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Contracts with the spirits: Religion, asylum, and ethnic identity in the Cacheu Region of Guinea-Bissau

Crowley, Eve Lakshmi, Ph.D.
Yale University, 1990

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CONTRACTS WITH THE SPIRITS:
RELIGION, ASYLUM, AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN THE CACHEU REGION
OF GUINEA-BISSAU

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Eve Lakshmi Crowley
May 1990
ABSTRACT

CONTRACTS WITH THE SPIRITS:
RELIGION, ASYLUM, AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN THE CACHEU REGION
OF GUINEA-BISSAU

Eve Lakshmi Crowley
Yale University
May 1990

The Cacheu Region of Guinea-Bissau is an enclave of traditional religion and the focal point of pilgrimages from thousands of people of the Upper Guinea Coast of West Africa. The author seeks to explain how spirit shrines can fulfill the complex needs of small-scale social groups while simultaneously serving as the focus of wide-ranging, multi-ethnic regional cults. Combining the fields of history, social organization, and religion, the author analyses the processes and social context by which these shrines emerge, the mechanisms underlying their appeal, and the spiritist mode of thought upon which they are based.

The study combines historical data from archives and oral traditions with qualitative and quantitative ethnographic data acquired through participant observation, interviews, surveys, and censuses. These data were analyzed and compared to understand the socio-economic impact that spirit shrines and the spiritist mode of thought
have on the peoples of the Cacheu Region and surrounding areas.

The thesis shows how the ecology made the region a sanctuary and social frontier for peoples fleeing Islam, political conquest, and the slave trade. An unusually fluid social organization organized around non-ancestral, territorially-based spirit shrines facilitated the incorporation of outsiders into the frontier societies of the Cacheu Region. Province initiation at spirit shrines serves as a basis of local ethnic identities and simultaneously defines relations with neighboring groups.

Despite considerable local variation, the spirit provinces of the Cacheu Region share several fundamental beliefs which may be viewed as a single regional cosmological paradigm. This paradigm is manipulated to understand events and relations within and outside the region. One central element of this paradigm, the spirit contract, is shared by neighboring peoples over a wider area, contributing to the significance and appeal of regional cults. By entering into contracts with the spirits, clients receive asylum, resolve disputes, cure illness, and restore personal and communal well-being.
PREFACE

I would like to thank all of the people who over the past eight years have encouraged the study and helped make this research possible. A few deserve special mention. The Yale University Department of Anthropology Williams Fund helped cover the cost of preliminary research in Guinea-Bissau in 1983. My study of the Kriolu language under the instruction of Leonel Spencer and African Languages at Yale was funded by a National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship (Title VI). The major field research conducted in 1986-87 was financed by grants from Fulbright-Hayes (IESS), the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, and the Yale University Concilium for International and Area Studies. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation supported three months of historical research in Lisbon, Portugal. I am also indebted to the Guinean Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa (INEP) who provided logistical support during all phases of the study.

During my first visit to Guinea-Bissau in 1983, I fell in love with the country and throughout the 22 months I have lived there, the warmth and generosity of its people have never failed me. Several families graciously offered me their homes for days and months during my stay. I am deeply grateful to the Spencer family in Bissau, the family of Daméri Békássa in Bitchilom, Caiómete, the Wombar lineage in Caboi and Gendem, and the family of Alkai and Nyodé Mané in

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Pantufa and Mandikar. I would also like to thank Sousa, Joao de Deus, Sylvestro and Maria in Canchungo, Eric Gable and Jennifer Nourse in Bassarel, Eric van Slobbe in Bula, the President of the Region, Samba Lamine Mané in the town of Cacheu and the Maximo's in Bissoram who hosted me on shorter occasions and often at short notice.

In each of my research sites, I had first to acquire the consent of the spirits that I intended to study. In addition to the normal libations, in one village I had to ask the rooster gonad oracle if a spirit would grant me permission to conduct research there. Fortunately, the gonads were white indicating the spirit's consent. I would like to thank the spirits for their support, for even though some people of the Cacheu Region may have considered me to be a clairvoyant, I could not have conducted the study without their cooperation and the spirits' approval.

The people of Caidmete, Caboi, and Pantufa cordially welcomed me into their lives and patiently made themselves accessible to my relentless questioning. Without the sensitive guidance and assistance of Aquilino Gomes Wombar of Caboi and Djon Mende Béloi of Caiómete who accompanied and advised me throughout, this study would not have been possible. Bi da Gama, Moris Sakan, Vitor Moné, Francisco Papa Sapok, Formosa, Serafim, and Usob Wombar, Joao Lima Diatta, Alberto Martinho Perreira, Per da Silva Bétcpip, Quintino and Joao Mangu, and Natcho Perreira have also
provided invaluable assistance during various phases of my stay in Guinea. I appreciate the cooperation of the heads of the occupational associations, village elders, priests, diviners, and women of Caboi and Caió and the Chief of Caió.

My Kriolu instructor, Leonel Spencer, deserves credit for my understanding of one of the lingua francas. I will never forget the constant intellectual encouragement and enthusiasm of Silvia Borja, Rui Ribeiro, and the Mengo family, especially Necas, whose keen insights shaped my understanding of the place of the Cacheu Region in the rest of the country.

Among my colleagues and professors in the United States, I would like to thank Elizabeth Hopkins who first awakened my interest in multi-ethnic African religions and revitalization movements during my undergraduate years at Smith College. In addition to broadening my interests in their respective fields, several scholars have offered critical comments and reassurance at various phases of this dissertation. Most important is my adviser, John Middleton, whose scholarship and knowledge of African religion, divination, witchcraft and healing has directed my interests throughout my studies. His work has my utmost admiration. Leopold Pospisil showed the importance of viewing systems of religious rules as "legal levels" and has offered priceless and much-appreciated advice about field methodology. Robert Harms' enthusiasm for African History reinforced my interest
in diachronic perspectives on religious phenomena. I am deeply appreciative of the contributions of these scholars to revisions in the thesis and the friendship they have shown me throughout my graduate study at Yale.

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years they have given me, may this book serve as a small
token of my esteem and appreciation.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Spirit shrines in the Cacheu Region of Guinea-Bissau attract thousands of people of many different ethnic backgrounds from this Lusophone African country and neighboring countries of the Upper Guinea Coast. In contrast to the adjacent nations of Senegal and Guinea (Conakry) where Islam claims more than 90% of the respective populations, Guinea-Bissau’s Islamic peoples, principally composed of Mandinga and Fula (Fulani), constitute only about 35% of the total population of 924,000. Christian mesticos or Cristoes (Kr.), most of whom were formerly categorized as assimilados, make up approximately 5%, and are concentrated mostly in urban areas where the Portuguese had their greatest influence. The remaining 60% of the population of Guinea-Bissau practice traditional religions including varieties of ancestor worship and "spiritism" or spirit worship, often referred to as "animism" or "paganism". Of these, over half are Balanta and the rest are some 10 ethnic groups also speaking Western Atlantic Languages of the Niger-Congo Family.

Historically, these peoples have been pushed gradually towards the Atlantic coast by successive waves of conquest and migrations from the North and East, particularly during the expansion of the Mali Empire from 1235 to 1500 A.D. (Fage, 1969: 21-26). Some of these peoples, the Cassanga,
Nalu, Beafada, Balanta Mané, Mansoanca, and Badjaranke in particular, are now at least nominally Islamisized, although parallel beliefs in traditional religions continue to exist, as they do to a lesser extent among the Fulani and Mandinga themselves.

Although these coastal peoples possess quite different forms of social organization, they all belong to a single linguistic area, the Western Atlantic Language Group of the Niger Congo Family. Their social organizations range from extremely egalitarian patrilineal societies, with strong age grade organization and with ancestor spirits associated primarily with descent groups and domestic units, as in the case of the Balanta, to semi-hierarchical societies organized into noble and commoner matriclans within chiefdoms and kingdoms, with spirits controlled by families, clans, and chiefdoms, as with the Manjaco of Caiô.

In the Cacheu Region in the northwest of the country (see Map 1), the population is mostly fragmented into numerous petty chiefdoms and social identities tend to be associated with particular locals. The Cacheu Region is noteworthy because it is a heartland of traditional African religion which continues to thrive despite the advancing frontiers of Islam and Christianity in the rest of the Upper Guinea Coast.
DEFINITION OF SPIRITISM

Spiritism, the religion of the Cacheu Region, may be defined as the belief that a wide range of supernatural entities influence events and relations in the natural, social, and supernatural worlds by way of reciprocal contracts initiated by clients. As the term is used in this text, "spiritism" denotes the type of "animism" found in the Cacheu Region of Guinea-Bissau. Cacheu spiritism is distinguished by a plurality of territorially-fixed shrines associated with social categories and groups. Most of these shrines are dedicated to non-ancestral spirits that are believed to live in an invisible world coterminous with the human world.

Humans are thought to be able to enlist the services of these supernatural entities by engaging in an exchange stipulated in a spirit contract. A spirit contract may be defined as an enforceable promise made to a spirit by an individual or group of supplicants. In such a contract, a client asks a spirit to grant a request in exchange for a set fee involving a sacrifice. A supplicant must pay the spirit promptly once it has accepted the contract or suffer the possibility that a rash of misfortunes befalls him or his family.

The term "spiritism" has been adopted because it is the only one repeatedly used by diviners to distinguish indigenous Cacheu beliefs from Islam and Christianity.
Despite its similarity, spiritism of the Cacheu Region should be distinguished from "spiritism" and "espiritismo" of New World African communities, such as those in Cuba and Brazil, because Cacheu spirits are not believed to derive their power from a superior spiritual force and the primary relationship of people to the spirit world is through contracts. Spiritism should also be distinguished from "spiritualism" which centers on the belief that communication with those who have died is possible (Williams, 1974: 511-12).

Spiritism is essentially a segmentary pluralistic religion; while each province or cluster of villages has its own set of spirits and local religious hierarchy, there are few organizational or structural ties between the shrines of different provinces that unite them into a single belief system. Despite the absence of an encompassing organization, the general structure of each provincial cult resembles that of its neighbors, and to a lesser extent the cults of more distant provinces within the region. Fundamental features of this religious system, such as spirit contracts, the grouping of village clusters around initiation shrines, and the existence of ritual specialists who serve as intermediaries in consultation, are replicated throughout the area to create a culture area with shared structure and cosmology. The regional structure of spiritism thus appears to be much like the political structure of acephalous
societies in the way that the religious forms are reproduced to provide a unified context for social action.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Some spirit shrines of the Cacheu Region are of particular interest because they do not serve merely the cluster of villages where they are found, but attract pilgrims from many other ethnic groups, not only in Guinea-Bissau but in the neighboring countries of Senegal, Gambia, and Guinea as well. For example, a small set of shrines to one spirit, Mama Djombo, located in a remote village, attracts an average of 800 pilgrims a month. Through shrines such as these, the spirits of the Cacheu Region exert a strong hold on the popular consciousness of this young nation. They appeal to both rural and urban dwellers and show no sign of diminishing in the face of growing modernization.

Spirit shrines which attract pilgrims from several different ethnic groups present an interesting analytical problem for social anthropology. Until recently, most anthropological studies have concentrated on the small scale society as their unit of analysis. The assumption was that particular religious and legal systems correspond to the limits of the social groups in which they play an integral part. Focus has been on the social, legal, economic and religious institutions and symbolic systems within a social
group and the ways in which these assure social cohesion and
continuity. Many ethnographies of religion (Buxton, 1973;
Evans-Pritchard, 1937, 1956; Field, 1937; Firth, 1967;
Forde, 1949; Gluckman, 1954; Harris, 1978; Lienhardt, 1961;
Marwick, 1965; Middleton, 1960) have implicitly adhered to
Robertson Smith's "correspondence theory" and the long
anthropological tradition stemming from him through Durkheim
(Werbner: xviii). With the social group as the unit of
analysis and definition of the extent of an institution's
functioning, the general assumption is that religious and
legal institutions in small-scale traditional societies are
contiguous with the limits of the social group. Only with
increasing complexity in scale is religion thought to
acquire the universalistic properties that allow it to
transcend the boundaries of small traditional societies
(Horton, 1971, 1975; Wilson, G. and M. 1968: 11-12; Wilson,
M., 1971).

While the "correspondence" approach yields rich insights
into the internal workings of society, it often defines out
of existence forms of belief and ritual that obtain above
the level of the social group. As Werbner wisely states,
"There is no question of alternatives: either to focus on
the narrow or the more inclusive context. Both must be
regarded, and in relation to each other..." (1977: 179).

The existence of spirit shrines that fulfill ritual,
legal, and medical functions for a variety of ethnic groups
obliges us to examine the ritual field that emerges around particular religious institutions, such as spirit shrines. The act of consulting a spirit implies that its various clientele share a common knowledge and recognition of the spirit's authority. Who are these pilgrims, how do spirit shrines acquire this multi-ethnic appeal, and to what social field does this shared knowledge and common religious and legal institution correspond? How do shrines arise and change, and how do they transform the societies in which they are located, and from which they draw their clientele?

AN ANALYTICAL APPROACH TO REGIONAL RELIGIOUS PHENOMENA

To answer these questions and to analyze complex religious institutions over time and across a variety of socio-cultural units, this study employs a specific analytical approach. The traditional anthropological unit of analysis concentrating on single ethnic groups within a narrowly defined territory was inappropriate for understanding the scope of regional religious organization in Guinea-Bissau. In this study, the analytical unit is defined by the problem: to explain the creation, rise, and fall of spirit shrines, and how these shrines define ethnic groups and ethnic relations within a spirit region. This problem-oriented study allows us to consider the vast range of interethnic phenomena and forms of organization that exist.
above the level of the single ethnically-homogenous social unit.

The study examines several levels of religious phenomena simultaneously. The narrowest is the spirit province (adapted from Garbett, 1977: 56; Lan, 1985: 34), the ritual field containing several villages whose male residents are initiated at a common set of initiation spirits, and thereafter serve as intermediaries between these spirits and non-initiates. Its initiation spirits, consulted in both critical and calendrical rituals, penetrate all aspects of social life within these villages. Numerous smaller shrines that exist within a spirit province draw their clientele from subgroups, while initiation spirit shrines are identified with the province as a whole. In so doing, initiation spirit shrines help to define the ethnic identities of local groups in the region.

Spirit provinces which are characterized by similar socio-political, economic, and religious institutions, and common historical experiences, belong to a common culture area, in which many similar regional cults abound. The culture area studied here corresponds roughly with the administrative unit known as the Cacheu Region of northwestern Guinea-Bissau, excluding the sectors of Sao Domingos and Bigene north of the Cacheu River and the sector of Bula to the east. The Manjaco are the predominant ethnic group, although several smaller peripheral groups of different
ethnic origins also inhabit the area and have been heavily influenced by the Manjaco. Most of these peoples share similar political organization, ecology, and history as well as similar cosmological views of the role of supernatural agents in human life. Unique to the set of shared beliefs which compose a regional cosmology are public spirits that serve a dual function as initiation, spirits for the spirit province, and pilgrimage spirits for a wide range of multi-ethnic clients. This characteristic makes the Cacheu culture area an important "heartland" (Werbner, 1977: 180-182) for spiritism, attracting ancestor worshippers, other followers of traditional religions, Islamic, and Christian pilgrims alike. Further research would probably show that this heartland is also defined by an overlapping network of relations, particularly pilgrimages, between the three spirit provinces selected.

Around every spirit is a spirit region, composed of the entire range of clients who consult it. Some regions are limited, consisting principally of the inhabitants of the immediate vicinity of the shrine, while others span several countries and even continents. Within the vast spirit regions, different zones (e.g. spirit province, core zone, intermediate zone, and peripheral zone) can be distinguished, based on the frequency of relations that various clients have with the spirit shrine.
Among the diverse clientele that comprise a spirit region, a further distinction can be made between congregations and supplicants (Werbner, 1977: 202). Congregations tend to have regular, collective relationships with the spirit shrine. Congregations accomplish this in two ways: one, by being initiates of the spirit province, and two, by acquiring a "satellite" shrine if resident outside of the province. The establishment of chartered satellite shrines and the presence of specially-selected priests bind members of satellite congregations into a network of franchises around a central "parent" spirit. In this work, satellite congregations are studied from two perspectives: from the view of a parent shrine (Caboi) towards its satellite congregations, and of satellite congregations (of Caió) towards a parent shrine (Boté).

Most of the inhabitants of the spirit region, however, are supplicants: individuals and families who maintain only irregular or sporadic contacts with the shrine. Because of this irregularity of consultation, the limits of the region are constantly fluctuating. The supplicants within a spirit region are nonetheless united:

1. by the recognition of that spirit as forming part of their cosmologies;
2. by a shared understanding of the spirit contract; and
3. by a common mode of thought and theory of causality which makes consultation of shrines such as these an essential part of problem resolution and survival.
Logically, an even more inclusive spirit region may be defined by the sum of individual spirit regions around all spirit provinces within the Cacheu Region. Given that the breadth of such an analysis is beyond the scope of any single fieldworker, I chose to focus on the spirit regions of two spirit shrines of the Cacheu Region, Mama Djombo of Caboi and Békassa of Caiómete. Although a conclusive understanding of the sum of spirit regions can only be realized by numerous studies of spirit provinces in the area, the data on these two important spirit regions provide a framework for understanding the nature of relations between a spirit province, culture area, and spirit region.

**APPROACHES TO AFRICAN RELIGION AND REGIONAL CULTS**

The most pertinent, recent anthropological studies of religion are the seminal essays presented in Richard Werbner’s *Regional Cults* which share a common theoretical focus with this dissertation: "our primary concern is to explain change in the ideology and organization of cults which are based on a central place and its relations with its hinterland or smaller dependent centres" (Werbner, 1977: ix). Modifying Carol Smith’s approach to regional analysis (1976a, 1976b), these essays attempt to understand religious activities which cross the boundaries of ethnic groups and nations to define a broader, international region, while allowing for cultural variability (Werbner, 1977: xi). The
approach focuses on the ritual bonding between persons and groups that has been either ignored or only partially analyzed in other works (Turner, 1957; Fortes, 1936).

The regional cult approach attempts to show that the parallel dichotomies in Victor Turner's (1974: 185, 197) typologies of cults --inclusive versus exclusive, peripheral versus central, generic versus particularistic, egalitarian and homogeneous versus non-egalitarian and differentiated-- and their correlation with politico-jural relations are, in fact, not mutually exclusive alternatives, but complementary aspects of often-interdependent cult organizations (Werbner, 1977: xii-xxxvi). Because cults are not static, both their spatial distributions and the nature of ritual authority must be considered in order to understand cult phenomena.

One contribution which this thesis makes to the study of regional cults is exploring Werbner's distinction between "spirit region" and "spirit vicinity". Werbner distinguishes the two zones based on whether they provide congregations (e.g. spirit regions) or supplicants (e.g. spirit vicinities) to a spirit shrine. In contrast, this study views all cult traffic as forming a single continuum, not only based on the type of ritual relations between a client and a spirit shrine, but also by the frequency of consultation across a geographic area.

Secondly, Werbner (et. al.) claims that local cults have to undergo a transformation in organization in order to
acquire a regional significance (1977: xiv-xv). My study demonstrates that a single shrine can simultaneously fulfill both functions and work quite differently based on the type of relationship that the clients choose to establish with the spirit.

A second body of literature to which this thesis contributes is studies of the explanations for misfortune and theories of causality in Africa (Horton, 1967, 1989; Evans Pritchard, 1937; Fortes and Dieterlen (eds.), 1965; Karp and Bird (eds.), 1980). The dissertation shows that for any single event, there may be multiple, conflicting, but equally viable interpretations that relate not only to misfortune, but also to good fortune. These interpretations vary both according to the perspective of the peoples affected and to their relations with similar events that have occurred in the past.

Thirdly, the thesis explores the processes of conversion within the traditional religions of the Cacheu Region. Horton's fundamental work on conversion (1971, 1975) deals with shifts in religious affiliation associated with changes in the scale of social relations. Briefly, Horton argues that conversion from localized cults to high god religions must be preceded by a shift from microcosmic to macrocosmic social relations. I argue that this process may not necessarily occur if both localized and high god cults coexist within the same cosmology in complementary ritual
fields. In the Cacheu Region, it appears that there is a selective emphasis on each of these two aspects under different historical circumstances. One cult does not necessarily supersede the other.

The dissertation contributes to our understanding of how spirit shrines also serve in dispute resolution, asylum, and healing. A study of the legal processes which occur around spirit shrines may improve our understanding of the broader limits of dispute resolution and social control and the effect these have on inter-group relations.

Finally, the study applies the concept of "social frontier" developed by Kopytoff (et.al.) to the study of religion. The shrines serve as a pole of attraction of outcasts, exiles, and refugees and provide the basis for their incorporation into small localized frontier provinces, existing on the margins of larger polities. While analyzing these processes, the study also contributes to the ethnographic and historical literature on Guinea-Bissau, a long-neglected country in West Africa.

In the dissertation, I argue that a complete view of religion must involve the entire gamut of ritual activity whether people perform rituals within their own society or outside of it. In order to appraise this broad range of behavior, religion must be studied in relation to

1. generalized assumptions about human nature and normal and abnormal states of nature and society;
2. cult practices of sub-groups within a society;
3. religious practices which unite sub-groups and are centered within a society; and,

4. ritual activities of members that are focused outside of their social group.

This approach is based on the premise that the boundaries of religious belief and ritual action do not always coincide with those of socio-political groups. Rather, these two phenomena often combine in diverse and interesting ways along shared categories of thought. Cosmological beliefs and ritual practices which transcend social groupings provide frameworks for the adoption of social and religious innovations, foundations for inter-group and inter-ethnic action, and suggestions for alternative social contexts for the discontent.

FIELD METHODOLOGY

In a seventh-month exploratory visit to Guinea-Bissau in 1983, I identified two areas of national interest that coincided with the analytical focus of my study. One was the desire of the Ministry of Health to integrate traditional medicine into the national health system. The other was the need of the Ministry of Justice to understand the role of customary law in revising the national constitution. It was possible to combine these concerns in a study of religious centers that would also document one ethno-medical
healing system (Caió), and elucidate the role of spirit shrines in identifying wrongdoers and in dispute resolution.

For purposes of comparison, three spirit provinces were selected within the Cacheu Region based on the range of clientele, and the type and function of the spirit. Each of the three sets of shrines is located in a slightly different area of ethnic influence. Mama Djombo in Caboi (Cobiana) is an important cluster of spirit shrines that enjoy an extremely broad range and variety of clients. Békássa of Caiómete is one of several healing spirit shrines of the province of Caió and attracts an intermediate range of clients. The third spirit province, Pantufa, functions principally as a point of comparison, as a shrine which once possessed a large clientele and has gradually diminished in importance since the 1940’s. A comparison of these three spirit provinces should delineate the social, political, and economic factors which support the formation, rise, and decline of multi-ethnic spirit shrines.

From April 1986 through May 1987 and in September and October 1987, I lived alternately at the ritual healing center of Békássa in Caiómete and at a Mama Djombo priest’s home in Wombar, Caboi, during each phase of the agricultural cycle to assess the influence of environmental factors on ritual consultations. Map 2 shows the principal sites of the field research and the location of some of the other important shrines of the region. Participant-observation
MAP 2: MAJOR SPIRIT SHRINES OF THE CACHEU REGION
yielded qualitative data on all aspects of social life in these spirit provinces and particularly on the internal workings of religious institutions. In addition, extensive interviews with priests, diviners, clients, and villagers of different ages, genders, and statuses provided oral histories, oral traditions, and in-depth data on the organization, functioning, and motives for consultation of the various spirit shrines. Most of these interviews were conducted in Kriolu supplemented with Manjaco and Guboi vocabulary, and often accompanied by my assistants, Aquilino Gomes Wombar of Caboi and Joao Mendes of B@16i, Caiómete.

A complete census of Baboi people in Caboi and migrant communities and a selected sample of household surveys in Caiómete, provided the quantitative data on village life. From April 1987 until June 1988, three Baboi assistants under my supervision recorded the gender, ethnicity, and geographic origins of pilgrims to five Mama Djombo shrines, as well as their offerings and reasons for consultation. I analyzed quantitative data on some 10,000 pilgrims who visited the shrines to assess the ethnic and geographical range of clientele of the spirit and to evaluate seasonal variations in the gender of clients and reasons for consultation. Unless otherwise specified, all statistics concerning rituals at Mama Djombo Caboi are projections based on this sample from five of the six shrines and covering 344 days between May 1987 and April 1988.5
In order to acquire comparative data and background on religious organization outside the core region and in urban areas, I punctuated this extended research with visits to Bissau, Biombo, Pantufa, Gendem, Pecixe, Canchungo, Bassarel, and Calequisse where I conducted interviews with diviners, shrine custodians, and clients.

I also carried out supplemental historical research on the Cacheu Region from June through August 1987 at the Arquivos Históricos Ultramarinos, the Biblioteca da Sociedade Geográfica de Lisboa, and the Biblioteca de Ajuda in Lisbon, Portugal. While in Lisbon, I interviewed Antonio Carreira and Lourdes Teixeira da Mota on the historical relations between the Portuguese colonial administration and inhabitants of the Cacheu Region. In short, I combined extended case studies with regional comparative data and archival research to produce a picture of a religious system as it has moved across a region, molded distinctive spirit provinces, and transformed itself over time. Some preliminary findings of this research have been presented in articles (Crowley, 1987a, 1987b, 1988; Crowley and Ribeiro 1987a, 1987b), lectures, and a radio program.6

ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT

The text is divided into two parts, each of which is preceded by a brief summary of its contents. The first half focuses on the social, historical, and ecological factors
that distinguish the people and societies of the Cacheu Region. In Chapter II, I show how the dense forests and numerous swamps and meanders distinguish the Region from neighboring zones. Chapter III covers the historical processes and population movements which made this ecologically distinct area a selective frontier for individuals and groups seeking refuge from religious and political conquest. In Chapter IV, I examine the social structure of the societies in which these outsiders were incorporated. Throughout, spirits played an important role not only in articulating relations between groups, but also in serving as a basis for territorially-derived ethnic identities around the central shrines of various provinces.

The second part of the thesis focuses on the Cacheu Regional cosmology and the way it relates to the ritual activity of inhabitants and outsiders. In Chapter V, I provide an outline of the cosmological categories of spiritism that are common to the diverse peoples of the region. Chapter VI centers on how cosmological beliefs influence spiritist theories of causality and interpretations of the relationships between events. Although spiritism is organized in provincial cults each with its own shrines and cult hierarchy, Chapter VII presents a few cases of centralized cults that are dispersed throughout the region through the establishment of satellite shrines. In this chapter, I show that religious institutions are not
merely limited to the societies in which they originate. In Chapter VIII, I develop this argument by examining the entire ritual field of clients around two spirit shrines in different provinces of the region. These pilgrims and the offerings they make have a significant impact on socio-economic differentiation and on the internal organization of a host spirit province. In Chapter IX, I examine the parallels in thought that underlie common ritual action. The chapter contains an analysis of how categories within the spiritist cosmology change over time, adopt innovations, and overlap with the cosmologies of other religious groups. Theories about the origins of multi-ethnic shrines and possible explanations for their rise and decline are also explored in this final chapter. Supporting documentation and detailed data are provided at the end of the text in Appendices I through X, followed by Glossaries and an explanation of the phonology.

By living in this remote region of Guinea-Bissau and sharing the knowledge and complex explanations of events of its inhabitants, one gains a deep appreciation of the creativity and flexibility of traditional belief systems. It is precisely this flexibility that has allowed spiritism to serve such a wide range of functions for a diverse set of peoples. If this dissertation manages to convey the richness of the thought and belief of the Cacheu Region, I
may have paid a small part of the debt that I owe to the people and the spirits of its provinces.
ENDNOTES

1. I have grouped these 27 ethnic categories into the following 10 families: Mande (Mandinga*, Sarakole*, Bambara*, Conhaqui*, Sosso*); Fulbe (Fulani*, Tekrur*); Serer-Wolof (Serer*, Niominke*, Wolof); Banyun (Banyun, Cassanga*, Baboi); Djola (Djola, Fulupe, Bayot); Buramo (Manjaco, Mankanya, Papel); Balanta (Balanta or Berasse, Balanta Naga or Benaga, Balanta Mane* or Betxá*, Mansoanca* or Cunante* or Suín*); Beafada-Nalu (Beafada*, Nalu*); Bijago; Other (creole mesticos of Guinea-Bissau or Cape Verde, and immigrants from Benin and Dahomey who classify themselves as "Gold Coast" or "colcozes"). The circumflexes and asterisks respectively indicate partially and entirely Islamisized groups (see Gonçalves, 1958: 412-413).

2. Assimilados were Africans whom the Portuguese administration declared as Portuguese citizens. Africans had to petition for this legal status, pay considerable fees, and demonstrate assimilation to Portuguese culture and customs, including language, religion, and often mixed-race. Assimilated status granted Africans the right to formal education, exemption from forced labor, and in theory, placed them on an equal legal footing with whites. In practice, prior to Independence less than 0.3% of the population of Guinea-Bissau had achieved this status. The overwhelming majority of the African population remained in the indígena or "non-civilized" category (Davidson, 1984: 30).

3. The vast majority of these supernatural entities or spirits are not ancestors, although after many years, certain ancestors can acquire the status of spirit and preside over the restricted domain of their descendants. Many of the societies that practice spiritism also believe that ancestors and other dead people regularly affect social life.

4. This definition is an adaptation of Mehren's legal definition of contract (Mehren, 1974: 124-128).

5. The five shrines studied are found in Sáfu Bissele, Bofor, Tchob, Wombar, and Sáfu Biniha, all in the spirit province of Caboi. Estimated data from the sixth shrine, Belimbo are taken from Tchob, a shrine of comparable importance and the smallest one studied. The figures are annual approximations based on 1997 cases inventoried at 5 Mama Djombo shrines on 344 days from May 1987 through April 1988. I am indebted to my assistants, Aquilino Gomes Wombar, Francisco Papa Sapók, Usób Wombar, Vitor Moné, Joao Lima Djáta, and Alberto Martinho Pereira who helped to
6. The author has given the following lectures and conferences on this subject: "Quem Governa: Déuses ou Poder Político na Guiné-Bissau" (African Studies Center, ISCTE, Lisbon, July 1987); Round Table and Radio Program: "Da Medicina Moderna à Medicina Tradicional" (JAAC, Bissau, May 1987); "Centros Religiosos da Guiné-Bissau e o seu Papel na Integração Nacional" (INEP, April 1987); Round Table: "Crenças, Usos e Costumes - Papel na Saúde" (Technical School of Health "Dr. Fernando Cabral", Ministry of Public Health, Bissau, April 1987); "Seminário dos Djambakús e Curandeiros da Região de Cacheu", (Organizer and participant, Canchungo, November 1986); and "O Papel e Lugar da Religião na Guiné-Bissau" (INEP, October 1986).

In addition, three videos are also being edited: "Rites of Passage, Rites of Healing: the Manjaco of Caió" (1987); "Spirit Children and the Talking Dead of Caboi, Guinea-Bissau" (1987); "Bissau Carnival, 1987".

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PART I

THE CACHEU REGION

Part I describes the ecological, historical, and social factors that unite the diverse peoples of the Cacheu Region into a common culture area. Dense forest and numerous coastal estuaries have made the Cacheu Region an ideal sanctuary for peoples fleeing political, religious, and economic exploitation. The expansion of Sahelian Empires, European colonial rule, and post-Independence regimes contributed to extensive population movements in the Cacheu Region. The dislocation of people and their realignments reinforced the unusually fluid social organization that facilitated the incorporation of outsiders into a variety of spirit provinces.

Societies associated with particular, mutually exclusive territories evolved around "first settlers" and "newcomers". These territories became defined as zones linked to a spirit and persons initiated into the spirit cult were thereby incorporated into the territorial congregation. Initiation at the shrines of these territorial spirits became the fundamental basis of ethnic and social identity. These local ethnic identities contrasted with foreign-imposed ethnonyms contributing to the complexity and flux of ethnic terminology and ethnic groupings that characterize the region.
The three chapters of Part I provide ethnographic and historical background on the Cacheu Region, and show how allegiance to spirit shrines became the basis for lasting group and ethnic identity, while consultation with the spirits became the idiom for intergroup relations.
CHAPTER II

THE ECOLOGY AND ECONOMY OF THE CULTURE AREA

IDENTIFICATION OF THE CULTURE AREA

The Cacheu Region (or Cacheu Culture Area) is an area of about 2311.6 km\(^2\) located at approximately 12\(^\circ\) N and 16\(^\circ\) W in the country of Guinea-Bissau, West Africa. This area, which is the geographic focus of this thesis, corresponds roughly to Manjacoland (tchon di Manjaco, Kr.) and contains a population of about 62,706 in 1979 (Recenseamento, 1982a: 37). Between 1937 and 1975, the Cacheu Region together with the Bula sector was known as the Native District of Cacheu (Duarte, 1948: 606). The Cacheu Culture Area today occupies only the southwestern part of Cacheu Zone (see below) and is composed of three administrative sectors: Caió, Canchungo, and Cacheu. The area is bordered by the Cacheu River to the north, the waterways near Jete, Pantufa, and Jopa to the east, the Mansoa River below the islands of Pecixe and Jeta to the south, and the Atlantic Ocean to the west (Carreira, 1951b).

The Cacheu Region should be distinguished from other usages of the word "Cacheu", since it is also the name given to a river, a port town, and several separate administrative divisions. In this thesis, the term "Cacheu" will also be used in the following ways:
1. **Cacheu River** refers to one of Guinea-Bissau's three major estuaries located in the northwest of the country. The estuary stretches over 150 kms. from the Atlantic Ocean inland beyond Farim, and is about 30 kms. wide at its largest expanse near the coast. The estuary divides Manjacoland (tchon di Manjaco, Kr.) from the territories of the Djola group, the Banyun-Cassanga peoples, and the various other ethnic groups that have migrated northwards.

2. **Cacheu Zone** designates the most inclusive administrative unit in northwestern Guinea-Bissau, encompassing the six districts or sectors of Caió, Canchungo, Cacheu, Bula, Sao Domingos, and Bigene. This administrative unit will be termed Cacheu Zone as opposed to the more frequently used Região de Cacheu (Prt.) to avoid confusion with other categories. The current boundaries and divisions of Cacheu Zone were established at Independence in 1974.

3. **Cacheu District or Cacheu Sector** (sector de Cacheu, Prt.) denotes a small administrative division within the Cacheu Zone which consists of the "provinces" or "chiefdoms" of Churo, Cobiana (Caboi), Pecau, Cacanda, Mata, Biânga, Bassarel, Calequisse, Bô, Timate, Boté, and Mata de Ocon. The Cacheu District has a population of 15,205 people and an area of 1,004.4 km².

