why a baby to be born in the near future will automatically receive the name of that late person in order to revitalize the personality of the forebear. A community can only live in harmony and peace if personalities of quality form the main segment of society. The virtue of human nature falls drastically short of this ideal.

7. Summary

Survival after death "is an axiom of life."[59] The perception that only a part of the person survives after death falls far short of what the concept of *umupashi* contains. It is the full individual person which survives after death. As a spirit being, *umupashi* stores the personality of a dead person and seeks to revitalize this individual personality as a

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[57]People say: *umupashi uwawafwa taufuma mu nganda nga tabalapyanika,* meaning: "*umupashi* of the one who died does not come out of the house if they (the family through the successor) do not enact succession."

[58]The term is *ukubulako umupashi,* meaning: "to take away *umupashi*."

[59]W. C. Willoughby, *The Soul of the Bantu: A Sympathetic Study of the Magico-Religious Practices and Beliefs of the Bantu Tribes of Africa* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1928; reprint, Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 2 (page citation is to the reprint edition).

newborn baby inherits the name of its forebear. Only family members who demonstrated an exemplary life-style are considered eligible persons. The reception of the name enacts a companionship between a human being and a spirit being of unique characteristics. Only the union of the two introduces the newborn baby into the community of humans. This companionship during life aims at a harmonious relationship and can be characterized by calling *umupashi* the spiritual double of a person. In retrospect, three main elements may be identified to form the concept of *umupashi*. First, it gives identity, that is, it is the decisive force or agent which deposits character traits into the psyche which form a personality of good commendation. A person's non-compliance with *umupashi's* guidance can result in *umupashi* transforming into *cibanda*, a malevolent spirit. Second, it renders effective protection from the omnipresent dangers of transcendental forces which have been engaged by people of ill will. And third, it gives guidance along the journey of life through dreams which are given by *umupashi* as an assurance of appropriate action and as windows looking out into the future.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUDING COMMENTS ON THE CONCEPT OF BEMBA ANTHROPOLOGY AND CONSIDERATIONS FOR CROSS-CULTURAL MINISTRY

1. Concluding Comments on the Concept of Bemba Anthropology

The research of this thesis leads to the conclusion that Bemba anthropology comprises three interwoven concepts. First, the concept of body which combines biology, psychology, and cosmology.[1] Second, the concept of soul which is linked to a particular body area or body part.[2] Third, the concept of spirit which carries a dual dimension, the being that survives the death of the body, and the being that retains and continues the personality of a person.

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[1] The traditional Bemba concept of transcendency holds that "the cold body of the wife is believed to be made ready for the divine gift of parenthood by the hot influence [marital intercourse] of the husband." Hugo F. Hinfelaar, *Bemba Speaking Women of Zambia in a Century of Religious Change (1892-1992)*, Studies of Religion in Africa, Supplements to the Journal of Religion in Africa, eds. Adrian Hastings and Marc R. Spindler, vol. XI (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 7-8; hereafter cited as Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women.*

[2] The question of "soul" and "shadow" of a person shall be addressed here, though in short. There are different terms in Bemba to be taken into consideration. To start with, the term *icinshingwa* is the proper term for casting a shadow (*naiminina mu kasuba, ici icinshingwa candi*, meaning: "I am standing in the sun, this is my shadow." When I feel hot, I move into the shade (*icintelelwe*) of a tree to seek protection from the sun (*naya mu cintelelwe mukuba akasuba*, meaning: "I go into the shade to protect myself from the sun." The mirror-image is called *icikope* (from the English word "copy"). In fact, all objects depicted in one-dimensional fashion (paintings, pictures, photographs etc.) are *icikope* (*ndemona icikope candi mu cilola,* meaning: "I see my copy/myself in the mirror"). In contrast, three-dimensional ideas are expressed with the term *icata* and can be used on animals or persons alike (*iyi mbushi naikwata icata nga ilya ikalamba*, meaning: "this goat has the image like the big one, resembles the big one." *Uyu mwana alikwata icata candi*, meaning: "this child has got, carries my image." *Twabumbile mu icata cakwa Lesa*, meaning: "we are created in the image of God"). *Icinshingwa* and *umupashi* engage in a perilous relationship in as much as soil upon which the shadow of a person is cast, can be used by a *muloshi* (wizard) to mix it with medicine charged with spiritual powers to capture *umupashi* of a person. Soil upon which the shadow was cast consists now of physical matter and spirit matter. The fusion of physical and spirit matter entails a most perilous consequence on the side of *umupashi* as he may now fall into hostile hands. A successful confinement of *umupashi* leaves a person without any protection at all and makes him a defenseless target of whatever harm or sickness that is directed against him or her. However, the younger generation, especially youths in towns, are far less mindful of this situation as elderly persons, who would still object to others stepping on their shadow.

The term soul according to a European concept is inappropriate as to be a valid and proper equivalent of soul according to the Bemba concept. Soul in Bemba thinking is connected to the outstanding characteristics of a particular body area or body part which comprises three elements: first, the seat of emotions, second, the faculty of intellectual processes, and third, the sole reference to personality. These three elements are combined in the Bemba term *umutima* for which the term psyche was formulated.[3]

The kind of psyche a Bemba person is thought to possess is the reflection of one's behavior in public life within the community. The psyche of a person is subject to changes which are triggered by the countless experiences of every day life; they are realized as temporal psychical dispositions and may either be positive or negative. Such a psyche is also thought to possess inherent qualities, that is, *imibele*, the permanent psychical dispositions with the markers positive or negative. *Imibele* are the ultimate label, the specific character traits with which a person is endowed. These character traits either weigh heavily in one's favor or cause the pendulum to swing in the opposite direction. To have a psyche characterized as *umutima uusuma* (good, beautiful, nice) require *imibele iisuma* (good, beautiful, nice character traits) which come about through the involvement of *umupashi* at the beginning of one's life. *Imibele* are neither of genetic origin nor are they the result of anyone's labor and efforts during the life cycle of a person. *Imibele* have a transcendental origin. This fact makes it necessary to connect *imibele* to transcendental beings, that is, to *umupashi*, a spirit being. The line of intersection, the point where

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[3]Willoughby would have been much more able to approach the Bantu soul concept, to which he devoted a voluminous book covering some four hundred thirty-eight pages, with the tool of cognitive anthropology. He would not have had to lament over "an incidental variety," gained from Bantu sources concerning the nature of the soul. Also, had he been able to free, or at least distance himself from a purely European concept of soul, then he might have been in a position to see clearly, why, when "they [the Bantu] talk about the soul, they utter feelings rather than mental conceptions [which in nature are abstract ideas so common to Western thinking]." W. C. Willoughby, *The Soul of the Bantu: A Sympathetic Study of the Magico-Religious Practices and Beliefs of the Bantu Tribes of Africa* (Garden City, NY: Double-day, Doran & Company, Inc., 1928; reprint, Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 4-5 (page citations are to the reprint edition); hereafter cited as Willoughby, *Soul of the Bantu*.

umupashi and *umuntu*[4] meet, is the moment of reception of the name. In fact, this point of intersection is so vital that only then a newborn baby (*katuutuu*)[5] will become *umuntu*, a human being.

The fact that *umupashi* is the being that retains and continues the personality of a person after death and the strong linguistic evidence on the term *umupashi* presented earlier,[6] makes the conception of *umupashi* being the "spiritual double"[7] of a person one of profound necessity in order to gain a holistic view on Bemba anthropology. There is further evidence worth noting to strengthen the argument mentioned above.

Richards, as early as 1934, stated that every Bemba must be succeeded at death and that the heir takes, next to his name, status, and social obligation, also his *mupashi*. She made the observation that "in this case the identification between the dead man and his heir seems to me unusually complete [compared with other Bantu tribes]. It invades every aspect of daily and ceremonial life."[8] This realization of "unusually complete identification" appears to point exactly in the very same direction, postulating *umupashi* as superior double of a living person. Some twelve years prior to Richards' research, Barnes

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[4]The Bemba term for person, human being. The plural is *abantu* (persons, human beings).

[5]See chapter five, footnote twenty-one!

[6]See chapter five, pages 60-61.

[7]In Igbo Anthropology *Chi* constitutes the equivalent to *umupashi*. Every human has associated with his personality a spirit-double known as *Chi*. Emefie Ikenga-Metuh, "The Concept of Man in African Traditional Religion: With Particular Reference to the Igbo of Nigeria," in *Readings in African Traditional Religion: Structure, Meaning, Relevance, Future,* ed. E. M. Uka (Bern: Peter Lang, 1991), 55. A similar concept seems to exit among the Chewa of Zambia and Malawi. One's personal ancestral spirit is called *mzimu*, whose primary task is to preserve life, mainly by protecting from witchcraft attacks. Ernst Wendland, " 'Who do People say I am?' Contexualizing Christology in Africa," *AJET* vol. 10, no. 2 (1991): 13-32, 16; hereafter cited as Wendland, "Christology." See also *"Okra, Sunsum, Ntoro, and Mogya"* in Helga Fink, *Religion, Disease and Healing in Ghana: A Case Study of Traditional Dorma Medicine,* trans., Volker Englich (Munich: Trickster Wissenschaft, 1989), 106-109.

[8]Audrey I. Richards, *Mother-Right Among the Central Bantu* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1934; reprint, Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 269 (page citation is to the reprint edition). Richards called *umupashi* a "guardian spirit," Audrey I. Richards, *Chisungu: A Girls Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1956), 34.

frankly argued that "it would be wrong to speak of the spirit of a living person as '*mupashi*'."[9]   The insights gained by subsequent research and the data of this research would lead in precisely the opposite direction.   There would be a serious shortcoming in the concept of spirit if *umupashi* were merely viewed as an after-death, near-distant, ancestral spirit. Even if the argument of the dead as the living-dead who live close by, was pushed to the forefront, this concept would hardly redeem the situation inasmuch as it still leaves a considerable gap in the close personal dealings of *umupashi* with his human companion. Furthermore, linguistic evidence speaks in favor of the aforesaid, since *umupashi* is suffixed with personal pronouns in numerous contexts.[10]

In chapter three, the issue of perpetuity so deeply ingrained in the worldview of the Bemba was raised. It was suggested that Bemba anthropology might contain the same element as well. The perpetual traveling (from the West to the East) is the root experience of Bemba tribal history. "This existential East-West orientation forms also an important part of the Initiation ritual"[11] of Bemba girls. Each novice faces the rising sun at the beginning of the initiation ceremonies, signifying that the East holds the "future, hope and expectation, light and happiness."[12] A prayer to *Lesa*, the High God and the divinity of the East, of the future, stresses the perpetual traveling of the family, clan, and tribe as they move towards this future during their pilgrimage on earth.[13] It was shown that African religion in general is

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[9]H. Barnes, "Survival after Death among the Ba-Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia," *MAN* 22 (1922): 41-42, 41. The problem Barnes had, was that he tried to establish the meaning of *mupashi* according to the English concept of "spirit" or the Greek term "*pneuma*."