4. **Cacheu town** or the port of Cacheu refers to the first slave port and former administrative capital of Portuguese Guinea. This small town (pop. 2,481 in 1979) located in the Cacheu sector, is the administrative center of the Cacheu Zone.

Guinea-Bissau contains nine administrative zones (Map 3), the west-central division being the Cacheu Zone. After the Zone of Oio just to the east, the Cacheu Zone contains the second largest population (130,227 people in 1979) in the country. Here I will describe the ecology and provide historical information about the larger Cacheu Zone to contextualize my ethnographic material on the Cacheu Culture.
MAP 3: THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF GUINEA-BISSAU
Area and the three provinces within it which were the focus of my field research.

THE ECOLOGY AND ECONOMY OF THE CACHEU REGION

The Cacheu Zone belongs to a forested coastal ecological area which extends in a strip roughly from the Casamance River in Senegal southwards to Cape Mount near the border between Sierra Leone and Liberia (see Map 4). The easternmost extension of this band in the Cacheu Zone is found near the port town of Farim. Several conditions unite this section of the Upper Guinea Coast into a common and distinctive ecological area. First, the swampy littoral strip is influenced regularly and profoundly by the tides, forming a low-lying alluvial plain fragmented by numerous brackish streams and meanders, bordered by thick mangroves. Second, and in contrast to the Sudanese climate of the areas to the north and east, the strip also manifests a cooler, more moderate, and rainier sub-Guinean climate which encourages the growth of dense forest and palms. The Cacheu Zone lies within the northernmost extension of this forest zone. These two essential features combine to distinguish the forested littoral zone from the higher and drier Western Sudan hinterland to the north and east.

Although the forested coastal-riverain belt extends as far south as Cape Mount, the plains are interrupted briefly near Cape Verga in Guinea (Conakry) by savannah highlands.
MAP 4: THE RIVERS OF GUINEA (The Upper Guinea Coast)

Source: Rodney (1970:5)
associated with the Futa Djallon massif. This geographical feature bisects the forested coastal strip into two areas which have been subject to similar historical influences but with markedly different outcomes. These segments also correspond to the northern and southern branches of West Atlantic Languages (Sapir, 1971: 50). The ecological and historical discussion in this study deals with only part of the northern half of the coastal belt, between the Casamance River and the Geba Canal.

The Cacheu Zone's distinctive environment of low-lying swamp lands alternating with dense forest have, over the centuries, made this area a haven for peoples fleeing political and social domination, and especially conversion to Islam. This distinctive ecology helps account for both the ethnic and social diversity of peoples found within its boundaries, and its unusually high non-Islamic population. The following description of the relief, climate, rainfall patterns, soil types, flora, and fauna provides a background for understanding the social processes that have taken place in the area.

**Relief**

Forming part of the Senegal River Basin, the Cacheu Region is a flat sea-level coastal plain which in many areas is partially-submerged at high tide. There are only a few sections of minor relief and outcrops of laterite rock. A
small plateau of about 30 meters high is found near Pelundo in the eastern part of the Culture Area (Mota, 1954a: 23). The Cacheu and Geba Rivers which border the Region to the north and south respectively are two of the three principal rivers of Guinea-Bissau. In addition, the Region is deeply indented by numerous tidal estuaries that enclose extensive mangrove swamps, and on the drier patches, dense forest.

**Tides**

This part of Guinea-Bissau has the highest tides in West Africa, which can rise as high as 23 feet (World Bank, 1982: 2). The effect of the tides extends up to 150 kms. inland (Mota, 1954b: 10) where they bring in fish and carry away deposits of rich alluvial soils. Shallow saltwater pools or lagoons (*lalas*, Kr.) are the only semblance of lakes in the country.

**Climate**

The Cacheu Region has a sub-Guinean type climate moderated by maritime winds and marked with dry and rainy seasons. During the single rainy season which last from May through October, rainfall ranges from approximately 60 to 90 inches annually, with August usually receiving the maximum amount (World Bank, 1982a: 1; Mota, 1954a: 34). The dry season extends from November to April. Relative humidity ranges from about 86% during the rainy season to 53% during
the drier months (Mota, 1954a: 37). Daily temperatures average $73^\circ F$ ($23^\circ C$) during the coldest months of December and January to $84^\circ F$ ($29^\circ C$) in the hottest months of April and May.

Most agricultural activity is concentrated in the rainy months, leaving the dry months free for recreation, seasonal migration, travel, and ritual performances.

Soils

In contrast to other parts of Guinea-Bissau, the soils of the Cacheu Region are relatively rich, formed by maritime alluvial deposits and runoff from higher areas in the interior and held in place by mangroves. As a result, the soils are derived from mud and sand rich in organic material. However during high tide, a thin layer of sea water covers these marsh lands, depositing a considerable quantity of salt.

In other parts of the low plains, there are impermeable chalky and silty soils covered by a thin layer of rich organic material. These soils are poorly drained and difficult to cultivate; only thatch and reeds (**tara**, Kr.; **Raphia** Sp.) grow in these poorer areas.

Slightly higher and bordering these coastal plains are well-drained, sandy and sandy-clay soils, becoming increasingly lateritic towards the interior.
Flora and Fauna

The flora and fauna of these rich alluvial plains and forests are capable of supporting a relatively dense population. The people of the Cacheu zone combine three distinct agro-ecologies, along with animal husbandry, fishing, hunting, gathering, and trade, to assure a fairly secure basis of subsistence and sufficient 'nourishment to resist many of the numerous insect- and animal-borne diseases. In recent years, however, alterations in rainfall and labor supply have begun to strain this ecological balance, particularly in the most important farming system of paddy rice production (Ribeiro, 1987a; Ribeiro, 1987b; Cardoso and Ribeiro, 1987; Mota, 1951: 672).

Description of Flora

The marshy coastal areas and the regularly-inundated terrain bordering estuaries are covered with numerous types of mangroves and buttonwood, and on drier soils, several species of palm including oil palm and cibe (Kr., Borassus aethiopum). In the adjoining forests, trees such as African mahogany, gingerbread plum, teak, yellow wood, ironwood, and velvet tamarind are essential sources of timber. Fruits and seeds are gathered for consumption from some of these, as well as from baobab, African locust tree, otaheite apple, cola, jackfruit, mandiple (Kr., Spondias mongin), and citi malgos (Kr., a type of cola tree?). Kapok or silk cotton
trees and acacias are also found in abundance throughout the Cacheu Zone.

**Economic Uses of Flora**

**Agriculture**

**Subsistence Crops.** The subsistence of the peoples in the Cacheu Region is based on three agro-ecologies: paddy rice cultivation in coastal plains, upland rice cultivation in forest swiddens, and horticulture within or near residential compounds. The most important of these is the intensive cultivation of Asian rice (*Oryza sativa*), and a variety of African red rice (*Oryza glaberrima*) originally domesticated in the Niger bend, and adapted to the salty soils of reclaimed mangrove swamps. This form of paddy rice cultivation connects the inhabitants of the Cacheu Region to numerous other peoples of the Upper Guinea Coast who belong to "the rice complex" (Mota, 1951: 658), notably the Djola (Snyder, 1981: 83-105; Linares, 1970; Linares, 1971), the Bayot-Ehing (Schloss, 1988: 109-119), the Balanta (Handem, 1986; Santo, 1947; Sidersky, 1987; Personal Communication: Ribeiro, 1987), the Mankanya (Carreira, 1960; Carreira, 1967; Personal Communication: Slobbe, 1988), the Nalu (Mota, 1954a: 315), and others (Mota, 1951; Pelissier, P., 1966; Cardoso and Ribeiro, 1987; Ribeiro, 1987b).

Through an extensive system of earthen dikes, the mangrove swamps are transformed into fresh water rice
paddies (bolanhas, Kr.) and protected from the invasion of ocean water (see Photograph 1). In the dry season, the dikes are opened to allow the fields to be washed with alluvial deposits, and in the rainy season rains leach the salt from the paddies. The delicate balance of this tidal ecology and elaborate systems of drainage and water management depend upon copious rains and the collective organization of labor, normally through residential lineages and age grades. With changes in the distribution of rains, the social disruptions of war and migration, and altered patterns of local authority over the last twenty years, these conditions are not being met and the fragile ecology of paddy rice farming is in decline. A similar form of fresh-water-inundated rice and sweet potato farming has also suffered from changes in rainfall.

The other major form of cultivation is by forest swiddens (pampam, Kr.) containing upland rice, millet, and grain sorghum (see Photograph 2). In some areas, these seeds are mixed with those of sweet sorghum, pumpkin, sorrel (baguchi, Kr.; Hibiscus sabdariffa), and okra, and are planted when the forest has been cleared and the soil prepared. After the harvest, the cultivated area is left to fallow for about 6 years in areas of high population density, and as much as 15 years where population is sparse. In contrast to the more labor-intensive paddy farming, the swiddens are usually farmed by residential lineages who hire
age grades or village and neighborhood associations to work intensively for brief periods when the plowing and planting must take place. With the change in rainfall patterns and social dislocations, more people are relying upon forest swiddens for subsistence needs.

Women also tend gardens within the compounds of residential lineages where they cultivate mixed stands of sorrel, beans, yams, cocoyams, sweet potato, manioc, maize, peppers, okra, garden egg (*djagatú*, Kr.; *Solanum incanum*), tomatoes, calabash gourd, and pumpkin. Nearby, fruit trees provide limes, mangoes, and cashew fruit and nuts. Although a stable part of the household economy, horticulture is a secondary activity and its products are usually used to supplement rice reserves.

**Cash Crops.** In some areas families cultivate groundnuts, cashew trees and oil palm, deriving cash income from the sale of groundnuts, cashew wine and nuts, and palm oil, wine, and kernels. Private merchants and government stores collect these products in large trucks, and exchange them for rice and processed goods such as soap, refined oil, onions, matches, tomato paste, and tobacco. Where road or boat access is more difficult, people carry their handmade mats and brooms, woven cloths, honey, and palm oil across the Senegalese border to be sold in the Casamance. At least since the late 1800's and probably long before then, people of the Cacheu Region have crossed what is now the border to
Senegal, to exchange their produce for machetes, hoes, gunpowder, arms, clothes, and luxury items, which were more readily available in the prosperous, former-French territory. Residents of the Cacheu Region generally prefer to exchange their goods in Senegal because the French-backed Senegalese CFA has long been a stable and convertible currency which can be used to buy imported goods and has greater value than the non-convertible Guinean peso.

Gathered Forest Products

Many peoples of the Cacheu Region rely on forest products to supplement their diets with fruit, wine, oils, and honey. In addition, the forests provide a wide variety of essential products including firewood, timber, cord, copals or resins, dyes, thatch, matting, gum, fodder, medicinal remedies, and poisons. The larger trees also provide shelter for meetings and are often the sites of spirit shrines.

Description of Fauna

The Cacheu Zone is the habitat for a multitude of wetland and forest bird life. Pelicans, gulls, ibises, herons and bitterns, flamingos, cormorants, pheasants, anhingas, egrets, hammerheads, doves and pigeons, shrikes, kingfishers, ducks, and cranes can be found among the
mangroves and palm; forest birds include parrots and parakeets, weaver finches, vultures, and swallows.

Along the banks of estuaries and meanders or marigots, fiddler crabs, oysters, and other shellfish abound. Crocodiles, monitor lizards, and snakes, including grass snakes, spitters, and pythons, are among the most prevalent amphibian and reptile life. Mudskippers, catfish, tongue soles or flounders, mullets, barracudas, sea bass, scavengers or emperors, croakers and others are typical of the neighboring waters.

Mammals include squirrels, bats, guenon and colobus monkeys, palm civets, mongoose, serval cats, porcupines, aardvarks, wild pigs, wart hogs, hyenas, jackals, duikers, and waterbucks.

Economic Uses of Fauna

Hunting and Fishing

During the dry season when there are fewer demands on labor, men hunt much of this forest game and wild fowl. Duikers, wart hogs, aardvarks, porcupine, monkeys, quail, and pheasants are now the most common game, although in the past hippopotami were also hunted.

Also during the dry season, men use canoes and vast nets to catch larger ocean fish, while women collect shellfish by hand and with sticks. These, and small fish gathered with nets and tidal fences (gambia, Kr.) in the rice paddies and
small estuaries, are the major sources of protein throughout the year.

**Domesticated Livestock**

Animal husbandry is practiced within the compounds; women raise ducks, chickens, and guinea fowl (*Numida meleagris galeata*) for eggs and for household consumption. However, most livestock, particularly chickens, pigs, goats, dogs, and trypanosomiasis-resistant *Ndama* cattle, are raised primarily for ritual purposes, such as funerals and sacrifices. Rarely will a residential lineage have more than two or three head of cattle at any given time.

**Mineral Resources and their Economic Uses**

Salt, one of the coast's natural resources and major regional trade items, is gathered and processed now mostly for local consumption. At the beginning of the dry season, senior post-menopausal women dig shallow pits in which salt water collects during bi-monthly high tides. The salt water is left to evaporate and then the sandy residue is mixed with freshwater, sieved, and finally boiled to produce salt. Contrary to the impression of some historians (Rodney, 1970: 19) that the use of old people in salt production was an indication of labor shortage, senior women in the Cacheu Region are often accorded a monopoly on salt production. In effect, this source of easy income is a privilege ap-
appropriate to their high status, as well as a recognition of their reduced physical strength.

**Historical Significance of the Ecology**

The ecology of the forested coastal-riverain belt has had important implications for historical contacts and population movements in the Cacheu Zone. As almost the northernmost extension of the coastal forests, the Cacheu Zone constituted a striking contrast to the neighboring northern and eastern savannah. Its heavily wooded terrain and accompanying "tsetse-fly line" (Brooks, 1986: 54) afforded its inhabitants cover and protection from large-scale invasions by pastoralists and the Sahelian Empires. At the same time, the forests served as a shield against European intrusions from the Atlantic Ocean. Difficult access and dispersed settlements hampered incursions by slave raiders, except along the coast and major waterways.

Swamps and meanders along the coast also formed a natural obstacle to exploration. Explorers and Luso-African traders were forced to concentrate their activities on the major rivers and more accessible water courses. The many marshes, streams, and stagnant pools found throughout this inundated plain hinder overland passage between villages, and make it a haven for insect-born diseases, particularly malaria, tsetse fly, and parasites, all of which were especially virulent to Europeans. Although for the most
part, the salty coastal soils are naturally fertile and capable of sustaining a large population, they require regular and abundant rains and intensive, arduous labor to produce rice. This relatively inhospitable environment served as a barrier against outsiders until well into the 20th Century.
1. The sectors of Sao Domingos and Bigene, formerly belonged to the Circumscriptions of Sao Domingos and Farim, respectively. In 1979, the Cacheu Zone had an area of 5174.9 km² and a population of 130,227 (Recenseamento, 1982a: 37).

2. The specific uses and botanical, Portuguese, and Kriolu terms for some of this flora may be enumerated as follows: mangroves (mangal, Prt.; tarafe, Kr.), include buttonwood Rizophora racemosa (firewood, fruit), Avicennia nitida, Laguncularia racemosa, Conocarpus erectus), palm (palmeira, Prt. e.g. oil palm Elaeis guineensis {oil, wine, cord}; cibe, Kr. Borassus aethiopum {copra, thatch, fruit}), African mahogany (bissilac, Kr.; Khaya senegalensis {timber, canoes, medicine, shrines}), gingerbread plum (mampatá, Kr.; Parinari excelsa {timber, fruit}, pau incenso, Kr. (Daniellia Oliveri {timber, copals}), velvet tamarind (pau veludo, Kr.; Dialium guineense {timber, fruit}), pau conta, Kr. (Afzelia africana {timber}), mancon, Kr. (Erythrophleum guineense {timber, poison, medicine}), African teak (pau bicho, Kr.; Chlorophora excelsa {termite proof timber}), yellow wood (pau bicho amarelo, Kr.; Cholorophora excelsa {timber}), ironwood (pau ferro, Kr.; Copaifera copallifera {timber, resins, copals}), monkey apple (pau miséria, Kr.; Anisophyllea laurina {timber}), macete, Kr. (Terminalia macroptera {timber, dyes, tannins, gums}), baobab (calabaceira, Prt.; cabaceira, Kr.; Adansonia digitata {rope, fruit, medicine, shrines}), African locust bean (farrobe, Kr.; Parkia biglobosa {fruit, medicine}), otaheite apple (mampatá, Kr.; Spondias mombin {fruit}), cola (Carapa procera {stimulant, medicine}), jackfruit (jaka, Kr.; Artocarpus heterophyllus {timber, fruit}), mandiple, Prt. (Spondias mongin {fruit}), citi malgos, Kr. {oil, medicine}, kapok or silk cotton (poilão, Kr.; Ceiba pentandra {shrines}) and acacia? (espinheiro, Prt.; Faidherbia albida {fodder, gum, tannin}).

This listing is partially based upon Mota (1954a: 86-87). English common name equivalents of botanical terms and uses are partly drawn from Mabberley (1987). Only the trees which most commonly serve as sites for spirit shrines have this noted as one of their functions, although shrines are frequently found near by and named after other flora as well.

3. Contrary to Wittfogel's argument (1981), the complex organization of labor for water control and irrigation without highly centralized states in the Cacheu Region is another example of the diverse social structures that can sustain "hydraulic societies".
4. Some biological, Portuguese, and Kriolu equivalents for regional fauna listed below are as follows:

**Bird Life**

Pelicans (Pelecanus rufescens), gulls (Larus cirrocephalus), gaivina, Prt. (Gelochelidon spp. and Chlidonias spp.), ibises (Threskiornis aethopicus aethopicus), herons (Ardea cinerea) bitterns or herons? goraz (Nycticorax nycticorax nicticorax), flamingos (Ibis ibis) and ibises? (garça boieira or Bubulcus ibis), garça caranguejeira, Prt. (Ardeola ralloides), cormorants (Phalacrocorax africanus), anhingas (Anhinga rufa rufa), egrets (Casmerodius albus melanorhynchus, garça marinha, Ptz.; Demigretta gularis), garça gidante, Prt. (Typhon goliath), hammerheads (passaro martelo, Ptz.; Scopus umbretta umbretta), cegonha episcopal, Prt. (Disoura episcopus microscellis), singanga, Ptz. (Agedashia hagedash brevirostris), maçarico-das-rocas, Prt. (Actitis hypoleucos), vultures? (serpentário pequeno, Ptz.; Gymmogenys typicus pectoralis), aguia pesqueira, Ptz. (Gypohierax angolensis), aguia gritadeira, Ptz. (Cuncuma vocifer clamans), aguia de poupa, Ptz. (Lophaetus occipitalis), doves and pigeons (pomba de tarrafe, Ptz.; Streptopelia semitorquata erythrophrys), shrikes (picanco barbaro, Ptz.; Laniarius barbarus), kingfishers (pica peixe malhado, Ptz.; Ceryle rudis), ducks (pato rangedeiro, Ptz.; Anas querquedula), cranes (grou coroado, Ptz.; ganga, Kr.; Balearica pavonina), parrots and perquits (Psittacus erithacus timneh, Poicephalus senegalus senegalus), weaver finches (cacho-caldeirao, Kr.; Ploceus cucullatus cucullatus), vultures? (Necroscyrtes monachus) and swallows (andorinha, Ptz.; Hirundo senegalensis).

**Shellfish and Fish**

Fiddler crabs (cakri, Kr.; Uca tangeri), oysters (Ostreidae), mudskippers (Periophthalmus koelreuteri), catfishes (Bagridae), tongue soles or flounders (Cynoglossus senegalensis), mullets (tainha, Kr.; Mugilidae), barracudas (bicuda, Kr.; Sphyraena sphyraena), sea bass (garoupa, Kr.; Serranus aeneus), scavengers or emperors (bica, Kr.; Lethainus atlanticus), croakers (corvina, Ptz.; Sciaenidae Johnius elongatus), bentana, Kr. (Generos Tilapia).

**Reptiles**

Crocodiles (Crocodylus niloticus, Osteolaemus tetraspis), monitor lizards (linquana, Ptz.; Varanus niloticus), snakes (Chlorophis irregularis, Crotophalthelis hoctamboeia hoctamboeia, Dendrapsis viridis, Dendrapsis jamesoni), including grass snakes (Natrix olivaceus), spitters (Naia nigricollis) and pythons (ira ceqo, Kr.; Python sebae).
Mammals

Squirrels, including scaly tailed squirrels (rato voador, Kr.; Anomalurus beecrofti), funambulini (ratos de palmeira, Kr.; Funisciurus pyrrhopus), oil palm squirrels (Heliosciurus gambiaus gambiaus) and saninho, Kr. (Euxerus erythrops). Tree bats (Micropteropus pusillus, Lavia frons, Hipposideros gigas viegasi). Guenons (macaco de tarrafe, Kr.; Cercopithecus aethiopus sabaus), macaco de nariz branco, Kr. (Cercopithecus nictitans petaurista), colobus monkeys (macaco vermelho, Prt.; Colobus badius temminckii), macaco fidalgo, Prt. (Colobus polykomos polykomos), palm civets, civets and mongooses (cachorro de mango, Kr.; Viverridae, Atilax paludinosus), serval cats (gatos-lagar, Kr.; Laptialurus serval senegalensis, Felix ocretata caligata), porcupines (Hystricidae Atherurus) and aardvarks (Orycteropus afer), bush pigs and wart hogs (Potamocherus porcus porcus, Phacochoerus aethiopicus africanus), hyenas (Hyaenidae) and jackals (Thos aureus anthus), duikers (cabra vermelha, Prt., Cephalophus sylvicultor, and cabra cinzenta, Prt., Cephalophus maxwelli), waterbucks (gazela de lala, Kr.; Kobus kob kob, Redunca redunca redunca), boca branca, Prt. (Hypotagrus equinus gambiaus).

The sources for the Portuguese and English common and biological names for fauna in the Cacheu Region are Mota (1954a: 107-123) and Parker (1982).
CHAPTER III
THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE CACHEU ZONE

The same ecological conditions of dense forests and fragmented swampland which impeded conquest of the Cacheu Zone also made it an ideal sanctuary for small numbers of immigrants fleeing persecution. The cultural history of the Cacheu Zone shows how this ecology served as a selective screen, on the one hand buffering the zone from large scale invasion and extensive domination from the East and West, and on the other, providing a haven of refuge for individuals and small groups fleeing political, social, and religious subjugation (Correia, 1943: 147-8; Mota, 1954a: 172-3).

HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY

As an anthropologist interested in social process and historical change, I was confronted with several methodological problems in delimiting the boundary between history and ethnography. One was the question of where to draw the boundary between history and "current" social practices. Since "current" social institutions belong to historical processes, any division between history and ethnography in my mind is necessarily arbitrary. As a consequence, I have decided to provide the ethnographic background for this study within an historical framework.
Even with this approach, the paucity and ambiguity of historical sources make it difficult to determine the processes which social institutions have undergone. Social practices that were omitted from early historical documents may have been either overlooked or non-existent at the time of research. Where early written accounts exist, the contrast between these and more recent information could indicate either real historical changes or mere omissions or errors in either or both of the sources. Assuming that historical documents are accurate, and that the differences between current and past institutions are genuine, in most cases we can only theorize about whether these changes were products of gradual evolution, pragmatic innovation, diffusion from neighboring areas, or a combination of some or all of these. Inevitably, the dating of many historical events and the time spans in which changes occurred can only be speculative. The reliability of oral traditions and histories is also open to question, particularly because of the striking inconsistencies among the traditions of neighboring peoples, as well as between oral and written sources.

Clearly, careful analysis is necessary to determine the relative value of divergent accounts. The approach that I have adopted is to present these contradictory perspectives, rather than select those which support a single argument. I have attempted to compensate for the unevenness of histori-
ocal data on the Cacheu Region by drawing comparisons wherever possible.

In this study of the cultural history and ethnography of the Cacheu Region, I have combined two levels of analysis: a macro-level describing world-wide trends and their influence on the Upper Guinea Coast, and a micro-level of relations between groups and individuals within the Cacheu Region who are affected by the macro-level processes in locally specific ways. While the macro-history is based primarily on written sources, much of the micro-history is grounded in my own ethnographic research, together with oral traditions and oral histories collected in the field. Changes in colonial administration, economy, and religions as part of international trends form the framework for understanding shifts in local economy, politics and belief, and the perception of the region’s inhabitants concerning these developments. This documentation of changes at the local level should help fill in the small blank spot on the historical and ethnographic map of West Africa that is the Cacheu Region and thus add to our knowledge of the history of the Upper Guinea Coast in general.

As stated in Chapter I, the original accounts of micro-relations in this thesis are based mostly on research carried out in three of the several "spirit provinces" or initiation territories in the Cacheu Region: Caboi, Caió, and Pantufa. Located in three corners of the region, these
provinces provide a sample of Cacheu cultures despite their diverse origins and indicate the range of regional variation. Another study on the central part of the Cacheu Region is currently being conducted. Moreover, much of the culture of the region is defined by its relations with these peripheral provinces particularly because Cacheu has traditionally been considered a frontier region.

This chapter explores the genesis of the distinctive social processes of community incorporation and differentiation. The explanation of these distinctive features of the small societies in the Cacheu Region has much to do with the historical processes by which the Cacheu Region became a "frontier" (Kopytoff, 1987: 3-84). This African frontier zone was the destination for migrations from eastern and northern neighbors, as well as a point of contact for European and Afro-Portuguese traders. The cultural history of the Cacheu Zone has been divided into three general periods which roughly correspond to the changing nature of relations with the outside world. The first section on pre-colonial history describes the autochthonous inhabitants of the Cacheu Zone and the way they were affected by the Sahelian peoples from the east during the Mande and Fulbe expansions (300 B.C.-1446) and through trans-Saharan trade. Contacts with the West during the five-hundred-year colonial era (1446-1974) are outlined in the second section. The final phase on post-Independence (1975-present) discusses
some of the recent events in the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Given the wealth of material on the colonial and post-independence era, this historical account does not pretend to be exhaustive, but rather attempts to provide a background for understanding the rest of this thesis and to document the antiquity of some of the practices that still continue today.

PRE-COLONIAL CULTURAL HISTORY

Any reconstruction of the pre-colonial history of the Cacheu Region is necessarily speculative. Much of what is known about this period has been reconstructed from linguistic research, changeable oral traditions, and the earliest written accounts. To my knowledge, there have not yet been any archeological excavations in the immediate region.

Because of this paucity of information on the Cacheu Region, I have included comparative information from neighboring peoples wherever possible. These comparisons show that the Cacheu Region is part of the larger linguistic and cultural complex of "the Rivers of Guinea and Cape Verde" associated with the swampy low lands or the "radical bulom" (Mota, 1954: 285; Rodney, 1979: 16). Among most coastal populations the bulom designates "the low lands, the stagnant water that accumulates thereon, the processes associated with the extraction of salt, the agriculture conducted on swampy soil, and the human settlements es-
established there" (from Richard-Molard's unpublished manuscript, as cited in Mota and Neves, 1948: 40, 89; Rodney, 1970: 16). This complex is also characterized by continuous population dislocations and a subsequent interspersion of peoples of diverse ethnic stock, usually living in small, localized settlements.

Autochthonous Inhabitants

Very little is known about the pre-colonial history of the Cacheu Zone, except where it is connected to the well-documented Sudanese empires to the east, and where it can be compared with the better studied Casamance populations to the north. Archeological and linguistic data and oral traditions of origin form the basis of our knowledge about the autochthonous inhabitants of the Cacheu Zone.

Archaeological Evidence

Based on a study of shell middens near the mouth of the Casamance River in Southern Senegal, an area adjoining the Cacheu Zone, Linares traces the protohistorical occupations of the Lower Casamance to the end of the Neolithic phase, around 200 B.C. (1971: 23-54). She suggests that the Cacheu Zone may have been occupied even earlier since it appears that migrants from this Zone and from further east up the Casamance River were probably the first settlers in the Lower Casamance (Linares, 1987: 134). By 200 A.D. these
groups were well-adapted to, and insulated in their coastal habitats (Linares, 1987: 114). They fished, gathered shellfish, practiced agriculture, raised cattle, and used metal tools made locally from bog iron.

Although there has been no archaeology in the immediate region, megaliths have been discovered in the eastern parts of Guinea-Bissau which have been tentatively dated to the 13th or 14th centuries, during the height of the Mali Empire (Carlos Costa as cited in Mota, 1954a: 128). There is some evidence that gold was also mined around this time in eastern areas, such as Geba (Mota, 1954a: 130-133). The remains of circular stone houses, similar to those still used by the Tenda-related Basari, have also been discovered near these gold mines and suggest that these peoples who have since settled towards the west and north, once occupied the eastern parts of the country before the Mandinga expansion (Mota, 1954a: 134).

**Linguistic Evidence**

Linguistic evidence (Sapir, 1971: 45-223; Doneux, 1978: 6-55) substantiated by historical work (Mota, 1954a: 127-154) suggest that the main Paleo-Negritic autochthonous inhabitants of the Guinea-Bissau Region may be classified by language as Table 1 shows:
TABLE 1: Language Families of Autochthonous Peoples

1. the Bak-speaking Manjaco, Mankanya, Papel\(^3\); Djola\(^4\) (e.g. Fulup, Bayot); Balanta, Ganja\(^5\);

2. the "Eastern Sénégal-Portuguese Guinea" speaking Tenda (Tenda, Basari, Coniaqui); Beafada (Biafada, Biafar, Bifra), Pajade (Badjaranke, Badjaranke, Pajadinca);
   Baboi ("Iboi", sing., Uboi, Cobiana, Caboiiana), Cassanga (Kassanga, "Thádja"), Banyun (Banhum, Bagnun, Bainounk, "Iágar");

3. Nalu (Nalou), Mbulungish (Baga Boré), Baga Mboteni; and

4. the Bijago (Bidjogo, Bissago).

The first three groups belong to the Northern Branch, and
the Bijago on their remote offshore islands to an apparently
isolated branch of the Western Atlantic languages of Niger-
Congo stock (Greenberg, 1963).\(^6\) Western Atlantic languages
found outside of the Guinea-Bissau Region include Senegal
(e.g. Fulbe, Serer, Wolof) and Cangin Languages of the
Northern Branch which, with the exception of Fulbe\(^7\), are
mostly spoken to the north of the Casamance River; and Sua\(^8\),
Mel Languages (e.g. Temne, Baga Koba, Sherbro, Mmani, Krim
Kisi, Gola), and Limba of the Southern Branch mostly spoken
from Guinea (Conakry) south (Sapir, 1971).

For the most part, the Bak languages are spoken by
peoples now occupying the forested coastal riverain zone
between the Casamance and Geba Rivers; peoples speaking
languages of the "Eastern Senegal-Portuguese Guinea" group
inhabit the savannah-woodland area just to the east; the
Nalu languages are spoken in the forest zone to the south;
and dialects of Bijago are spoken in the island archipelago.
off the coast of Guinea-Bissau. Although the Bak-speaking peoples are most important for this study as the predominant occupants of the Cacheu Region, the "Eastern Senegal-Portuguese Guinea" speaking peoples of the savannah-woodland, and to a lesser extent the Nalu, will also be dealt with in our discussion of the relations of coastal peoples with the interior.

In the Cacheu Region, Manjaco speakers make up the majority of the population. This region was somewhat arbitrarily divided into 29 provinces during the colonial period, but now can be grouped broadly into the following three categories according to dialectical variations:

1. the central Manjaco in which the Protobok dialects are spoken. These dialects include "Lund" spoken in Pelundo, "Bok" with its "Tsaam" and "Serer" variants spoken in Baboc (Costa de Baixo), Bassarel, Cajínjassa, Béquisse, Catí?, and "Likes-utsia" spoken in Calequisse (Doneux, 1975: 1-4; Sapir, 1971: 59-60).

2. the coastal Manjaco consisting of the provinces of Caió, Jeta, Pintampil (Péciexe), Indafe (Péciexe), Cajegute, Bugulha?, Pandim?, Canhobe?, and Tame? in which the Protocotier dialects are spoken. The coastal Manjaco are linguistically and socially most closely related to Papel of the Island of Bissau.

3. The northeastern Manjaco consisting of the provinces of Biánga, Mata, Cacanda (Cacheu), Pecau, (Capau, Burné), Churo, and Jol (Pantufa) in which the "Cur" dialects are spoken. Of all the Manjaco dialects, "Cur" is the one most closely related to "Protomankan" spoken by the Mankanya of Co and Bula.

Although the Cacheu Region is dominated by Manjaco speakers and is known generally as "Manjacoland" (tchon di Manjaco), a number of other peoples live there as well, and
occupy provinces of their own. The northwest corner of Manjacoland, encompassing the provinces of Boté, Mata de Occn, Bó, and Timate, is dominated by Felupe people of the Diola group. The province of Cobiana (Caboi), nestled among the northeastern Manjaco near the Cacheu Region, contains a small pocket of people, the Baboi, who are linguistically most closely related to the Cassanga. The provinces of Co and Bula in the east of the Region are Mankanya (Brame) chiefdoms that formed part of the Manjaco kingdom in the late 19th century and now contain growing Balanta populations.

The three provinces selected are only partly representative of this diversity. The Báió are an example of the coastal Manjaco, while the Pantufa and Baboi, though unusual in their origins and language, bear a number of similarities to the peoples of the northeastern Manjaco provinces with whom they live in close proximity. This research, however, provides no case studies from "typical" (if such societies exist) northeastern and central Manjaco Provinces, nor from the Diola-dominated provinces of the northwest. A more complete picture of the history and society of the entire Cacheu Region will necessitate further in depth study of these other provinces.

Such ethnic and linguistic diversity in the Cacheu Region comes as no surprise, when one considers the assortment of peoples living just outside its boundaries (see Map
5). The Balanta border the Mankanya to the east, the Bak-speaking Papel live on the Island of Bissau south of the Mansoa River, and a mosaic of Cassanga, Banyun, Djola, Balanta, and Mandinga occupy the districts of Sao Domingos and Bigene to the north of the Cacheu River. Indeed, such diversity of languages and cultures is typical of coastal West Africa generally.

These ethnic labels and categories of language groups and dialects are derived from the most widely used, current designations for ethnic groups in Guinea-Bissau. As the analysis at the end of Chapter IV shows, these current ethnonyms are products of centuries of evolution. For the sake of clarity I have, in most cases, adopted the current ethnic labels to describe past and present populations. The one exception is my use of the term "Buramo", used interchangeably with "Papel" from the 15th through 19th centuries, as the generic designation for inhabitants of the Cacheu Region and Island of Bissau who are now known as the Manjaco, Mankanya, and Papel. In this study, "Buramo" will refer to the early inclusive grouping, while Manjaco, Mankanya, and Papel will designate the 20th century subgroups.