[10]To give just but a few examples. *Umupashi wakwe naupilibuka, nomba uli bwino*, meaning: "his *umupashi* has turned round, that is, has undergone a change in attitude, now he is good." *Umupashi wandi wacimpela iciloto*, meaning: "my *umupashi* has given me a dream." *Umupashi wandi wacimpela icimonwa ku tulo*, meaning: my *umupashi* has given me a vision while asleep. *Umupashi wandi ulesumina ukwikala no mukashi wandi*, meaning: "my *umupashi* agrees to live with my wife." It is for this reason that a personal pronoun (he/his) instead of the neuter (it) will be used in future.

[11]Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 3.

[12]Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 3.

[13]Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 5.

solemnly anthropocentric[14] and Bemba religion is particularly so.[15] The tenet of animistic religions[16] is anthropocentric in principle.[17] The idea of perpetuity threads continuously and remarkably through the whole of Bemba worldview. It governs descent and succession (clan-communal and state-communal), imprints meaning and value on the rites of passage, and incorporates the individual into the whole of community life, whether the one formed by non-humans in the spirit world or the community constituted by humans in the physical world.

Moreover, the quality of the relationship between *umupashi* and his human companion is the decisive factor in granting access or pronouncing denial to the world of the *mipashi* at death. This point is significant, since the *mipashi* give consent to and guidance in the matters of earthly affairs and is of vital importance to the welfare of the community as well as the individual. If the various components of Bemba worldview (viewed as concentric circles which narrow down as they approach the nucleus) are meticulously perpetual in nature, then the nucleus, Bemba anthropology, is meticulously perpetual in nature more than ever.

Of further importance seems to be the fact that the psyche of a human does not have an inherent personality essence in itself. At the moment of death, the psyche ceases its function and ceases to exist. In contrast, *umupashi* as the spiritual double of a person has inherent intellectual capacity, emotions, will, and intention, that is, he

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[14]Benjamin Ray, *African Religions* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1976), 132; quoted in Metuh, "Concept of Man," 69.

[15]Maxwell identified five basic characteristics of Bemba religion. "(1) traditional, (2) com-munal, (3) anthropocentric, (4) vitally dynamic, and (5) cosmically holistic." Kevin B. Maxwell, *Bemba Myth and Ritual: The Impact of Literacy on an Oral Culture*, American University Studies, Series XI Anthropology / Sociology, vol. 2 (New York: Peter Lang, 1983), 20; hereafter cited as Maxwell, *Bemba Myth*.

[16]I would like to understand animism as a worldwide phenomenon rather than a cast religious system. A system is solid, stoic and predictable whereas a phenomenon appears in ever diverse nuances. It is exactly for these nuances that efforts to bring them to light are necessary and truly worthwhile.

[17]Compare Lothar Käser, *Fremde Kulturen: Eine Einführung in die Ethnologie für Entwicklungshelfer und Kirchliche Mitarbeiter in Übersee* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission; Lahr: Verlag der Liebenzeller Mission, 1997), 229; hereafter cited as Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*.

possesses a psyche of his own. The psyche of *umupashi* has much in common with the psyche of his human companion, though there are noteworthy differences. A few examples denoting temporal psychical dispositions selected from the metaphor group of the human body shall serve as illustrations.

(1) *Umutima nautembuka* (the psyche is powerless, exhausted, is fainted, meaning: "feeling of momentary powerlessness to act, feeling of missing something that conveys confidence"). This noun-verb construction cannot be used on *umupashi*. It is not possible to say *umupashi nautembuka*; *umupashi* is never powerless, exhausted or near to fainting; his psyche never feels at a loss at whatever situation may arise. (2) *Umutima naupofula* (the psyche is blind, meaning: "to be not able to understand a situation, the nature of a thing at this moment even if assistance was rendered").

Again, the construction *umupashi naupofula* is impossible. The psyche of *umupashi* is never blind; he never lacks understanding in grasping a situation or the nature of a thing.(3) *Umutima naulila* (the psyche weeps, meaning: "to be without confidence though efforts to comfort one are being made; to be in utter despair, feeling of committing suicide"). *Umupashi* never undergoes a psychical disposition of such extent; never is the psyche of *umupashi* in such despair that he is in danger of desiring to commit suicide.

The frame of this thesis does not allow the presentation of further linguistic evidence on *umupashi*. Suffice it to say that *umupashi* is capable of intellectual processes like thinking,[18] wanting,[19] and remembering,[20] all of which occur in his psyche. *Umupashi* also has individual character traits; yet, some are incompatible with the character traits of a person.[21] Against the

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[18]*Umupashi wakwe walitontonkanya bwino pa kupa uyu umukashana*, meaning: "his *umupashi* has thought well to get married to this girl."

[19]*Umupashi ulefwayafwaya*, lit., "*umupashi* is desperately wanting."

[20]*Umupashi wandi walibukisha ukunashile umwele*, lit., "my *umupashi* has remembered where I left the knife."

[21]For example, *umupashi ulapeeleela*, lit., "*umupashi* is (continuously) oscillating," meaning: "*umupashi* is swinging to and fro, has no steadiness, is continuously at a loss what to do."

background of the results on Bemba anthropology highly pertinent issues as regards cross-cultural ministry surface.

2. Considerations for Cross-Cultural Ministry

Three valid and highly significant considerations drawn from Bemba anthropology for cross-cultural ministry among the Bemba shall be addressed here.

2.1 Bemba Anthropology and some Implications on the Bemba Bible Translation

Bible translation has been going on in the Bemba language for many years. Several different editions have been produced by the two main Christian denominations, the Catholic Church and the Protestants or Evangelical Quarter. The study of the terms body, soul, and spirit in the New International Version (NIV) of the Bible indicates that the usage of these terms does not convey a consistent meaning.[22] The situation in the Bemba New Testament[23] *(Icipangano Cipya)* is even more complex, if not to say bewildering. The English word spirit (which itself is the rendering of the two Greek terms *pneuma*[24] and *psyche*[25]) is rendered in four different Bemba words:[26] *mutima,*[27] *mweo,*[28] *mano,*[29] *and mupashi.*[30] A similar situation applies

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[22]In Matthew 5:3 is the Greek term *pneuma* rendered spirit. The same term is translated soul in Luke 10:27. But in Luke 2:35 is soul the translation of *psyche*. The situation is even more complex in Bemba. Matthew 5:3 in Bemba uses the term *mutima* for the English term spirit and the Greek term *pneuma*. In Luke 10:27 is the Bemba term *mweo* used to translate the English term soul and the Greek term *psyche*. And in Luke 2:35 the term *mutima* is the rendering of the English term soul and the Greek term *psyche*. For more references see Appendix 8.

[23]The Bemba New Testament *(Icipangano Cipya)*, United Bible Societies, 1973.

[24]Mt 5:3; 26:41; Lk 1:47; Jn 11:33; 1Cor 4:21; 1Thess 5:23 etc.

[25]Lk 1:47; 1:80.

[26]All words have dropped the initial vowel of the prefix.

[27]With the working definition "psyche" for *mutima* compare Mt 5:3; 26:41; Mk 2:8; Jn 11:33; 13:21; Rom 8:16; 1Cor 4:21; 7:34; 16:18; 2Cor 4:13; Gal 6:18; Phil 1:27; 1Pet 3:4.

[28]With the working definition "life-force" for *mweo* compare Mt 27:50; Lk 8:55; 23:46; Jn 19:30; Acts 7:59; Jam 2:26.

[29]*Mano* means wisdom, intelligence. With this definition compare Lk 1:17.80; 1Thess 5:23.

concerning the English term soul (which itself is the rendering of the two Greek terms *pneuma*[31] and *psyche*[32]) which translates in two Bemba words: *mweo*[33] and *mutima*.[34] The difficulty that arises lies in determining the precise meaning each time spirit or soul is to be translated. For example, Jn 13:21 says that Jesus was troubled in spirit. The statement clearly indicates that Jesus underwent a change in his psychical disposition as he was faced with the presence of his betrayer. Spirit in this context refers to his psyche rather than the being that continues his personality after death. The Bemba term *mutima*,[35] as used in the Bemba New Testament, does, in this instance, convey the very same notion.

The situation becomes extremely complicated, for example, in 1 Cor 5:3. Paul is greatly agitated over the reported sexual immorality among the Christians of the Corinthian church. He points out that this situation is deeply affecting him. Moreover, the lenient attitude of the church in taking appropriate action causes him much grief. His physical absence makes no difference at all in the way he feels. Since he is with them in spirit, he has the same feeling and judgment regarding the case as if he were present in person. His feelings and his thoughts have been taken captive by the unacceptable behavior of the perpetrator. The Bemba translation speaks of Paul being together with them *mu mupashi*.[36] The definition of *umupashi* was "the being that survives the death of the body and the being that retains and continues the personality of a person." It was also shown that *umupashi* qualifies as the spiritual double of a person. The sum of this

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[30]Cited are Scriptures which are not in reference to the Holy Spirit. Acts 23:9; 1Cor 2:11; 5:3.4.5; 6:17; 14:14.15.16; 2Cor 7:1; 11:4; Col 2:5; 2Tim 4:22; Heb 4:12; 1Jn 4:1 (*mipashi* plural of *mupashi*).

[31]Lk 10:27.

[32]Mt 10:28; Lk 1:46; Heb 6:19 etc.

[33]Compare Mt 10:28; 16:26; 22:37; Lk 10:27; Mk 8:36.37; 12:30; Heb 4:12.

[34]Compare Mt 26:38; Mk 14:34; Lk 1:46; 2:35; 1Thess 5:23; Heb 6:19, 1Pt 2:11.

[35]Jn 13:21 reads in Bemba *(Icipangano Cipya)*: *Ilyo Yesu asosele ifi, no mutima wakwe wasakamikwa*,…" lit., "when Jesus said these things, his psyche was caused to be worried, to be anxious."