**Traditions of Origin**

The peoples of the numerous provinces of the Cacheu Region recount strikingly diverse traditions of origin.
Although this population has been described as "autochthonous", oral traditions of origin would seem to suggest otherwise. Traditions collected in three of the Region's provinces record movements of populations from outside areas that eventually established settlements in their present locations. Although centuries ago the autochthonous peoples probably occupied a larger territory, they have become increasingly concentrated along the coast. The traditions of origin link peoples of the Cacheu Region with other ethnic groups and places. The possible meanings of these connections will be explored in greater detail in the next chapter. Here, I will summarize some of the traditions of origin collected in the Cacheu Region and compare them with relevant ones from neighboring groups in order to demonstrate some of the historical ties between peoples of Manjacoland and other ethnic groups.

The Origins of the Baboi

In 1986-87 many Baboi did not know where they came from, or even whether they had always lived in Caboi or had migrated from other areas. Colonial scholars described the Baboi as a "veritable human mosaic" (Marques, 1947b: 875), the result of the intermarriage between Cassanga, "Papel" or northeastern Manjaco, and central Manjaco, who had gradually become differentiated from neighboring peoples through isolation (Carreira, 1964; Wilson, 1959: 598). In recent
years, confusion about Baboi origins has been compounded by a Bissauan radio program which spuriously asserted that the chiefdom was founded by Congo slaves who had been marooned in a shipwreck off the Upper Guinea Coast many centuries before. Baboi elders (Caboi Interviews 1-2, 1986), however, say that the ancestors of the Baboi came from a place called "Brikama" located somewhere north near the Casamance River of Senegal.

Baboi claim to be most closely related to the Cassanga and the Manjaco of Churo. Most Baboi recognize that their language (Guboi, henceforward Gu.) and initiation rituals are related to those of the Cassanga, but youth often believe that the Baboi are closer to the Manjaco of Churo, and in recent years have identified themselves as "Manjaco of Caboi" to unfamiliar outsiders.

This Baboi identification with the Manjaco of Churo is probably due to the fact that they live in such close proximity and have intermarried extensively over the centuries. In fact, Churo oral traditions (Churo Interview 1, 1986) claim that the land in which Baboi immigrants settled, and which became the chiefdom and province of Caboi or Cobiana, was originally part of their territory. This Churo land contained an uncleared sacred forest, which the people of Churo were forbidden to enter except during the periodic male initiation rituals for which it was reserved. Upon their arrival, Baboi found abundant virgin land that
appeared to be uninhabited and so chose this site as ideal for settlement. According to these oral traditions, the Baboi soon discovered that spirits inhabited the land, and so established a priesthood around the Churo initiation spirit, which the Baboi called "Mama Djombo".

Linguistic (Marques, 1947b) and religious evidence (see Chapter IV) and the reference to a homeland called "Brikama" in Baboi traditions of origin confirm historical documents and oral traditions of the Cassanga and Banyun that link them to the Baboi. According to several writers (Almada, (1594) 1964: 70; Bocandé, 1849: 312-3), Brikama was the former capital of the chiefdom of "Cassas" or "Cassangues" where the chief of Bati, the Batimansa, reigned in 1585. "Brikama" or "Brucama" was derived from the word "bruco" meaning 'kings' court (Almada, (1594) 1964: 70, 77, 95).

Cassanga oral traditions (Personal Communication: Biai, 1987b) explicitly recognize that they are of common stock with Baboi and Banyun. Cassanga (who call themselves "Iháda") say that the Baboi are their cousins, a product of an offshoot migration that settled in the Cacheu Region. These oral accounts (Personal Communication: Biai, 1987a; Nogueira, 1947b: 118-119) also maintain that the former royal courts and political capitals of the Cassanga-Banyun-Baboi peoples were named "Brikama". Towns called "Brikama", vestiges of these former capitals, have been cited near the Gambia River, on the south bank of the Casamance River, and

Like some other ethnic groups of the Upper Guinea Coast\textsuperscript{12}, Cassanga claim that long before arriving in the Casamance, they lived in eastern Guinea-Bissau in the territory that is now called Gabu (Kaabou)\textsuperscript{13}. According to their oral traditions (Personal Communication: Biai, 1987a), Cassanga abandoned these former settlements as they fled from successive waves of Mandinga conquest, and later Islamic conversion, leaving in their wake a trail of "Brikamas" from Gabu to the Gambia, marking the direction of their flight. When segments of the population converted to Islam, the unconverted spiritist Cassanga abandoned these settlements in search of safer zones. Attributing the profusion of Brikamas to this story of migration, Cassanga maintain that villages called Brikama can be used to map their migration routes from their original homeland in Gabu, west to Farim, northwards to Gambia, and then south towards the Casamance.

Although Baboi make no reference to the Banyun in their oral traditions, Banyun (Lágar) traditions link them closely to the Cassanga. According to Banyun accounts, the present settlements of Banyun and Cassanga are the results of three parallel migrations originating in Gabu and even further east (Lespinay, 1980: 25). The Gunyun-speaking peoples who became known as Banyun made up two of the migrations. One
travelled west through Abul near Ingoré in Guinea-Bissau (Mota, 1954a: 145) and populated the villages of Brin-Djibonker and Niamone to the west and northwest of Ziguinchor Senegal, while a second settled in Pakao, on the north bank of the Casamance River (Lespinay, 1980: 25-26). A third set of migrants settled in Kasa to the east of Ziguinchor, and became the Gujaher-speaking Cassanga (Lespinay, 1980: 26).

These population movements, chronicled in both Cassanga and Banyun traditions, must have begun at a very early date, because written historical records (Fernandes, 1951 (1510): 69-70) indicate that the Cassanga and Banyun were settled in their present locations in the savannah-woodland zone by the early 16th century. The Cassanga already appeared to rule Caboi by 1663 (Faro, (1664) 1945; Santiago (1762) in Vicente, 1983: 38).\textsuperscript{14}

Due to assimilation by the neighboring Djola and Mandinga, the Cassanga and Banyun population has diminished considerably over the centuries in both size and range of territory and is now concentrated in small pockets in the Casamance and northern Guinea-Bissau. According to the colonial census of 1950, there were only 420 Cassanga and 267 Banyun living in Guinea-Bissau (Província da Guinea, 1951), the vast majority of whom were Islamised (Mota, 1954a: 240). This suggests that the Mande and other invading groups were ultimately successful in effecting
their cultural transferral on at least some of the peoples in the zone. Nevertheless, because the arrival of the Cassanga and Banyun in the Guinea-Bissau Region antedated that of most of the region's other inhabitants, the more recent immigrants to the area (e.g. Manjaco, Mankanya, Djola) recognize them as "owners of the land," the landlords to whom, even today, these newcomers owe respect and token gestures of gratitude for their hospitality (Caboi Interview 3, 1986; Personal Communication: Biai, 1987c). "Owners of the land" symbolically maintain their former power as priests of numerous earth shrines to which the newcomers make sacrifices to acquire rain (see Baum, 1987; Mark, 1985).

The Origins of the Baió (Manjaco of Caió)

The Baió say that the territory of the province of Caió was uninhabited when the founding ancestors first settled in that area. There are three parallel sets of traditions concerning this original settlement. One account holds that the first settlers were hunters who discovered the virgin forests filled with game during their hunting trips, and eventually moved there to exploit these resources (Caiómete Interview 1, 1987). Beginning as hunters and gatherers, using only axes, bows and arrows, the story relates that later the Baió developed shifting cultivation, but because iron was rare, most people had to use wooden poles and fire
to clear the forests. Eventually, the settlers in Caió developed rice cultivation on reclaimed soils of mangrove swamps, and created complex methods for water control using dikes and dams to leach the salty soils, and blades of iron on the ends of wooden poles to plow the heavy swamp soils. The first settlers relied on ritual specialists with clairvoyant powers to communicate with the spirits that they found on the land. At first, Baió did not contract the spirits to kill their enemies, but when their children started to die, clairvoyants found that witches were the cause. Baió made contracts with the spirits to destroy the witches and seek protection from witchcraft.

A second oral tradition (Caió Interviews 1-2, 1986-87) identifies the first settler as a Djola man named Dayóg from Karone, a place which is accurately located in the story as an island near Carabane on the north bank of the Casamance River. In Karone, Dayóg built a big canoe that he packed with people. On the voyage they stopped successively in Susana, Ziguinchor, Ouossouye, Niambalan, Ulék, and Kakar between the Casamance and Cacheu Rivers, then in Jufunco, Lala, Bolor, Ossor, and Lala [sic.] on the north bank of the Cacheu River, continuing to Bassarel, Kadiopa (Cajoque?) near Boté, Calequisse, and Caió on the north bank of the Mansoa River, then to the Islands of Jeta and Pecixe in the Mansoa River, and on to Biombo, and Bissau between the Mansoa and Geba Rivers, and then north again to Bula, Ingoré.
and further onwards. When an area looked promising for settlement, some of the people would disembark to live there. If later he found other villages that looked more promising, he would return to the earlier settlements to transport any that wished to move to the new area.

In the canoe from Karone, Dayóg also brought a powerful spirit called "Ussai Pindjángi" or "Ussai Mtchak" ("Iron Spirit") (Caió Interview 1, 1987). He gave a part of this spirit to each of the villages that his people founded. The descendants of these first settlers became the "owners of the land" in each of the villages, and belonged to an aristocratic clan called "Basásen". Thus, Dayóg established chiefdoms in all the villages he visited, and each aristocratic clan that governed a chiefdom had its own spirit of iron called Ussai Mtchak. Bassarel, the first stop south of the Cacheu River became the royal court and center of his kingdom.

The first settler in Caió from Dayóg's canoe was a man named Datchánki (Caió Interview 2, 1986). Dayóg brought Datchánki and his wife from the earlier settlement in Bassarel. The couple lived first in Lera where they had their first son, Ubássa. They left Ubássa there to found the Lera residential lineage and moved to the Mantchínkwe part of Pëtching Këtchákai, and then to Blei. There Datchánki and his wife had a second son, Sokón, who became the first chief maker (nÈlòmât, Mjc.). The couple then
moved to Kor Belabat where they remained. This became the royal court and Datchánki became the first Adjú Kor or Chief of the Court of Caió.

A third tradition is almost identical to the second, except for the claim that the villages which Dayóg visited on his journey already contained small populations (Caió Interview 1, 1987). Rather than bring along people with him from Karone, Dayóg named new chiefs from the occupants of each of the villages he visited. Dayóg named Datchánki as the first chief of Caió and founder of the aristocratic Basásen.

All traditions of origin agree that there were six additional migrations that followed the Basásen: Basó, Bayíg, Baféi, Basáfim, Basétu, and Batát (Caió Interviews 1-2, 1986-87). The origins of these migrants are vague, but once in Caió, each group of migrants formed a matriclan, requested land from the Basásen rulers, and founded its own spirit shrines and agricultural rituals. These later clan migrations together with the Basásen founders made up the seven matriclans of Caió.

Caió traditions recognize a close affinity, if not common origin with the Djola. Though many Djola groups claim to have always lived in the lower Casamance, the traditions of some Djola groups (e.g. Diola of Karone, Esulalu, and Djougoutes) also describe associations with the Manjaco (Baum, 1987: 68). These Diola traditions (Baum,
1987: 68) state that the ancestors of the Diola came from the area presently occupied by the Manjaco located south of the Cacheu River. Baum hypothesizes that the Diola left their homeland and crossed the Cacheu River north to the Casamance because of pressure from a westward expansion of neighboring peoples like the Manjaco (1987: 68). The Diola also claim that many of their most important spirit shrines originated in the Cacheu Region and suggest that the Diola Esulalu priest-king shrine (coeyi) and the institution of the Diola Huluf priest-king (oevi) itself are also of Manjaco origin (Baum, 1987: 73). Enigmatically enough, the early migrations documented in Manjaco and Diola oral traditions followed inverse directions: the Manjaco claim to have come from Diola territory and the Diola claim to have come from Manjacoland. Possible interpretations of this enigma are provided in Chapter IV.

The Origins of the Pantufa

Located between the Manjaco chiefdom of Pelundo and the Mankanya chiefdom of Co, Pantufa mostly remained outside the jurisdiction of either, and at various times its inhabitants have considered themselves to be either Manjaco or an ethnic group in their own right. The only Pantufa family that still occupied that settlement in 1986-7 believed that Pantufa were originally Manjaco who had intermarried
extensively with Mankanya of Co and Bula (Pantufa Interview 1, 1987).

The Mankanya traditions (Mankanya Interview 1, 1988), on the other hand, assert that the people who settled Pantufa were transgressors who were expelled from the Mankanya chiefdoms of Co and Bula. They were people who had committed secular crimes, or were accused of witchcraft and sought refuge in remote Pantufa to avoid punishment for their crimes. Since sterility was a basis for divorce, "barren" women also fled to the new settlement. In Pantufa they were granted both secular immunity and protection against avenging spirit contracts aimed at eliminating the transgressors and their offspring. Some settled as individuals, while married fugitives brought their spouses and children. Over time, the Pantufa intermarried with their Manjaco neighbors, especially from Pelundo, and for this reason claim to be Manjaco in origin.

Summary

All of the traditions of origin described here document population movements of various scales. Many of these migrations may have been due to factors inherent in the structure of coastal and savannah-woodland societies. Social norms and ecological conditions that favored expulsion over subjugation as the principal means of eliminating serious wrong doers or social marginals contributed to the
population shifts, as the Pantufa traditions demonstrates. The Caió traditions imply that the quest for hunting grounds or cultivable lands was another motive for population movements. Caió traditions describing the Diola origins of the Bái aristocratic clan may in fact refer to Diola conquest, or the introduction of an important technological innovation, such as iron smelting or dike building, that transformed production and social relations in the province. Baboi oral accounts are unclear about causes, but judging from comparative oral traditions of the Cassanga and Banyun, it would appear that conquest and expansion by eastern Empires may have provoked the migrations of savannah woodland peoples towards the coast. Such motives for migration should be kept in mind throughout this study of three territories that provided sanctuary to newcomers in the Cacheu Region.

**Fulbe and Mande Expansion**

The influence of Sahelian culture on coastal peoples is a theme which runs throughout the cultural history of the Guinea-Bissau Region. For the sake of clarity, the section will deal exclusively with the period (300 B.C. to 1446) before Portuguese discovery, and will focus on pre-colonial institutions and their early relations with the Mande and Fulbe.
From the third century B.C., the relatively well organized states of the Western Sudan began to exert pressure on surrounding groups which led to population drifts towards the coast. The autochthonous peoples of the Cacheu Zone appear to have once occupied a much larger area and to have gradually been pushed westwards to coastal areas during the westward expansion of the Mali Empire from the 14th through 17th Centuries and, to a lesser extent, of the Songhay (15-16th Centuries), and Tekrur (19th Century) Empires. By 1456, people who called themselves "Mandinga" were already on the Atlantic Coast at the Gambia estuary (Cadamosto in Rodney, 1970: 15), and by the early 16th century they could be found on the middle and upper reaches of the Casamance, Cacheu, and Geba Rivers (Fernandes, 1510) 1951: 36, 44, 58, 68).

Although the effect of the Fulbe on coastal parts of the Guinea-Bissau Region was more ephemeral than that of the Mandinga, one group of Fulbe warriors actually passed through the Cacheu Region in the late 15th Century. Between 1481 and 1495 Coli Tenguela, a Fulbe warrior-king who liberated the Futa Djallon from the rule of a Mandinga King under the Emperor of Mali, crossed through the coastal zone on his journey from the Futa Djallon (Mota, 1952: 59). His army was reportedly so large that it was able to fill the Gambia River with rocks to allow the crossing of the entire army, livestock, baggage, and hives of bees that they used
as weapons (Almada, (1954) 1964: 52). As an early Portuguese explorer wrote,

This was a terrifying army. Never was another of equivalent size seen among these nations, destroying and laying waste to everything, passing through the territory of the Mandinga, Cassanga, Banyun, and Buramo, a distance of more than 150 leagues, until they came to the Rio Grande, the country of the Beafada, where the Fulbe were defeated (Almada, (1954) 1964: 52-3).

Few traces of this Fulbe incursion remain. The Mandinga, in contrast, appear to have had a much more lasting influence, at least on some coastal and savannah-woodland peoples surrounding the Cacheu Region and Buramo territory. Because of traditions of origin from the east and the early presence of "Mandinga" in the Guinea-Bissau Region, many historians have assumed that the Upper Guinea Coast was physically invaded by Mandinga warriors. But Wright (1985) and a growing number of scholars working in other parts of Africa (Miller, 1980; Beidelman, 1970; Vansina, 1974; MacGaffey, 1978; Mark, 1985: 19; Harms, 1979; Henige, 1982: 90-96), suggest that many of these oral traditions are symbolic explanations for a gradual process of cultural transferral, rather than the actual records of definite mass migration, widespread conquest, or local settlement. In short, the only real "Mandinga conquest" consisted of disjointed movements of small groups of Mande-assimilated peoples and individual Mandinga traders and blacksmiths. Nonetheless, the impact of these outsiders on the peoples neighboring the Cacheu Region was decisive.
The "Mandinga" found near the coast in the 1500's were most likely coastal and savannah-woodland peoples of minimal or no Mande stock, who, after prolonged contact with the Mandinga traders and their families, had become assimilated to their religion, culture, and ethnic identity. The majority of the assimilated peoples in the Guinea-Bissau Region were probably the "Eastern Senegal-Portuguese Guinea speaking" peoples and a small eastern section of the Bak-speaking Balanta, inhabiting the north-south strip to the east of the coastal Djola and Buramo. As these people increasingly identified with the complex and "culturally superior" newcomers and "disidentified" with their former ethnic affiliations, the growing Mandinga presence near the coast was less a physical and demographic conquest than a social transformation of the peoples living to the west.

Over the centuries, this assimilation among savannah-woodland peoples took the form of linguistic changes (e.g. Banyun (Lespinay, 1987: 28), Djola (Doneux, 1978: 17)), new ethnic mixtures (e.g. the Balanta Mané (Betxá) a mixture of Balanta and Mandinga, and Mansoanca (Sua) or Cunante, a mixture of Balanta, Mandinga, and Soninke (Silva, 1911; Pimentel, 1927)), and the partial Islamization of formerly non-Islamic groups (e.g. Cassanga, Badjaranke, Nalu, Beafada, and Mansoanca (Suín or Sua)).

The peoples of the Cacheu Region, however, were mostly indirectly affected. Not only did the savannah-woodland
peoples absorb the mass of the Mande expansion, but some of the people neighboring the Cacheu Region, such as the Balanta and Djola, were particularly effective shields. Both ethnic groups were renowned for their impenetrability, their expertise in defensive warfare, and their resistance to becoming heavily engaged in the slave trade (Coelho, (1684) 1953: 166; Rodney, 1970: 32, 105, 109-110; Gray, 1940: 179; Bérenger-Féraud, 1879: 292). With these peoples bordering the east and north, the possibility of Mandinga incursion on the coastal Buramo was almost completely eliminated. Furthermore, as the littoral forest peoples became more and more concentrated along the coast, the inaccessible terrain and diseases of the forests and marshes afforded them further protection. Mandinga and Fulbe who relied on large livestock, such as horses, cattle, and sheep, had difficulty maintaining these supplies of wealth in the trypanosomiasis-infested forest zone.

**Economy**

The earliest ties between the coast and interior were commercial. For centuries Mandinga and Fulbe traders linked the coastal Banyun-Bak and Beafada-Sapi trade networks to trans-Saharan routes (Brooks, 1987: 277-8). The Bak-speaking peoples of the coast exchanged salt, dried fish, mollusks, palm and forest products including kola for savannah-woodland and savannah products, such as iron, iron
manufactures, cotton textiles, gold, and luxury goods of the Mandinga and Fulbe peoples.

Participation in a common system of rotating markets was the means by which Buramo goods from the Cacheu Region were exchanged for products circulating in Banyun-Cassanga and Beafada trade networks. Among the Buramo, Cassanga, Banyun, and Beafada, on each of six successive market days, the market moved to a different village, returning full-circle on the seventh day to the first market place to recommence the rotation (Fernandes, 1951: 74; Almada, (1594) 1964: 70, 83). In some areas of the Cacheu Region, the names of the days of the six-day week were derived from the names of the villages where the market was held on that day (Personal Communication: Gable, 1987a) and even among peoples who did not assign names to market days, most of them continued to reckon time in relation to this six day week. Several smaller, localized market cycles were linked together on the market day of larger villages, and the more important centers attracted several thousand buyers and sellers from distances of up to sixty miles (Rodney, 1970: 32). In this way hundreds of small, inter-linked market cycles provided the framework for regional trade (Hodder and Ukwu, 1969) extending from the Casamance River into Beafada territory south of the Geba and Corubal Rivers.

As the Sahel became drier (1100-1500 A.D.), Mande-speaking traders and blacksmiths expanded westwards to the
better-watered savannah-woodland and forest zones (Brooks, 1986: 52). By the mid-fourteenth century, the Mandinga had gained control over the savannah-woodland Cassanga-Banyun and Beafada-Badjaranke trade routes (Brooks, 1987: 282-3), but forest and coastal entrepreneurs denied these traders direct access to the coast and to important areas of kola nut, malagueta pepper, dried fish, and salt production (Brooks, 1986: 52). The Bak-speaking Buramo, Balanta, and Djola like other inhabitants of the coastal-riverain zone, thus managed to maintain a certain autonomy in both production and trade.

Local Politics

Because contact between Sahelian cultures and the coast long antedated the first written records, it is difficult to determine to what extent the earliest documented coastal institutions were indigenous to the Region or the products of contact with the Sahel. The cultures and political systems of the Cacheu Zone appear to have been only indirectly affected by the Mande expansion.

Despite a single ethnonym, "Buramo", the territories of the Cacheu Region exhibited considerable variation in political and social organization. This variation was due to the relative isolation of small, dispersed forest communities and to the different immigrants in each area, already described in Baboi oral traditions. The way in
which coastal societies assimilated newcomers and the effect of these migrants on the social structures of the peoples in the Cacheu Region are discussed in the next chapter. At this time, I will attempt to document some of the many political forms found by the earliest explorers.

Some territories (chaos, Kr.) of the Cacheu Zone appear to have been unstratified, and governed by councils of elders, such as in Churo (Carreira, 1947a: 26), while others were subjugated by complex hierarchical states, such as the Cassanga Kingdom whose ruler paid tribute to a chain of other rulers linking him to the Mali Empire. However, the most common form of territorial organization in the Cacheu Region was that of the small semi-hierarchical petty chiefdom.

Each petty chiefdom had a specific territory (tchon, Kr.), and in many cases, different aristocratic lineages with distinct rules of descent and succession (Coelho (1669) 1953: 36-9, 145-65; Bocandé, 1849: 337-343). The kin and political organization of Caió, consisting of one aristocratic and six commoner matriclans, was almost identical to that of the Buramo (Manjaco) on the Islands of Pecixe and Jeta, and the Buramo (Papel) on the Island of Bissau. In Bassarel, the rules of succession appear to have been ambil ineal (Personal Communication: Gable, 1987a). In Pantu fa and in the Mankanya chiefdoms of Co and Bula, aristocratic patrilineages provided the chiefs. Comparative
material and a more detailed examination of two political systems, the petty chiefdoms of Caió and Caboi, illustrate the complexity and diversity of political forms in the Region during this period.

The Chiefdom of Caió

Of all the provinces of the Cacheu Region, the inhabitants of the petty chiefdoms of Caió and of the Islands of Pecixe and Jeta most closely resembled those of the Island of Bissau, to whom they were linguistically related (see Table 1). Among all coastal Buramo including the Papel, chiefs were chosen from a provincial aristocratic matriclan known as "Basásen" (Mjc.) or "Nasásen" (Ppl.). The coastal Buramo also shared five of the six remaining commoner matriclans of Basó, Bayíg, Basétu, Basáfim, and Batát. Regular features of many of these political systems included rotational succession between maximal lineages (e.g. Caió) or chiefdoms (e.g. Indafe and Pintampil in Pecixe), chiefmakers, the ownership of large tracts of land by aristocrats, and regalia of a broom and shrine to an iron spirit.

In Caió, the aristocratic Basásen were divided into four maximal lineages (ikánda, Mjc.; kabás, Kr., "calabashes"), among which the office of chiefship rotated (Caió Interview 3-6, 1986-87). A chiefmaker (n@lóm@t, Mjc.), the eldest son of the former chief who was born in the royal court (Kor
Belabate, Mjc.), consulted spirits, ancestors, and the people of Caió in order to select the chief from among eligible candidates. Each candidate gave gifts to the chiefmaker to persuade him to decide in their favor. The chiefmaker sent a messenger to notify the public and candidates of his choice, and to deliver a broom (bikil, Mjc.), the symbol of power and order, to the new king. The chiefmaker himself did not appear in person, because of the danger that unsuccessful candidates who had given lavish gifts might attempt to kill him (Caió Interview 4, 1986).

Upon accession to office, the chief, chiefmaker, and chiefmaker's eldest son (nagák, Mjc.) were granted rights to the headmanship of a residential lineage compound: the chief ruled over the royal court "Kor Belabat", the chiefmaker presided over the residential lineage "Belómat," and nagák had rights to the residential lineage "Pegák". Each was also entitled to specific agricultural lands and to corvée labor of all but a few of the residential lineages during one day of each phase of the agricultural cycle. In addition, the incumbents of each of these offices had the privilege to appoint a lieutenant or "security guard" (nadján, Mjc.) to oversee their affairs during their absence.

As in Caió, the Buramo of the Island of Bissau were divided into seven chiefdoms: Biombo, Tor, Cachete, Biamata, Safim, Antula, and Bissau. The chiefdom of Bissau
was larger than the others and was the seat of a King, to whom all the other chiefdoms were vassals. The chiefs also had sacred authority demonstrated by the fact that when one of the chiefs died, subjects were killed and buried with him (Coelho, (1669) 1953: 40). The most celebrated example was the funeral of King Mahana of Bissau in which over a one year period, 104 men, women, and children sang, danced, and drank until they were slain to accompany the king to the afterlife (Coelho, (1669) 1953: 40-41).

The Chiefdom of Caboi

The Banyun and Cassanga were also organized in petty chiefdoms and kingdoms. In the late 16th century, the Banyun Kingdoms of Fogny and Gereges covered large areas on the south shore of the Gambia. Like the Buramo, the Banyun were ruled by kings and a set of nobles known as "Jagara" (jágra, Kr.).

The Cassanga Kingdom represented one of the better documented early political systems of the Upper Guinea Coast. In 1594, the "Casa Mansa" or King of the Cassanga, held his court in Brikama on the south bank of the Casamance River, and governed over a territory which extended to the Cacheu River and was inhabited by Cassanga, Banyun, and Djola (Almada (1594) 1946: 63). When a Casa Mansa died, his successor was chosen from among his brothers, sons, or nephews in the royal house by "the captain of the slaves of
the late king" (Almada, (1594) 1946: 68). Occasionally this new ruler could assume office only by force of arms.

Like his Buramo counterparts, the Cassanga ruler was a sacred king with both a spiritual and economic base of authority (Brigaud, 1962: 177; Baum, 1987: 54). Typical of sacred kings in other parts of Africa, the incumbent had to spend a year in a thicket before assuming office. When he ate in public, the Casa Mansa was secluded behind white woven cloths, and when he ate at his court, he dined alone or with white visitors, serving the first food to nobles, who may have had the role of poison tasters (Almada (1594) 1964: 67-8). The Cassanga king also seemed to have had control over ritual means of adjudication, such as the poison ordeal and the carrying of the corpse (Almada (1594) 1964: 65-7). This ritual authority, along with his law that anyone who fell from a palm tree and died was a witch, afforded the king ample opportunity to extort property from his subjects (Dinis, 1946: 214).

Oral histories (Caboi Interviews 2 and 4, 1986) about the chiefship of the Baboi, who were related to the Cassanga, reveal a number of close parallels with Cassanga political organization. The Baboi had a sacred or "red chiefship" known as fanám fangób (Gu.) that resembled the Cassanga kingship in a number of respects. To an outsider it might seem that the slaves or "soldiers" of the chief of Caboi, like those of the Casa Mansa, were responsible for
selecting the successor. In reality, for the incumbent to assume power, soldiers of the late chief, who constituted their own residential lineage Sáfu Bissele, had to perform a ritual (bafúgu, Gu.) involving the sacrifice of a cow to the spirit of the chiefship (djenyú faném fangó b, Gu.). The soldiers arrived at the incumbent’s home at twilight, placed a cord around his neck, and forced him to walk in the bloody tracks of the sacrificed cow as it was dragged to the chief’s court in Katůnku, Bissele (Caboi Interviews 2 and 4, 1986). Before he could reside at the royal court, the chief had to live in the woods for six days, hunting for his food and stealing drinking water from a carefully guarded well belonging to the Manjaco of Churo (Caboi Interview 5, 1986). During this seclusion, the chief was presented with his regalia of office described below.

Among his "soldiers", the Caboi chief had a special body guard, equivalent to the Cassanga "captain of slaves" known as ube bándara (Gu. "the one who stays behind him") who served as his emissary in peace negotiations with the neighboring Manjaco of Churo (Caboi Interviews 2 and 4, 1986). The soldiers waited on the chief in his home and walked behind him when he travelled, showing their support. They were responsible for announcing and executing the chiefs orders, particularly on the days that all the Baboi were required to clear the forest and cultivate his fields. Because the chief could only drink when his 10 liter
calabash was full, his soldiers accompanied him everywhere to make sure that the container was perpetually brimming with palm wine and to taste the wine for him.

Despite the soldiers' role in summoning the incumbent to the chiefship, these officers were not in fact responsible for selecting the chief. The selection was done divinely by the spirit of the chiefship, dienvú, fanám fangóh, who would signal its choice by making everything the incumbent touched turn red. Oral histories report that once the spirit "caught" the incumbent, the palm wine that he tapped would flow out red and the food that women cooked for him would become covered with blood. After the selection, the candidate often became sick, or inadvertently began to walk in a distinct manner. Only after the ritual of bafúgu would the chief's tactile habits return to normal. A similar form of divine selection also called the "red chiefship" or "red power" (pisínu pudjúnkul, Mjc. of Churo) appears to have existed among the Manjaco of Churo, despite administrative accounts claiming that the people of Churo had no chiefs (Carreira, 1947a: 26). Indeed, the multivocal symbolism of the color red as signifying power (i.e. menstruation, life) and danger (i.e. death) also plays an important role at funerals and other rituals throughout the region.

However, the divine selection of the Baboi chief was not entirely arbitrary. Only adult male members of five Baboi lineages were eligible for candidacy. The spirit’s
selection of chiefs rotated successively between the pure Baboi lineages of Katünku, Belimbo, Sakán, Bóndinga, and Bassand (see Appendix I). A special emblem made of palm cord, a broom, a sword, and a red shirt, woven skirt, and hat were the regalia associated with the chiefship. The chief’s wife also had to wear red. Upon showing his regalia, the chief could claim any produce or livestock he desired.

Like the Cassanga King, the chief of Caboi was also a divine ruler and was obliged to follow numerous ritual prohibitions. The incumbent’s most junior Iboi wife accompanied him to the royal court. The senior wives could visit him, but had to raise their children back at his residential lineage and maintain residence there. If the candidate was unmarried at the time of accession to office, he was given a young Iboi girl (gibés banéu, Gu.) who was reared in his household, taught to cook, and eventually became his wife. In either case, this wife accompanied the chief on all travels because he could only eat the food that she cooked. Like the Cassanga king’s habit of first distributing his food to the nobles before eating, the soldiers tasting his palm wine and this dietary restriction on the Baboi chief may have decreased his chances of being poisoned by dissatisfied subjects or envious rivals. The proximity of the sacred chief to his wife had a contagious effect, for after his death she was forbidden to remarry or have sexual
relations with other men because, through the "red chiefship" she too had become bloodied and such relations would kill normal men.

To mark the beginning of his reign, the Chief of Caboi performed a lavish ritual in which a cow, a goat, and numerous chickens were sacrificed. All his subjects danced together and helped to build his hut. The hut had to be situated some distance from other homes in the court of Katûnku because it was forbidden for the chief to see the red cloths of funerals and the blood of death. The chief acquired the forest lands of his predecessor at his accession to office and these were cultivated by the corvée labor of his subjects.

As among other peoples with the institution of the "sacred chieftainships" (Feely-Harnik, 1985; Huntington and Metcalfe, 1979: 121-175; Heusch, 1985; Kopytoff, 1987), the ritual of accession to office marked the social death of the human incumbent and the birth of the sacred Chief of Caboi, the symbol of the body politic. After the incumbent left his residential lineage to assume office at the royal court, his family remained behind performed his funeral rites and mourned him. In contrast, when the chief died biologically, no tears were shed, but as a symbol of the body politic, his corpse and soul oracle were wrapped in white funeral cloths, and he was buried seated like a blacksmith. Unlike his subjects whose funeral shrouds were red, the Baboi chief
entered the world of the dead swaddled in white, a symbol of sacred, unearthly divinity. The association of white with royalty was a feature which also characterized the Cassanga King in the late 16th century and Balanta Mané chiefs in the 19th century (Bocandé, 1849: 347). Another account (Caboi Interview 5, 1986), perhaps referring to earlier practices, alleged that the chief was not buried at all, but rather that his corpse was placed on an old wooden door, drenched in salt water, and then bound to the door with the hide of the cow that had been sacrificed at his ritual of accession to the chiefship.

Within six days of the burial, the residential lineage of the chief had to carve a new canoe and fill it with a dog, chickens, millet, sorghum, rice, prestigious "white people" liquors (e.g. rum and brandy), and a rooster (Caboi Interviews 2, 4, and 5, 1986). The corpse tied to the door was also placed in the canoe (Caboi Interview 5, 1986). Before setting the vessel adrift in the Cacheu River, the lineage had to sacrifice a goat and offer libations of palm wine at the chiefship shrine, djenyú fanám fangób (Caboi Interview 2, 1986). As it passed the town of Cacheu on its journey to Biânga, the land of the dead, the river peoples especially Djola and Manjaco would recognize it and know that the Chief of Caboi had died (Caboi Interview 2, 1986). If any ritual objects were not available in Caboi, the rooster would crow as it approached Cacheu, and important
personages there would recognize this signal and fill the canoe with the missing items (Caboi Interview 5, 1986). Then the canoe was again released and the soul of the Chief of Caboi floated slowly to its final destination where it was welcomed by the ruler of the next world. The deaths of Iboi children that occurred around this time were blamed on the deceased chief who was said to have secretly stolen the souls of the boys and girls he trusted during his lifetime so they could accompany him to the world of the dead, leaving their corpses behind.

Like the Cassanga shrine associated with nomination of the king (Bocandé, 1849: 314), the Baboi shrine to djenvú fanám fangób was located outside of the royal court near a water source. The chief, like the spirit of the shrine, brought rain and fertility to the land. Both symbolized order and prosperity.23

Comparison

The semi-hierarchical political organization, commoner and aristocratic clans and royal "red" lineages described in the two cases above sharply distinguished the peoples of the Cacheu Region from their apparently acephalous neighbors, the Djola and the Balanta. The Balanta, in contrast, were governed by residential compound and village elders who were economically undifferentiated from the rest of the population (Alvares, 1616; Fernandes, 1951: 60; Rodney, 1970: 29).
At various times, the Djola exhibited a diversity of political forms including kings and sacred chiefs, although recent authorities most often described them as egalitarian with families as the sole effective social and political unit (Thomas, 1959: 204; Thomas, 1972; Linares, 1987: 128; Mark, 1985: 7; Baum, 1987: 347). However, the earlier records from the 16th century implied that at least in some parts, Djola political organization was not unlike that of their Cassanga, Banyun, and Buramo neighbors. One particularly powerful Djola king, known as "Mansa Falup" ruled over a coastal area which extended roughly from the Casamance to the Cacheu Rivers and received one-fourth of the property of his subjects in taxes (Fernandes, (1510) 1951: 63-65; Baum, 1987: 84, 96; Thomas, 1959: 203-4).

Although there were no restrictions on who attended his evening meal (Fernandes, (1510) 1951: 63-65), one scholar suggests that the King's habit of drinking palm wine all day and eating only in the evening may have been a ritual restriction associated with the kingship (Baum, 1987: 83). Like other rulers in the region, the Djola King may also have had some claim to a sacred charter.

Several scholars (Rodney, 1970: 111; Baum, 1987: 51, 56; Brooks, 1987: 288) have made two assumptions about the relationship between coastal and Mandinga political systems. One has been that the Mandinga politically dominated the peoples of the Cacheu Region and Casamance, the Balanta,
Buramo, and Cassanga-Banyun, because several of their rulers paid tribute to Mandinga provincial governors or Farims linking them to the Mali Empire (Almada, (1594) 1964: 70; Fernandes, (1510) 1951: 61; Pereira, 1956: 69; Labat, 1728: 189-94). While this might have been true of the Beafada and Cassanga (Mota, 1954a: 155), the precise nature of this subordination among other ethnic groups is unclear and may have been exaggerated. It is probable that the Mandinga took advantage of local political hierarchies wherever they existed and wherever they were able to impose their system of tribute that nominally constituted Mandinga "rule". The hierarchical structure of the Cassanga Kingdom, for example, may have lent itself to nominal conquest, by facilitating the collection of taxes and the payment of tribute to an outside ruler, while preserving the relative autonomy of the subjects of the King, such as the Djola, Banyun, and other Cassanga. In essence, Mandinga domination over many of the peoples of the Cacheu and Casamance Regions may have been symbolic and economic rather than absolute and political.

A second assumption (Lobban and Forrest, 1988: 88) has been that aspects of political and social institutions that are common to both Mandinga and coastal peoples are derived from the Mandinga. Among these, rotating succession to office, stratified political organization, the Cassanga practice of having royal slaves serve as counselors to the ruler, and even the broom and red hat of office have all...
been ascribed to Mandinga origin. The attribution of social institutions and symbols of authority to Mandinga origin assumes diffusion from the more complex, centralized, and specialized political structure of "evolved" Mande or Sahelian "civilizations" to the "lesser developed" semi-hierarchical political organization of the Cassanga. The assumption reflects a tendency to deny traditional complexity, internal evolution, or innovation.

However, parallel organizational forms do not always share common origins and are not necessarily causally related. In fact, the extensiveness of many of these practices suggests that their origin predated Sahelian influences and belonged to a regional complex that included many pre-Mande societies. Not only were semi-hierarchical political organizations and aristocratic clans usually called jágra or jagara (Kr.) common among Banyun, Buramo, Beafada, and Bijago since the earliest writings of Europeans who visited the area (Almada, (1594) 1964; Fernandes, (1510) 1951: 70, 88, 128; Hawkins, 1980: 24; Carreira, 1947a: 104), but rotating succession, brooms, red hats, and other royal regalia were also found among the political systems of the Cacheu Region as well as of their coastal neighbors in Portuguese Guinea and Senegambia from an early date. Like the Baboi and Baió, six Cassanga families of Brikama each living in a different village successively furnished the king (Bocandé, 1849: 314). This form of succession was also
common among the 19th century Banyun of Jassi, Beafada, Fulbe, Soninke, Balanta Mané, and Mandinga (Bocandé, 1849: 335-50, 57-69) and 20th century Mankanya (Menezes, 1928: 18) and Manjaco of Caió, Pecixe, Jeta, and Pantufa. The bestowal of a red hat and broom at the acquisition of chiefly office were regular features of succession among the Buramo, Djola, Bijago, Balanta Mané; and Mandinga at the same time (Bocandé, 1849: 267-8, 335, 347).

Thus Caboi, Caió, and comparative data from the Cassanga, Beafada, Djola, and Balanta demonstrate that the petty chiefdoms of the Cacheu Region were part of a regional complex of semi-hierarchical political formations. Because some of these coastal peoples (e.g. Beafada and Cassanga) now call themselves "Mandinga" one might even argue that West Atlantic institutions provided a common underlying structure for Mandinga statecraft in this part of the Upper Guinea Coast, rather than the other way around.

Religion

In the period preceding colonial rule, the peoples inhabiting the coastal zone right down to Sierra Leone contracted with spirits known as xinas to resolve matters of honor, effect revenge, empower medicines and poison oracles, and sanction important oaths and alliances, while offering libations of liquor and oblations of food and sometimes iron
Priests were the intermediaries at many of these shrines. They wielded considerable power and appear to have been either selected from priestly lineages or by illnesses that were thought to mark a divine-calling (Caió Interview 7, 1987; Caboi Interviews 6-8, 1986-87). In some parts of the Cacheu Region, political and religious offices were held by a single individual as appeared to have been the case in Pantufa, where the chief was also the head priest at the major spirit shrine (Pantufa Interview 1, 1987). In other cases (e.g. Caió), the priests of the major spirit shrines may have originally been women who prohibited the entry of men to their sacred forests (Caió Interview 8, 1987).

In addition to priests, a number of other ritual specialists, including herbalists and diviners or jabacozes (djambakús, Kr.), assisted clients in the diagnosis and treatment of illnesses, the causes of death, and other misfortunes (Almada, (1594) 1964: 66, 76). As in other parts of Africa (e.g. Akan), the interrogation of corpses was also a common means of discovering the reasons for death, and witches were often implicated as causes (Almada, (1594) 1964: 66, 76; see Chapter V, Soul Oracle).
Islam

Despite the early Sahelian relations with the Upper Guinea Coast and a strong presence of Muslims along the Gambia River and in parts of the savannah-woodlands of Guinea-Bissau by the 16th Century, Islam did not become an important factor in the Casamance and Cacheu Regions during this period. Nonetheless, Islamic amulets, believed to provide spiritual protection to their wearers (gris gris) and resembling local "medicines", were appealing to many coastal peoples including the insular Bijago (Beaver, 1805: 201, 323-4). It is probable that Muslim diviners, who did not require conversion or even minimal adherence for consultation, also attracted a large clientele. The fact that the peoples of the Cacheu Region were heavily dependent on imports of liquor for consumption and ritual libations during the early years of trade with the Portuguese also suggests that Islamic doctrines against alcoholic beverages and pork had fallen on deaf ears.
COLONIAL HISTORY

Introduction

In the late 15th Century, the peoples of the coastal-riverain zone began to meet with newcomers from the West, arriving by sea from Europe. For centuries, this relationship was essentially economic and contact limited to the major waterways of the Cacheu Region. The town of Cacheu was one of the first areas discovered by the Portuguese around 1446 (Mota, 1972: 2), and from the 16th to the 18th Centuries, was a major collection point for embarkation of slaves. The numerous meanders interspersed with dense forest impeded serious Portuguese exploration of the interior beyond tidal estuaries through the mid-19th Century.

The Colonial Era can most conveniently be divided into four periods characterized by different economic and administrative relations with the Cacheu Region. In the first period (1446-1878), trade and especially "the slave trade" was the main reason for Portuguese interests in the Cacheu Region. Despite unsuccessful or tenuous attempts at more controlled or direct forms of administration, Guinea was in effect a dependency of the Cape Verde Islands, and Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese itinerant merchants (lancados, Prt.) were the basis of Portuguese claims. In the second period (1879-1915), "the decline of the slave trade" and the increase in peanut cultivation accompanied an increasingly
centralized administration and the establishment of a separate Governor in the Colony of Guinea. The year 1915 marks the date when the Portuguese finally successfully occupied the Cacheu Region after almost 500 years of presence. It also marks the beginning of a series of reforms, including taxation and the division of the colony into administrative zones governed by district officers. This period of effective "occupation" (1916-1960) was seriously undermined in the 1960's by the outbreak of guerrilla warfare. During this final phase, the "War of Independence" (1960-74), the Portuguese adopted tactical administrative strategies, while normal economic activities were disrupted. Colonial rule over the Cacheu Region ended with National Independence in 1974.

I will examine each of these four periods in turn focusing on administrative and economic relations with the metropole and socio-political developments within the region. To provide a comparative perspective, I will draw parallels wherever possible between the institutions of peoples of the Cacheu Region and those of neighboring groups. This section shows that the colonial presence in the Cacheu Region contributed to population movements that had already begun in pre-colonial times and offered new opportunities for emigration.
The Slave Trade (1446-1878)

Administration

The Portuguese presence in the Guinea-Bissau Region was somewhat precarious during the first 400 years of the colonial era. Not only was the crown forced to work through intermediaries whose interests were often at variance with its own, but even the most important Portuguese settlements along the coast had to pay tribute to African rulers. From the perspective of peoples of the Cacheu Region, Portuguese agents in this early period were insecure guests of African rulers and owed their presence to African hospitality rather than to any form of political supremacy. The diversity of intermediaries and administrative forms that characterized this period reflect the tenuousness of the Portuguese presence.

The Role of Cape Verde

Although the Portuguese experimented with a number of different ways to administer the Guinea-Bissau Region, for most of the time from its discovery in 1446 until it acquired an autonomous government in 1879, the area that is now Guinea-Bissau was a dependency of the Cape Verde Islands and seemed to be more a colony of Cape Verde than of Portugal (Clarence-Smith, 1985a: 43). The Portuguese found that the drier environment of the Cape Verde archipelago was more hospitable to them than the swampy coast. Before long,
the Cape Verde Islands, that had been unpopulated at the
time of discovery, became an important slave depot and port
of call for ships engaged in the Atlantic Trade along the
Upper Guinea Coast. The educated Creole offspring of white
male settlers and African slave women, who were more
resistant to African illnesses than the Portuguese them­s­
elves, made ideal intermediaries and administrators of
Portugal's less hospitable African territories.

**Unofficial Representatives: the Lancados**

From an early date, enterprising Portuguese and Cape
Verdean whites, many of Jewish or "New Christian" origin,
and their Afro-Portuguese descendants (*filhos da terra,
Prt.*) scattered themselves along the coastal estuaries of
the Cacheu region to trade (Silva, 1967: 20, 68; Barcellos,
1999: 83). Because most European commerce with the Upper
Guinea Coast was carried out through these settlers, this
special class of entrepreneurs became known as *lancados* and
tangomaos and were the basis of the Portuguese claims to the
area. The term *lancado* presumably comes from the Portuguese
word *lançar*, "to throw", suggesting that these "white"
residents had "thrown themselves" among the Africans (Silva,
1967: 16; Rodney, 1970: 74) or that they had been thrown out
of Europe as exiled Jews or deported convicts (*degredados,
Prt.*) (Lobban, 1979). *Tangomao*, meaning "outcast" in
Portuguese usage, apparently derived from the Temne/Sapi
word for the priestly lineage of initiation shrines
(tangomaas) (Lopes, 1944: 137; Hair, 1967: 54; see also
Carreira, 1972: 47-62) and denoted an assimilated African
who worked for lancados (Almada, (1594) in Silva, 1967: 52)
or a white trader who had gone so far as to adopt the local
religion and customs, and to have his body tattooed (Macedo,

Working through small scale and dispersed networks,
lancados concentrated their activities in port settlements
such as Cacheu, Bissau, and Bolama. They lived in huts,
"married" African women and, as privileged guests, were
partially integrated into riverain communities (Lavanha
(1626) in Faria, 1959: 365-6; Silva, 1967: 47, 54-6, 70;
Brosselard, 1889: 405). More acculturated to their African
surroundings than their counterparts in Angola and Mozam-
bique (Miller, 1988: 246), the wives and "Luso-African"
offspring of lancados in Guinea served as interpreters and
culture-brokers and were invaluable in extending trade into
the interior (Brooks, 1980a; Miller, 1988: 246).

Coastal trade was also facilitated by Africans, either
salaried or enslaved, who were called grumetes or ship hands
because many worked on sea vessels trading along the coast.
Grumetes were diverse peoples, mostly of Papel and Manjaco
origin (Beaver, (1792) 1805: 254-5; 322), who had partially
adopted Portuguese conventions, such as names, clothing, and
Christianity, and were employed in commercial houses,
shipping, and other occupations as domestic servants and laborers (Silva, 1967: 99-101). Most lançados and their auxiliaries communicated in a Portuguese-based creole, Kriolu (Kr.), spoken in the Cape Verde Islands, in the Casamance of Southern Senegal, and in the early Luso-African settlements in Guinea-Bissau.

Although lançados offered the peoples of the Guinea-Bissau Region an alternative source of trade goods, the relationship with their African hosts was not always amicable. Following a gradual degeneration of relations with Banyun hosts in Buguendo near Sao Domingos during the late 16th century (Almada (1594) 1964: 71-2, 76-7; Dornelas, 1525, cited in Rodney, 1970: 89), the main lançado settlement shifted its base in the 1580’s to the site of Cacheu on the south bank of the River. Cacheu, founded in 1588, was located in northeastern Buramo territory, in the sub-chiefdom of Mompatas subordinated to the Chiefdom of Mata (Almada, (1594) 1964: 73; Coelho, (1669) 1953: 34-36).

The Buramo hosts promised to protect the Portuguese traders, but instead stole their goods and even killed some of their new guests (Almada, (1594) 1964: 71-2). In 1588, on the pretext of protecting their settlement from pirates, the lançados asked Chapala, the Chief of Mata, for permission to erect a stockade on his land and persuaded him to let them build houses in the bulwark for the men who were to man the artillery (Almada, (1594) 1964: 72). As soon as the
fort was completed, the lancados immediately withdrew from Chapala's town to reside in the bastion (Almada, 1964: 72). Realizing that their guests were now protected against more than just pirates, the Buramo attacked the fort in 1590 but suffered serious losses (Almada, (1594) 1964: 72).

In their new fortress the lancados appeared to be independent from the whims of their hosts, and when the Portuguese and Buramo finally made peace, a few Buramo even moved their homes into the stockade (Almada, (1594) 1964: 72). But the lancados remained under Buramo control and on some occasions were treated almost like "slaves" by Buramo aristocrats (Guerreiro (1600) 1930-42: iii, 283). The main basis for Buramo power lay in the fact that the fortress, by some oversight in design, contained no internal water source. Lancados had to leave the stockade to obtain water from a stream a small distance away, leaving residents of the fortress vulnerable to Buramo attacks. When the Portuguese King Don Joao IV placed an embargo on Spanish ships calling in Guinea in 1640, the Buramo of Cacheu threatened to kill the white inhabitants of Cacheu and encamped near the fortress's water supply whenever ships were sighted to guarantee that free trade would be permitted (Corte-Real (1641), cited in Rodney, 1970: 129). Similar threats and warnings that the Buramo would close off the water supply and set fire to the fort if demands were not met were repeated in 1662. Even though the chief of Mata
exacted heavy tribute from the Portuguese for the presence of the fort (Guerreiro (1600) 1930-42: iii, 283) and for allowing trade with his territory, the northeastern Buramo never agreed to work on the extension of the fortress to encompass the water source or to assist in acquiring building materials from their territory (Rodney, 1970: 135-6).

Although in this early period the interests of lançados and the Portuguese crown seemed to be merged, in most cases their concerns were distinct. Lancados and their creole offspring sided strategically either with the crown or with African nobles in an attempt to increase their own profits and assure the security of their own goods rather than maintain the monopoly of the crown (Rodney 1970: 125-128). The dispersed settlements and small scale trading operations of lançados and tangomaos were almost impossible for the crown to regulate or tax. This difference in lançado and crown interests and the strained relations between foreign settlers and their African hosts made the Portuguese presence in the Guinea-Bissau region extremely precarious.

Official Representatives of the Crown

The Portuguese crown tried to maintain a monopoly over trade with the Upper Guinea Coast by commanding all ships that called in coastal ports to pay duties in the Cape Verde Islands on their return voyage to Europe. Portugal,
however, was too poor to supply the market as well as other foreign competitors and the Crown had too few representatives along the Upper Guinea Coast to guarantee that its orders be followed. Portugal frequently called upon the assistance of France and Britain to quell native rebellions in their territory (Barreto, 1938: 204).

**Captain Majors.** In 1614 while Portugal was under Spanish control (1580-1640), the crown finally sent its first royal representative after almost 170 years of Portuguese presence in the Guinea-Bissau Region (Rodney, 1970: 123). The captain major (*capitao-mor*, Prt.), who also functioned as royal administrator (*feitor*, Prt.) and justice of the peace (*ouvidor*, Prt.), was stationed in Cacheu and responsible for overseeing political, military, judicial, fiscal, and commercial affairs throughout the region (Esteves, 1988b). The captain major of Cacheu was the only official representative in the area until 1692 when a second captaincy was established in Bissau. Both were administratively subordinate to the governor in Cape Verde, though superior to the trading posts of Farim and Ziguinchor. For the most part, the power of the captain major was only nominal and he frequently had to disregard the injunctions of his sovereign and acquiesce to *lancado* demands for trade with all ships.

Communications between Cape Verde and its dependency were infrequent. During the entire period of colonial rule
only six governors posted in Cape Verde ever visited Guinea, despite an early decree (1653) that Governors were to visit the district at least twice every three years (Barreto, 1938: 102). Under these circumstances, it was almost impossible for the crown to check the activities of its representatives in Guinea and indeed by omitting important trade items from ledgers, many of the delegates ended up working for personal profit much like the lançados that they were supposed to control.

Trading Companies. One solution to the crown’s problem of securing profits from the "Rivers of Guinea" was for groups of merchants to lease exclusive trade rights to sections of the coast. To regulate customs duties, the Portuguese crown gave charters to small groups of merchants in the early 16th Century and to joint-stock trading companies in the late 17th and 18th Centuries, granting them exclusive trading privileges in ports like Cacheu on the Upper Guinea Coast (Rodney, 1970: 122-199). Enterprises like the "Primeira Companhia de Cacheu" (1676-1682) and "Segunda Companhia de Cacheu e Cabo Verde" (1690-1703) worked through the Afro-Portuguese network (Rodney, 1970: 207), but because the "factors" representing Portuguese interests in Upper Guinea were really agents of the holders of contracts, many of the traders avoided paying official duties. Thousands of slaves were sent from Cacheu to the Spanish Indies with only half of them being entered in the
books and hardly any being shipped via the Cape Verde Islands (Rodney, 1970: 123-124). In short, these poorly staffed and underfinanced trading companies were no better than the Crown at regulating the activities of *lancados* or establishing a Portuguese monopoly on commerce in Guinea (Rodney, 1965: 307-22).

The most important trading company was the Companhia Geral de Grao Pará e Maranhão which not only controlled trade in Cape Verde and Guinea from 1756 to 1777, but maintained the fort in Cacheu and built another in Bissau as it imported a sizeable labor force to the Brazilian States (Saraiva, 1947; Rodney, 1970: 246-7). Despite an unusually good endowment and substantial profits for stock holders from slaving, its contract expired and the company was liquidated.

**Creole Administrators.** During the first half of the 19th Century, commercial and political dominion of the Guinea-Bissau Region shifted from trading companies to the hands of prominent Cape-Verdeans and Guinea-born Creoles (Barreto, 1938: 235). A half-Italian half-African Cape Verdean-born merchant, Caetano José Nozolini (1801-1850), helped secure Portuguese alliances with the Bijago islands by marrying an influential woman of Cape Verdan and Bijago descent, named Aurélia (Barcelos, 1913: 225; Barreto, 1938: 206). Serving at various times as military commander and Governor (then entitled Sub-prefect) of Bissau, Nozolini,
his wife, and a number of his creole relatives made great profits during his tenure in office and were instrumental in the spread of groundnut cultivation.

Shortly afterwards, a Lisbon-educated Cacheu-born Creole, Honório Pereira Barreto (1812-1859), began his post as captain-major of Cacheu and Bissau which he governed between 1837 and 1859 (Ponte, 1953). By purchasing land, acquiring concessions from neighboring rulers, and reforming local administration and finances, he managed to secure written documents from Buramo, Djoia, Banyun, and Cassanga chiefs granting Portuguese rights over their territories in the Cacheu Region, Sao Domingos, and the Casamance. Prior to the mid 19th Century, Portugal had few official claims to its territory. The Creole administrators were responsible for Portugal's retention of Bissau, Bolama, Cacheu, and Ziguinchor. Even though France had already become the leading trading power in the Senegambia, the Portuguese crown acquired rights to land through Creole administrators and made it impossible for France to expand to this small section of the Upper Guinea Coast.

During the 19th century alone, Portugal experimented with a number of different administrative forms, making Guinea first a comarca of Cape Verde with its center in Bissau rather than in Cacheu (1834-1842), then dividing Guinea into two districts with separate governors in Bissau and Cacheu, both subordinate to Cape Verde (1842-1852), and
finally again making Guinea a single district with its capital in Bissau (1852-1878).

The easy shift between these various administrative forms and the diversity of the crown's claims to the coast through lançados, Captain-majors, trading companies, and creole administrators, reflect Portugal's extremely superficial control of its territory. Indeed it would be more accurate to say that during this early period, African rulers only tolerated the colonial presence and the relationship was one of African hosts and Portuguese guests rather than Portuguese political supremacy in the Upper Guinea Coast.

**Economy**

The trans-Atlantic trade offered coastal peoples a new source and diversity of goods from those that had been available through trans-Saharan trade. At the same time, the alternative supply gave new importance to coastal peoples as intermediaries with the interior (Rodney, 1970: 226). In the early years, particularly in the 15th and 16th centuries, the lançados were principally interested in gold which they hoped to acquire in exchange for iron, cloth, alcohol, weapons, salt, dyes, soap, horses, mules, trinkets, basins, beads, brass rings, small leather shields, and colored baskets ((Rodney, 1970: 186; Barreto, 1938: 67-68; Blake, 1977: 17, 44). Although the Upper Guinea Coast was
the second largest supplier of gold after the Gold Coast, the *lancados* soon learned that these supplies were limited, and began to concentrate on other items such as indigo and cotton from the savannah-woodlands, and ivory, salt, fish, ambergris, civet, hides and pelts, beeswax, camwood (*Baphia nitida*) gum, resin, soap, mats, palm oil, rice, millet, citrus fruit, and slaves from the forested coastal zone. Besides slaves, the major products of the Cacheu Region were rice, wax, and palm oil (Honório Barreto (1840) as cited in Barreto, 1938: 210).

**Trade in Slaves**

From the 16th through 19th centuries, slaves were the major export of the Cacheu Region and the commodity that had the most significant impact upon it. Between the 16th and 18th centuries, some 5,000 slaves were embarked annually from the port of Cacheu (Rodney, 1970: 95). Although this number may appear small compared to the amount of slaves exported from other parts of Africa, the effect of this trade in slaves is best understood when one considers that the population of the entire Cacheu Region was only 130,227 in 1979 (Departamento Central do Recenseamento, 1982a: 396). Clearly, only a small percentage of the slaves that were shipped from Cacheu port could have come from the Cacheu Region itself.
It was during the slave trade that the Portuguese and Sahelian Mandinga and Fula first formed a "silent alliance". Because the trade along the Upper Guinea Coast was generally dominated by the Mandinga, Portuguese and lançados attempted to trade directly with them to minimize the role of the coastal intermediaries, especially in the areas north of the Casamance River. But in the Cacheu Region itself, it was lançados who incited slave raids and most often collected and exported slaves directly from coastal raiders.

Although the physical environment afforded some protection to residents of the Upper Guinea Coast, the wide assortment of peoples along the Cacheu River and the many petty polities offered scope for intergroup raids, making the area a slave trader's paradise (Almada, (1594) 1964: 79, 83). This was especially so because of the presence of large slave markets in the territories of their Mande and Fula neighbors (Rodney, 1970: 110).

Raids occurred both within and between local groups. Aristocrats occasionally preyed upon underprivileged members of their own societies (Rodney, 1970: 117) and several Buramo chiefs were considered absolute despots because they could sell anyone from their territories as slaves, even the sons and grandsons of chiefs (Coelho, (1669) 1953: 40). The Buramo ruling classes had an implicit arrangement not to protest the sale of their own subjects to Portuguese buyers regardless of the means by which they were acquired (Rodney,
1970: 116). Many even collaborated with lancados in recapturing escaped slaves.

Of the coastal peoples, the Cassanga, Beafada, and Bijago were the most notorious slave raiders, while the Balanta were among the least involved. The Buramo and Djola participated somewhere between these two extremes, and more often than not preferred to ransom or keep the slaves themselves rather than sell them to European traders in port towns. In the Cacheu Region, raids were usually conducted by small neighboring villages, and especially by neighboring ethnic groups. Settlements along the borders of traditional territories were especially vulnerable to attack. Bijago, Papel, and Manjaco of Pecixe and Jeta raided the coastal Manjaco in the southern part of the Region, and Djola, Cassanga, and Banyun focused on the northern part. Many of these outlying settlements were forced to relocate away from the coast and waterways to the more protected forest (e.g. Calequisse, see Reis in Mota, 1947: 149). The settlement of Blei in Caiómete for instance, was located close to an estuary and had to be moved a few kilometers inland because of attacks from Djola of Boté. One sub-lineage of Sáfu Bissele in Caboi relocated to establish the residential lineage of Tchob because of constant raids by Manjaco of Churo.

Baboi oral traditions (Caboi Interview 9, 1987) describe slave raids (betchiga, Gu.) that continued until the early
20th century. Neighboring Buramo of Jol, Calequisse, and Churo stole Baboi children (rarely adult women or men) from their houses when their parents had gone to the forest to work, while Cassanga, Banyun, and Buramo of Churo were the most frequent victims of Baboi raids. Likewise, Manjaco of Caió (Caió Interview 9, 1987) raided Manjaco of Calequisse and the Costa de Baixo for slaves, and were themselves attacked by Djola from Boté and Manjaco of Pecixe. The slaves (pêetchik, Mjc.) were taken on foot to the port of Cacheu, by boat to the markets of the Cassanga King, or directly to visiting slave ships and sold to Creole traders.

Unlike the Djola who, among other strategies, ransomed slaves to acquire cattle (Linares, 1987: 115-118), the principal motive for Baboi raids was to replace lineage members who had been captured by outsiders. To this end, lineages organized raids and competed with other lineages to acquire the most hostages, those with large numbers of males having the greatest success. The captives, regardless of ethnic origin, were usually adopted into Buramo and Baboi lineages. In contrast, Baboi raids for slaves that were to be sold were usually organized by groups of friends of the same age grade rather than by lineages. The raiders took captives to the port of Cacheu and reportedly received one barrel of gunpowder per slave. The gunpowder was used to shoot a small cannon (gidi, Gu.) during funerals, rather than as ammunition for future raids. Participants divided
the profits from each raid and adopted those captives that could not be sold.

**Local Politics**

Until the mid-nineteenth century, foreign explorers showed familiarity only with chiefdoms located along the coast and waterways surrounding the Cacheu Region (Almada, (1594) 1964: 71-86; Coelho, (1669) 1953: 85-6; Labat, (1728): i, 52-5, v, 8-53; Beaver, (1792) 1805: 318-319).

For the most part, the only effective unit of political action was the petty chiefdom or province, but the authority of a chief or counsel of elders varied. At its extreme, a chief's authority was absolute (e.g. Pecixe), having the right to sell any of his subjects, including aristocrats, into slavery (Coelho (1684) 1953: 164). European merchants made it their job to know the lines of division between these political and territorial units so they could exploit these differences to provoke slave raids.

But the numerous chiefdoms and less structured provinces were not always divided. At various times, several Buramo provinces consolidated into larger political units. Preferring amicable rather than inimical relations with large political formations posing potential threats to the security of Portuguese establishments, European traders made these federations the focus of their diplomacy. In the 16th and 17th centuries, one Buramo kingdom spanning an undefined
area had its royal court in Farim (Almada, (1594) 1964: 71; Dapper, 1686 as cited by Duarte, 1951: 733). In the 19th century, the Buramo chiefdoms of Bissau, Intim, Antula, Cûmere, Chafi, Bijimita, Tor, Biombo, Prabis, Cuntum, and Bandim on the Island of Bissau formed a confederation to attack the Portuguese fortress in Bissau (Bocandé, 1849: 343). The Burné confederation, including the chiefdoms of Pecau (Mompatas), Cacanda, Biânga, and the sub-chiefdom of Capó, united under the paramount ruler of Mata, to defend their interests against the Portuguese in the 19th and 20th centuries. Numerous other confederations and alliances such as these formed and reformed over the centuries.

Most of the confederations were short-lived and appear to have been situational alliances rather than lasting political units. Their integrity was easily undermined by dissention among subordinate chiefdoms. One Dutch trader, in reference to the Farim-centered Buramo Kingdom that lasted for at least 90 years, epitomized the recalcitrance of several small islands at the mouth of the Cacheu river when he wrote:

> these islands are also inhabited by Buramo, who have their own Prince, and do not recognize the King of Farim at all, just as all the other Lords of the country (Dapper, 1686 as cited in Duarte, 1951: 733).

In essence, the pattern throughout the Cacheu Region was for several small chiefdoms and provinces to unite in war or in
relations with the exterior, and then to dissolve again as local concerns divided the allied factions.

The Manjaco Kingdom

Sometime in the late 18th Century, a new ethnic group distinct from the "Buramo" or "Papel" emerged in the Cacheu Region. The first reference to "Manjaco" or "Manjack" was made by the British Lieutenant Beaver in 1792 who placed them on the Island of Jeta off the southwest coast of the Cacheu Region (Beaver, (1792) 1805: 176, 194, 254-5; 319-320, 474-6). Unlike the Buramo who were "tolerably good looking... industrious, faithful people", the Manjaco were considered to be deceitful, lying, thieving, lazy, treacherous, ill-featured, and exceedingly revengeful (Beaver, (1792) 1805: 255, 320).

This new ethnic group was associated with the Manjaco Kingdom, an encompassing federation of provinces and petty chiefdoms governed from the province of Bassarel which had a decisive influence on the ethnic identity of the inhabitants of the Cacheu Region (Carreira, 1947a: 25-6, 113; Mota, 1954a: 147, 311-12; BOGP, 1911: 3; BOGP, 1928: 18). The kingdom appears to have evolved sometime in the late 18th or early 19th Century when several villages in the Costa de Baixo area, namely in the chiefdoms of Baboc and Bassarel, consolidated under a single king (Bocandé, 1849: 340-42).
The Manjaco kingdom gradually incorporated adjacent chiefdoms. In the first half of the 19th Century, the coastal chiefdoms of Pandim, Bugulha, Tame, Canhobe, Cajegute, and Caió, along the southern border of the Manjaco Kingdom, became politically independent from a confederation on the island of Bissau (Bocandé, 1849: 342) and joined the neighboring states of the Manjaco Kingdom (Debuissons, 1886: map; Brosseard, 1889: 406-7). The Manjaco Islands of Jeta and Pecixe took slightly longer to join this kingdom; until around 1890 the Islands remained autonomous and tended to unite in coalitions with Papel chiefdoms on the Island of Bissau, rather than with their northern neighbors (Bonvalet, 1893: 298; Bocandé, 1849: 353; Brosseard, 1889: 407). At its widest extent in the last decade of the 19th century, the Kingdom appears to have included the chiefdoms of Bassarel, Baboc (Costa de Baixo), Calequisse, Blequisse, Inhangabute, Catí, Timate, Mata de Ocon, Bó, Cajínjassa, Pandim, Pelundo, Bugulha, Canhobe, Tame, Caió, Cajegute, Indafe, Pintampil, Jeta, and the Mankanya chiefdoms of Jol, Co, and Bula (Carreira, 1947a: 112-4, 26). But by 1897, following a rebellion led by the chief of Pandim, the chiefdoms of Pandim, Pecixe, Caió, Bugulha, Canhobe, Tame, Bula, and Co, and possibly also Cajegute and Jeta, seceded from the Manjaco Kingdom reducing its expanse by almost a half (Carreira, 1947a: 117). The Kingdom dissolved entirely
during the Portuguese conquest of 1914 (Carreira, 1947a: 25-6)

Although the King in Bassarel had the power to exact tribute from its two subordinate chiefdoms in the 1840’s (Bocandé, 1849: 340-41), by the turn of the century, he had little more than nominal control over his territories and only received prestations from candidates seeking office (Carreira, 1947a: 113, 117). In some territories, the King appointed kin as chiefs, and in Blequisse his second wife served as Queen mother (Carreira, 1947a: 113-4), but most of the chiefdoms of the Manjaco Kingdom merely sought ritual confirmation for political candidates chosen entirely according to local rules of succession. Except for collecting prestations from aspirants and legitimizing the investiture of power through the transmission of a symbolic broom (bikil, Mjc.), rattle (usgi, Mjc.), and chunk of iron (mtchak, Mjc.) and, the King in Bassarel had little other contact with his semi-autonomous chiefs (Carreira, 1947a: 117; Caió Interviews 4, 6, and 10, 1986-87). In short, the Manjaco King had nominal and ritual rather than absolute authority over many of his vassal chiefdoms.

To my knowledge, six "regulados" or provinces in the region never became part of the Kingdom. These were primarily northeastern Manjaco inhabiting the provinces of Churo, Pecau, Mata, Cacanda, Biánga, as well as Boté and Caboi (Coelho, (1669) 1953: 36; Bocandé, 1849: 337-9) that
tended to form coalitions of their own, usually under the chief of Mata. Because of the ethnic and political independence of these small patrilineally-based ritual chiefdoms from the Manjaco Kingdom, the northwestern Manjaco were called "Papel" until well into the 20th Century.