[36]Bemba translation *(Icipangano Cipya)* of 1Cor 5:3: …*lelo mu mupashi mwena tuli pamo bonse*, lit., "but in *mupashi,* however, we are all together."

definition would hardly express what the English term "spirit" conveys. Could we possibly say that Paul was with them through his spiritual double? Or would it be more appropriate to say that his psyche was deeply moved and that his feelings, thoughts, and intentions were directed toward the events at the Corinthian Church? The context suggests that Paul has the Corinthian Church on his mind, that the Christians are object of his thinking, contemplation and, surely, of his prayers. If the latter is the more likely, then *umutima* would be the appropriate term to express Paul's statements in verses three and four.

1 Cor 5:5 does pose another challenge. Paul is instructing the church on the kind of action they are to take. In the final analysis, he says, it would be far better for the perpetrator to suffer loss in his earthly days, than to suffer loss on the day of the Lord. Paul's concern is on the future condition of the person in regards to Jesus' coming. The English term spirit put in the context of the Lord's day suggests that Paul includes a dimension of the person's life which goes beyond the death of his body. The focus of attention is that even death is not able to extinguish his individual personality. Viewed from this angle, the Bemba word *umupashi*[37] transfers a powerful message to its listeners. The problem Bemba listeners might have is, that within the short context of three verses (1 Cor 5:3-5) two different concepts are expressed yet translated with one Bemba term. The whole of 1 Corinthians is actually rather ambiguous on the usage of terms.[38] Paul speaks of praying with his spirit[39] *(mu mupashi wandi);* at the same time he prays with his mind *(mu mano).* He also sings with both his spirit *(mu mupashi wandi)* and with his mind *(mu mano mwine).* Bemba thinking hardly distinguishes between intellectual processes which occur in the mind or in the spirit.

One area where confusion of concepts may have a serious implication is evangelism. There is hardly time to go into depth

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[37]Bemba translation *(Icipangano Cipya)* of 1Cor 5:5 …*ukuti umupashi wakwe wena ukapusuke pa bushiku bwa Mfumu*, lit., "so that his *umupashi*, however, will be saved on the day of the King [Lord]."

[38]Compare 1Cor 2:11; 5:4; 6:17; 14:14.15.16.32 (plural). Also 2Cor 7:1.

[39]1Cor 14:15. I am of the opinion that in this verse, Paul does not refer to the Holy Spirit.

during public evangelistic meetings as it is the case during seminars and teaching sessions. Attempts to challenge people on something which is not properly laid out before them, may end up as futile attempts. The quest for a better translation is a challenge yet to be appreciated and approached with determination to produce a Bible[40] which neither violates native speakers' ideas concerning these concepts, nor empties Scripture of its content.[41]

2.2 *Bemba Anthropology and some Implications on the Person of the Holy Spirit*

Some aspects of the Bemba concept of *umupashi* overlap those which are found in the Bible in reference to the Holy Spirit, but others are significantly different from Biblical revelation.

First, *umupashi* is neither male nor female. Spirit beings have no partial gender, but are complete; they are of twin-gender.[42] The gender of *umupashi* is of no significance at all, even when joined to a living person. Boys and girls can receive and bear the same name.

Second, *umupashi* is thought to live in the wind or air, is omnipresent, and keeps close to his human companion and the community at large. *Umupashi* is neither counted as part of the human body, nor does he have a body himself, because he is like air/wind. Yet, there exists the idea that *umupashi* is indwelling the body, in the psyche of a person.[43] He is not thought to possess body warmth on his own but is accredited with the capability of bringing down the body temperature of a person running a high fever *(mpepo)*

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[40]The issue is highly applicable. A new Bemba Bible revision is in process at present. In 1998, I sat on the Administrative Board of the Bemba Bible Translation and might be engaged in this work again when going back to Zambia.

[41]A fine exposition on contextualizing key terms on principalities and powers is found in Stephen W. Pattemore, "Principalities and Powers in Urak Lawoi'. Contextualizing Key Terms," *The Bible Translator*, vol. 45, no. 1 (January 1994): 116-129 and Stephen W. Pattemore, "Principalities and Powers in Urak Lawoi'. Contexualizing the Supernatural," *The Bible Translator* vol. 45, no. 3 (July 1994): 315-321).

[42]"Transcendent beings …possess both the male and female mode of being human." Hinfelaar, *Bemba Women*, 6.

[43]*Pantu ifyaba mu muntu fishibwa fye ku mupashi wakwe wine uwaba mu nda yakwe*, lit., "because what the things in a person are, they are just known to his *mupashi* himself, who is inside him, in his psyche."

if asked to do so. Such factors as hunger, thirst, tiredness, sleep, shedding of tears, laughing, pain, love, and fear, do not affect *umupashi* ontologically, though he can be angered, suffer frustration, experience happiness and gratitude by the actions (or behavior in general) of his human companion. All psychical dispositions affect *umupashi* in his psyche and do not find a reflection in terms of body expressions. A person cannot see his own *umupashi* but *umupashi* can show his presence in rare circumstances in dreams in the form of a white dove *(nkunda ya buuta)*, a white chicken *(inkoko ya buuta),* or as a person dressed in bright, white cloth *(insalu ya buuta)*.[44] These figures, however, are simply different manifestations of *umupashi;* they are not an exact replica of his appearance. The situation is different when *umupashi* of another person is concerned. Dreams, for example, featuring a person dressed in white cloth, might be identified as the *umupashi* of one's wife (or vice versa) as some features can be clearly identified. This observation does suggest that *umupashi* possesses physical features which are identical to those of his human companion. That is to say, *umupashi* is the genuine, perfect and superior spiritual double of a person.

Third, *umupashi* is perceived as a good-natured, benevolent being. His dealings with a person are explicitly positive even if some kind of reprimand or "punishment" (like sickness), should be necessary.[45] *Umupashi* of a person is thought to be very understanding and knowledgeable about the worries and problems which bother him or her. He can help a bothered person through dreams in order to make a person rest assured of his presence, especially in times of sickness when death is feared to be near.

The Scriptures make no reference to the Holy Spirit being of a partial gender. The Greek word for Spirit, *pneuma*, is neuter in

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[44]The color white is of great importance to the Bemba symbol system.

[45]People who adhere to the tradition allege sickness to a wrong one committed against his *umupashi*. As a measure of education, *umupashi* withdraws his protection and a person is easy prey to forces of ill will. Only intercession will mend and revive damaged relations. The interceding person (probably a honorable family member) would say words like this: *BaChanda mubeleleko umuntu wenu uluse*, meaning: "*BaChanda* (forebear of whom the name was inherited) please forgive your person, that is, make him to recover again." Compare also Wendland, "Christology," 16.

gender,[46] but scripture references speak of the Spirit as a person with the personal pronoun "he."[47] The interest the Bible pursues in introducing us to the triune God seems to be in featuring the *personality* of the Holy Spirit rather than his gender. Thus, the Spirit has no regard for a person's gender in the distribution of spiritual gifts. He will give gifts as He deems right to each Christian, man or woman alike.[48] Bemba Christians appear, on account of their concept of anthropology, to have less difficulty in understanding the personality of the Holy Spirit than Christians from the Western world.[49] The fact that the Bible speaks of the Holy Spirit as having a mind and a will[50] as well as emotions,[51] is another advantage on the side of Bemba people more easily to grasp His dealings with Christians. The idea that dreams might have significant messages is biblically underscored by the accounts of Jacob's, Joseph's and Daniel's dreams. Western man, and missionary personnel alike, is apparently the only one who is lost in recognizing that dreams are a valid communication between God and his people.[52] Again, a further overlapping feature of *umupashi* and the Holy Spirit is the characteristic of both having primarily good intentions with a person. Character traits which exhibit mature personality and appropriate behavior is the expression of a harmonious relationship and mutual understanding. The statement in Jn 16:17, where Jesus promises his

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[46]Wilbur O'Donovan, *Biblical Christianity in African Perspective*, 2d revised edition (Carlisle: The Paternoster Press, 1996), 129; hereafter cited as O'Donovan, *Biblical Christianity*.

[47]Jn 16:13 "When the Holy Spirit of truth comes, he will guide you into all truth."

[48]Compare 1Cor 12:11; 1Pet 4:10.

[49]From 1991 to 1993 I was Pastor of a Church in a small mining town in Zambia. At one time I preached a series of sermons on the Holy Spirit trying to emphasize that the Holy Spirit is a person, rather than some kind of influence or a type of power. I would have been much better advised to apply elements of their own concept, if only I had known how to go about it more constructively.

[50]Compare Acts 16:7.

[51]Compare Rom 14:17; 15:30; Eph 4:30.

[52]See also Philip M. Steyne, *Gods of Power: A Study of the Beliefs and Practices of Animists* (Columbia, SC: Impact International Foundation, 1996), 124-126. "…but it cannot be disputed that the Israelites recognised dreams as a mode of communicating the divine will." Willoughby, *Soul of the Bantu*, 91.

disciples the coming and perpetual presence of the Holy Spirit as the Counselor,[53] is a powerful and easily grasped truth among Bemba Christians.

The stumbling stone Bemba people, and Christians too, must be aware of, however, is the following. The foregoing chapters introduced circumstances under which a person might be able permanently to change the personality of his *umupashi* through strained relations. Diametrical behavior as befitting a harmonious relationship may cause *umupashi* to experience a traumatic change of his psyche. Trespasses against the appropriate code of behavior will turn the benevolent companion into a malevolent double. Consequently, the person concerned will equally suffer loss in as much as he loses his potential of becoming a *Mupashi Mukankala*, a generous, important spirit forebear. His name, his identity and individual personality will never again appear in the family lineage. It is here that sound teaching on the person of the Holy Spirit is required. A believer is under no circumstances, whatsoever, in a position to change the personality of the Spirit. Behavior that is not pleasing to Him and sin committed against God or/and fellow believers, does not carry into effect the transformation of the Spirit's personality as the Counselor into becoming an enemy par excellence.

The danger of simple and comparative analogy is real and contains syncretistic potential. A loose and carelessly applied analogy of *umupashi* and the Holy Spirit may bring confusion and will prevent the divine revelation about the Spirit from taking root in African Theology. Biblical revelation knows nothing about the Spirit's likeness in form of individual physical features of individual believers. The communication of the Gospel message, of which the Holy Spirit is a part, in "linguistic terms that people can immediately grasp and in cognitive categories which their ethnic background has already in certain respects prepared them to receive,"[54] is a missiological

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[53]The Greek term *parakletos* also means: an intercessor, consoler, advocate, comforter.

[54]Wendland, "Christology," 15-16.

necessity, albeit one which requires careful investigation and necessary expertise.