The Foundation of Large Scale Political Formations

The petty chiefdoms of the Cacheu Region consolidated and separated over the centuries by a variety of means. At various times, sub-chiefs voluntarily allied themselves with neighboring rulers to strengthen detachments in warfare (e.g. Bissau), to increase their access to trade networks, particularly those supplied by European ships (e.g. Burné), or to fulfill ritual charters which established these kings as rightful rulers (e.g. Manjaco).

However, petty chiefdoms may not always have joined these confederations voluntarily. Some large political formations reported by the Portuguese may have been the product of unconfirmed, skewed reports by greedy kings or uninformed interpreters. Local political leaders could claim territories larger than the ones they actually controlled, and the crown had few ways of verifying this information, given the infrequent exploration of the interior. Even when there appeared to be some discrepancy between a King's real and presumed power, merchants and colonial officials, as tribute payers and guests in the
King's territory had little choice but to accept the information and remain in his good graces.

In other cases, one chief could gain supremacy over other rulers through European intervention. Portuguese Governors in the 19th century had the habit of choosing which among several chiefs would have a higher status and serve as their liaison to facilitate their dealings with local populations (Barreto, 1938: 217). On at least one occasion, the new supply of weapons from Europe also allowed aristocrats to gain supremacy over neighboring peoples (Cultru, (1685) 1913: 207-8). There is some evidence that Bassarel, the center of the Manjaco Kingdom, was also an important arms depot (Caboi Interview 10, 1987). Some of the resulting "kings" may have been little more than chiefs who had acquired an exaggerated importance because of their proximity to commercial establishments.

Kings could easily manipulate colonial support for personal ends. If a king claimed that a rebellion was underway and a subordinate territory needed to be put down, the Portuguese as his allies were forced to aid in this endeavor. By exploiting alliances with the Portuguese, kings could gain control of territories that had formerly remained outside of their political domain.
Religion

European travel accounts during the slave trade are filled with references to the religious practices of the peoples of the Guinea-Bissau Region. Important unwritten agreements between Africans and European traders and representatives were often based on oaths which were binding under customary law, and experienced traders learned to insist that contracts with Africans be sworn on some "medicine" (Rodney, 1970: 87-88).

For the security of their persons and property, lançados on the Cacheu River in the 16th Century performed an annual oath-swearing ritual with the Buramo and Banyun in which a dog was sacrificed and two chickens were made to sink to the bottom of the river by tying rocks to their legs (Almada, (1594) 1964: 84). Peace treaties between the Portuguese and Manjaco of Churo representatives in the 19th century were sanctioned by a grisly ritual involving a human sacrifice and then the swearing of oaths, sealed by the consumption of a beverage composed of human blood, eau-de-vie, bullets, flint, lance tips, and gunpowder (Bocandé, 1849: 338-9). An 1843 peace treaty between Buramo, Beafada, Balanta, and Portuguese residents in Bissau was more syncretic since the ritual beverage of alcohol, bullets, and gunpowder was not only mixed with native amulets, but also blessed with holy water by the Catholic parish priest (Barreto, 1938: 217).
Before any major undertaking, including plunder expeditions, the sale of land, the commencement of trade, or the initiation of contact of any kind, many of the peoples of the Guinea-Bissau region sacrificed and examined the entrails of roosters to determine the success of the enterprise, or to ascertain whether the motives of the visit were good or evil (Beaver, (1792) 1805: 338; Brosselard, 1889: 413; Labat 1728: 410). Accordingly, regardless of their personal beliefs, foreign traders and emissaries conformed to these basic ritual procedures to ensure their own well-being in the land of their hosts.

As among the Akan (Personal Communication: Middleton, 1990), it has been argued that witchcraft accusations increased during this period as a means for aristocrats to generate slaves (Rodney, 1970: 106). Indeed witchcraft, involving the consumption of enemies through illness and the transmutation of humans into beasts, was a common belief in the Guinea-Bissau region during the early colonial presence. But unlike the British, the Portuguese colonial government found it best not to interfere in these cases (Beaver, (1792) 1805: 177-8). Witches were identified by diviners (djambakú, Kr.), a poison oracle, or by an oracle involving the questioning of a corpse, and when left to be punished in "country fashion", suspects were usually either killed or sold, at times with their entire families, but never forgiven (Beaver, (1792) 1805: 177-8; Almada, (1594) 1964: 15...
Once discovered, witches preferred to flee their homes and take up jobs as grumetes under European protection rather than suffer punishment under customary law (Beaver, 1792 (1805: 177-8)). Witchcraft accusations provided an impetus to the slave trade, to emigration, and to the enlistment of grumetes as servants to Europeans and "converts" to Christianity.

**Christianity**

Although proselytism was a minor theme in the early colonial presence along the Upper Guinea Coast, the Portuguese overtly employed missionaries to further not only the Catholic faith, but also their economic interests (Rodney, 1970: 143). The captain major of Cacheu took advantage of the conversion of the Djola chief of Mata de Putama in 1663 to acquire a land grant for the construction of a new fort that would replace the one in Cacheu (Coelho, 1953: 256). In the late 17th Century, lancados threatened three Spanish Capuchins with hanging if they did not bless their slaving expeditions, and the parish priest of Cacheu complained that these missionaries focused on conversion rather than influencing commercial policies and were therefore useless (Rodney, 1970: 105, 143).

Many church representatives used their positions to accumulate personal profit. One cleric who visited Guinea in 1594 refused to grant absolution to people who confessed
to having had carnal relations with pagans, unless they first paid five cruzados in amends (Thilmans and Moraes, 1972: 36). Other priests were criticized for turning homes for indigent women into "public harems" and for spending all their time trading slaves rather than saying mass or fulfilling their other offices (Henriques (1793) in Rema, 1982: 229; Barreira (1606) in Thilmans and Moraes, 1972: 36).

Having sustained the longest and most intensive relations with Europeans, the coastal areas of the Cacheu Region were also the most heavily influenced by Christianity. The chiefs of Mompatas and Mata attended mass with some of their Buramo subjects, when a 16th Century Catholic priest heard Lenten confessions of a 700-800 person congregation consisting mostly of Europeans and Afro-Portuguese (Almada, (1594) 1964: 72, 74; Barreto, 1938: 87). In the 17th Century, two Catholic monks built a chapel named after Saint Anthony in Caboi (Faro (1664), 1945; Santiago in Vicente (1762) 1983: 38), and another existed in Pecixe where a Portuguese priest resided and performed baptisms (Laet, 1932: 197-8). The chiefs of Jeta and Cajegute also converted to Christianity, and although they took Portuguese names, and the latter allowed a church with a bell to be built in his territory, Christianity had become extinct in both places by 1684 for lack of instruction (Coelho, (1684) 1953: 164-5).
European visitors considered the "idolaters" to be ideal candidates for Christianity, but the Church had so few representatives in the Region that it was impossible to instruct the Cacheu peoples properly in the faith. Even the Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese lancados who professed to be devout Christians lived "in a state of sin" and depended heavily upon African religions because of the infrequency of visits from the Bishop to give services (Almada, (1594) 1964: 75; Corrêa, 1952: 9-10).

With such poor representation of the Church in Guinea, Catholicism was superficial and short-lived among the local populations. In contrast to the more important missioning efforts in other Portuguese territories (e.g. Kongo, see Thornton, 1984), on the rare occasion that a priest was present in the Cacheu Region, some chiefs took the opportunity to have all their subjects baptized. Spiritists were particularly impressed with the ability of Catholic clergy to speak directly with God in prayer, an act which was impossible with the distant High God of spiritism (Almada (1594) 1964: 74; Beaver, (1792) 1805: 201). But although these rituals were undoubtedly awe-inspiring, their results could hardly have been "conversion" in any comprehensive sense (Coelho (1684) 1953: 169, 179, 182). "Converts" wore Christian medals and scapulas side by side with Islamic amulets (Thilmans and Moraes, 1972: 50). Rather than constituting a change in moral attitudes, conversion to
Christianity was primarily a means of acquiring political support from the Portuguese, of having access to luxury goods, and of obtaining some of the spiritual power that was behind Portugal's material preeminence. 34

Islam

Like Christianity, the effect of Islam on the Cacheu Region was mostly superficial and indirect. Islam gained ground during the slave trade since it provided a doctrine which justified slave raiding and protected believers from sale (Rodney, 1970: 239). People who refused to pay tribute were regarded as "enemies of the faith" and were liable to be sold (Rodney, 1970: 239). The ritual use of wine and pork also conflicted directly with Islamic doctrines and made spiritists an easy target. As buffers between the Mandinga and the peoples of the Cacheu Region, the Balanta and Beafada felt the brunt of this policy and were forced to choose between accepting Islam or flight. Many Balanta Mané and Beafada converted to Islam both as "a screen and a shield" (Rodney, 1970: 239), while other inhabitants of the savannah-woodland and coastal areas chose to flee to remote areas, mostly in the protected coastal forests. It was in this indirect way, through the influx of people from the East and North, that Islam had its influence on the Cacheu Region. Despite the appeal of Koranic schools and of a few of the more Africanized aspects of Islam, such as gris
gris and amulets, the peoples of the Cacheu Region remained "entirely fetishist" (Beaver, (1792) 1805: 324; Bonvalet, 1896: 100). The region's impermeability to Islam nourished missionaries' hopes to win the "faithless" coastal peoples to Christianity.

**Emigration**

Throughout the early colonial presence, Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese traders and administrators were precarious guests on Cacheu soil. The greatest impact of these settlers was through the escalation of slave raiding which produced major population movements, as captives were shipped across the seas and as those who avoided capture sought protected places to settle. Some of the more isolated provinces of the Cacheu Region became havens for families fleeing slave raids.

The population of other provinces grew in size after successful slave raids and diminished when their residents were stolen. In isolated provinces like Caboi, Baboi organized raids for captives that proved to be an important way for lineages to continue to grow while maintaining the ideal of marriage within the ethnic group and upholding the incest taboo. The raids influenced population size, the ethnic stock of the provinces, and the location of residential lineages within Caboi.
In addition to forced migration provoked by the slave trade, by the end of the 18th Century the Buramo had begun to emigrate voluntarily to Bolama, Bissau, and other commercial centers in Guinea-Bissau, as well as to the Gambia, Senegal, and France to work as ship hands on merchant vessels, as salaried employees for European trading companies, and as farmers on groundnut plantations. The Buramo made ideal grumetes because of their honesty, industriousness, and loyalty and were frequently raised from infancy in merchants' homes (Beaver, (1792) 1805: 320, 322). By 1849, many Manjaco of Bassarel and Baboc had become rich after living for years in France and England, yet still returned to their home provinces in the Cacheu Region to retire and dress in goat skin breech clouts (Bocandé, 1849: 340-1).

Beyond the attempt to avoid being sold into slavery, there were several reasons why the Buramo in particular had a proclivity towards emigration. Overpopulation, a common reason for migration was unlikely in the Buramo case because of relatively low population statistics compounded by declining numbers due to slave raids. A period of drought (1630-1860) corresponded with the early migration, but the forested coastal region was probably among the areas least affected by the change in rainfall (Brooks, 1986: 55-58).

Undoubtedly adventure, novel trade goods, urban amenities, and new opportunities for employment attracted
migrants to port towns and other areas of European influence. Part of the appeal may also have been to discover the secret spiritual source of European technological power that made "all white man rogue...all white man witch" (Beaver, (1972) 1805: 200, 294-7).

Some dislocations, however, had specific political objectives, as was the case of one Mankanya migration initiated in the 18th century, in response to Cassanga pleas that the Buramo settle in their territory south of Sedengal to serve as a buffer against the expanding Balanta (Bocandé, 1849: 313, 363, 344). Political motives have also been cited as the cause for Manjaco migration, when subjects were supposedly forced to immigrate in order to pay tribute to a demanding king (Bocandé, 1849: 340). This second argument is somewhat facile since temporary migration would no longer have been necessary after the death of the demanding king and after the required tribute had been obtained during one or two journeys. A more plausible economic argument is that Buramo migrated because they did not or were unable to produce the commodities that lançados wanted and thus had nothing to barter for prestigious trade goods (Beaver, (1792) 1805: 385-6). The inhabitants of the northwest coast of the Cacheu Region resorted to looting Portuguese ships wrecked near their shores because all they had on their land was rice (Coelho, (1669) 1953: 39). Buramo migrated to other areas where they could cultivate cash crops and with
these purchase the clothing and finery they desired (Beaver (1792) 1805: 386).

Beaver (1805) does not reveal who the migrants were, but both his and Bocandé's accounts suggest that the emigrants were Buramo who did not control the forces of production and were thus unable to acquire the trade goods or generate the tribute they needed. As "owners of the land", it was the Buramo aristocrats who profited most from the tribute of Portuguese and lancado guests. Aristocrats also had the privilege of taxing trade in their territories and in this way controlled the major source of wealth and luxury goods (Coelho, (1669) 1953: 40). Furthermore, chiefs and their families were able to generate the most prized commodity, slaves, by manipulating laws and witchcraft accusations based on divination (Almada, (1594) 1964: 65-7; Coelho, (1684) 1953: 164; Rodney, 1970: 259-60). These factors all contributed to a growing disparity between aristocrat and commoner incomes.

Individual achievement appears to have always been a feature of the Buramo society. Unusual success and power were often attributed to the possession of hidden abilities, such as clairvoyance, or to the control of invisible spirits or "medicines". Even commoners could on occasion become wealthy through large families and productive lands. One of the few channels through which commoners could traditionally funnel their wealth to acquire prestige appears to have been
through the acquisition of titles in secret societies (see Chapter IV). Increasing economic disparities between commoners and aristocrats following the introduction of the trans-Atlantic trade may have led non-aristocrats to seek alternative sources of wealth through migration and direct association with traders. The fact that Buramo immigrants eventually spent their savings and retired in their homelands suggests that the titles in secret societies were a powerful incentive in decisions to migrate.

Although the coastal forest zone protected the Buramo homelands from large scale invasion, the predominance of out-migration demonstrates that the inhabitants of the Cacheu Region were by no means untouched by Western influences. Even as Buramo moved in and out of the region because of new opportunities, the more isolated areas of the coastal forest zone continued to absorb outsiders seeking refuge from slave raids and other forms of persecution.

The Decline of the Slave Trade (1879-1915)

Administration

In 1879, Portuguese Guinea became an autonomous overseas province and was administered separately from Cape Verde for the first time. Guinea was assigned its own governor and a new capital on the Island of Bolama (1879-1941). In 1892, Guinea became an autonomous military district divided into four military post and one urban county (concelho, Prt.) in
Bolama, but in 1912 returned to a civil administration composed of seven native districts (*circunscricoes*) and two *concelhos*. These reorganizations which created an increasingly decentralized administration meant that colonial officials were forced to begin to expand their knowledge beyond the increasingly urbanized, Portuguese strongholds (*pracas*, Prt.) where most trading activities were conducted to the more remote hinterlands of the territory, including the interior of the Cacheu Zone.

Both the new administration and the improved information about Guinea were largely due to pressures from two directions: from colonial rivals and from local populations. Britain and France had hoped to divide up the Guinea-Bissau Region between them to the exclusion of the Portuguese (Clarence-Smith, 1985a: 82-5). In the late 18th century Britain purchased and established a colony on the Bijago Island of Bolama (Ribeiro, 1868; Beaver (1792), 1805), and in the early 19th century the French were able to occupy the Casamance. After arbitration by the US president Ulysses Grant in 1870, Portugal managed to regain control of Bolama, but was forced to relinquish Zinguichor and the south bank of the Casamance river to the French in 1886 in exchange for the French controlled Cacine district in the south of the Guinea-Bissau along the border of Guinea (Conakry) (Chilcote, 1967: 88; Esteves, 1988a). Even with these challenges from European rivals, not a single Portuguese
explorer went to Guinea-Bissau during the whole of the nineteenth century (Hammond, 1966: 51). The new administration of Portuguese Guinea made it easier for Portugal to guarantee and justify its claims to Africa's Western Coast.

The blatant weakness of the colonial administration in relation to local populations was a second justification for an administrative reorganization. In 1878, the military forces of Cape Verde and Guiné had suffered a debilitating defeat by the Djola of Bolor living on the north bank of the Cacheu River. The defeat proved that the needs of Cape Verde could no longer be given priority over those of Guinea, and that Portugal's vacillating administrative policies were insufficient to control the population of its colony.

To remedy this state of affairs, the new government launched a series of military offensives against African inhabitants (1895-1915) (Ponte, 1909; Barcellos, 1908). Dispersed populations with varying degrees of decentralized political authority, such as the Balanta, Beafada, and northeastern Manjaco, required repeated military operations that defeated small territorial groups one after the other (Mota, 1954b: 33). Among the petty chiefdoms and provinces of the Cacheu Region, military campaigns against Jeta and Caió in 1897 and against Cacanda, Pecau, Churo, and the sub-chiefdom of Capó in 1904 resulted in mixed successes for the Portuguese (Barreto, 1938: 326-343; Loureiro, 1934).
Economy

Portugal officially abolished slavery in 1869 and the legal status of "slave" in 1878, but the slave trade and domestic slavery continued to thrive for many decades afterwards (Lovejoy, 1983: 159-70). With fewer markets across the Atlantic, slave routes once again shifted towards the interior of the continent (Carreira, 1981: 23). In 1893, Fula and Mandinga slave owners were able to exchange one child for a cow or 100-150 francs of merchandise when rice or millet was scarce (Bonvalet, 1893: 407). The slave trade also continued to flourish in the Cacheu Region and above all among the Manjaco because of poor communications with Europe and other parts of the world (Bonvalet, 1893: 406). Although there was a marked decrease in slave trading after 1869, important slave depots could still be found along the Cacheu River in the last decade of the 19th century, and slave raids in the Cacheu Region only ceased around 1915 (Bonvalet, 1893: 407; Caboi Interview 9, 1987; Cai6 Interview 9, 1987).

The philanthropic powers that demanded slavery's abolition also prohibited the sale of luxury arms and hunting guns and placed heavy taxes on liquor, guns, and gun powder to discourage their sale, because all of these items were believed to incite slave raids (Bonvalet, 1891: 356-7; Bonvalet, 1895: 228). In so doing, abolitionist
policies not only curtailed trade in slaves, the resource that had enabled peoples of the Cacheu Region to acquire prestige items, but also directly limited their access to these items. These changes in trade marked the beginning of a recession that had profound effects on the economy and politics of the Cacheu Region.

**Illegitimate Commerce**

The immediate response of the peoples of the Cacheu Region was to attempt to acquire expensive and illicit merchandise by other means. Pirating of European merchant ships travelling from Bissau and Bolama to Europe was one option available to coastal peoples for acquiring prohibited luxury products (see Local Politics below). Another was trade in contraband which flourished after the abolition of slavery and travelled between the Cacheu and Casamance Regions by water and overland routes. The Cacheu Region illicitly exported palm oil, palm kernels, rubber, labor, and imported liquor, gun powder and large artillery such as mortars and high caliber arms (Costa, 1899; Cunha, 1899b; Tavares, 1899; Schacht, 1900). The traffic in contraband resulted in significant decreases in Portuguese revenues which fell from 3,434,134 reis in 1891 to 276,770 in 1898 in the Cacheu Region alone (Cunha, 1899b).
Legitimate Commerce

Portugal and other European powers began to seek out "legitimate" commerce in response to anti-slavery pressure mostly from Great Britain in the early 19th century. Rubber, palm kernels, kola, wax, rice, and sugar cane brought renewed interest to the German, Italian, and Portuguese trading firms in Cacheu (Duarte, 1948: 602), but the most important change was the introduction of groundnut cultivation which soon became a mainstay of many economies in the Upper Guinea Coast (Fonseca, 1915).

Groundnuts. The groundnut trade and plantation-trading posts (feitorias, Prt.) flourished from the 1840's, peaked in the early 1880's, and virtually collapsed by 1890, only to be revived again in 1910. Domestic slaves and contract laborers, especially Manjaco of the Costa de Baixo and of the Islands of Jeta and Pecixe, provided much of the work force in groundnut feitorias in the south of Portuguese Guinea near the Grande River (Bowman, 1980: 135). Although some remained behind to cultivate the crop in their own chaos, many Manjaco, Mankanya, and Mandinga "received contracts including transportation, food, tolls, and seed and a plot of land to cultivate groundnuts" (Bowman, 1980: 135-6). The proprietor (feitor) provided food and clothing at a prearranged price, while the worker paid off his debt and his quota. The feitor usually ended up with all the
groundnuts since workers used their share to buy cloth and other goods to bring home (Bowman, 1980: 35-6).

The groundnut trade attracted French, Senegalese, and Afro-Portuguese traders, but the French dominated the trade in the Guinea-Bissau Region. Only one-fifth of the groundnuts exported from Bissau in 1873 went to Lisbon (Galli, 1987: 21; Bowman, 1980: 130). When French and Senegalese traders moved their enterprises to the French-protected Casamance and Nunez Rivers because of the political unrest that accompanied Guinea's military campaigns in the last quarter of the 19th century, the Manjaco labor force moved with them (Bowman, 1980: 252; Galli, 1987: 24).

Even within the Cacheu Region, groundnut production was dominated by the French. Several chiefs of Costa de Baixo voluntarily authorized the establishment in their territories of a groundnut trading depot controlled by a major French commercial house based in Marseille (Bonvalet, 1891: 353). But by 1895, Manjaco ceased to plant the legume in the Region because of the fall in world prices (Bonvalet, 1895: 228-9).

**Other Products.** Rubber (*Landolphia Heudelatii*) became the main cash crop and primary export of Guinea between 1890 and 1912, and the trade in palm products which had slowly fallen in the latter half of the 19th century also began to increase around the turn of the century (Fonseca, 1910: 25-27; Mota, 1954b: 148; Hopkins, 1973: 133-4). Most of these
commodities were exported by French, Belgians, and Germans and produced by local farmers using traditional techniques (Galli, 1987: 29). In Cacheu during the 1890's, over one-half of the wax and rubber harvested was exported by a German commercial establishment. Portugal's profits from legitimate commerce were minimal, derived mostly from collecting customs duties (Fonseca, 1910: 25; Galli, 1987: 29).

Recession (1870-1903)

Cacheu appears to have been one of the areas hardest hit by the post-slave trade economic slump. Since the late 17th century commerce had begun to bypass the small poor port of Cacheu favoring the ports of Bissau and Bolama further south (Lopes, 1947: 69; Silva, 1967: 44). A bovine plague introduced in 1891 reduced a major source of accumulated wealth when it killed most of the cows in the Casamance, Churo, and in a large part of the Costa de Baixo (Bonvalet, 1893: 294; Bonvalet, 1896: 350). Land shortages in parts of the region only aggravated these problems.

Although emigration and the cultivation of cash crops offered some reprieve to the recession, they also deprived the region of the young men whose labor was crucial to rice cultivation. In 1893, the Cacheu Region only produced rice at subsistence levels and the amount sold at the praça was reduced by one half (Bonvalet, 1893: 296-7). Before long,
some Manjaco began to suffer from severe rice shortages even before the planting season had begun. Women were forced to travel long distances to Cacheu to exchange palm kernels and rubber for the vital staple and farmers began to include less labor-intensive crops, such as millet, in their diets (Bonvalet, 1893: 297-8; Bonvalet, 1895: 229).

Local Politics

The political systems of the peoples of the Cacheu Region responded differently to these economic pressures. Local wars, which abounded among the northeastern Manjaco and their neighbors during the last few decades of the 19th Century and early 20th Century, have been one outcome attributed to land shortages and to the post-abolition recession (Caboi Interview 9, 1987; Caió Interview 9, 1987; Bonvalet, 1893: 296-7). The skirmishes between Caboi and Churo, Pelundo and Costa de Baixo, and Pelundo and a Caboi-Churo alliance during the late 1800's, often involved guerilla tactics and resulted in heavy death tolls or flight (Bonvalet, 1891: 353; Caboi Interviews 3, 9, and 11, 1986-87). Even the chiefdoms in the surrounding forests (e.g. Mata, Cacanda, Pecau, Capó) repeatedly declared war on the town of Cacheu, and during these times, abstained from bringing their eggs, fowl, and fruit to the market (Bonvalet, 1891: 354).
In some areas, the economic slump following the abolition of the slave trade had a devastating effect on political systems. In Caboi, for instance, the institution of the sacred chiefship gradually deteriorated as the recession, bovine plague, land shortages, constant wars, and heavy emigration took their toll on the chief’s subjects and on the accumulated livestock necessary to perform the ritual of accession. The spirit reportedly continued to select chiefs who had migrated to the other side of the Cacheu river, but these usually refused to return to Caboi to assume power for fear of capture. Even those who were willing to act as chiefs (e.g. Ulátch) were unable to perform the ritual of accession to office (bafu̍gu, Gu.) because their cows had died in the bovine epidemic and they were too poor to purchase others.

Resistance to Portuguese Domination

In some areas, coastal chiefs responded to the demise of the slave trade by organizing alternative sources of income. Since the 18th Century, coastal Manjaco occasionally seized foreign vessels and killed foreign, grumete, and slave passengers to steal the trade goods being transported aboard (Beaver, (1792) 1805: 474-476). The period between 1870 and 1896 saw an escalation in the frequency of attacks by pirates from the provinces of Caió, Boté, Calequisse, Jeta, and Pecixe on European merchant vessels travelling in the
Jeta Canal (Gouveia, 1897b, 1897c, 1897e). These assaults culminated in the rainy season of 1896 with the seizure of a commercial launch containing oxen, skins, and wax by a large alliance of Manjaco from Caió, Caiómete, Boté, and Calequisse, backed by Manjaco of Costa de Baixo and the Islands of Jeta and Pecixe (Gouveia, 1897a, 1897f).

The attacks were evidence of Portugal’s superficial dominion over the Guinea-Bissau Region, at a time when proof of control was vital to protecting the territory against encroachment by European adversaries. Following three retaliatory offensives that ended in failure, the Governor, in 1897, put together a battalion of 105 regular soldiers, 308 auxiliaries (mostly grumetes), 12 sloops, and two launches with canons after carefully studying the terrain and extensive mangroves at the battle site in Caió (Gouveia, 1897b). An estimated ten to twenty thousand Manjaco fought and lost in the battle that ensued, as Portuguese troops burned deposits of rice, palm kernels, and peanuts, and seized livestock (Gouveia, 1897b). Most of the Manjaco fled, although there were some 30 deaths and numerous injuries, while only eight of the government soldiers were wounded (Gouveia, 1897b). Representatives of the Manjaco alliance readily requested official pardon from the military commander of Cacheu and paid full retribution (Gouveia, 1897c).
Until that time, the peoples of the Cacheu Region had never suffered any major defeat by the Portuguese. The fact that Portuguese troops were able to put down such a large and unusual alliance of Manjaco pirates suggested, for the first time, that these foreign guests were capable of moving beyond their unsteady trading partnership to establish political hegemony over the region.

Nevertheless, the Manjaco continued to defy Portuguese control. In 1903, a Portuguese merchant was forced to abandon 250 bushels of palm kernels in Caiô, and one of his sailors was shot and gravely wounded in the neck. He had tried to export this produce without first having requested permission and paying tribute to the newly installed ruler Lafargue (Dafá-ka) (Teixeira, 1903; Monteiro, 1903; Martins, 1903). Although the Governor of Guinea demanded that the criminals be handed over to him, two of Lafargue's subjects were sent instead to profess the chief's faithfulness and bring news that the culprits had escaped (Martins, 1903). The Governor's demands that the chief appear in person were never met (Martins, 1903).

The people of Costa de Baixo and Bassarel, at the heart of the Manjaco Kingdom, were particularly defiant. Only two years after the "defeat" of the Manjaco alliance in the Battle of Caiô (1897), the people of Bassarel who were dissatisfied with Portuguese duties and poor protection against pirating threatened to ally themselves with the
Djola of Jufunco, one of Portugal’s most formidable adversaries living on the north bank of the Cacheu River (Cunha, 1899b). The Manjaco of Bassarel and Costa de Baixo had not only superior military experience because of having served in the French colonial army in Vietnam and Madagascar, the ruler himself having served as sergeant, but were better armed with large artillery, such as mortars and high caliber arms, that had been smuggled in illicitly from Senegal (Cunha, 1899b; X, 1899; Schacht, 1900). Recognizing that such a revolt would mean almost instant defeat for the Portuguese, since neither Djola from Jufunco nor grumetes of Cacheu would come to their aid against the Manjaco, the colonial Governor advised that reconciliation be sought immediately (Cunha, 1899b).

The people of Caió, who refused to pay taxes, and the inhabitants of the Islands of Jeta, Pecixe, and Canhabaque in the Bijago archipelago were an "ostensive" and "shamefully derisive" threat to Portuguese sovereignty (Martins, 1903; Muzanty, 1907). By 1913, the Cacheu Region along with the Balanta, Papel, and Bijago areas of Mansoa, Oio, and Canhabaque were the only remaining rebellious zones in the colony. This continued insubordination of most of the Cacheu Region was a major factor in the colonial government’s decision to organize a definitive "pacification" campaign in the colony (Martins, 1903).
Religion

In the late 19th Century, the peoples of the Cacheu Region believed in a Supreme God who did not concern himself with human affairs and was accordingly not useful as the focus of a religious cult. Rather, spiritists saw themselves as living in the midst of an invisible world of supernatural beings which constantly intervened in their lives for evil more often than for good (Bonvalet, 1896: 100-101).

Spirit shrines were often located near a tree, a stone, a piece of wood or crude statue concealed in the foliage of a dense wood or near a house (Bonvalet, 1893: 295; Bonvalet, 1896: 100). During consultation, chiefs would assemble at a shrine, and after the main priest had offered tobacco, gunpowder, palm wine, fruit, rice, or a goat or sheep to the spirit, the priest would interpret the oracle's response (Bonvalet, 1893: 295; Bonvalet, 1896: 100).

Among the numerous distinct and "perfectly independent races" of the Cacheu Region, no important ceremony, no grave decision was made or taken without the spirit playing its role (Bonvalet, 1893: 295). All illness was viewed as a result of a spell cast by an evil spirit, and the business of the doctor was not so much to cure the illness as to exorcise the evil spirit and to discover the person responsible (Bonvalet, 1896: 101).
According to late 19th century visitors, priests were ordinarily village elders who exploited their positions, particularly in major disputes, where they would secretly receive gifts from both sides to a litigation before administering a poison (Erythrophloeum Afzelius) ordeal (Bonvalet, 1893: 295; Bonvalet, 1896: 100; Brosselard, 1889: 405). The assumption was that the ordeal, accompanied by an oath that was sworn at a spirit shrine, was usually decided in the favor of the litigant who paid most, and that such an oath was sacred and generally respected (Bonvalet, 1896: 100). The people themselves did not know the mysteries perfectly and dared not speak of them, thus it was difficult for whites to learn of them (Bonvalet, 1896: 100). But it was clear that priests were the source of general misery throughout Guinea and Senegambia (Bonvalet, 1896: 101).

Catholicism

Even though most of coastal peoples of Guinea, namely the Djola, Papel, Manjaco, and Balanta, were still "entirely" spiritist at the end of the 19th century, there were Muslims living in the inner reaches of the country and Catholics in the urban centers (Bonvalet, 1896: 100). Even at the turn of the century, Church representation was minimal, with only a dozen priests in the entire country and one vicar-general in Bolama under the supervision of the Bishop in Cape Verde (Bonvalet, 1896: 97).
Catholicism in the town of Cacheu was reduced to its simplest form after the abolition of slavery (Bonvalet, 1896: 98). Only one black priest, a native of the country, remained to give services and simultaneously teach a children's school (Bonvalet, 1896: 97). Catholics, mostly Europeans, Cape Verdean immigrants, and a few Guinean urban dwellers, made up only a small minority of the town's total population (Bonvalet, 1896: 98).

In this increasingly backward little town, Catholic religious practices were mixed with beliefs in witches, Islamic marabouts, and fetishes, and it was common for "Christians" to make sacrifices at spirit shrines to assure success in their projects, while at the same time lighting several candles at the church (Bonvalet, 1896: 97). All Saints Day was conducted with candles and "Ave Marias" were sung more for entertainment, than out of piety (Bonvalet, 1896: 98) and Manjaco "Christians", along with Afro-Portuguese and grumetes living in the pracas of Bolama, Bissau, Cacheu, Farim, and Geba took part in elaborate processions for hours in which palm wine libations were poured in front of commercial houses on Catholic religious days (Brosselard, 1889: 406; Bonvalet, 1896: 96).

Emigration

The banning of the slave trade caused a recession in the Portuguese Guinea-Senegambia region, which was aggravated by
fluctuations in groundnut and palm oil prices in the latter half of the 19th century (Hopkins, 1973: 133-4), and had a profound effect on the peoples and societies of the Cacheu Region. Trade in contraband, emigration, the cultivation of cash crops, and pirating were some of the ways the Cacheu Region residents responded to the depression.

As slave trading declined, labor became one of the major exports of the Cacheu Region as people moved northward, both permanently and seasonally, to ease population pressures and to seek out new job and trade opportunities. The presence of over 5000 migrants from the Cacheu Region living in the Casamance and working in the rubber industry, as seamen, and in various other posts in 1899, decreased Portuguese revenues from their colony while contributing to French profits (Costa, 1899; Cunha, 1899b; Tavares, 1899; Schacht, 1900).

*Permanent Migration*

One of the results of abolition was a gradual increase in population in some parts of the Cacheu Region. This was particularly so of areas that during the slave trade had preferred to adopt rather than sell outsiders and of the more remote villages that had offered refuge to escaped slaves (e.g. Caboi, Churo). Irregular rains from the 17th through mid-19th Centuries had induced many of these inhabitants to abandoned inundated rice cultivation in favor
of the more invulnerable shifting cultivation\textsuperscript{42}, so that by
the late 19th Century, this land-intensive agriculture
combined with growing populations led to land shortages and
squabbles with neighboring groups over territorial boun-
daries (Caboi Interviews 3 and 9, 1986-87).

Following wars and border disputes between adjoining
peoples (e.g. Caboi and Churo, Pelundo and Costa de Baixo,
Pelundo and a Caboi-Churo alliance) in the late 1800's,
large sections of defeated populations relinquished their
lands and fled to other less-populated provinces to lease
unworked forests. In Cassanga and Banyun territory between
Sao Domingos and Bigene, for instance, first Baboi, then
Benágá migrated to request forest for shifting cultivation
(Caboi Interview 3, 1986).\textsuperscript{43} Finally Djola, who had been
gradually expanding eastward, requested unused coastal
terrain from Cassanga and Banyun in the same area to begin
mangrove rice cultivation.\textsuperscript{44}

Among the Baboi, permanent migration was patterned. The
first migrants settled in patrilineages identical to those
in Caboi.\textsuperscript{45} In the village of Gendem where they settled
with Djola and Balanta, compounds of migrants from the Baboi
residential lineages of Wombar, Kaham, Tchob, and Bondinga
bore the same names as those in Caboi. Lineages adjacent to
one another in Caboi tended to settle in the same or con-
tiguous villages in their new homas (see Appendix II, Tables
2 and 3).
Seasonal Migration

In addition to people who emigrated permanently because of land shortages, were numerous young and able-bodied men who migrated seasonally to cultivate cash crops or to work as salaried labor in a variety of enterprises and then returned to their home provinces to attend important rituals and to assist in agricultural labor and house maintenance during the rainy season (Bonvalet, 1893: 300). These young migrants went wherever their services were remunerated, but they continued to work most closely with the colonial powers that had offered them employment over the centuries.

Most important of these was France, which had been sporadically involved in commerce with the Guinea-Bissau Region since 1585, but whose real influence on trade began to be felt after 1817 as it tightened its control over Senegal and over the entrepots that provided the Portuguese with most of their trade goods (Brosselard, 1889: 407-14). From the beginning, French commercial houses worked closely with Manjaco, whom they called "Mandiagos", and had a profound impact on the direction of seasonal migrations of the peoples of the Cacheu Region (Brosselard, 1889: 407-14).

Almost all the ships of various nations that plowed the estuaries along the Upper Guinea Coast for regional products and many of the larger commercial vessels that sailed to
Europe from Bissau, Bolama, and Cacheu were manned by Manjaco (Brosselard, 1889: 407; Bonvalet, 1893: 298). Through their involvement with trading ships, the Manjaco came to constitute large minorities in all the praças or major trade centers of Guinea-Bissau, and smaller minorities in important European ports like Bordeaux and Marseille (Bonvalet, 1891: 353; Brosselard, 1889: 405-7).

Participation in groundnut cultivation also produced population displacements, as farmers from the Cacheu Region moved with the feitores, first south and then north to the Casamance. Most of these eventually migrated towards the ports of Ziguinchor, Karabane, and Sedhiou along the Casamance River (Roche, 1976: 194). As early as 1857, Manjaco made up one-fifth of the population under the protection of the fort in Sedhiou and in 1876 they had their own chief in Karabane, one of the most important French trade establishments in the Casamance (Roche, 1976: 117, 181). Some French trading companies (e.g. Maison Griffon in Sedhiou) were composed principally of Manjaco workers (Roche, 1976: 118).

Rubber tapping also attracted large numbers of Manjaco who travelled by canoe to harvest the crop in the vicinities of Balantacunda and Ziguinchor in the Casamance (Roche, 1976: 193). Distinguished by their love of fighting, looting, and palm-wine, the Manjaco traded their rubber harvests for rice, salt and dried fish. The sizeable
profits Manjaco made from rubber while Djola and Balanta were busy cultivating rice, and the fact that Manjaco reportedly attacked Djola women and pilfered their livestock provoked violence between Manjaco and neighboring populations (Roche, 1976: 193).46

Because they made up such a large part of the partially assimilated work force, the term "Mandiago" had become synonymous with grumete and mulatto by the turn of the century. Even though Manjaco women often became prostitutes (Pereira, 1914: 27) and Manjaco men tended to be polygamous, "drunken," and "debauched" (Brosselard, 1889: 405, 407, 412), they made excellent cultivators and mariners, were fairly susceptible to conversion to Christianity, and were prone to migrate (Magalhaes, 1933: 15).

In some places the economic slump and emigration accompanied by growing administrative awareness of the peoples of the region resulted in the decline of political systems, while those that were resourceful enough to encounter alternative means of income managed to maintain fierce resistance against colonial domination and rule, and became the raison d'etre of renewed Portuguese efforts at occupation (1912-15).
Introduction

The real turning point in Portuguese administration of its colony was the military campaigns of 1912 to 1915 that marked the beginning of effective colonial domination of most of its overseas territory after a presence of almost 500 years. Portugal was only able to accomplish this through the military leadership and financial support of a Wolof or Serer immigrant mercenary from Senegal named Abdul Njai. Even after the campaigns had officially ended in 1915, the Djola continued to rebel and were only subdued in 1931, and the Bijago Islanders and one small group of Soninke from Oio were never defeated (Pelissier, 1989; Gallí, 1987: 26).

In 1914, under the direction of the Portuguese Captain Joao Teixeira Pinto, Abdul Njai and some 400 African auxiliaries attacked the north and eastern provinces and then the southern and coastal Manjaco chiefdoms, eventually claiming control over most of the Cacheu Region (Pinto, 1936: 97-113). In addition to killing numerous inhabitants, the Portuguese troops burnt homes, stole livestock, forcibly collected taxes, and seized 6,455 weapons, more than from any of the other conquered areas (Barreto, 1938: 382-5; Pinto, 1936: 81, 117, 121, 149).

To the "conquered" peoples, these campaigns appeared as isolated wars with distinct causes rather than as component
parts of an encompassing military campaign. The people of Churo, for instance, interpreted the "Portuguese conquest" of 1914 as punishment for a specific act: the beheading of the Governor of Cacheu and a Portuguese merchant who had ventured into Churo territory in 1913 to collect taxes that the residents had no reason to pay (Caboi Interview 9, 1987). According to oral histories, after the Governor was killed Portuguese emissaries went to Churo to surrender, announcing that they would no longer attempt to charge taxes, and requesting peace (Caboi Interview 9, 1987). Churo abided by the peace treaty, but the Portuguese reneged, sending Abdul Njai and 439 soldiers, three-fourths of whom were Fula, to ravage the area (Pinto, 1936: 97). The Fula were particularly ruthless; they burned entire villages, stole all of their weapons, and indiscriminately murdered residents, including pregnant women and children, forcing those who remained to flee en masse (Caboi Interview 9, 1987).

Although it was the Portuguese who claimed hegemony over Guinea-Bissau by virtue of successful battles such as these, many inhabitants of the Cacheu Region remember the campaigns as occupation by Muslims, since over three-quarters of the troops were Fulbe, Wolof, Mandinga, and Sarakolé who had been recruited by Njai from the Casamance in Senegal, and the vast majority of these were nominally Muslim (Pinto, 1936: 97; Bowman, 1986: 474; Barreto, 1938: 309). After
occupation, these Muslim peoples continued to play an important role in Portuguese administration in the Cacheu Region, and occupied many of the lower-level clerical positions in district offices, along with Creole Guineans and Cape Verdeans, while Portuguese and a few prominent Cape Verdeans assumed the upper levels of colonial administration (Carreira, 1945: 12; Bowman, 1980: 64; Galli, 1987: 26).

Administration

Until independence, the peoples of the province were divided into "indigenous" and "civilized" populations. The indígenas theoretically belonged to a community under the rule of a chief, had access to communal land, paid taxes, and were subject to African customary law (Newitt, 1981: 101). The vast majority of the inhabitants of the Cacheu region belonged to this category, while a few mixed bloods and Creole descendants of lançados, concentrated in the towns of Cacheu and Canchungo (formerly Teixeira Pinto) were sufficiently assimilated to Portuguese customs, education, and religion to claim the status of assimilado or civilizado. Although the objective of the division between indígena and civilizado was theoretically to guide Africans gradually into the "civilized" status, the policy actually helped to conserve traditional social structures, to increase Portuguese revenues, and to provide an easy

After occupation, the colony was divided into two concelhos with large civilizado populations and seven native regions or circunscrições where indígenas predominated. The Cacheu Region was one such native region and contained military posts in Bassarel, Churo, and Caió, with a regional Governor in Bassarel (Pinto, 1936: 161-4). The capital of the colonial administration continued to be in Bolama until 1941 when it was moved to Bissau ((Barreto, 1938: 192-3; Mota, 1954b: 75-7). In 1952 the province was redivided into three concelhos (Bissau, Bolama, and Bafata) and eight circunscrições (Ministério, 1955; Mota, 1954b: 54). Each native region had a Governor supported by district officers (chefes de posto), and under them chiefs (regedores), either customary or imposed, who were responsible for collecting taxes, recruiting labor (Governo, 1922), and assuring that farmers delivered cash crops to district centers (Ministério, 1963).

By the mid-1940’s, the native region of Cacheu Region contained six district posts, in Bula, Cacheu, Caió, Pecixe, Calequisse, and Canchungo. In addition the regional center was moved from Bassarel to Canchungo (Teixeira Pinto) because its location in the heart of the Region and in the most populated district would facilitate communication, commerce, and security (Mota, 1954b: 81-2). The Governor of
the Cacheu Region recognized some 29 territorial divisions which corresponded roughly with provinces, petty chiefdoms, or initiation areas (Carreira, 1951b: 7, 47; Mota, 1954a: 146, 179).

**Economy**

After occupation, administrative policies continued to be oriented around economic gain for the colonial government, which was to be accomplished through taxation, forced labor, and the cultivation of cash crops (Clarence-Smith, 1985a: 12). These policies promised to be particularly profitable in the central part of the Cacheu Region, near Canchungo, an area considered to be one of the richest in the colony (Caroço, 1923: 95). By 1928, all the indigenous peoples had to carry a pass-book which noted both their labor and tax obligations (Galli, 1984: 34).

**Taxation**

The Portuguese government associated submission with taxation, and tried to maximize tax revenues by conducting an inventory of the colony's inhabitants, homes, and livestock. The hut tax was based on the number of beds in a hut and the residents of large communal age grade houses (banéu, Mjc.; Gu.) that contained many beds were at a particular disadvantage (see Chapter IV, age grades) (Carreira, 1950). Additional taxes were placed on palm wine harvests and
livestock when they were slaughtered (Brito, 1950; Carreira, 1947c). Residents of the region also had to pay small fees to have their births, deaths, and marriages recorded. But even with the help of officially-recognized local rulers who were paid a small stipend for collecting taxes and assuring that these regulations be met, revenues were small and for years the administration had to use soldiers who either went to villages themselves or arbitrarily stopped inhabitants to collect the head tax (Galli, 1987: 27; Caboi Interviews 9 and 12, 1986-87).

The appearance of colonial soldiers in remote areas was a major event and residents who met them heralded their arrival in neighboring territories on their slit gongs (Caboi Interview 12, 1986). Many of the inhabitants of the Cacheu Region interpreted the money collection by soldiers as fines for misconduct, and protested that they had neither borrowed money nor stolen Portuguese women or property and therefore should not be required to pay the fee (Caboi Interview 9, 1987).

Residents of some of the more isolated provinces of the Cacheu Region (e.g. Caboi, Jol, Churo) quickly learned that they could greatly reduce the taxes if they destroyed their beds or houses and hid in the woods when they heard the slit gongs broadcast the collectors' approach (Caboi Interview 12, 1986). When the soldiers arrived, they would count the beds in each of the huts that remained standing, and the
village elders, who were too old to destroy and rebuild their property, were the only ones who paid the tax. Unusually low official population statistics in parts of the Region during the first half of this century have been attributed to this tax-avoidance strategy (Caboi Interview 12, 1986).

Cash Crops

In order to acquire the money to pay the hut tax, farmers living in more accessible areas were forced to increase their production and trade of cash crops. Palm kernels, palm oil, fruit, and woods were the major crops produced for export in the Cacheu Region during this period (Mota, 1954b: 152-3, 170). Attempts at profitable large-scale plantations were repeatedly unsuccessful throughout the colony, so most cash crops continued to be cultivated using traditional methods (Cunningham, 1980: 42; Clarence-Smith, 1985: 320-1).

However, a continuing decline in rice production in the Cacheu Region became a real source of concern to the administration, particularly since rice had been produced in surplus in the early part of the colonial period. Centuries of emigration had drained the Region's labor supply, especially the young men who had been essential to palm wine and some palm nut harvests, as well as to certain stages of rice production. Furthermore, many Portuguese-appointed chiefs
lacked the ritual and political authority to perform agricultural rituals and to induce the populations to work collectively at dike maintenance and harvests (Mota, 1951: 672). Dikes began to decay and large tracts of land that had once been cultivated were abandoned. Some Manjaco began to hire Balanta to cultivate rice for them in exchange for temporary room and board, cash, and a small percentage of the harvest (Mota, 1951: 661; Pantufa Interview 2, 1987; Caió Interview 11, 1987). Others increasingly relied on remittances by emigrant family members to purchase rice when there were shortages (Caió Interview 11, 1987).

By augmenting crop yields, the colonial administration hoped to increase national revenues and stimulate trade and exports (Galli, 1987: 26). But except for the construction of a few concrete dams (e.g. Pecixe) to avoid the problems inherent in collective maintenance, most other aspects of cash crop production continued to employ traditional technique (Ribeiro, 1987a; Ribeiro, 1987b; Cardoso and Ribeiro, 1987). In the 1940’s greater priority was placed on agricultural development and district officers began to encourage diversification of food and export crops through the introduction of improved seed and of fruit trees, such as cashews.

Nevertheless, the administration was more interested in increasing internal revenues, first by prohibiting Guineans from trading groundnuts with foreign countries and then by
imposing a monopoly on peasant production to ensure that all surpluses went to Portugal (Barreto, 1938: 375; Galli, 1987: 27-8). Despite Portugal's attempt to control crop surpluses, índigenas had little incentive to trade their produce within the colony because the goods that the Portuguese offered in exchange were non-competitive, and because higher prices were usually offered for their merchandise in neighboring French territories (Carreira, 1960: 761). These factors contributed to the continued, unauthorized exportation of cash crops and labor from Portuguese Guinea (Mota 1954b: 147, 152).

**Forced Labor**

The construction of public works was crucial to proving Portugal's "civilizing mission" in the colony. Unfortunately for the Portuguese, índigenas exhibited a reluctance to engage in salaried agriculture and in heavy manual labor, preferring instead commercial, industrial, maritime, mechanical, and domestic professions (Mota 1954b, 123-4).

Nevertheless, inhabitants of the more accessible territories of the Cacheu Region were required to fulfill their labor obligations to the state by helping to build and maintain roads, bridges, wells, ferries, and administrative buildings, and to plant trees along the roads near their settlements (Newitt, 1981: 188). Although public works remained limited, considerable progress was made in road
construction and in the erection of schools, administrative buildings, and health posts, particularly during the 1940's. In Caió in 1945 for instance, the administration organized a mobile health unit and began a major campaign against sleeping sickness (Carreira 1951b: 66), in 1949 built a post office, central electricity station, and telephone lines (Carreira 1951b: 91-93, 97), and by 1950 established a small Catholic Mission School to train catechists, and a district post with a district officer, a secretary, two trainees, a book keeper, two fiscal comptrollers, one interpreter, and four native police (Carreira 1951b: 10, 61, 93, 121).

Many populations took badly to forced labor and were difficult to mobilize, except where the interests of the administration and those of legitimate chiefs coincided. Only traditionally-sanctioned chiefs had customary rights to corvée labor, and residents refused to obey imposed rulers, unless they could martial sufficient support to sanction their commands. Indígenas, whom the Portuguese enlisted to mobilize labor for public works, were ruthless when populations refused to do their bidding and were known to commit serious offenses, such as burning entire harvests, when their demands were not met (Caió Interview 12, 1987). A few legitimate chiefs were able to extend their control to neighboring chiefdoms through Portuguese patronage, and enlist their labor for public works. Because of support from the Government, Vicente Cacante of Pelundo for example
was able to compel inhabitants of the chiefdom of Pantufa to repair public roads, as well as build houses, cut palm nuts, and cultivate expansive groundnut fields (Mota, 1951: 660-1) for his personal profit at the expense of their own staple cultivation (Pantufa Interviews 1 and 3, 1987).

Local Politics
The Reign of Usurpers

After the Portuguese occupation of the Cacheu Region, systems of succession in many chiefdoms began to erode (e.g. Pantufa chiefdom, Manjaco Kingdom). The Manjaco King in Bassarel was replaced by the Portuguese regional Governor in Canchungo as the central political authority of the Cacheu Region. Instead of receiving ritual license only from the Manjaco King, former chiefdoms of the Manjaco Kingdom and even independent territories had to receive colonial approval before locally-selected chiefs and political leaders could assume office (Carreira, 1951b: 48).

In the early years of effective domination, through unfamiliarity with customary rules of political succession, the colonial administration supported economically powerful candidates who made convincing claims, but otherwise met none of the traditional criteria for leadership, such as aristocratic descent and ritual approval (Carreira, 1951b; 51-4; Caió Interviews 3 and 4, 1986-87; Pantufa Interview 3, 1987). The colonial administration supported usurpers of
the office of Chief in the chiefdoms of Costa de Baixo, Caió, Pelundo, and Tame, among others (Carreira, 1951b: 52).

In territories with little evidence of centralized political authority (e.g. Churo) and in those in which traditional political institutions had deteriorated over the centuries (e.g. Caboi), the regional Governor appointed rulers (régulos, Prt.) usually from among the cooperative residents of the territory. The Portuguese appointed a man named Patúńki as the first régulo of Caboi because, by the late 1920's, the territory completely lacked formal chiefs of its own (Carreira, 1951b: 47). Although Patúńki belonged to a royal lineage, he had not been selected by the spirit of the "red chiefship" and so had only nominal authority, symbolized by the Portuguese medallions that he wore as regalia of office (Caboi Interviews 2, 4, and 13, 1986). This appointment had few repercussions for the Baboi, because Patúńki usually sided with his people and the colonial administration had difficulty enforcing its policies in this isolated territory.

Politically ambitious men and chiefs of territories that were more centrally located in the region had better access to colonial intervention, and soon realized that official sanctions could be manipulated to their own advantage and at the expense of rivals, subjects, and neighboring chiefdoms. One example is Vicente Cacante, who became ruler of the Pelundo chiefdom in July, 1927 (Carreira, 1945: 223), and
took advantage of his colonially-legitimized power to claim the once autonomous chiefdom of Pantufo as part of his territory (Pantufo Interviews 1 and 3, 1987). Another notorious example was Chief Joaquim Batican of Costa de Baixo who was executed after National Independence because of the atrocities he had committed on his subjects.

Often more important than the regional Governor were district officers who were able to intervene regularly and directly in local politics. In some areas, the district officer came to supplant the chiefmaker and, like him, received gifts from potential candidates before granting political authority. Unlike the chiefmaker, the district officer considered not only those who paid the highest graft and had the best claims to traditional legitimacy, but also candidates who presented themselves early in succession disputes or promised to uphold Portuguese interests or the personal interests of the district officer (Personal Communication: Carreira, 1987).

In Caió, district officers began to intervene in local politics immediately after occupation. In 1916, Lis Nawika, the interpreter at the administrative post, persuaded the district officer to support a man named Nanja Mantenha, who was the brother of the legitimate candidate selected by the chiefmaker (see Appendix III). After Mantenha had assumed office, he and Nawika became estranged, but the interpreter still wielded enough power with the administra-
tion to have Mantenha deposed and imprisoned so that he could assume power himself. Nawika was a Caió-born Manjaco, but belonged to a commoner clan and had been initiated in Jeta, and thus had no traditional claims to the chiefship. Nevertheless, the backing of the colonial administration enabled him to reign until his death and even to name a commoner friend, Lis Kowinko, as his successor.

Only when a new district officer, Meireles, became informed about the local rules of succession did this reign of usurpers end. Enlisting the help of the chiefmaker, Meireles dethroned Kowinko and officially granted the chiefship to Francisco Mangu, who was the rightful heir, and who ironically had served as his interpreter for several years. Mangu governed the Chiefdom of Caió from 1943 until the 1962.

The Caió system of political succession which withstood almost three decades of reign by usurpers seems to have been the exception rather than the rule. Most political systems were not so resilient and eventually succumbed to reign by economically powerful or strategically shrewd aspirants.

**Modification of Social Norms**

District officers influenced many other social institutions in addition to political succession. The enterprising wife of one district officer began a long-lasting fad for colored brassieres (see Photograph 3) that she made Baió
women sew, persuaded her husband to require as clothing, and sold at her personal profit (Personal Communication: Mota, 1986).

Other Portuguese official and unofficial policies were not so easily received. Without realizing the repercussions of their attitudes, many district officers disapproved of arranged marriages, particularly when there was a significant age gap between the spouses. Portuguese officials tended to condone marriages for "love" and by mutual consent (Personal Communication: Mota, 1986), when it was customary, in many parts of the Region for a man to betroth an unborn or infant daughter to a friend who would work for years on the father's rice fields until the daughter was of marriageable age, about 14 years old. Furthermore, Portuguese missionaries considered the Manjaco preference for marriage at a mature age to be conducive to pre-marital promiscuity (Moreira (1947) in Rema, 1982: 619).

Knowing that district officers would defend their positions, young brides often sought their protection against marriages to older men (Personal Communication: Mota, 1986). But after a man had provided bride service for 10 to 20 years, no monetary compensation was satisfactory when his bride refused the union. As a sanction against broken marriage contracts, which apparently had always occurred but to a more limited extent, other men refused to marry these women and many eventually had to go to other
provinces if they wanted to find husbands who would marry them (Caboi Interview 14, 1986). Gradually, the administration's consistent support of women who demanded marriage by "mutual consent" inspired a "women's revolution" in which entire age grades of women in some territories refused to marry the men to whom they were betrothed (Caboi Interview 14, 1986). Eventually, elders and men realized that they would lose too many women from the province if they continued to enforce arranged marriages to which one party did not agree (Caboi Interview 2, 1986).

Religion

Legend has it that Portuguese Occupation was made possible by a ritual contract between Portuguese representa­tives and native elders (garândi di terra, Kr.) from several ethnic groups. After swearing oaths of mutual support, the participants buried a canoe filled with bottles of liquor and other riches in a central spot in Bissau that later became the site of a monument to Honório Barreto, the symbol of the Portuguese-assimilated Guineans. Shortly afterwards, Teixeira Pinto and Abdul Njai won their "pacification" campaign. In the minds of many Guineans, the story of the buried canoe became the raison d'être of white rule in Portuguese Guinea. The connection between the control of spiritual resources and historical events in local inter-
pretations is a common theme throughout the history of the Cacheu Region (see Chapter VI).

Traditional beliefs continued to thrive even though it was during this period that Christianity and Islam made their greatest inroads in the Region. Of the entire country, the Cacheu Region still had the highest percentage (97.5%) of believers in indigenous religions and of all its residents, including migrant civil servants and traders, only 1.8% were Muslim and a mere 0.63% were Catholic (Carreira, 1951a: 139; Mota, 1954a: 239). Colonial scholars (Mota, 1954a: 240; Gonçalves, 1958: 428-30) began to describe the Manjaco as "slightly Islamized" in the 1940's because of the presence of a handful of Muslim Manjaco in Pelundo, mostly of the family of the Chief, Vicente Cacante, who had converted to Islam. In the 1950's there were three mosques: one in Pelundo for the small Muslim Manjaco nucleus, and another two in Canchungo and Bula, both with small Koranic schools to serve the several hundred Mandinga and Fula migrants who had settled to work in the colonial administration or as traders in the Cacheu Region (Mota, 1954b: 82, 110-14). Nevertheless, the number of Islamic converts among the Manjaco and Mankanya remained strikingly low, thus kindling the hopes of European missionaries for their conversion to Christianity (P.M.A. Correia (1933) in Rema, 1982: 437-8).
In 1932 the Government invited Franciscans to the colony, and by the 1950's two Catholic churches and half-a-dozen Catholic missions had been built in the Cacheu Region, but these were few compared to the numbers in other parts of the colony (see Mota, 1954b: 110-11, map; Rema, 1982: 807-10; Correia, 1934: 94-105). Peoples of the Cacheu Region recognized that mission education could provide access to civil and foreign employment, and attended the schools more for this purpose than for conversion. As one priest wrote of the "Christians of Cacheu" in 1947,

They undergo baptism, not in a spirit of religious choice, but rather for vanity; once baptized, they proclaim to all that they are Christians and as such, possess a simple title that gives them the right to be considered superior people with a higher degree of civilization (Moreira (1947) in Rema, 1982: 618).

However, most of the Catholics continued to be civilizados and grumetes living in towns and administrative posts.

It was also during this period that the Protestant faith began to advance in the country. Evangelical Protestant missionaries arrived in Bolama in the late 1930's and had established centers in the Bijago Islands, Bissau, Catío, Bissoram, and Bolama by 1956 (Rema, 1982: 902-3).

**Emigration**

In response to forced labor, taxation, poor terms of trade for cash crops, and increasing population pressure, emigration increased dramatically during the colonial period
(Cunningham, 1980: 40; Carreira, 1960: 756; Carreira and Meireles, 1959: 9; Mota, 1951: 672; Pantufa Interview 3, 1987). Despite repeated pleas by the administration that the Manjaco resist migration (Rodrigues, 1949: 199-202), some 4,879 inhabitants left the Cacheu Region annually between 1948 and 1950 and half of these went to Senegal and the Gambia (Carreira, 1960: 756).

The end of slavery and the imposition of an alternative legal systems also made it possible for emigrants from the Cacheu Region to settle in areas that had previously been occupied by traditional enemies (Carreira, 1947c: 19-21). The most important destinations for Manjaco migrants in other parts of the country were the regions of Sao Domingos (33%), Catió (18%), Oio (13%), and Bissau (13%) (Carreira, 1947c: 21). Small groups of Baboi settled in the forest of their neighbors and former adversaries, the Manjaco of Churo62. The people of Pantufa emigrated to Mandinga and Balanta-dominated zones near Mansoa, Mansaba, and Bambadinka63 to resist forced labor and a Portuguese-sanctioned ruler who threatened their livelihood by undermining staple crop production (Pantufa Interviews 1 and 3, 1987).

The distribution of the colony's population became progressively uneven and urban areas swelled with immigrants seeking opportunities. By the mid-1940's, emigration had seriously reduced the population of Pantufa (Carreira, 1964:...
263; see Appendix IV). Internal migration had also contributed to the increasingly complex ethnic make-up of Portuguese Guinea. Not only were ethnic groups no longer confined to their historic territories, but inter-ethnic marriages multiplied (Carreira, 1964).

The War of Independence (1960-74)

Introduction

When the nationalist party, the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde), began its war for Independence from Portugal in 1960, Guinea-Bissau was the least developed of the Portuguese possessions. Yet Guinea-Bissau was also the first colony to request Independence from Portuguese rule, when most other European powers had already begun to grant independence to their colonies. The adapted socialist theories of the party’s founder, Amilcar Cabral, and the dramatic mobilization of "peasants" won the liberation struggle international sympathy.

Not surprisingly, the war for Independence and the political theories of the martyred agronomist Amilcar Cabral, are by far the best documented aspects of Guinean history and culture. However, most of the written works tend to ignore the experiences and popular perceptions of liberation fighters and the populace during the war, and overlook the creative use that Amilcar Cabral made of customary sources of power, including traditional spirit
beliefs. The impact of the war on migration and on the suspension of subsistence activities, political order, and basic ritual performances are also largely neglected. Thirteen years may have been a short time in historical terms, but it was a period which brought unprecedented changes to all the peoples of Guinea-Bissau.

**Administration**

Although from Portugal’s perspective the administrative structure of Portuguese Guinea nominally remained unchanged throughout the war, in practical terms the colony was divided and governed by two distinct administrations: the Portuguese and the nationalist freedom fighters. Portuguese forces had strongholds in the east of the colony in the home grounds of their Islamic Mandinga and Fula allies, and in urban centers. Using southern Senegal and northern Guinea (Conakry) as bases for organizing guerilla warfare, the principally Creole-run PAIGC received its strongest support from the autochthonous forest and savannah-woodland populations who had been most impervious to Portuguese or Islamic culture: the Balanta, Manjaco, Mankanya, and Djola in the northwest between the border with Senegal and the Geba River; the Beafada, Nalu, and Sosso in the south near the border of Guinea (Conakry); and the isolated Bijago living on the islands off the coast. Within these general divisions, sub-groups and individuals situationally shifted
their allegiances and following victories on either side, the boundaries between the Portuguese and PAIGC zone were constantly modified.

Even within particular zones, such as the Cacheu Region, there was considerable variation in fealty depending in part on geographical location. The provinces of Caboi and Churo in the northeastern forests of the Cacheu Region sided solidly with the PAIGC and remained free from Portuguese domination throughout the war, while the southwest coastal provinces of Caió and Pecixe and the central provinces including the Costa de Baixo located near Portuguese administrative posts and having a longer history of contacts with European trading companies, appeared to be more easily coopted by the Portuguese. While mobilization and consciousness-raising had a profound affect on some, most individuals in the Cacheu Region were essentially non-aligned, and sided strategically with the guerrillas or Portuguese solely for the sake of survival.

Portuguese Zones

One of the major effects of the war was severe population displacements, as some 150,000 Guineans abandoned their villages and 90,000 sought refuge in Senegal (Andréini and Lambert, 1978: 85). The Portuguese administration evacuated the more remote villages of the areas under their control and resettled the inhabitants into fortified hamlets known
as "Spinola Villages" as part of General Spinola's strategic resettlement policy to regroup the African population, isolate them from the guerrillas, and eventually win their support by providing improved education and health facilities. This was the fate of towns such as Pantufa in the eastern part of the Cacheu Region and of Gendem, Poilao-de-Leao and others just north of the Cacheu River (Caboi Interview 2, 1986). In the new forced settlements, different ethnic groups lived side by side and learned fragments of Portuguese, while the villages they left behind often became no-man's lands. The eleven neighborhoods which made up Pantufa at the turn of the century were reduced to five by the early 1960's, and had been completely abandoned by the end of the war in 1974 (see Appendix IV; Pantufa Interview 1, 1987).

Those within the limits of Portuguese jurisdiction who did not move to Spinola Villages fled to Senegal or joined family members that had already migrated to safer areas. Many Baboi who had lived as migrants in Cassanga territory on the north bank of the Cacheu River since the 19th century moved in the mid-1960's to villages like Bissolo, Pubwos, Sâmini, Bûtupa, Kubún, and Bôlás in the Casamance area where they resided with Manjaco of Churo (Caboi Interviews 2 and 9, 1986-87). Numerous Pantufa joined their families who had moved to villages near Mansaba and Mansoa in the Oio Zone to escape forced labor in the 1940's (Pantufa Interviews 1 and
3, 1987). Still others remained and fought with the nationalist forces, or pragmatically sided alternately with the Portuguese and liberation forces, depending on which would be to their greatest advantage.65

Liberated Zones

Resettlement also occurred within areas under guerilla control, once nationalists were able to win the support of forest inhabitants. The same environmental conditions that served as barriers to Mande and Fula expansion and made the coastal zone a refuge for autochthonous peoples of the Upper Guinea Coast also served as an effective barrier against Portuguese attacks. The urban-educated creole elites of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde who founded the PAIGC were quick to recognize this, and focused their early mobilization campaigns on the forest peoples who had had the least contact with the Portuguese (Mankanya Interview 2, 1988). At first, nationalist troops found it difficult to convince Baboi elders that a war could be waged against "whites who have birds of iron that fly in the sky and beings who can create light [electricity]" (Mankanya Interview 2, 1988). When nationalist forces finally won their support, it was lasting, and later attempts by the Portuguese to mobilize the forest peoples of Caboi and Churo failed. Unlike the Portuguese who were forced to employ interpreters, guer­rillas had the added advantage of being able to communicate
directly with forest peoples, either through the Creole lingua franca or through knowledge of local languages (Mankanya Interview 2, 1988).

Once their populations were mobilized, the areas which were most inaccessible because of extensive, closed forests and poor or nonexistent roads, particularly Caboi in the north and Nalu territories in the south, became important bases for launching assaults on nearby Portuguese camps (Mankanya Interview 2, 1988). In turn, many of the forest populations had to be regrouped to escape air attacks from the Portuguese, and so lived closely with Manjaco, Mankanya and Balanta guerrilla troops (Mankanya Interview 2, 1988). In many of these shifting settlements, the guerrillas established communally organized cooperatives, Peoples Stores, hospitals, and schools. By the late 1960’s, nationalists boasted 150 new schools in rural areas under their control and several scholarships to nationals for higher education in the USSR and Eastern Europe (Pelissier, R., 1974: 876).

Economy

Under war-time conditions, normal subsistence activities and trade had to be suspended in many parts of the Cacheu Region. In the liberated zones, forest peoples like Baboi were forced to go into hiding and lived under the constant fear of attack. Over 70% of cultivated land had to be
abandoned (Andréini and Lambert, 1978: 86) and farmers who were able to continue to farm could only do so sporadically. Most were forced to rely heavily on reserves, gathered forest and coastal produce, and imports from Peoples' Stores. They cooked their food only at night when it was difficult to be spotted, and buried livestock that had been killed for food so that vultures would not betray their camouflage.

Women in warfare zones had to abort or abandon their babies to avoid exposing the location of their hideaways. Portuguese troops occasionally found and captured children who had survived surprise attacks. Some of these were returned to their real families, if these could be identified after the war, while others were adopted by Portuguese families and departed with them for Portugal. Some parts of the Cacheu Region (e.g. Caboi, Churo) still hold vestiges of this war in the bullet-ridden topless palm trees and in the unexploded mines around which farmers cultivate their fields.

The emigration of whole villages and the suspension of agricultural work, however, contributed to the decline of paddy rice cultivation as dikes gradually fell into disrepair or were destroyed by bombing, and recuperated swampland was once again flooded by salt waters and reclaimed by neighboring estuaries. However, the severe exodus of peoples from the Cacheu Region during the War
paradoxically had a positive effect on forest ecologies. Despite the normal ravages of bombs and mines, the diminished population of swidden cultivators allowed the forest to regenerate. By the end of the war, the forests of Caboi for instance had become far superior to those to the north of the Cacheu River where Baboi had immigrated in the late 19th Century because of the availability of cultivable lands. After the war, many Baboi migrants returned to Caboi and diverse Manjaco settled in deserted Pantufa to take advantage of the improved forests.

Local Politics

Throughout the Cacheu Region, prominent political figures were asked to choose sides. Chiefs and headmen whose positions had been sanctioned by the colonial administration were expected to declare their allegiance to the Portuguese. Chiefs who openly sided with the Portuguese were considered traitors to their race and enemies of freedom, while those who hesitated were immediately suspected of complicity with the PAIGC and readily imprisoned by the Portuguese police or PIDE (Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado). Because it was uncertain who would eventually win the war, the choice of alliance was inevitably a no-win situation.