Another issue that arises is whether the Holy Spirit is in essence conceived as the spiritual double of God. This question should not be treated with ignorance. In Bemba the Holy Spirit is translated as *Mupashi Wamushilo* (Spirit of taboo, that on which a prohibition was imposed, by extension then Spirit of Holiness) or *Mupashi wakwa Lesa* (*Mupashi* of God). The issue must remain an unfinished one within the frame of this thesis. I do not feel competent, at this moment, to provide answers to questions which have not yet first and foremost undergone a process of open discussions with native Christians.

2.3 *Bemba Anthropology and some Implications on the Biblical Understanding of Illness*

Mandunu speaks of two categories of sicknesses apparent in African cultures. He calls the first category "normal" sickness, pointing out that unproblematic cure of ailments should be grouped here. Sicknesses which are characterized by reoccurrence after being treated successfully, or incidences of repeated misfortunes connected to sickness, are placed in the second category called "abnormal" sicknesses.[55] Suspicious circumstances of sickness must be explored and their causes traced with vigor and decisiveness, because their origin is not thought to be on the physiological level, but is sought elsewhere.

As is true with Bemba anthropology as a whole, sickness also has a transcendental dimension. Good harmony between an individual and *umupashi* is reflected in good health. A person who is always sick is thought of as having had a lenient attitude towards maintaining harmonious companionship with his *umupashi*.[56] Sickness is not

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[55]Joseph Kufulu Mandunu, *Das "Kindoki" im Licht der Sündenbocktheologie: Versuch einer Christlichen Bewältigung des Hexenglaubens in Schwarz-Afrika*, Studien zur Interkulturellen Geschichte des Christentums, begr. v. Hans Jochen Margull, Hg. Richard Friedli, Walter J. Hollenweger, Jan A. B. Jongeneel und Theo Sundermeier, Bd. 85 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), 42.

[56]People say: *alilekelesha umupashi wakwe*, (*ukulekelesha* is a transitive verb) lit., "he has deserted, abandoned, neglected his *umupashi*."

confined to the malfunction of the biology of a person. In fact, sickness and medicine are two elements in animistic religions which receive major attention.

Both categories must be viewed on their own ground. Sickness is the impairment of the functions of the body, and medicine is the force that revitalizes the proper function of the body.[57] An example illustrates this point. Tiredness is a condition of the body and an elementary experience of being human. The condition of tiredness is in Bemba expressed by saying: *ninaka sana*, *ninaka lukutu*, meaning, "I am very tired." The primary meaning of *ukunaka* is not specifically attached to the body, but means to be soft, tender, or to give way, yield and—by extension—to be of a soft character.[58] To be tired is to be soft, to be tender. Tiredness imposes an impairment on the body and greatly conditions body functions. Even flowers or other objects can be referred to as being *ukunaka*. It is obvious that the Bemba language does not conceptualize tiredness as a solely human experience, even less so as a normal and necessary biological process. Softness, tenderness of the body is a definitely impaired condition of the body because one is not in full possession of his full powers.[59] Sleep as the extension of tiredness robs a person of the control over himself. Hence, tiredness and sleep are not considered necessary periods of recreation, but as intervals pregnant with potential threats and dangers beyond one's control. This is the time when *umupashi* is taken to his task to be most wakeful and apprehensive to fend off possible danger lying in ambush.

The biblical message, that God is our personal shield at all times, surely counters the lingering uncertainty about one's safety whether feeling tired or being asleep. Christians are by virtue of a

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[57]Compare Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*, 235.

[58]Compare White Fathers, *Dictionary*, s.v. "-*naka*."

[59]One day in the morning my employee came to me and complained of body pains and sore muscles. He said: *umubili wandi naunaka, mpeleeniko umuti*, meaning, "my body is soft (tired), please give me medicine." After inquiring what he did, he replied that he had worked hard at his house and had walked long distances the previous day. All that was wrong with him was muscular ache after a long day of hard work. To him it was an undesirable condition or even sickness of which he wanted to get rid of as quickly as possible, so medicine seemed to be the most plausible remedy.

personal, intimate relationship with God and the community of believers able to derive comprehensive security from God's omnipresence[60] and his care for his people.

Bemba medicine is called *umuti* (also the word for tree!) and knows four categories: (1) *ifishimba* (medicine made from living creatures, (2) *imishila* (medicine made from roots), (3) *ifipapa* (medicine made from the barks of trees), and (4) *amabula* (medicine made from leaves). All four categories are associated with certain sicknesses. For example, *ifishimba* are transcendentally charged medicines, because only they can treat transcendentally caused sickness. Only *Shing'anga*[61] can prescribe and administer such medicine. *Ifishimba* are the only medicine thought to be able to cure sicknesses caused by *Muloshi*—wizard, sorcerer. The medication employed must be of such quality as instantly to cure or ameliorate sicknesses of this or any other of the same kind. At any rate, medication is only powerful if instant relief or improvement within a very short period of time is achieved. Western medication faces, at this point, a serious problem. Scientific medicine is concerned with sound diagnosis, oftentimes connected to a long-term therapy. The goal is to treat the root cause of the sickness to achieve healing. In sharp contrast, animistic religions desperately seek to treat the symptoms first or only and are, therefore, prone to frown upon any long-term medication.[62] Severe illnesses like tuberculosis requiring medication for months at a time can make Western nurses lose patience and temper on numerous accounts. In any case, the

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[60]Ps 3:3-6 reads: "But you are a shield around me, O LORD; you bestow glory on me and lift up my head. To the LORD I cry aloud, and he answers me from his holy hill. Selah. I lie down and sleep; I wake again, because the LORD sustains me. I will not fear the tens of thousands drawn up against me on every side."

[61]*Shing'anga* is a somewhat difficult word to translate. Compare Wendland, "Christology," 20. Maxwell suggests "healer." Maxwell, *Bemba Myth*, 132.

[62]Innumerable are the incidents where people came to our house asking for malaria medicine. The ordinary malaria treatment would consist of ten Chloroquine tablets taken successively starting with an initial four tablets and the remainder split over three days, that is, two tablets each following day. On countless occasions did people not complete a full course of treatment. After taking the initial four tablets, their condition would improve greatly. The rapid effect of the medicine was good reason to stop taking the remainder of the tablets and discontinue the treatment. Compare also Käser, *Fremde Kulturen*, 239-242.

complexity of the matter begins much earlier than that. The difference of conceptualizing sickness and the difference of categorizing various body conditions will necessarily entail an entirely different conception of treatment and medication.

The biblical understanding of sickness is tied to the overall understanding of life which in its entirety is a gift of God. Consequently, health was embedded in the undisturbed relationship of man and God. Thus, all forces posing a threat to the life of a person are a result of a broken relationship with God. Illness is the harbinger of death.[63] Illness therefore is a reality which points to the extent of Adam and Eve's disregard for God's command. Second, illness points to the threefold curse spoken over man as a consequence of his disobedience,[64] and third, it points to God as the final authority to bring remedy to man through his healing power (in a temporary act in this age and in perfection in the age to come). The ministry of Jesus clearly demonstrated his divine authority in a twofold way. His authority to forgive sins was oftentimes connected to the restoration of physical disabilities.[65] The realization that illness is part and parcel of the reality of sin and that illnesses do many times have secondary causes, stresses the need to commit people into the hands of God, rather than stopping short by only looking to the human agent (be he a scientifically educated medical person or a traditional healer). Bemba Christians need to be introduced to the God of biblical revelation in a holistic ministry. To communicate Christ as the wonder-doctor par excellence[66] does severe damage to his messianic mission. But to communicate Christ as the Savior in word and deed[67] is nothing else but to proclaim the divine message.

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[63]Peter Beyerhaus, *Er sandte sein Wort: Theologie der Christlichen Mission*, Vol. 1, *Die Bibel in der Mission* (Bad Liebenzell: Verlag der Liebenzeller Mission; Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag;, 1996), 542; hereafter cited as Beyerhaus, *Er sandte sein Wort.*

[64]Gen 3:14-19.

[65]Mk 2:5-11.

[66]For a discourse on this subject see Wendland, "Christology," 20-23.

[67]An exposition on Jesus' healing ministry is found in Beyerhaus, *Er sandte sein Wort*, 533-598.

3. Final Personal Comment

I do not wish to propose to having established either an unerring account or comprehensive description of Bemba anthropology. To make statements about concepts of cognitive categories whose contents rely on techniques and procedures of social science, one goes about this task with the knowledge that we are dealing with complex human beings. Thus it will be virtually impossible to establish a timeless comprehensive system of Bemba anthropology. I wish to close this thesis with two quotations which aptly voice my own aspirations in cross-cultural ministry.

> A craftsman must know his material as well as his tools. An African missionary may be master of exegesis, dogmatic and pastoral theology, homiletics, and all the other beautiful tools in his kit, but he is not a craftsman in Missions till he has made a profound and sympathetic study of the tribesman.[68]

Robert J. Priest appeals for:

> a deep humility which recognizes that, as a cultural expatriate, one is not in a good position to authoritatively and unilaterally declare how biblical principles should be applied to cultural particulars.[69]

I am truly grateful for having been afforded the opportunity to take a glimpse behind the mental curtain of an African people in the process of collecting data which was presented in this thesis. I sincerely hope it will foster good companionship between Mission personnel and national Christians in the service of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

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[68]Willoughby, *Soul of the Bantu*, xvii-xviii.

[69]Robert J. Priest, "Missionary Elenctics: Conscience and Culture," *Missiology* vol. XXII, no. 3 (July 1994): 291-315, 314.

APPENDIX 1   THE NINE NOUN CLASSES OF THE
BEMBA LANGUAGE

The following is a list of the Nine Noun Groups showing the Prefixes, the Full Concords, the Modified Concords, and the Class Prepositions. The Prefixes have been hyphened in bold script to aid the eye.

CLASS	SING. / PL.	NOUN	ENGLISH	FULL CON-CORD	MODI-FIED CON-CORD	CLASS PRE-POSIT-ION
1	singular	**Umu**-ntu	person	umu, û, uu	u	uwa
	plural	**Aba**-ntu	persons	Aba	ba	aba
2	singular	**umu**-pando	chair	û, uu	u	uwa
	plural	**imi**-pando	chairs	î, ii	i	iya
3	singular	**in**-koko	fowl	î, ii	i	iya
	plural	**in**-koko	fowls	Ishi	shi	isha
	singular	**ulu**-kasu	hoe	Ulu	lu	ulwa
	plural	**in**-kasu	hoes	Ishi	shi	isha
4	singular	**ici**-ntu	thing	Ici	ci	ica
	plural	**ifi**-ntu	things	Ifi	fi	ifya
5	singular	**ili**-bwe	stone	Ili	li	ilya
	singular	**ulu**-kasa	foot	Ulu	lu	ulwa
	singular	**uku**-boko	arm	Uku	ku	ukwa
	singular	**ubu**-unga	meal, flour	Ubu	bu	ubwa
	plural	**Ama**-bwe	stones	Aya	ya	aya
	plural	**Ama**-kasa	feet	Aya	ya	aya
	plural	**ama**-boko	arms	Aya	ya	aya
	plural	**ama**-unga	meal, flour	Aya	ya	aya
6	singular	**Aka**-nwa	mouth	Aka	ka	aka
	plural	**utu**-nwa	mouths	Utu	tu	utwa
7	abstract nouns	**ubu**-suma	goodness	Ubu	bu	ubwa
8	infinitive	**uku**-bomba	to work	Uku	ku	ukwa
9	locative	**Apa**-ntu	a place (near)	Apa	pa	apâ
	locative	**Uku**-ntu	a place (vaguely)	Uku	ku	ukwa
	locative	**Umu**-ntu	a place (in)	Umu	mu	umwa

Based on Geo W. Sims, *An Elementary Grammar of CiBemba.* Fort Rosebery [today Mansa], Northern Rhodesia [today Zambia]: Mansa Mission, Christian Missions in Many Lands, 1959.

APPENDIX 2

ABRIDGED VERSION OF THE CURRENT ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE
BEMBA LANGUAGE
AS ADOPTED BY THE BEMBA BIBLE TRANSLATION PROJECT (31 JULY 1998)

1.	The Cibemba alphabet consists of 22 letters.

2.	*b*	in the combination *mb* is the same as English. When it is used alone it is a mixture of *b, v*, and *w*, and each of these letters has been used to represent the sound.

3.	*c*	is not required for its English value so it is used to represent the sound of *ch* as in *cello*.

4.	*d*	as English *doe*.

5.	*g*	as English *go.*

5.	*j*	as English *Joe*. These letters are never used except in combination with: *n, nd, ng, nj*.

6.	*h*	is used as an aspirate possibly in one important word from Kiswahili, *hoti* … may I come in? A local interjection also uses it, *ehe* … well, well. Otherwise it is combined with *s, sh*.

7.	*n*	is a somewhat difficult nasal sound as *ng* in singing for which the letter ”✦” shall be used.

	The remaining consonants are approximately as in English:
	f, k, l, m, n, p, s, t, w, y.

Short Vowels	***Long Vowels***

a as in pack	*aa* as in bath
e as in peck	*ee* as in their
i as in fit	*ii* as in fatigue
o as in poke	*oo* as in Cola
u as in pull	*uu* as in rude

Diphtongs

ai as *i* in time	*mu-kwai*	sir or madam
ay as my	*uku-laya*	to promise
au as in loud	*ili-papau*	a pawpaw (papaya)
oi as in loiter	*Lo-foi*	a man's name

8. *Fusion of Words*

a) Vowels which fuse are:
a + e becomes "e" e.g.:
> *na efyo* becomes nefyo
> *ka ese* becomes *kese*

a + i becomes "e" e.g.:
> *na ifi* becomes *nefi*
> *pa ifwe* becomes *pefwe*

a + u becomes "o" e.g.:
> *na uyu* becomes *noyu*
> *na umubiyo* becomes *no mubiyo*

u + i becomes "wi" e.g.:
> *ku ishilya* becomes *kwishilya*
> *mu itanga* becomes *mwitanga*

b) When "a" is fused with "i," "e," or "u" and the preceding word is short, then the two words will be written as one word, e.g.:
> *pa ifwe* becomes *pefwe*
> *ka ese* becomes *kese*
> *na uyu* becomes *noyu*

c) When "a" is fused with "i," "e," or "u" and the preceding word is long, then the two words will be written as separate words but fused, e.g.:
> *pa ishilya* becomes *pe shilya*
> *na umubiyo* becomes *no mubiyo*

d) Two long separate words whose final and initial vowels fuse across their word boundary shall be written in their full form, e.g.:
> *leta insalu* not *lete nsalu*
> *aimba ulwimbo* not *aimbo lwimbo*

APPENDIX 3   **MAP OF AFRICA**

Weltatlas, s.v. "Southern Africa," CD-ROM, 1993.

APPENDIX 4   **MAP OF ZAMBIA**
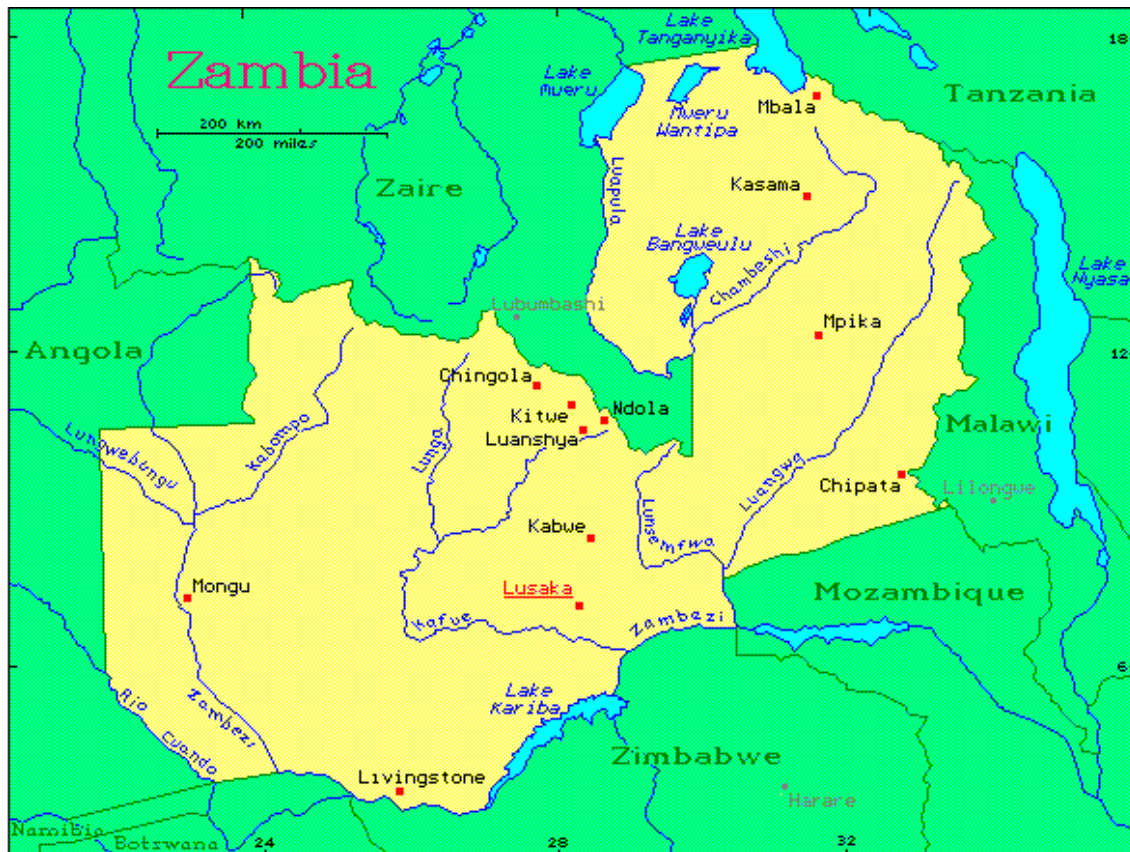
Weltatlas, s.v. "Zambia," CD-ROM, 1993.