Wartime allegiances varied considerably within each province, but in many cases followed class and clan lines.
Local aristocrats and usurpers who had been able to prove their "legitimacy" to the colonial regime after occupation tended to cultivate these ties at least on the surface. In contrast, members of the most underprivileged commoner clans found that the PAIGC promised them opportunities to prove their skills in leadership and combat, and the possibility of access to power at a national level, far beyond the scope of the local political systems in which they had only limited participation. The PAIGC's emphasis on equality and achievement through merit and loyalty, as opposed to traditional authority based on descent and seniority, appealed particularly to non-aristocrats and acephalous peoples like the Balanta, whose systems were also the most incomprehensible or impenetrable to Portuguese influence.

On occasion, political figures accused rivals of collaboration with the PAIGC to improve their own positions. In 1962, Batican, the Manjaco chief of Costa de Baixo province and a man who both profited greatly from and was a strong supporter of the colonial regime, accused Mangu the chief of Caió of having collaborated with a pro-nationalist party called FLING (Frente para a Libertação e Independência da Guiné Portuguesa). PIDE soon captured Mangu and imprisoned him in Canchungo and then in a penal colony on the Island of Canhabaque in the Bijago Islands until his death in 1966.
This false accusation marked the beginning of over two decades of interregnum in Caiô. During Mangu's imprisonment, his "bodyguard" (nadján kor, mjc., "assistant of the court") carried out his functions and helped to smooth relations between the people of Caiô and the Portuguese regime. After Mangu's death, political succession followed its normal rotation to each of the next two aristocratic lineages in line, but the complete rituals of accession were never performed during the war and the incumbents, António Kanyásele and Alfonso Caropiním, never officially assumed office. Part of the reason for this was that the only legitimate chiefmaker (n@lómt, Mjc.), a son of Mangu, was too young to assume office and undergo the necessary rituals to select and install the new chief. Moreover, throughout this period the chiefmaker lived in Ziguinchor away from the envy and witchcraft of potential adversaries. According to many Baiô, the two successive incumbents lived in ritually dangerous states and died young for not having undergone the proper rituals under the guidance of the chiefmaker.

Institutions which cross-cut clans, such as Baiô age sets, acquired neutral, military names, like "commander", "gunmen", and "parachutists" revealing the impact of the war on social organization, but disguising precise political loyalties. The war offered new prospects for political power through tactical allegiances and false accusations. Alliances varied partly by residence in relation to ad-
ministrative area, by commoner or aristocratic clan, and most of all by immediate circumstances.

Religion

Factions during the war also tended to follow religious lines. Coastal spiritists such as Balanta, Manjaco, Mankanya, Papel, and Nalu made up an important part of the freedom fighters, in contrast to the Islamized groups who mostly sided with the Portuguese. Most of the Islamic Fulani, for instance, who had been relatively impervious to Portuguese culture, considered the guerrillas to be a threat to their religion, feudal society, and traditions, and so joined forces with the Christian Portuguese (Pelissier, R. 1974: 874-876; Lopes, 1982: 33-4).

In the liberated areas of the Cacheu Region, residents and troops depended heavily on the power of spirits. As during other social upheavals brought about by natural disasters, such as epidemics and plagues, the peoples of the Cacheu Region sought the help of spirits for protection against death and misfortune during the war. Individuals, families, entire villages or their representatives contracted local spirits to ensure their survival. Combatants of different ethnic groups stationed in proximity of important spirits in the Cacheu Region also found spirit contracts to be an important source of consolation. This stress-ridden period marked by severe population disloca-
tions was the impetus for a rapid diffusion of information and subsequent popularity of some spirits of the Cacheu Region, particularly those near the safer bases in liberated zones. The impact of the Liberation struggle on the popularity of one such spirit, Mama Djombo of Caboi, is explored in Chapter IX.

Although major initiation spirits continued to be consulted sporadically to solve problems for an increasingly diverse clientele, many important calendrical rituals for regular congregations in the Cacheu Region were discontinued during the war. Only after Independence when peaceful conditions were restored could the seasonal rituals to assure agricultural prosperity and province-wide rites of initiation into adulthood be resumed. However, during the eleven year interim, many of the elders and ritual specialists who had guarded the secret knowledge to perform these rituals had moved away or died. Largely as a result of the war, ritual dances, the comprehension of communication via slit gong (bombolóm, Kr.), oral records of early history and ancestors, and knowledge of medicinal plants, all of which required time and relatively peaceful environments to learn, had been forgotten or were remembered only by small numbers of elders. Part of this may have been because of emphasis on knowledge related to nation-wide issues as opposed those of a more esoteric and localized nature.
Summary

Almost five hundred years of colonial rule brought dramatic changes to the Cacheu Region, especially by way of the escalation of slave trading, opportunities for alternative employment and international emigration, and subordination to an administratively eclectic, centralized, and foreign authority. Not only did the region become increasingly diverse and complex ethnically, but these factors contributed to the decline or modification of many time-honored institutions. Spiritist beliefs, however, and certain other aspects of the social organization (see chapter IV) of peoples of the Cacheu Region remained relatively invulnerable to outside contact.

POST-INDEPENDENCE (1974-PRESENT)

Administration

When Portuguese Guinea became the Democratic Republic of Guinea-Bissau on September 24th 1974, the Portuguese colonial government was replaced by another centralized administrative structure, a one-party non-aligned state centered in Bissau, of whom a large proportion of leaders were educated Creole elites (Galli, 1987: 3). Indeed, one of the main issues since Independence has been the degree of power that Creoles and Cape Verdeans should exercise in national politics. The country's first President (1974-80), Luis Cabral, was born of Cape Verdian parents like his half-
brother, Amilcar Cabral, and maintained close ties between Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde in an alliance acclaimed for uniting two countries with separate governments under a single political party, the PAIGC.

When Joao Bernardino Vieira ("Nino"), a Papel veteran of the guerilla war, won power in a military coup in 1980, the bond between Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde was severed as the new President attempted to wrest control of the country from rule by the Cape Verdean elite. However, urban assimilados and Guinean creoles continued to play an important role in the new military Government to the frustration of ethnic factions, particularly the sizeable Balanta population (33%), who called for more evenly distributed political representation. Alleged coup plots were uncovered in 1982, 1984, and 1985. The 1985 coup attempt, directed by a Balanta military officer, resulted in the execution of several important government, party, and army officials in 1986.

Despite this apparently unstable political climate, popular support for the President remains high, particularly among the 14% urban population. For many citizens, the President’s highly-publicized disapproval of exorbitant prices during visits to the market and his criticisms of corruption and disloyalty prove him to be a defender of the people’s interests. Vieira’s legitimacy as President is further underscored by his Papel ethnicity, since it is said
that on the Island of Bissau, the Papel homeland, only Papel
should have the right to rule. This adage is asserted even
though the President belongs merely to a commoner matriclan.

The new government adopted essentially the same ad-
ministrative divisions as existed during the colonial
period: eight regions and the autonomous sector of Bissau.
Villagers elect male and female delegates to some 3,600
Village Committees, responsible for collecting taxes,
assisting in the implementation of government and regional
development programs, monitoring outsiders, and arranging
meetings between party officials and villagers (Lobban and
Forrest, 1988: 125). The Village Committees elect represen-
tatives to 37 Sector Committees and eight Regional Councils
who, in turn, select deputies to the National Popular
Assembly, the main legislative body of the country. Almost
two-thirds of the National Assembly, which meets once
annually, are popularly-elected candidates and the remaining
one-third are party candidates (Galli, 1987: 87). A small
State Council, including military and state representatives
and presided over by the President, is the highest executive
organ.

Several mass organizations, a National Workers Organiza-
tion (UNTG-Uniao Nacional dos Trabalhadores Guineenses),
Democratic Union of Women (UDEMU-Uniao Democrática da
Mulheres da Guiné-Bissau), and Youth Organization (JAAC-
Juventude Africana de Amilcar Cabral), were created by the
PAIGC to mobilize support for the government and party by serving special interest groups.

**Economy**

Guinea-Bissau is one of the ten poorest countries in the world with a GNP per capita of $170 in 1987 (EIU, 1988: 68; World Bank, 1988). The economy has been mostly under state control, but since 1980, government policies have increasingly favored the private sector. In 1987, following IMF advice, the Government of Guinea-Bissau underwent a structural adjustment of the economy involving a major devaluation of the peso, salary cuts, increases in agricultural producer prices, a program of budgetary austerity, and the creation of new administrative structures to strengthen economic planning (EIU, 1988: 69).

The priorities of national self-sufficiency in food and an increase in the production of export crops have been undermined by severe droughts in 1977, 1979-80, and 1983 (EIU, 1988: 68). The national economy is almost totally reliant on the recently developed fish, shellfish, cashew nut, timber, and cotton exports, in addition to the traditional exports of palm kernels and groundnuts. In return, Guinea-Bissau imports all of its fuel, most manufactured goods, and much of the country's food requirements (EIU, 1988: 64). Feasibility studies are being conducted to assess the possibility of producing offshore oil and there
are plans to improve mining of the country's bauxite, phosphate, and laterite deposits (EIU, 1988: 64). Industry is extremely limited, accounting for only 9% of the GDP.

Sweden is the largest aid donor to Guinea-Bissau, although the country also receives bilateral assistance from Italy, the Netherlands, and France. In the Cacheu Region, along with Oio and Biombo, together known as Zone I, the Swedish International Development Agency (ASDI) has sponsored an Integrated Rural Development Program to promote rice production, crop diversification, and agricultural research and extension.

In addition to the production of palm kernels, palm oil, cashew nuts, cashew and palm wines, honey, salt, ceramics, brooms, mats, and woven cotton textiles for sale in Guinea-Bissau or by contraband in Senegal and the Gambia, the people of the Cacheu Region also have access to foreign currency provided by migrant remittances. Various migrant associations in France, have proposed projects in which they would supply money and material to build a village school and health center, if the state would provide trained personnel and the larger equipment needed for construction.

Local Politics

The political systems of the territories in the Cacheu Region responded to the new African-run administration in a variety of ways. The locally-elected members of the Village
Committees (comité d'estado, Prt.; kumté, Kr.) discussed the implementation of party strategy and were the main representatives of state interests within each territory. Although, chiefs and political leaders who had committed the more blatant abuses in their collusion with the Portuguese (e.g. chief of Costa de Baixo) were executed by the PAIGC shortly after Independence, in some areas (e.g. Caiómete, Pantufa) several residents who had fought for the Portuguese became members of Village Committees. Many powerful families, regardless of wartime allegiances, also became members of the Village Committees and continued to preside over local politics (Galli, 1987: 154; Hochet, 1980: 15).

However most of the time, the main criteria for election were personal popularity, pro-nationalist involvement in the war, and by virtue of this, familiarity with the state structure and some of its members (Caió Interviews 13 and 14, 1987; Caboi Interview 15, 1986). In former war zones, this involvement cut across gender and clan divisions, although middle-aged and senior residents continued to be the preferred candidates for Committee membership. On occasion, deputies and committee members, who had no claims whatsoever to traditional political authority but had gained popularity through their role in the war and had maintained strong connections in the National Assembly, acquired inordinate local authority and aspirations to the status of "ruler" (Caió Interviews 15-16, 1987). State legitimization
of the political authority of inadmissible candidates in the
Post-Independence period was reminiscent of the previous
colonial hegemony that had undermined traditional systems of
political succession.

In areas where traditional political systems had
disappeared, the new administration was innovatively fitted
into older structures in a variety of ways. In Caboi, for
instance, it was the son of the Portuguese-selected ruler,
Patúnki, who was chosen as local representative to the state
comité d'estado. Other important representatives included
male and female war heroes, all Caboi residents but not all
of Caboi origin, who were chosen in part by popular demand,
and in part by their knowledge of state politics and war
connections. In Pantufa, village representation was by
default, since only one family of Pantufa origin returned to
the village, and the eldest brother in this family became de
facto ruler and shrine priest.

However, in territories with well-preserved systems of
political succession, there was considerable tension between
these and state-legitimated political authority. One such
strain reached its breaking point in 1986-7 when a locally-
elected Deputy to the national assembly attempted to prevent
the chiefmaker from selecting and installing the next chief
of Caió. The Deputy belonged to a small commoner clan and
had been a brave fighter in the guerilla war. Industry and
intelligence had made him rich and powerful after Indepen-
The Deputy had fulfilled his position well, using his influence in the government to borrow machinery to repair roads in the chiefdom, going from house to house to collect taxes, and recommending land reforms of property that had been abandoned by emigrants. However, some of his reforms, particular tax collection and land redistribution, outraged Caió conservatives who claimed that these were the responsibilities of a chief rather than a commoner.

The chiefmaker, a son of Chief Mangu, was well-educated, informed on local, state, and international affairs, and perceptive about the new demands that would be made of a Chief of Caió in an independent African nation in the 1980’s. However, potential candidates feared Government disapproval since participation in local politics in post-Independence Guinea-Bissau was often interpreted as treasonous. One candidate distinguished himself: Paulino Gomes (see Photograph 8), who was not only a senior member of the aristocratic lineage in line for the chiefship, but was unafraid of participation in national politics because of his experience for many years after Independence as a functionary at the Government Post Office in Bissau. Gomes was in a unique position to represent his people to the national government with whom he was in good standing and took care to assure unanimous support in Caió as well, by making his potential opponents swear an oath of support at an important spirit shrine in Caió.
The Deputy realized that the presence of a traditional chief would undermine his local base of authority and made every effort to prevent the accession rituals that the chiefmaker prepared. He spread rumors to the national assembly that the secret ritual meetings were anti-government plots, and eventually managed to have the chiefmaker officially banned from Caiô. Some thirty or forty elders of Caiô journeyed to Bissau to appeal their case to the Government and won, when the Deputy refused to appear on two consecutive days. Paulino Gomes became the Chief of Caiô (Adju Kor) in April 1987^1, the only one that had been officially and formally installed in office in over 40 years. Because the government had hitherto discouraged local elections other than to state Committees, the installation of the new chief in Caiô set a precedent for more tolerant government attitudes towards local politics. It is yet to be seen what the response of other territories in the Cacheu Region will be to the Caiô ritual which received extensive radio and newspaper coverage in Portuguese, Kriolu, and Manjaco. What is clear is that local political authority and even traditional political systems depend to some degree on state support and have adjusted to accommodate concerns of the national government.
Religion

The Government of Guinea-Bissau is officially extremely tolerant of religious diversity. The minuscule Seventh-Day Adventist and Bahai congregations, and the more sizeable Protestant (1,554 in 1980) (Macedo (1980) in Rema, 1982: 903; Cruz, 1983), Catholic (4%)\(^7\), Muslim (35%), and indigenous (60%) religious organizations and programs usually operate freely without state interference. The activities of these religious groups and their leadership are censured only when they entail political repercussions, as were the cases of a Catholic priest's outspoken disapproval of the 1986 executions and the predominantly Balanta Yang Yang movement that appeared to be associated with the 1985 coup attempt (Jong, 1987: 94-99; Brooke: 1988).

Unofficially, many prominent Government members openly favor world religions, such as Christianity and Islam, over indigenous spiritist beliefs which are frequently associated with backwardness and underdevelopment. Although all but a very small percentage (probably less than 1%), privately consult spirits, ancestors, and diviners of many kinds for assistance, high level officials and urban dwellers generally tend to deny these connections in public (Bissau Interviews 1, 2, 4, and 5, 1986-87; Caboi Interview 16, 1987). Nevertheless, public policy toward indigenous religions remains tolerant and flexible, and in one case I recorded in Bissau in 1983, the national police pragmatically accepted
the edict of a diviner who had successfully identified the parties to a theft in her ritually-structured criminal investigation.

Indigenous religious beliefs are also vital to understanding popular interpretations of major political events. Farmers commonly affirm that "with Independence, the rains stopped falling" and link the perceived ecological decline to the dissatisfaction of spirits with national leadership and with unfulfilled political promises since Independence. After Independence, stories circulated that Luis Cabral had consulted a diviner who told him that he would have to excavate the canoe buried at the turn of the century that had been the ritual sanction for and symbol of white rule in Guinea-Bissau (see above Occupation: Religion), in order for him, as a mulatto, to acquire real control of his country. But the President eventually let the matter rest when a second diviner warned that if the statue of Honório Barreto atop the supposed burial site toppled, so too would his regime. It is said that the first diviner's predictions were true and that Cabral was overthrown because he never unearthed the canoe. After Vieira became President, another diviner reported that this native Guinean would have to exhume the buried canoe if he wanted to end the rule by whites and mulattos that had preceded him. So for a few days in the early 1980's, the President reportedly closed off the main roads surrounding a central square in Bissau
where Honório Barreto’s statue had stood. But although laborers dug for several days, no canoe was found. "Either there had never been a canoe, or it had completely disintegrated" (Bissau Interviews 6 and 7, 1987; Lisbon Interview 1, 1987).

The salient role of diviners in influencing the actions of prominent political figures is an important and continuing theme in Guinean society. At least one diviner (Bissau Interview 2 and 4, 1987) claims to have predicted the 1985 coup and persuaded members of the President’s family to undertake the necessary rituals to avoid its more serious repercussions. When the President was hospitalized and evacuated to Paris with a blood clot in the leg in 1988, rumors had it that the affliction had been caused by powerful "Islamic" magic known as corté cast by the Muslim Vice President. While there may have been little foundation for the rumors, these examples show that the spiritist beliefs and interpretations of events cross-cut virtually all sections of the population, from high government officials to rural farmers. The impact of diviners and indigenous religion on upper-level decision-making and national policy promises to be a fruitful avenue of future study.
Migration

Since Independence, the major export of the Cacheu Region has continued to be labor. On the average around 30% of the male population between the ages of 15 and 35 emigrate (Galli, 1987: 155). In some districts such as Caió, this figure is even higher, with between 30% and 60% of the male population migrating for a period of roughly seven to ten years (Galli, 1987: 155*). Many continue to leave permanently to join their families in Senegal, the Gambia, and France, or to establish their own farms in the Casamance region of Senegal or in the Sao Domingos sector. During the dry season, seasonal migrants also travel to Senegal and the Gambia to work as artisans and manual laborers, especially as weavers (male), painters (male), and washerwomen (female) (Caboi Field Census, 1987).

The high rate of international emigration from the Cacheu Region has resulted in a decline in the population of its major inhabitants, the Manjaco. Although the population of the Cacheu Region has remained stable at around 85,000 since 195273, the Manjaco population in the country has declined from 14% of the nation’s total in 1952 to about 10% in 1979.

Most of the migrants from the Cacheu Region who remain within the country go to Bissau, Canchungo, or regional capitals to work in the military or as artisans, manual laborers, civil servants, teachers, and entrepreneurs, while
children join family members already residing in small towns within the region and in Bissau in order to attend schools. Many of the guerilla war heroes (antigo combatentes, Prt.) and other important fighters during the war have moved to Bissau to reap the benefits of their sacrifices. Some of the children of war heroes were granted scholarships to study abroad, mostly in the Soviet Union.

Although peoples of the region continue to migrate in search of opportunities and as many as 78,000 Guineans still live in Senegal (Colvin, 1981: 318), some who left during the war have returned. This is especially so for the north and eastern parts of the Cacheu region, where low population densities for almost 20 years have allowed the soils to regenerate. In 1987, one Baboi lineage (Gilidi) that had completely abandoned its settlement in Caboi decided to return from Akintcha (Sector of Bigene) because of the greater availability of fertile forest lands. Similarly in Pantufa, a more stable political atmosphere and exceptionally high harvests from shifting cultivation have attracted Papel, and Manjaco of Bugulha, Canhobe, and Costa de Baixo to take advantage of available lands. Thirteen years after Independence, Pantufa’s permanent population rose from zero to 77 people, only nine of whom were Pantufa in origin. However, the 25 houses which make up the small settlement continue to be makeshift structures of palm branches and leaves.
CONCLUSION

The cultural history shows that the Cacheu Region has a remarkably complex and changing ethnic composition, that is in part the product of a history of population movements. These migrations were stimulated in part by processes with origins external to the region, such as the expansion of the Sahelian Empires, colonial and post-colonial administrative policies, the slave trade, contract labor, cash cropping, and taxation. However, internal processes, including population pressure, slave raids, warfare, peace-keeping missions, economic disparities and class conflict, witchcraft accusations, and the lure of foreign amenities also played a role in population movements. Both these internal and external factors that promoted voluntary and involuntary migrations contributed to the unusual social composition of the region and to the dispersion of its indigenous inhabitants all along the Upper Guinea Coast.

These historical events produced essentially two types of population shifts: the influx of outsiders into the coastal zone, and the displacement of coastal peoples to other parts of this ecological area. However, until recently, the coastal zone maintained relative economic and socio-political autonomy while engaging in socio-economic exchanges that became the basis of their relationships with outsiders. For outsiders from the East and from Europe, the
forested coastal belt of the Upper Guinea Coast operated as a semi-permeable barrier and selective frontier.

Three factors inhibited direct economic domination, political conquest, and mass conversion of the peoples of the Cacheu Region. These were:

1. residence in the inaccessible forested coastal environment,
2. the political, linguistic, and social fragmentation of the autochthonous peoples of the Cacheu Region,
3. the presence of savannah-woodland cultures and indomitable coastal Djola and Balanta inhabitants as neighbors and buffers against direct contact.

Although they maintained a certain cultural distinctiveness and political autonomy, the peoples of the Cacheu Region were far from isolated.

Related languages, similar environments, a common market system, analogous historical influences, and the replication of petty chiefdoms and discrete territories unite the provinces of the Cacheu region into a common culture area. However, an important distinction exists between the densely populated central Manjaco provinces that formed the heart of the Manjaco Kingdom and the more or less sparsely populated and inaccessible coastal and northeastern provinces of the Cacheu Region that formed a peripheral band around the Kingdom. Although the peripheral territories were variably influenced by the Manjaco language, age grade system, occupational associations, and religious beliefs, many of their residents claim distinct ethnic identities and have
remained free from even nominal domination by the Manjaco Kingdom.

Given the transformations that the Cacheu Region has undergone, the continuities in religious beliefs are striking. The religious distinctiveness of this small zone in the Upper Guinea Coast has already been signalled by Africanist historians (e.g. Baum, 1987: 7-8). Spirit contracts continue to bind political alliances, and diviners are still key consultants in problem-solving and decision-making. The tenacity of these beliefs among the peoples living in the coastal area between the Casamance and the Nunez Rivers distinguish the Cacheu Region and districts adjoining it from the slightly Catholic urban areas and the Islamic interior.

The continued allegiance to spiritism is not so surprising when one considers that religious beliefs themselves protected the Region from unwanted intrusion. As one colonial scholar wrote of the Kriolu word for spirit, *ira*:

> It is one of the first words that the white learns when he arrives in the territory, and one that he most frequently encounters and uses. In a way it is the symbol of our [Portuguese] profound ignorance about religion, since the natives discovered that its use constituted an easy way to free themselves from the curiosity of whites. Thus, anything that is incomprehensible to European mentality is automatically tied to the *ira* (Mota, 1954a: 245).

While manipulating the ignorance of outsiders, pretended acquiescence combined with religious conservatism proved to be a most effective weapon against outside domination.
The connection between the control of supernatural forces and political and technological power should not be underestimated. Guests, regardless of personal religious convictions, were forced to conform to the rules of religion and morality (e.g. spirit contracts) of their hosts in the Cacheu Region in order to further their personal ends. In like fashion, both Portuguese and Sahelian newcomers used Christianity and Islam respectively to substantiate and guarantee their political and economic prerogatives. Given the role of missionaries and marabouts in supporting colonial and Sahelian expansion, it is no wonder that spiritists associated political and technological power with the control of supernatural forces.

Christianity and Islam formed a united front, both by the belief in a single accessible God and in the use of these faiths in the interests of dominating the region. But even when Muslims and Christians joined forces during the slave trade, the colonial conquest, and most importantly during the liberation struggle, the penetration of these religions was usually superficial and short-lived. The most recent victory of coastal spiritists in the War for Independence against a Muslim-Christian alliance served as proof of the effectiveness of spiritist beliefs.

Independence liberated the peoples of the region from pressure to adopt one or the other of these world faiths. The proponents of both world religions, however, were forced
to realize that their own religions and technological power were insufficient to guarantee their supremacy over the Cacheu Region.
ENDNOTES

1. For more information on Bassarel, a central province and the royal court of the Manjaco king, see Eric Gable’s *Neither Priest Nor Ruler: Kingship, Colonialism and the Ethos of Power among the Manjaco*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Virginia, forthcoming.

2. In this text, Fulbe refers to the Fulbe-speaking peoples known generally as "Fula" in Guinea-Bissau, "Peul" in Francophone West Africa, and "Fulani" to English speakers.

3. The Manjaco (Mandjakò, Mandiago), Mankanya (Mancanha, Mancagne, Brame) and Papel (Pepel) were historically known as Buramo (Brame) and Papel interchangeably.

4. In this text, the Djola (Dyola, Diola, Yola, and Jola), refer principally to the Felupe ("Arame", "Ayamat", "Kabil", "Karon", Fulup, "Huluf") and Bayot (Baiote, "Ehing", "Cacikenel", "Kagere") (Mota, 1954a: 144, 226) or "Kagere" (Schloss, 1988: x). This classification of Djola subgroups is based on the fact that they speak a Bak language that has been classified as belonging to the Djola group (Sapir, 1971: 48, 59).

   In the district of Sao Domingos in Guinea-Bissau, the Bayot live in the towns of Elia, Jobel, Colege, Onguerenga, Bunhaque, Arame, and Nhambala (Ndjambalan) (Mota, 1954a: 164 map; Bocandé, 1849: 330). Schloss also identifies a village complex, Edii, and mentions a large village, Iribun, from which Ehing claim to have migrated. He maintains that both villages are found in Guinea-Bissau, but does not locate them on maps (1988: x, 12). In the Nyassia district of the Casamance in southern Senegal another branch numbering about 2,500 and calling themselves "Ehing" (Esigne, Essing) occupy the towns of Nyassia, Dialang, an Kaguite (Schloss, 1988: x-xii). Kagere also live in this district. Schloss (1988) has written an excellent monograph on the Senegal branch called "Ehing" (see also Leprince, 1905; and Taborda, 1950).

5. The Balanta may be subdivided into the following three major groups based on linguistic and social differences: the "Berasse" or Balanta Bravo, "Betxá" or Balanta Mané, and the "Benaga" or Balanta Naga. A sociological study by Handem (1986: 10-19) using oral traditions identifies the Mansoanca, Cunante or "Suín" (Sua) as a fourth division of the Balanta. However, the linguistic analyses of Sapir (1971: 62), Dalby (1966: 139), and Wilson (1961c: 161) place these peoples in the Southern Branch of West Atlantic, while Kihm (1980, 369) places it with Bijago. Because of geographic and cultural proximity, I will treat the Mansoanca or Sua as a subgroup of the Balanta in this work.
Quotation marks (e.g. "Iágar") identify designations which members of the ethnic categories use to describe themselves.


7. Dialects of Pulbe, the best documented and most widely spoken of the West Atlantic Languages, may be found in Senegal, The Gambia, Mali, Mauritania, eastern Guinea-Bissau, Guinea (Conakry), Upper Volta, Togo, Dahomey, Nigeria, Niger, Chad, and the Cameroons.

8. Sapir (1971: 62), Dalby (1966: 139), and Wilson (1961c: 161) place Sua (Suin) or Mansoanca (also known as Cunante in Guinea-Bissau) in the Southern Branch of West Atlantic and Kihm (1980, 369) places it with Bijago, although Handem because of parallels in oral traditions categorizes them as a subgroup of the Balanta (Handem, 1986: 10-19) (see note 5).

9. This association of dialects with provinces is based on my research, local perceptions of linguistic proximity, and my knowledge of the dialects of the coastal (2) and northeastern (3) Manjaco. Because of my relative unfamiliarity with the central Manjaco dialect (1), the inclusion and classification of provinces in this dialect group is less certain. Two areas of uncertainty concern whether the language of Catí should be classified as a "likes-utsia" or "bok" dialect, and whether the languages of peoples of Bugulha, Pandim, Canhobe, and Tame should be classified with the Protobok or Protocotier dialect group. For the most part, I have adopted Doneux's divisions because of their simplicity, but see also Sapir's break down of Manjaco dialects (1975) which shows some minor taxonomical differences, particularly with regard to the central Manjaco (1975: 59-60).

10. The "Serer" variant of the "Bok" dialect should not be confused with the Serer ethnic group, another coastal peoples living north of the Casamance River who speak a Western Atlantic language more closely related to Wolof.
11. Through most of the colonial era, the Portuguese called the "Cur" speaking peoples "Papel" to differentiate them from other inhabitants of the Cacheu Region (Carreira, 1964: 260). Dissimilar in language and social structure, the "Papel" of the northern Cacheu region and the "Papel" of Bissau should not be confused. Henceforth "Papel" will refer to the "Pepel" speaking peoples whose historic territory is the Island of Bissau, and "Manjaco" will denote the "Cur" speaking peoples of the northern provinces of the Cacheu Region.

12. For example, Balanta traditions of origin echo Cassanga and Banyun traditions, in professing to have migrated westward from Gabu (Handem, 1986: 15). Some claim that the ethnonym "Balanta" is itself of Mandinga origin and derived from an elision of the Mandinga phrase e balandiro nta or e balanta ("they" "refused" "[intensification]") because the Balanta energetically refused or resisted Mandinga domination (Carreira, 1964: 270-1; Handem, 1986: 10; Pélissier, 1966).

13. Gabu (Kabou, Cabo) takes its name from the Gabu Empire, a loose federation of Mandinga states that formed following the disintegration of the Mandinga Empire in the late 15th or early 16th century (Brooks, 1987: 284; Lopes, 1982). From the late 16th to late 17th century, the federation owed authority to the Emperor of Mali (Pereira, 1956: 64, 121; Cultru, 1906: 250-2). Kaabu, Kabou, and Cabo are derived from Mandinga pronunciations of the Fulbe word "Gabu".

14. Contemporaneous accounts that describe Caboi as a Papel or Buramo village (Coelho (1669) 1953: 36, 155) may either have been erroneous generalizations based on territorial location or indicate that the Cassanga migration occurred in the mid-1600's. An earlier account, in which the chiefdom of Caboi was first identified, provides no clues to the ethnicity of its inhabitants (Dornelas, 1625: chap. 14).

15. Thomas locates the island of Karone on the north bank of the Casamance between the Atlantic Ocean and the marigot of Diouloulou (1959: 12). The people of Karone live in the villages of Niomoune, Itou, and Dioqué Hillol.

16. The Mande and Fulbe expansions continued until well into the 19th century and their effects are discussed in the relevant historical periods.

17. The westward push may in fact be less of a massive migration than an adoption of Mandinga language and culture from traders and small groups of migrants. See Barry, 1981: 27-57 and Wright, 1985: 335-348.
18. The sixth matriclan was Njógmo among the Papel which substituted for the Manjaco Baféi clan (see Carreira and Quintino, 1964: 74-6; Conduto and Pires in Mota, 1947: 144, 115).

19. The regalia of the Chief of Caió was a broom, gong (utápi, Mjc.) to summon the spirits and announce his arrival, and calabash (kakánda, Mjc.) containing the spirit of the chiefship representing his inherited right to political power. The chiefmaker (natég, Mjc. of Caió; nagák, Central Mjc.) like the chief had a broom and gong as signs of his public office, but also carried an axe (pátíbi, Mjc.) because of his unique power to dethrone the chief if he failed to serve the interests of the people. The body guard of the Chief (nadián adjú kor, Mjc.) wore a special helmet (bésembéreng, Mjc.) covered with mirrors and gazelle horns, making his arrival and the approach of new orders from the chief easily evident to all at a distance. Finally, the chiefmaker’s body guard (nadián natég, Mjc.) carried a saber (sapára, Mjc.) and shield (ubél, Mjc.) to symbolize his protective functions.

20. The residential lineages of Kor Belabate, Belómat, Pegák, and Lera alone were exempt from working on each others fields.

21. The chief was fined one goat each time he was caught stealing water from the well in Bachil.

22. Children who went to live with the chief, often intermarried with the people of Bissele living near the court and threatened the continuity of their residential lineages of origin by refusing to return when the chief died. This was said to have been the origin of the residential lineages of Moné and Gilidi in the village of Bissele, founded by the families of chiefs from Belimbo and Bassand. The rule that the incumbent’s senior wives and their offspring remain at his residential lineage was said to have been created to resolve this problem.

23. Even after the dissolution of the chieftainship of Caboi at the turn of this century, all Baboi continue to unite to request rain and rice from djenyú fanám fangób in years of drought.
24. The chiefdom of Mompatas later became Pecau (Bocandé, 1849: 337) and during the 16th and 17th Centuries its chief was subordinate to the paramount chief of Mata (Almada, (1594) 1964: 73; Coelho, (1669) 1953: 34, 36).

25. In the 1630's the captain major periodically paid the chief of Mata 105 gallons of wine, a barrel of bread, four strings of garlic, four strings of onions, and two boxes of marmalade, supplemented by other irregular payments (Documentação, 1962: ii, "roteiro...", 1635), while during periods of poor trading he and his fellow Buramo leaders were compensated with 160 jugs of wine, forty hundred weight of cotton, and 187 cruzados (Galvao (1665), cited in Rodney, 1970: 130; Barreto, 1938: 105). During normal trading, the chief of Mompatas received about 53 gallons of wine along with the other items offered to the King of Mata, while the lieutenant of the King received about five and a half gallons of wine (Documentação, 1962: ii, "roteiro...", 1635). To the lançados who could not risk refusing his demands, the chief of Mata's view of European articles as "necessities" made his appetite appear insatiable (Guerreiro, 1930-42: 283).

26. The governors who visited Guinea were Admiral João Pereira Corte-Real (1628-1630), Veríssimo Carvalho da Costa (1686-1688), Francisco Paulo de Bastos (1842-1844), António Maria Barreiros Arrobas (1854-1857), Sebastião Lopes de Calheiros e Meneses (1858-1860), Caetano Alexandre de Almeida Albuquerque (1869-1870) (Barreto, 1938: 259-273). In addition, a few had served as captain majors in Cacheu and Bissau prior to assuming the governorship of Cape Verde and Guinea.

27. António Fonseca Dornelas (1662-1664) and Manuel Roiz de Mendonça (1667-1671) are but two examples of captain-majors whose profiteering business activities led to their arrests (Rodney, 1970: 136-7).

28. One such crown agreement gave Jewish merchants (ladinos, Mjc.) permission to settle and trade along the Cacheu River in 1601 (Lobban and Forrest, 1988: 36).

29. The most important creole personages of the early 19th Century were Joaquim António de Matos, Caetano José Nozolini, and Honório Pereira Barreto (see Barreto, 1938: 191-248).