APPENDIX 5 **MAP OF RESEARCH AREA**
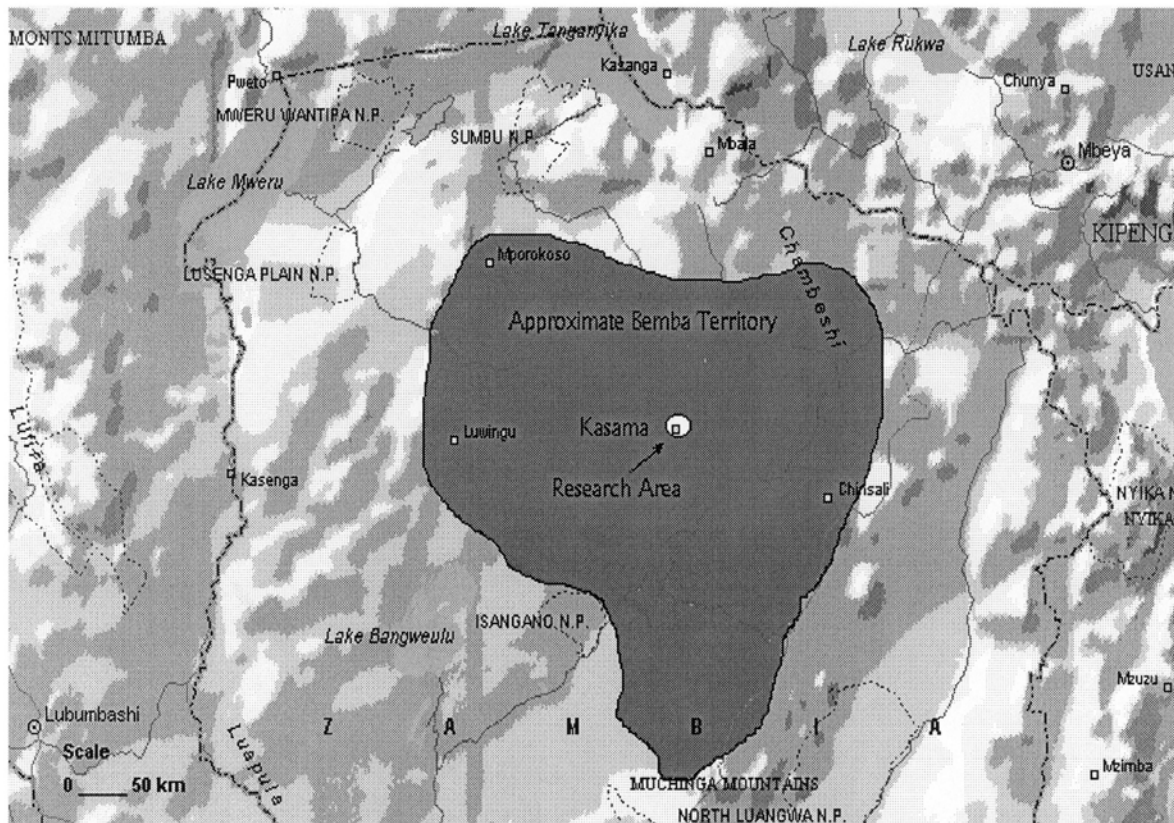
Based on: Microsoft Corporation. Microsoft Encarta. Microsoft Encarta World Atlas®, CD-ROM, Copyright© & (p) 1995
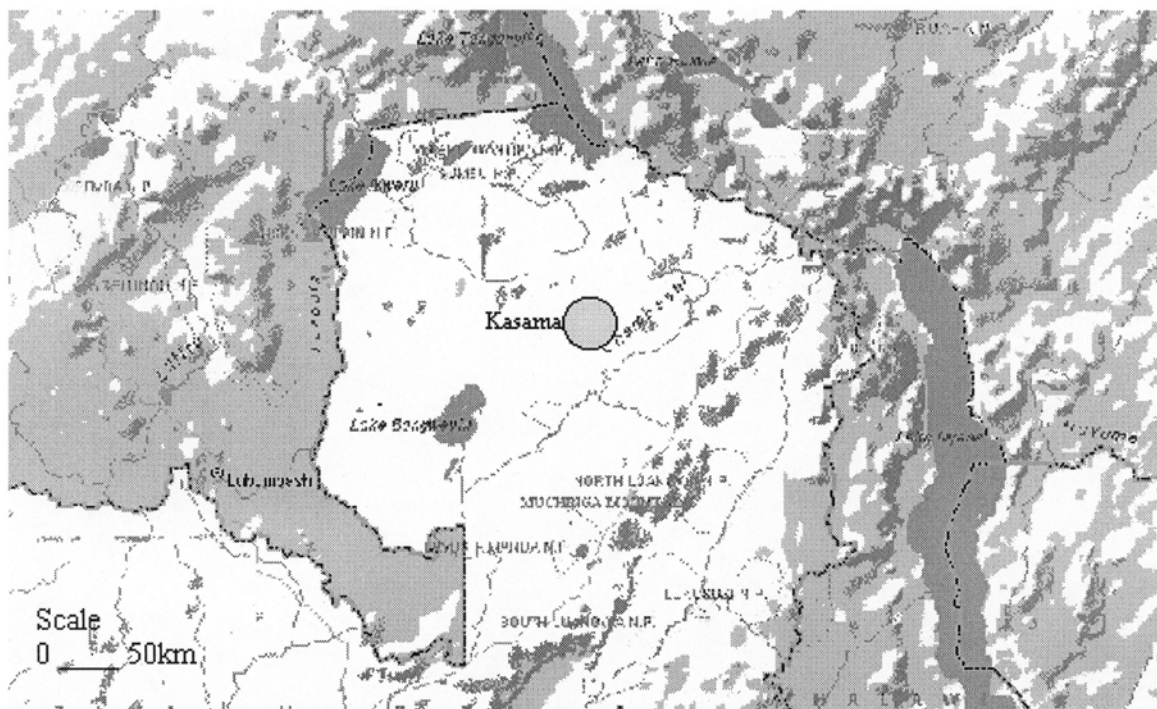
Based on: Microsoft Corporation. Microsoft Encarta. Microsoft Encarta World Atlas®, CD-ROM, Copyright© & (p) 1995

APPENDIX 6   **GERMAN CONCEPT OF MAN**
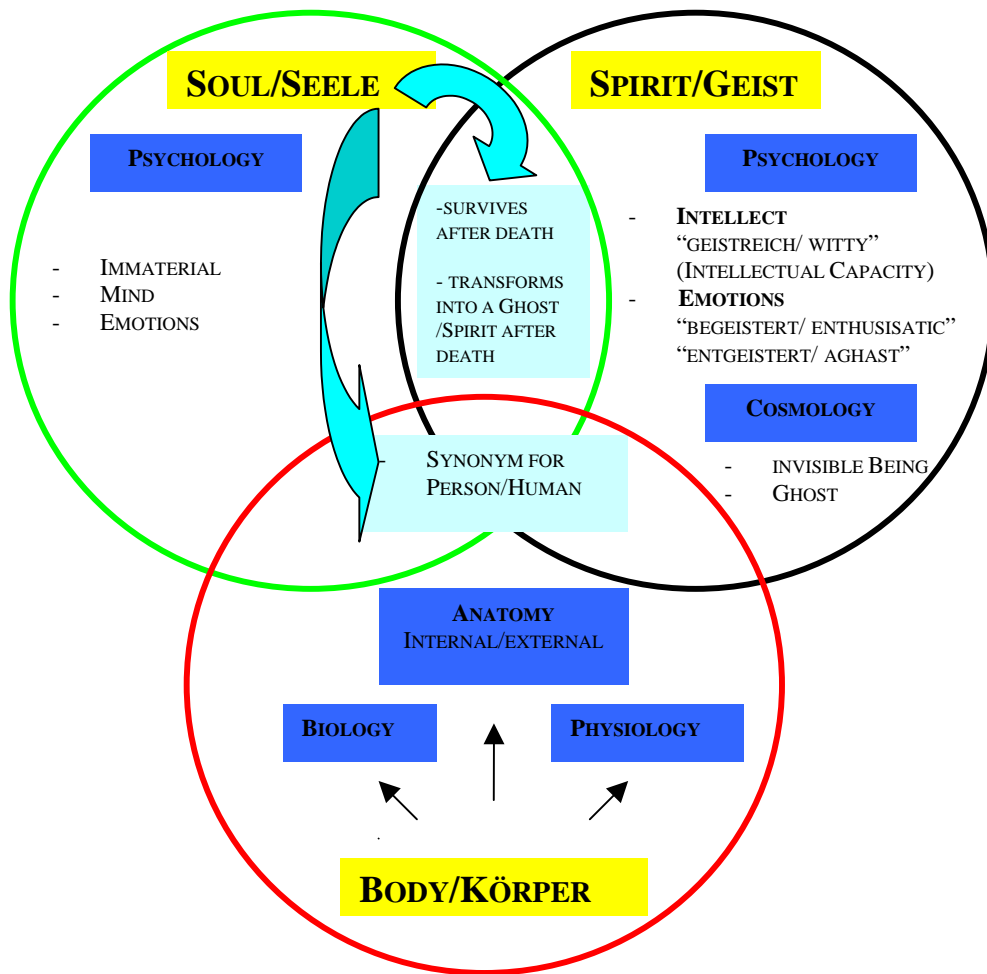
Body, soul and spirit are three intersecting concepts which form the German concept of man.

The term soul is rather ambiguous as it may either refer to psychical dispositions (emotions) or to the immaterial part of a person or denote the part which survives after death.

Simultaneously, soul incorporates body and spirit and may be used as a synonym for the entire person.

The concept of spirit is ambiguous as well, as it incorporates intellect and emotions as well as referring to a spirit being living in the spirit world.

APPENDIX 7 **BEMBA CONCEPT OF MAN**
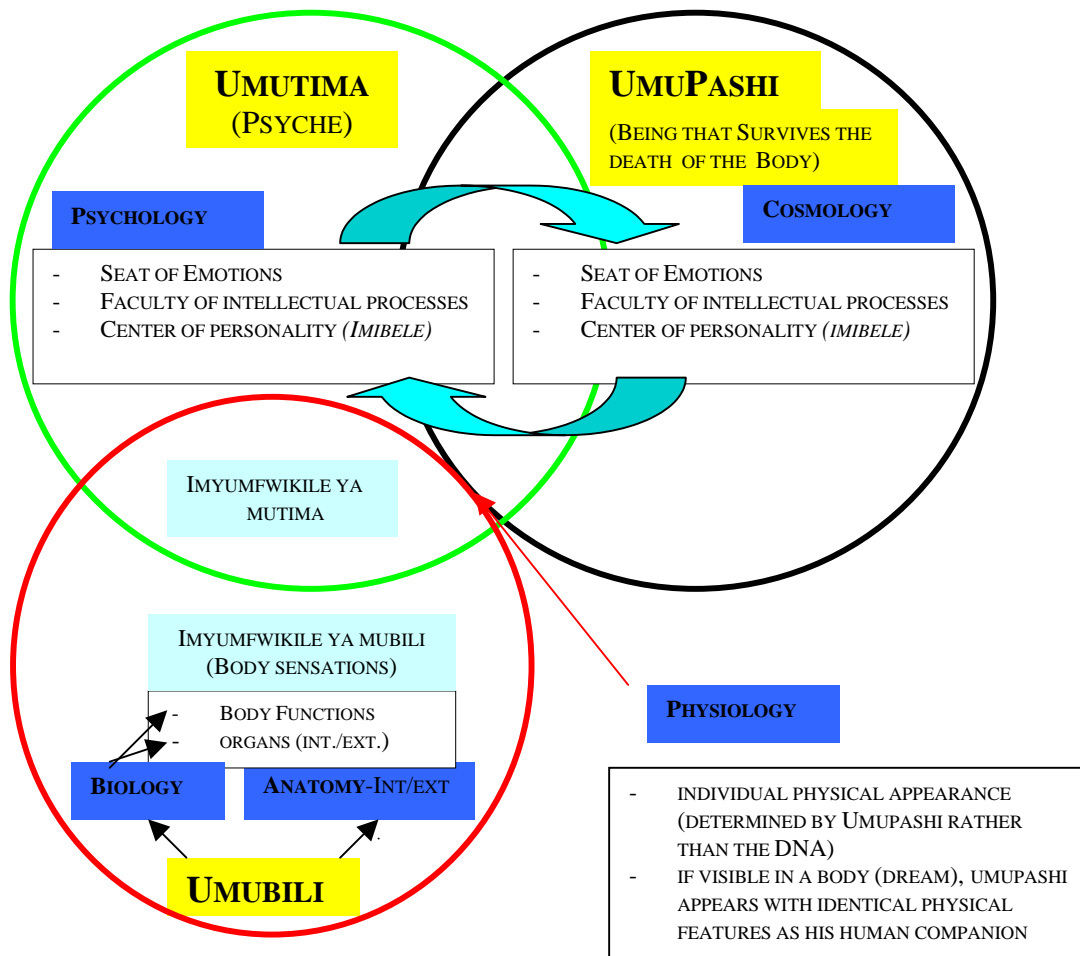
The Bemba concept of soul *(umutima)* contains three elements. First, the seat of emotions *(imyumfwikile ya mutima* or temporal psychical dispositions), second, the faculty of all intellectual processes, and third, the sole reference to the personality *(imibele* or permanent psychical dispositions/character traits) of a person. These threefold elements are combined in the term psyche.

Body *(umubili)* separates into biology, that is, body functions, body sensations, the organs and anatomy. Body and soul *(umutima)* are inseparably linked as the threefold elements mentioned above are tied to a particular body part, the heart.

Umupashi, the spiritual double of a person and the being that survives the death of the body, carries the full individual personality after the death of the body. As a spirit being, *umupashi* stores the personality of a dead person and seeks to revitalize this individual personality as a newborn baby inherits the name of its forebear.

Physical features are believed to stem from *umupashi.* At the same time, *umupashi* bears identical physical features of his human companion which can be recognized in a dream *umupashi* gives to another person.

APPENDIX 8   SOUL/SPIRIT SCRIPTURE REFERENCES

(English/Bemba/Greek)

Soul/*Mweo/Psyche*

(Mat 10:28 NIV) Do not be afraid of those who kill the **body** [**umubili**] *soma*:G4983 but cannot kill the **soul [mweo]** *psuche***:G5590**. Rather, be afraid of the One who can destroy both **soul [mweo]** *psuche*:G5590 and **body** [**no mubili**] *soma*:G4983 in hell.

(Mat 16:26 NIV) What good will it be for a man if he gains the whole world, yet forfeits his **soul [mweo]** *psuche***:G5590**? Or what can a man give in exchange for his **soul [mweo]** *psuche***:G5590**?

(Mat 22:37 NIV) Jesus replied: "'Love the Lord your God with all your heart [**umutima**] *kardia*:G2588 and with all your **soul [mweo]** *psuche***:G5590** and with all your **mind** [**mano**] *dianoia*:G1271.'

(Mark 8:36 NIV) What good is it for a man to gain the whole world, yet forfeit his **soul [umweo]** *psuche***:G5590**?

(Mark 8:37 NIV) Or what can a man give in exchange for his **soul [mweo]** *psuche***:G5590**?

(Mark 12:30 NIV) Love the Lord your God with all your heart **[mutima]** *kardia*:G2588 and with all your **soul [mweo]** *psuche*:G5590 and with all your **mind [mano]** *dianoia*:G1271 and with all your **strength [maka]** *ischus***:G2479**.'

(Heb 4:12 NIV) For the word of God is living and active. Sharper than any double-edged sword, it penetrates even to dividing **soul** [**mweo**] *psuche*:G5590 . and **spirit [mupashi]** *pneuma*:G4151, joints and marrow; it judges the thoughts and attitudes of the **heart [mutima]** *kardia***:G2588**.

Soul / *Mweo / Pneuma*

(Luke 10:27 NIV) He answered: "'Love the Lord your God with all your **heart [mutima]** *kardia* and with all your **soul [mweo]** *pneuma*:G4151and with all your **strength [maka]** *ischus*:G2479and with all your **mind' [mano]** *dianoia*:G1271; and, 'Love your neighbor as yourself.'"

Soul / *Mutima / Psyche*

(Mat 26:38 NIV) Then he said to them, "My **soul** [**umutima**] *psuche*:G5590 is overwhelmed with sorrow to the point of death. Stay here and keep watch with me."

(Mark 14:34 NIV) "My **soul [umutima]** *psuche*:G5590 is overwhelmed with sorrow to the point of death," he said to them. "Stay here and keep watch."

(Luke 1:46 NIV) And Mary said: "My **soul [umutima]** *psuche*:G5590 glorifies the Lord

(Luke 2:35 NIV) so that the thoughts of many **hearts [mu mitima]** *kardia* will be revealed. And a sword will pierce your own soul [mu mutima] *psuche*:G5590too."

(1 Th 5:23 NIV) May God himself, the God of peace, sanctify you through and through. May your whole **spirit [abakaele mu mano]** *pneuma***:G4151**, soul [mu mitima] *psuche* and **body [mu mibili]** *soma* be kept blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

(Heb 6:19 NIV) We have this hope as an anchor for the soul [mitima yesu] *psuche***:G5590**, firm and secure. It enters the inner sanctuary behind the curtain,

(1 Pet 2:11 NIV) Dear friends, I urge you, as aliens and strangers in the world, to abstain from **sinful desires [lunkumbwa lwa mubili]** *sarkikos***:G4559** *epithumia***:G1939**, which war against your soul [mutima] *psuche:***G5590**.

Spirit / *Mutima / Pneuma*

(Mat 5:3 NIV) "Blessed are the poor in spirit [mu mutima] *pneuma***:G4151**, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

(Mat 26:41 NIV) "Watch and pray so that you will not fall into temptation. The spirit [umutima] *pneuma*:G4151 is willing, but the **body** [umubili] *sarx*:G4561 is weak."

(Mark 2:8 NIV) Immediately Jesus knew in his spirit [mu mutima] *pneuma*:G4151 that this was what they were thinking in their **hearts [mu mitima]** *kardia***:G2588**, and he said to them, "Why are you thinking these things?

(John 11:33 NIV) When Jesus saw her weeping, and the Jews who had come along with her also weeping, he was deeply moved in spirit [no mutima wafuma] *pneuma*:G4151 and troubled *tarasso*:G5015 -.

(John 13:21 NIV) After he had said this, Jesus was troubled *tarasso*:G5015 in spirit [no mutima wakwe wasakamikwa] *pneuma*:G4151and testified, "I tell you the truth, one of you is going to betray me."

(Rom 8:16 NIV) The **Spirit** [**Mupashi**] *pneuma*:G4151 himself testifies with our spirit [e kambone mu mitima yesu] *pneuma*:G4151 that we are God's children.

(1 Cor 4:21 NIV) What do you prefer? Shall I come to you with a whip, or in love and with a gentle spirit [no mutima wa cikuuku] *pneuma***:G4151** *praiotes***:G4236**?

(1 Cor 7:34 NIV) and his interests are divided. An unmarried woman or virgin is concerned about the Lord's affairs: Her aim is to be devoted to the Lord in both **body [mu mubili]** *soma*:G4983 and spirit [na mu mutima] *pneuma***:G4151**. But a married woman is concerned about the affairs of this world--how she can please her husband.

(1 Cor 16:18 NIV) For they refreshed my spirit [mutima wandi] *pneuma*:G4151and yours also. Such men deserve recognition.

(2 Cor 4:13 NIV) It is written: "I believed; therefore I have spoken." With that same **spirit of faith [no mutima umo]** *pneuma*:G4151 *pistis*:G4102 we also believe and therefore speak,

(Gal 6:18 NIV) The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your **spirit [ingalapaale mitima yenu]** *humeteros*:**G5212** *pneuma*:**G4151**, brothers. Amen.

(Phil 1:27 NIV) Whatever happens, conduct yourselves in a manner worthy of the gospel of Christ. Then, whether I come and see you or only hear about you in my absence, I will know that you stand firm in one **spirit [aba mutima umo]** *pneuma*:**G4151**, contending as one man *psuche*:G5590 for the faith of the gospel

(1 Pet 3:4 NIV) Instead, it should be that of your **inner self [mukati ka mitima]** *anthropos*:**G444** *kardia*:**G2588**, the unfading beauty of a **gentle and quiet spirit [imitima yenu ilebe yafuuka]** *hesuchios*:**G2272** *pneuma*:**G4151**, which is of great worth in God's sight.

Spirit / *Mweo* / *Pneuma*

(Mat 27:50 NIV) And when Jesus had cried out again in a loud voice, he gave up his **spirit [aleka no mweo]** *aphiemi*:**G863** . *pneuma*:**G4151**.

(Luke 8:55 NIV) Her **spirit [no mweo wakwe wabwela]** *pneuma*:**G4151** returned, and at once she stood up. Then Jesus told them to give her something to eat.

(Luke 23:46 NIV) Jesus called out with a loud voice, "Father, into your hands I commit my **spirit [nalubwilo mweo wandi]** *pneuma*:**G4151**." When he had said this, he breathed his last.

(John 19:30 NIV) When he had received the drink, Jesus said, "It is finished." With that, he bowed his head and gave up his **spirit [aleka no mweo]** *pneuma*:G4151

(Acts 7:59 NIV) While they were stoning him, Stephen prayed, "Lord Jesus, receive my **spirit [pokelelo mweo wandi]** *pneuma*:**G4151**."

(James 2:26 NIV) As the **body** [**umubili**] *soma*:G4983 without the **spirit [mweo]** *pneuma*:G4151 is dead, so faith without deeds is dead.

Spirit / *Mweo* / *Psyche*

(Luke 1:47 NIV) and my **spirit [no mweo]** *psuche*:G5590 rejoices in God my Savior,

Spirit / *Mano* / *Psyche*

(Luke 1:80 NIV) And the child grew and became strong in **spirit [na mano] psuche:G5590**; and he lived in the desert until he appeared publicly to Israel.

Spirit / *Mupashi* / *Pneuma*

(John 4:23 NIV) Yet a time is coming and has now come when the true worshipers will worship the Father in **spirit [mu Mupashi]** *pneuma*:G4151 and **truth [na mu chishinka]** *aletheia*:G225, for they are the kind of worshipers the Father seeks.

(John 4:24 NIV) God is **spirit [Lesa Mupashi]** *theos*:G2316 . . *pneuma*:G4151, and his worshipers must worship in **spirit [mu Mupashi]** *pneuma*:G4151and in truth."

(Rom 8:10 NIV) But if Christ is in you, your body is dead because of sin, yet your **spirit [Mupashi ewabo bumi bwenu]** *pneuma*:G4151 is alive because of righteousness.

(Rom 8:15 NIV) For you did not receive a **spirit [Mupashi]** *pneuma*:G4151 that makes you a slave again to fear, but you received the **Spirit [Mupashi]** *pneuma*:G4151 of sonship. And by him we cry, "Abba, Father."

(Rom 8:16 NIV) The **Spirit** [**Mupashi**] *pneuma*:G4151 himself testifies with our **spirit [e kambone mu mitima yesu]** *pneuma*:G4151 that we are God's children.

(1 Cor 2:11 NIV) For who among men knows the thoughts of a man except the man's **spirit within him [pantu ifyaba mu muntu fishibwa fye ku mupashi wakwe wine uwaba munda yakwe**] *pneuma*:G4151? In the same way no one knows the thoughts of God except the **Spirit of God [Mupashi wakwa Lesa]** *pneuma***:G4151**.

(1 Cor 2:12 NIV) We have not received the **spirit of the world [mupashi wa muno calo]** *pneuma*:G4151 *kosmos*:G2889 but the **Spirit [Mupashi]** who is from **God [uwatula kuli Lesa]** *pneuma***:G4151** *ho***:G3588** *theos***:G2316**, that we may understand what God has freely given us.

(2 Tim 1:7 NIV) For God did not give us a **spirit [Mupashi]** *pneuma*:G4151 . *deilia*:G1167of timidity, but a **spirit [wakutupela]** of power, of love and of self-discipline.

(James 4:5 NIV) Or do you think Scripture says without reason that the **spirit [Mupashi]** *pneuma*:G4151 he caused to live in us envies intensely?

(1 Pet 4:6 NIV) For this is the reason the gospel was preached even to those who are now dead, so that they might be judged according to men in regard to the body *anthropos*:G444 *sarx*:G4561 , but live according to God in regard to the **spirit [Mupashi Wamushilo]** *theos***:G2316 . .** *pneuma***:G4151**.

Spirit / *Ngulu* / *Pneuma*

(Acts 16:16 NIV) Once when we were going to the place of prayer, we were met by a slave girl who had a **spirit [uwalewilwe ngulu]** *pneuma*:G4151 *puthon*:G4436 by which she predicted the future. She earned a great deal of money for her owners by fortune-telling. (Acts 16:18 NIV) She kept this up for many days. Finally Paul became so troubled that he turned around and said to the **spirit [ngulu]** *pneuma***:G4151 .** *paraggello***:G3853**, "In the name of Jesus Christ I command you to come out of her!" At that moment the **spirit** left her **[ngulu shafumamo]**.

Spirit / *mupashi* / *Pneuma*

(Acts 23:9 NIV) There was a great uproar, and some of the teachers of the law who were Pharisees stood up and argued vigorously. "We find nothing wrong with this man," they said. "What if a **spirit [mupashi]** *pneuma*:G4151 or an **angel [malaika]** *aggelos*:G32 has spoken to him?"

(1 Cor 2:11 NIV) For who among men knows the thoughts of a man except the man's **spirit within him [pantu ifyaba mu muntu fishibwa fye ku mupashi wakwe wine uwaba munda yakwe]** *pneuma*:G4151? In the same way no one knows the thoughts of God except the **Spirit of God [Mupashi wakwa Lesa]** *pneuma*:G4151.

(1 Cor 2:12 NIV) We have not received the **spirit of the world [mupashi wa muno calo]** *pneuma*:G4151 *kosmos*:G2889 but the **Spirit [Mupashi]** who is from **God [uwatula kuli Lesa]** *pneuma*:**G4151** *ho*:**G3588** *theos*:**G2316**, that we may understand what God has freely given us.

(1 Cor 5:3 NIV) Even though I am not **physically present [ukutali ku mubili]** *soma*:**G4983**, I am with you in **spirit [lelo mu mupashi mwena tuli pamo bonse]** *pneuma*:**G4151**. And I have already passed judgment on the one who did this, just as if I were present.

(1 Cor 5:4 NIV) When you are assembled in the name of our Lord Jesus and I am with you in **spirit [nkalongana nenu mu mupashi]** *pneuma*:**G4151**, and the power of our Lord Jesus is present,

(1 Cor 5:5 NIV) hand this man over to Satan, so that the **sinful nature may be destroyed [ku konaulo mubili wakwe]** *sarx*:**G4561** and his **spirit** saved **[ukuti umupashi wakwe wena ukapusuke pa bushiku bwa Mfumu]** *pneuma*:**G4151** *sozo*:**G4982** on the day of the Lord.

(1 Cor 6:17 NIV) But he who unites himself with the Lord is **one with him in spirit [wena ninshi abo mupashi umo ne Mfumu]** *pneuma*:**G4151**.

(1 Cor 14:14 NIV) For if I pray in a tongue, my **spirit** prays**[ekuti umupashi wandi eulepepa]** *pneuma*:**G4151**, but my **mind [amano]** *nous*:G3563 is unfruitful.

(1 Cor 14:15 NIV) So what shall I do? I will pray with my **spirit [mu mupashi wandi]** *pneuma*:**G4151**, but I will also pray with my **mind [mu mano]** *nous*:**G3563;** I will sing with my **spirit [mu mupashi wandi]** *pneuma*:**G4151** , but I will also sing with my **mind [mu mano mwine]** *nous*:**G3563**.

(1 Cor 14:16 NIV) If you are praising God with your **spirit [mu mupashi fye]** *pneuma*:**G4151**, how can one who finds himself among those who do not understand say "Amen" to your thanksgiving, since he does not know what you are saying?

(2 Cor 7:1 NIV) Since we have these promises, dear friends, let us purify ourselves from everything that contaminates **body and spirit [ifikowesho mubili no mupashi]** *sarx*:**G4561 .** *pneuma*:**G4151**, perfecting holiness out of reverence for God.

(2 Cor 11:4 NIV) For if someone comes to you and preaches a Jesus other than the Jesus we preached, or if you **receive a different spirit [mupokelelo mupashi umbi]** *heteros*:G2087 *pneuma*:G4151 from the one you received, or a different gospel from the one you accepted, you put up with it easily enough.
(Col 2:5 NIV) For though I am absent from you in body *sarx*:G4561, I am present with you in **spirit [lelo ku mupashi kwena ndi pamo nenu]** *pneuma*:G4151and delight to see how orderly you are and how firm your faith in Christ is.

(2 Tim 4:22 NIV) The Lord be with your **spirit [no mupashi obe]** *pneuma***:G4151**. Grace be with you.

(Heb 4:12 NIV) For the word of God is living and active. Sharper than any double-edged sword, it penetrates even to dividing **soul** [**mweo**] *psuche*:G5590 . and **spirit [mupashi]** *pneuma*:G4151, joints and marrow; it judges the thoughts and attitudes of the **heart [mutima]** *kardia***:G2588**.

(1 John 4:1 NIV) Dear friends, do not believe every spirit , but test the **spirits [mwabapima ukumone mipashi bakwete]** *dokimazo***:G1381** *pneuma***:G4151**to see whether they are from God, because many false prophets have gone out into the world.

Spirit / *Mano* / *Pneuma*

(Luke 1:17 NIV) And he will go on before the Lord, in the **spirit and power [amano na maka]** *pneuma*:G4151 . *dunamis*:G1411 of Elijah, to turn the hearts of the fathers to their children and the disobedient to the wisdom of the righteous--to make ready a people prepared for the Lord."

(1 Th 5:23 NIV) May God himself, the God of peace, sanctify you through and through. May your whole **spirit [abakaele mu mano]** *pneuma***:G4151**, **soul [mu mitima]** *psuche* and **body [mu mibili]** *soma* be kept blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

SOUL / SPIRIT REFERENCE CHART
(English, Bemba, Greek)

Spirit/Mano/Pneuma (2,8%)

Spirit/mupashi/Pneuma (23,9%)

Soul/Mw eo/Psyche (12,7%)

Soul/Mw eo/Pneuma (1,4%)

Soul/Mutima/Psyche (9,9%)

Spirit/Mw eo/Pneuma (8,5%)

Spirit/Ngulu/Pneuma (2,8%)

Spirit/Mw eo/Psyche (1,4%)

Spirit/Mupashi/Pneuma (Holy Spirit) (16,9%)

Spirit/Mano/Psyche (1,4%)

Spirit/Mutima/Pneuma (18,3%)

G. Robert Badenberg - June 1999
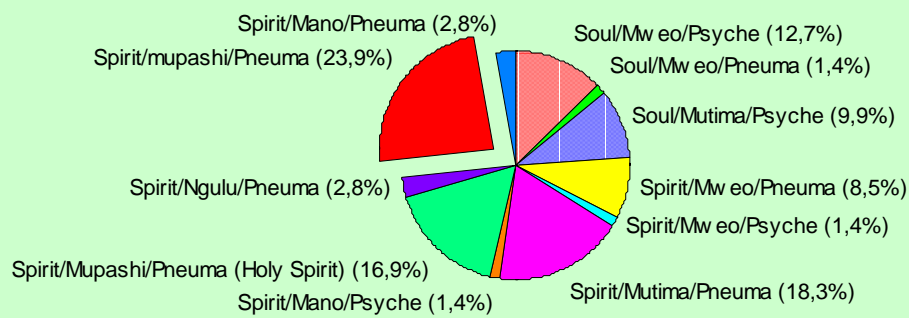
APPENDIX 9   GLOSSARY

Ababenye – the Sacred or Royal Relics

Abantu – persons (in particular Africans)

Amabula – medicine made from leaves

Bakalamba – a grown up, mature person; an Elder

Banamfumu – sisters, nieces of sisters or grand-daughters of chiefs

Bashimatongwa – original inhabitants. People who settled in present day Northern Zambia prior to the conquest of the Bemba.

Bena Ngandu – the Crocodile clan, the Royal Clan of the Bemba

Buloshi – the practice of witchcraft

Chisungu – the initiation rite of Bemba girls

Chitimukulu – Paramount Chief of the Bemba people

Icibanda – evil or malevolent Spirit; the malevolent spiritual double of a person.

Iciloto – (sing.) dream

Ifipapa – medicine made from the barks of trees

Ifishimba – medicine made from living creatures (prepared only by the traditional healer).

Imibele – the specific character traits of a person

Imishila – medicine made from roots

Impyani – successor of a dead person (family member) and also heir
of a dead person's name and his or her *umupashi*
(spiritual double).

Imyumfwikile ya mubili – "the feelings of the body." The Body
sensations.

Imyumfwikile ya mutima – "the feelings of the Heart." The Emotions.

Kabilo – Royal Councilor

Kapopo – (sing.) fetus

Katuutuu – (sing.) a newborn baby before it has received its name.

Kunwa amenshi - first stage of *ubupyani* (succession)

Kupyana – to succeed a dead person (family member)

Kupyanika – second stage of *ubupyani* (succession)

Kwinika ishina – "naming;" name giving ceremony

Mipashi – personal spirit beings of persons. Collectively: the
ancestral spirits of a family or clan.

Mucapi – witch-cleanser

Muloshi – wizard, sorcerer

Mu nda – the immaterial spot inside the abdomen. In certain ways a
synonym for umutima. May be rendered as "inner-
being," "inner-most."

Mupashi Mukankala – "A rich and generous spirit/forbear." An important ancestral spirit being of the family, who will be assigned again to a family member to become his spiritual double.

Mupashi waMushilo – Spirit of Holiness; the Holy Spirit

Shing'anga – traditional healer

Ubupyani – "succession"

Ubushilu – madness

Umukowa – (sing.) Clan

Umuti – the word for tree, but also the collective term for medicine

Umutima – anatomically: the heart. Also the seat of emotions, seat of intellectual processes and sole reference to the personality of a person; in short: the psyche.

Umweo – life-force of a person

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