30. This reference is ambiguous since the only islands at the mouth of the Cacheu River, Ongueringo and Elia, were inhabited by Djola. In early documents, "island" designated any tract of land separated from the mainland by a water
course, no matter how small or convoluted. The Cacheu Region, in some sources, was thus described as an island (e.g. Beaver, (1792) 1805: 319).

31. The chiefdom of Pelundo joined the Manjaco Kingdom sometime after 1849 (Bocandé, 1849: 339). Carreira (1947a) makes no references to the territories of the northeastern Manjaco, with the exception of Churo which he claims to have been the only territory outside of the jurisdiction of the Manjaco Kingdom. Further research is necessary to determine for certain whether the chiefdoms of Mata, cacanda, Peau, Biânga, Jol (including Pantufo), and Boté remained independent from the Manjaco Kingdom as my research in the adjoining territory of Churo and the chiefdom of Caboi would suggest.

32. Weapons played an important part in the control of a Banyun King over his Djola subjects. Because the Djola refused to recognize the authority of the Banyun king except by force, the king was always well supplied with arms and powder and had several men who knew how to shoot, and was thus able to wage war against his subjects and sell many into slavery (Cultru, (1685) 1913: 207-8).

33. The ambiguity of early reports concerning political organization is compounded by the common use of terms such as "rei", "reino", "regulado" and "nação" in Portuguese and "roi", "royaume", and "pays" in French to designate political leaders and units of different scales. According to how one interprets these terms, the Buramo "nation" centered in Farim, for instance, either included the '"chief' in Bissao" or adjoined a separate "kingdom" located in Bissau (see Almada, 1964: 71-86).

34. To my knowledge no further reference was ever made to the church in Caboi and current residents have no recollection of the structure.

35. In 1743, relations between Christian missionaries and coastal Buramo living in Canhobe had declined to the point that the Buramo attacked a Portuguese vessel and beheaded a Franciscan priest (Rema, 1982: 210).

36. When Bacompolco, the King of Bissau, announced his conversion to Christianity to the King of Portugal, he also took the opportunity to request more weapons, churches, some footstools, missionaries, a bed, a sun-hat, and a gown (Rodney, 1970: 144). When he died, the Bishop and missionaries supported as his successor a candidate who had converted to Christianity (Rodney, 1970: 145).
37. During the post-abolition period, Germany and Holland were by far the greatest suppliers of alcoholic beverages to the colony, providing 85% of the alcohol to Guinea (Bonvalet, 1891: 356-7).

38. The bovine epidemic was introduced into the Cacheu Region in 1891 by a Churo man who had stolen a cow at the port in Cacheu (Bonvalet, 1893: 294; Bonvalet, 1896: 350). The illness frightened the thief, who wanted to return the animal to its owner thinking that divine justice would punish him for the theft, but on the road the cow died (Bonvalet, 1893: 294-5). The thief hid in the woods, afraid of being accused by his compatriots of the pest that he had brought (Bonvalet, 1893: 294-5). Presumably he knew that he would have to give testimony at a spirit shrine, and that death either by poison or arms, awaited him (Bonvalet, 1893: 295). Within a year, most of the cows of the Casamance and Cacheu Region were found dead in the fields (Bonvalet, 1893: 294; Bonvalet, 1896: 350). But four years later, the Manjaco had begun to recoup their losses through the sale of the cattle hides (Bonvalet, 1895: 228).

39. During the Baboi wars with Manjaco of Churo, the sacred chief of Caboi himself, Léhena, fled to the north of the Cacheu River and settled first in Gendem and then in Batch where he died. At that distance, the spirit was able to select candidates for the "red chiefship", but unable to compel the candidates to return to Caboi to rule. Even after many Baboi had migrated to the north bank of the Cacheu River, the spirit continued to select candidates, but these (e.g. Unkâbo) refused to return to Caboi because of the continued wars with the Manjaco of Churo. One member of a royal lineage, Kambândinta, who lived in Gendem returned to Caboi for a visit, and was forbidden to leave when Baboi saw the sign of blood showing that the spirit had selected him to rule. Kambândinta was never given his royal regalia after accession to the chiefship so many members of his family died (Caboi Interview 5, 1986). He was the last full ruler of Caboi.

40. Ulâtch was to follow Kambandînta as chief, but since he never performed the ritual of accession he slowly sickened and continued to turn all that he touched to red until he died.

41. Grumetes employed in commerce in Bissau organized the first two missions in 1876 and 1886, but failed because of small forces and weak artillery (Gouveia, 1897b). An third attack arranged by the Governor in 1884 was aborted because of the onslaught of war in Cacheu (Gouveia, 1897b).
42. The Manjaco alliance paid a fine of 2,000 reis, and placed the stolen cargo at the disposition of the Governor, compensating in palm kernels for what had already been consumed (Gouveia, 1897c, 1987d).

43. Teixeira, the Portuguese merchant, described his colorful exchange with the ruler of Caió in an official letter to the Governor:

I just returned today from the Manjaco territory called "Caió" where I had gone to load 250 bushels of palm kernel in exchange for merchandise. I could not load my product because of the audacity and influence of a chief of the territory, called Lafargue. On the 18th of this month, as I was taking my carriage to the port, this chief presented himself, greeted me in a brusque manner, and proceeded to ask me if I had obtained his permission to embark my products. I responded that it was not the custom to solicit permission from anyone. In response, Lafargue told me that he was Lord of the land of "Cahio", and that no one could embark products without his permission or without paying the tribute he demanded. Following our conversation, he asked for a cup of aguardente, which I offered him in good faith; moments later he asked for one more cup of aguardente and again I did not refuse. When I bid him farewell, he asked me to send him a full bottle of aguardente; I wanted to refuse this request, but to free myself from future savagery, I gave it to him. Instead of thanking me, he told me without surprise that if I wanted to continue to load, I would have to give him two red cloths, two demijohns of alcohol, two barrels of gun powder, and a hat as tribute for permission; in response, I told him that I could only give two bottles of aguardente as a present, since I only paid tribute to my government, as master of Portuguese Guinea, etc. He said that my refusal was very disagreeable to him and then began to insult me. With sword in hand, he slashed several baskets containing palm kernels and dispersed some thirty or forty women who I had contracted to help with the loading. Crying obscenities against the Portuguese at the top of his lungs, he said that his chiefdom recognized no other person as governor, that the Portuguese had no value whatsoever, that only Frenchmen were valiant and kind, and other nonsense of increasing weight, that the Christians had mortars and other arms, but he had his forest to defend him. I am sorry to say, Your Excellency, that in view of the influence and audacity of the
chief Lafargue, I abandoned everything and left two hundred and fifty bushels of palm kernels with absolutely no protection. ... In 1897 the territory of "Caió" was completely defeated by the counsellor, Ignacio de Gouvêa, leaving those people submissive until the beginning of this year. Then Lafargue took charge of the chiefdom at the death of the former chief, authorizing the same people by his countermands to commit atrocities, robbery, and other savageries. I await communication from Your Excellency about the course of action you judge to be must appropriate (Teixeira, 1903).

Lafargue (Lafarga, Dafárka) had also been described in a 1901 report to the Governor by a second lieutenant responsible for collecting taxes (Velloso, 1901). But on this earlier occasion, the Caió chief was more compliant. When Lafargue asked for a year postponement in paying a hut tax of 111 bushels of palm kernels, the second lieutenant told him that he would have to accompany him to Bolama. Instead, Lafargue agreed to pay 55 bushels of palm kernels, 2 thousand reis in silver and a bull worth 15$000 reis. He also promised to pay the 32 bushels that he still owed when the government ship next came to port or in the next fiscal year. According to this report, Lafargue "always showed good will in trying to pay his debt and great humility; if he did not pay the complete tax, it was because he could not on this occasion" (Velloso, 1901).

Although today, Lafargue is not included on the king list recounted by drummers and residents of Lera, Meireles (1948: 630) mentions a "Dafárka" who is probably the same individual.

44. Although shifting cultivation was less vulnerable to the irregularity of rains that characterized the period between 1854 and 1903, it required more land and a longer fallow to maintain rice yields, and before long the forest became exhausted. In Caboi, for instance, the several kilometers of primary forest that had once separated villages were completely cleared at the end of the century and fallow periods were reduced from 15 and 20 years to about six years.

45. Mota (1954a: 291, note 139) claims that many of the villages to north of the Cacheu Region in which Manjaco settled had traditionally formed part of Cassanga territory. These include the villages of Sedengal, Ganjande, Akintcha, Katel, Grimol, Binga Careneque, Brengolao, Mancomuca, Untabualo, Nhalom, Bague, Buache, and Amone. Appendix II (Tables 1, 4, and 5) showing the location of Baboi migrant communities in many of these villages appears to confirm this hypothesis.
46. After exposure to Djola cultivation techniques in migrant communities, Baboi readopted salt water rice farming. In 1987, one amãnya in Caboi was planning to reinitiate paddy rice cultivation, dividing his terrain into rainfed and tidal bolanha (paddy rice field) with the assistance of Djola and Balanta friends.

47. Lineages from Bissele settled in the sector of Bigene near Sedengal, those from Kaham migrated to Ganjande (e.g. Gendem, and Grimol) and the sector of Sao Domingos (e.g. Kayatot, Pubwos, and Atank), the lineages from Belimbo and Bassand went to Poilao de Leao in the sector of Sao Domingos, and Biniha concentrated in the same sector but in the villages of Nema, Atank, Nyataba, Campada, and Poilao de Leao.

48. Examples of the experiences that Manjaco migrants underwent in the Casamance, albeit during a later period (1930’s) are provided in Kuyate (1980).

49. Abdul Njai, who began as a trader in the Casamance and Cacheu Regions became a fascinating character in Guinean history. On an Islamic diviner’s suggestion, Njai migrated to Bissau (Bowman, 1986: 465), but soon was caught for vandalism and banditry and was deported to Sao Tomé (Vasconcellos: 1916: 34). After over one year of exile he was pardoned and returned to Portuguese Guinea to fight with the Portuguese in campaigns against African armies, using soldiers he had recruited from Senegal (Vasconcellos: 1916: 34; Bowman, 1986: 465-7). The Portuguese never had any victorious campaigns without his support (Njai (1920), cited in Bowman, 1986: 468). The Portuguese offered Njai the title of lieutenant, authority as "warrant chief" over the Oio region, and 10 percent of the taxes collected there (Njai, (1920) in Bowman, 1986: 469, 472). Njai used his own money to help finance military campaigns against Papel and grumetes in Bissau and expected to be reimbursed for his expenditures (Bowman, 1986: 471). When the Portuguese failed to do so, Njai and his retinue seized peoples as laborers, cattle and goats as booty and committed numerous abuses including theft, extortion, forced cultivation, and murder (Vasconcellos, 1916: 67; Bowman, 1986: 473). He essentially maintained an independent state within Portuguese Guinea (1915-1919), offending not only Portuguese and French regimes, but also the residents of Oio, many of whom fled to the Casamance (Bowman, 1986: 473-6). After strong resistance, Njai finally surrendered in 1919 and was deported to Cape Verde without trial (Bowman, 1986: 476-7). For more information on this historical figure see Bowman (1986), Nogueira (1949), Pinto (1936), Aguair (1946), Vasconcellos (1916), and Pelissier (1989).
50. However, Barreto reports that several elders from Churo went on their own initiative to the Governor of Cacheu in 1913, claiming that they were willing to pay the hut tax and that the administration need only send some officials to perform this task (Barreto, 1938: 382).

51. Baboi oral histories (Caboi Interview 9, 1987) claim that Baboi assisted the people of Churo in their flight, transporting the refugees in their canoes to Banyun and Cassanga villages, such as Gendem, Poilao de Leao, and Campada, on the north bank of the Cacheu River. Without Baboi help, Manjaco of Churo would have perished since they did not know how to fabricate or navigate canoes. When the Churo people made a canoe of their own with the help of neighbors in their new homes, they ungratefully began to charge their emancipators, the Baboi, for transport across the river. Eventually the Churo canoe was ruined, and the Baboi took revenge by charging for the transport of the Manjaco of Churo, as they continue to do today.

52. Between 1920 and 1940, Cape Verdeans made up around 70% of Guinea’s civil servants (Carreira, 1977: 114-5).

53. The "civilized" or "assimilated" peoples alone were considered full citizens of the colony and required a citizen’s diploma (diploma dos cidadaos) (Mota, 1954b: 48). The diploma was granted if the candidate could speak, read and write Portuguese, could maintain himself and his family through independent wealth or a paid profession, exhibited good behavior and refrained from practicing customs common to his race, and fulfilled military service (Mota, 1954b: 48; Rodrigues, 1949: 119-126). Widows, wives and children of citizens, holders of public office, matriculated merchants and established industry owners, and people who had complete minimal high school requirements automatically qualified as citizens (Mota, 1954b: 48).

54. Bula, where a military post was also established, formed part of the Mansoa Region rather than the Cacheu Region until around 1926 (Pinto, 1936: 164).

55. In some parts of the Cacheu Region, the Portuguese tried imposing Fula on uncooperative Manjaco and Mankanya rulers (Galli, 1987: 26).

56. From 1912 until the 1940’s, the Sao Domingos District was part of the Cacheu Region, but later formed a Region of its own. Caio was administered jointly with the Islands of Jeta and Pecixe until the 1940’s when Pecixe became its own small district to exploit better the island’s natural resources. In 1917, each administrative post consisted of a district officer, secretary, clerk, and interpreter.
57. The 29 territories were administered from district posts as follows:

1. **Cacheu District.** Biânga, Mata, Caboiana (Caboi), Cacanda, Pecau, and Churo;

2. **Calequisse District.** Mata de Ocón, Boté, Catí, Bó, Timate, Bassarel, and Calequisse;

3. **Canchungo District (regional center).** Cajínjassa, Blequisse, Bugulha (Bugúdja), Canhobe, Tame, Pandim, Pelundo, and Costa de Baixo;

4. **Caió District.** Caió, Cajegute, and Jeta;

5. **Pecixe District.** Pintampil and Indafe. (This later became part of the Caió District);

6. **Bula District.** Bula, Jol, and Co.

58. In Caboi, for instance, official censuses recorded an almost constant population size of 288 and 387 between 1928 and 1950 (Província da Guiné, 1924; 1951: 264). A report by the District Officer in 1950 reveals that the population recorded for Caboi was in fact much lower (125 individuals) than official statistics indicated (Barreiros, 1950: 19).

59. Although the rightful chief, Djon Bupák, was supported by the chiefmaker, he was too poor to complete the necessary accession rituals.

60. The bride service consisted of performing one day of labor in each phase of the agricultural cycle (dike construction, plowing, transplanting, and harvest), as well as offering occasional small gifts, such as palm nuts and palm wine.

61. Following the Cacheu Region, other regions occupied principally by followers of traditional religions during this period were Sao Domingos (95.9%), Bijago (95.8%), Mansoa (91.5%), Bissau (91.2%). Catió, Bolama, and Fulacunda also contained strong "animist" majorities (Carreira, 1951a: 139; Mota, 1954a: 239).

62. Cacante converted to Islam while living as a child in the eastern region of Bafata (Mota, 1954a: 264). Upon his return to Manjaco territory, he was said to favor heads of settlements if they converted to Islam, and only allowed Muslims to consort with his family. By the 1970's, a large
percentage of his Manjaco subjects had become Muslim (Rema, 1982: 807).

63. In 1947, the Cacheu Region contained the largest school-going population in all of Portuguese Guinea (Duarte, 1948: 615).

64. Bitchil, Fanhó, Kayil, and Batch are some of the villages they established in neighboring areas.

65. Some villages in this area in which Pantufa settled are Sára, Candjámbari, Mandikara, Téntu, Lámue, Kusarindin, Djéndu, Bambayá, Kusá, Mantéta, Bandjára, Bantandjá.


67. One of the current Pantufa residents said that because he hated killing, his only alternative was to help both sides in the Independence War (Pantufa Interview 4, 1987). During the time he was working for the Portuguese, he was seriously burned on his head and hand by a mine and was sent to Portugal for treatment. He married and had a child with a Portuguese woman. Later he left his wife to return to Pantufa, and married a woman from Pelundo and another of Pantufa.

68. Iboi recount the tale of one such child, living in Sáfu Bissele in 1987, who had been captured by the Portuguese when his parents fled during an attack. Portuguese and African militia raised the child for many years. After the war, one soldier remembered where the child had been captured and returned him to his family. For many months, the boy wore his fancy Portuguese clothes and shoes, spoke only Portuguese, and refused to eat the local fare, insisting solely on eggs and chicken soup.

69. Among the other diverse bilateral donors are Abu Dhabi, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Canada, Norway, Denmark, East and West Germany, England, Spain, Greece, Luxembourg, Belgium, Austria, the USA, Brazil, Chile, China, India, Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Japan, South Korea, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and the USSR (Forrest and Lobban, 1988: 54). The World Bank, the EEC, the IMF, COMECON, OPEC also provide international aid.

70. The Integrated Rural Development Program began in 1977 in the town of Bachil in Churo and was financed by the Dutch Government until 1984 when it withdrew and was substituted by the Swedish Government.
71. The chiefmaker had returned from Ziguinchor after Independence and was working in the Region's Integrated Rural Development Program. When he was not working, the chiefmaker made weekend trips to Cai6 on his project-owned motorbike to perform the appropriate rituals, confer with residents, and conduct political meetings.

72. The violation of this spirit oath was given as the cause of the sudden death, in September 1986, of a senior member of royal lineage who had been a strong candidate for the chiefship. An oracle questioned after his death revealed that the spirit had killed him because he had considered reneging on his oath and running for chief himself.

73. Most of the participants in the chiefly accession rituals had never before witnessed the event, since when Chief Mangu assumed power in 1943, many of the key participants in the 1987 rituals, the chief, chiefmaker, lieutenants, and nobles (babūsim, Mjc.), were very young or had not yet been born. But the ritual sequences, consisting of elaborate pilgrimages and spirit consultations, were performed with careful attention to detail, and the only apparent change was the presence of the chiefmaker himself at the final accession ceremony in April. Since Gomes was the only candidate, the chiefmaker could bestow the symbolic broom upon the chief himself, instead of by messenger, without fear of vengeance from envious rivals.

74. The number of Catholics in Guinea-Bissau declined considerably immediately following Independence, but has since risen gradually to an estimated 49,500 adherents in the country in 1985 (Africa South..., 1987: 540). In the Cacheu Region, the towns of Biânga, Cacheu, and Canchungo are the most important centers of Catholicism, but according to one report, from two to fifteen "Christians" could be found in virtually any village depending on its size (Buis (1979) in Rema, 1982: 962). The reports of 1000 catechumens in the Cacheu Region appear to continue to be based upon superficial criteria, such as the accomplishment of baptism and matriculation in Catholic schools (Henriques (1979) in Rema, 1982: 932; Rema, 1982: 932-3). Masses are usually given in Manjaco in rural areas and in Kriolu in the towns of Cacheu and Canchungo (Henriques, (1979-80) in Rema, 1982: 932-3).

Interestingly enough, the largest numbers of Manjaco converts to Christianity appear to be among immigrants in Senegal, and to a lesser extent in the Gambia and Mauritania (Buis (1977) in Rema, 1982: 962). In 1978, 60% of the catechumens in the parish of Sao José de Medina in Dakar were Manjaco and many others occupied positions of leadership as evangelizing catechists in other parts of the city.
75. In 1952 the Region's population was 84,155 and in 1979 it had increased to 86,521. For consistency, both figures include the territories of Bula, Co, and Jol, but not the sectors of Sao Domingos or Bigene.

76. Migrants from the Cacheu Region living in other parts of the country are employed in a wide range of occupations, working as sailors, carpenters, bush taxi (kandínga, Kr.) drivers, tailors, shoemaker, stone masons, mechanics, electricians, nurses, researchers, extensionists, civil servants, domestic servants, teachers of general education and technical trades, and merchants.

77. After Guinea (Conakry), Guinea-Bissau was the second most important source of immigrants to Senegal in 1976 (Colvin, 1981: 97).

78. In addition to a rich forest of oil palm (Elaeis guineensis) and cibe (Kr., Borassus aethiopum), Pantufa lands also produce abundant quantities of upland rice, millet, sorghum, and fire wood. Gardens supply sorrel, garden eggs, okra, squashes, beans, and groundnuts both for local consumption and sale. Until 1980, Pantufa also produced fresh water paddy rice near the Pantufa river, but the irregularity of rainfall in the last few years have made slash-and-burn cultivation more feasible.
CHAPTER IV
SPIRIT PROVINCES OF THE CACHEU REGION

INTRODUCTION

Centuries of migrations into and out of the Cacheu Region had a distinctive impact on the social structure of its provinces. The provinces responded to these population dislocations in an unusual way: by developing mechanisms for incorporating outsiders into the social structures, and by adapting institutions to define binding ethnic identities in relation to territories. This chapter explores the ways in which societies of the Cacheu Region responded to the influx of refugees and newcomers that its ecology attracted.

THE CONCEPT OF THE SPIRIT PROVINCE

Definition

The 29 chiefdoms and territories of the Cacheu Region may more appropriately be called "spirit provinces" (see Map 6). A spirit province⁴ (usák, Mjc. "homeland") is a territory or ritual field usually consisting of several villages and delimited in relation to a single spirit or set of central spirits and the congregation that is initiated there. Each territorial grouping of clusters of villages that makes up a spirit province is bound together by common male initiation rituals and common rights to sacred, central, public spirit shrines that are identified with the
province as a whole. Although the boundaries of a spirit province and a petty chiefdom often coincide, the term "spirit province" is preferable because it also designates specific territories of the Cacheu Region that appear to lack centralized political structures (e.g. Churo) or overarching political authority (e.g. during periods of interregnum). Each spirit province has its own set of central spirits and its own local religious hierarchy which are distinct from those of neighboring provinces, yet this general structure is replicated throughout the Cacheu Region, further unifying its provinces into a common culture area.

Three Spirit Provinces of the Cacheu Region

In this chapter, I examine some of the integrative institutions that exist among many of the spirit provinces of the region. Since this focus is by nature comparative, a brief sketch of the current composition and territorial organization of two of the spirit provinces where field research was conducted should provide the reader with a basic reference point for this discussion.

Caiô

The spirit province and chiefdom of Caiô, located on the western coast just south of the Felupe-dominated province of Boté, contains 13,441 people (Recenseamento, 1979: 386)
distributed into eight villages over about 290 km² (see Map 7). The two largest villages of the chiefdom, Batau (or Caió) and Caiómete, are sub-divided into four neighborhoods or wards. Each neighborhood organizes activities and rituals separately in much the same way as the six smaller villages of Caió. Because of the presence of a spirit-based healing center, research was focused in Caiómete, the northernmost and second-largest village of the province, with a population of 1,386 people in 1979 (Departamento Central do Recenseamento, 1982b: 419).

Headmen of Residential Lineages

The residents of Caió's eight villages are organized into some one-hundred-odd residential lineages (mtchak, Mjc.), the majority of which are affiliated through headman- ships to one of the chiefdom's 24 exogamous maximal lineages (kakánda, Mjc.; "calabash") within seven matriclans (kaítch, Mjc.) (See Appendix V). The title of each headman is derived from the residential lineage over which he governs. Like the Chief of Caió who acquires the title Adjú Kor (chief of the court) when he accedes to office, many headmen of residential lineages are lesser "chiefs" in their own right; the headmen of the residential lineages of Lera, Blei, and Tumambo, for instance, acquire the titles of Adjú Lera, Adjú Blei, Adjú Tumambo, etc.. Others acquire honorifi- cics derived from the personal prefixes for place names,
such as Nagák for the headman of Pegák and Nadjámbal for the headman of Badjámbal, and so forth.

**Matrilineal Succession**

The headmanships of the residential lineages of Caió are obtained through matrilineal succession in affiliated maximal lineages. As a man advances within his matrilineage, he inherits title to an elder brother's or to his mother's brother's property. In keeping with rules of avunculocal residence, he leaves his father's home and takes charge of the residence, lands, and family of his predecessor in his mother's lineage. The wife of the former compound head becomes his spouse, but she retains her title as "first wife" (namáka, Mjc.) with all the privileges of her position. As he acquires seniority within a major matrilineage, a man may succeed three or four times to the headship of different compounds with increasingly larger lands and more wives.

With the exception of headmen, women ideally assume virilocal and children patrilocal residence, that is, men and their male and young female offspring reside in the compounds of their fathers, and wives leave their fathers' settlement to live with their husbands. When a new headman takes office, the lands are redistributed among both former and new residents and the sons of the predecessor may remain
under the charge of the new compound head or request more land from maternal kin.

If the headman marries a woman from a patrilineal group, their male offspring and children of their female offspring have no claim to maternal lands and are forever bound to the residential compound of their own father. As the residential lineage grows, these people may rent land from larger land-holders, reclaim swamp lands, or emigrate. Conversely, the offspring of women of one of the seven matriclans who have married men practicing patrilineal descent and succession have claims to the lands of both their mothers and fathers.

**Patrilineal Succession**

Even though the people of Caió describe their succession and descent as matrilineal, slightly over one-fourth of all residential lineages follow rules of patrilineal descent and succession. Residential patrilinages are exogamous. Some of the patrilineal residential compounds were established by extremely wealthy members of matriclans, who reclaimed or purchased lands that they wished to pass on to their sons instead of to their nephews. Descendants of the "first settlement" of Caió, who live in the residential lineage of Lera, also practice patrilineal descent and succession. Most residential patrilinages, however, were originally founded by male immigrants from spirit provinces with
patrilineal descent systems, on lands granted, leased, or sold by neighboring patron, residential matrilineages.

Inheritance through Succession to Office

A few of the headmanships of Caió's residential compounds are granted by accession to political office. The chief of Caió (Adjú Kor), the chiefmaker (Ngélémét), and the first son of the chiefmaker (Ngák), all acquire headmanship of residential compounds and lands when they receive their political titles. As in matrilineal compounds, the families of deceased office holders have the choice of remaining in the compound and being inherited by the next office holder when he takes office, or making claims to maternal kin for access to some of their land.

With this complex system of neighborhood divisions, residential lineages, residence patterns, and matrilineal and patrilineal descent and political succession, each village in Caió is composed of a hodge-podge of settlements with different clan affiliations and descent systems. Despite the ideological bias toward matrilineality, it would be erroneous to describe the Baió system of descent as ambilineal or uniquely matrilineal, since neither system is applied universally, but rather patrilineal descent is practiced by distinct subgroups within a predominantly matrilineal province.
Caboi

Spanning about 70 km² and located eight kilometers northeast of the town of Cacheu, the spirit province of Caboi contains 347 residents who live in four villages (see Appendices II and VI). Each village encompasses one to five exogamous residential patrilineages (itáku, Gu.), as Map 8 shows. Distributed in small dispersed settlements, each Baboi residential patrilineage forms a distinct compound bearing the lineage patronym. Although there are a total of 16 Baboi residential lineages and sublineages, only 13 are currently represented in Caboi. All members of the residential lineages of Gilidi and Bassand emigrated north to villages near Sao Domingos and Sedengal, and to the Casamance. Members of these lineages, along with large numbers of other Baboi migrants, make up 858 Baboi, individuals and families, living outside of Caboi (see Appendix II, Tables 1, 2 and 4).

The residential patrilineage is the social unit in which individuals most regularly participate. Male members inherit property and spouses patrilineally from deceased members and are obliged to provide labor and support to fellow lineage mates. Members of a residential patrilineage have joint rights to land and pool their labor to produce food. Women who have married into the lineage and have assumed virilocal residence also have rights to the food produced. Although there are no headmen per se, seniority
and generational position within a residential lineage impart to both men and women greater authority in the processes of decision-making.

Nevertheless, Baboi also have claims outside of their residential lineages. Baboi may not marry uterine kin (abú, Gu.), but have joking relationships with maternal uncles and their immediate families as well as rights to seize some of their property. Real and classificatory maternal uncles also have the right to claim the lives of their nephews and nieces in witchcraft.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPIRIT PROVINCES

Introduction

Historically, the spirit provinces of the Cacheu Region constituted the framework within which migrants were incorporated into the Cacheu Region. These were the "cultural nuclei" of the Cacheu Region that formed the basis of an "accretionary growth" resulting from the arrival of newcomers (Rodney, 1970: 16). Each spirit province became a local frontier, with an unusually fluid and mobile social organization capable of accommodating outsiders in a variety of ways.

The Importance of Seniority

As is the case in many frontier societies (Kopytoff, 1987), the principle of seniority was central to how out-
siders were incorporated into the spirit provinces of the Cacheu Region. As Kopytoff writes of frontier societies generally,

One could be "first" and "senior" in a variety of ways (through age, achievement, length of residence, precedence in initiation, etc.) and in a variety of contexts (such as the kin group, the settlement, an age-set, a civic society, a cult group, etc.) (Kopytoff, 1987: 58).

As this section shows, the various paradigms of contact with newcomers, be they temporary or permanent settlers, were all guided by the principle of seniority.

Seniority meant different things in different places. In Caboi, only firstcomers had rights to the divine chiefship before this institution’s decline. In Djola territory, Banyun precedence of settlement entitled them in some areas to ritual power as priests of a fertility and rain shrine (Baum, 1987: 45, 110-118). In Caió, the firstcomers founded the aristocratic matriclan with rights to land ownership and political power. In Calequisse, "founders of the territory" (bagám, Mjc.) formed a distinct class, with rights and duties distinct from those of nobles and commoners (Reis in Mota, 1947: 149).

However, the status of firstcomer is manipulable as is the definition of a frontier as "empty" at the time of arrival (Kopytoff, 1987: 25-33). Both definitions are political and made from the intruder’s perspective. The firstcomers may indeed have been the first settlers in an area or may have been "first" to introduce an organization-
al, political, or technological innovation that revolutionized some aspect of the society (Kopytoff, 1987: 28-9).

The conflicting oral traditions regarding the origins of Caió (see chapter III) imply that the aristocratic "first-comers" actually settled an area that had already been occupied by people who had a different system of succession and political organization and that were later absorbed. The path of the first mythical ruler, Datchénki, who moved from the settlements of Lera, to Matchínkwe, to Blei, and then to Kor Belabate, epitomizes the sequence of pivotal events that continue to be reenacted in ritual. The direct descendants of the original inhabitants of Caió are symbolized by the single residential lineage, Lera, that enjoys the status of "first settlement", "first aristocrats" or "children of the earth" in myths. Members of Lera follow distinct rules of succession, observe numerous ritual prohibitions in marriage, and their "chief" is obliged to perform special ritual duties. Matchínkwe, the second settlement, is renowned for its blacksmiths, and in the oral tradition probably represents the introduction of an innovation in iron smelting that is today acknowledged by the presence of a blacksmiths association. The significance of Blei is unclear, although it may have represented aristocratic associations with Papel chiefdoms or the introduction of male initiation rituals and secret societies. Belabate, the final home of the "first chief,"

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continues to be the royal court of Caió and probably symbolizes the conquest or reorganization of the political system of Caió into its present form. It is significant that the chief of Lera, the head of the blacksmiths association, and the chief of Caió participate in common rituals, control similar regalia, and observe certain ritual prohibitions.6

All of these features have been noted as common methods for defining an interdependence between the ruler and the ruled and suggest that the "firstcomers" who acquired political and economic power may in fact have arrived near the end of a series of other migrations or reconstitutions of political and economic order (Kopytoff, 1987: 56-60, 63, 69). Indeed, it is the ability of these later "firstcomers" to impose their perspectives on their predecessor that determines which oral traditions becomes prominent (Kopytoff, 1987: 49-50).

A certain interdependence between these dominant "firstcomers" and other inhabitants of spirit provinces was established by allotting areas in which latecomers could also be first. Depending on the area, latecomers were variously assigned senior positions as priests, heads of occupational associations, and ranks in age grade systems and secret societies. Where seniority in achieved membership counted more than ascribed mythical precedence of arrival, individuals regardless of origin and descent could
acquire positions of prestige and in this way thrive in the provinces to which they migrated.

**The Establishment and Integration of Newcomers**

Both before and after migrations and the reconstitutions of political order, settlers moved into the spirit provinces of the Cacheu Region. Some of the offspring of late comers are still identifiable, while others were so completely absorbed and maintained no distinct tradition of origin, that today they are virtually indistinguishable from the dominant "firstcomers".

The reasons for permanent migrations to other spirit provinces were diverse. "Latecomers" and recently established sub-lineages in Caboi, Caiô, and Pantufa have cited the following causes for fission, emigration, and resettlement in other spirit provinces: sanctuary from the wrath of "envious" neighbors and kin, flight from witchcraft accusations, protection from witchcraft, asylum from sanctions for legal or mystical transgressions, refuge from slave raids, the possibility of improved material and social conditions in light of repeated misfortunes such as poor harvests, high infant mortality, and deaths in the family, and the prospect of better options for divorced and infertile women. Resettlement in a new spirit province meant starting with a fresh slate and fugitives included both the uncommonly rich and the unusually poor. The logic behind
these motives for flight and resettlement are discussed in greater detail in Chapter VI, but the stimuli are mentioned here to give the reader an idea of the diverse causes for the extraordinary mobility in the Cacheu Region.

Paradigms of Contact
Hosts and Guests

One way in which outsiders were brought into the provinces of the Cacheu Region was as guests. Male and female guests who visited for short periods (e.g. weeks or months) were not yet bound by a well-defined set of rights and obligations. For the brief duration of their visits, these guests could simply enjoy the hospitality of their hosts with few responsibilities, particularly if they followed basic rules of etiquette by providing small token gifts (e.g. tobacco, palm wine) to senior family members. Guests, especially those from distant places, were often themselves honored with gifts of small livestock, fruits, vegetables, and grain which helped provide for their sustenance during the sojourn.

Guests who visited for longer periods (e.g. one to two years) and had no kin ties with their hosts were expected either to bring their own food or to contribute labor on their hosts’ rice fields (see Chapter VIII). Pregnant female guests performed less strenuous household duties, just as would any other pregnant member of the lineage. A
long term female guest would be temporarily adopted into her host's lineage; she would address other lineage members by kin terms and participate as other members in lineage and inter-lineage activities and rituals, although her opinion carried little weight in decision-making.

Landlords and Tenants

Longer term visitors, whether African or European, were usually bound by a more rigid set of social rules with specific rights and duties. Strangers who assumed temporary residence within the Cacheu Region were expected to provide for their own livelihood, either by producing food for themselves or by acquiring food through the exchange of trade items.

Male temporary and permanent migrants required land to produce food and build houses and this could be acquired from the host chief through purchase, rent, or for a pledge. Provinces had different policies which also changed depending on the availability of land and on the purchasing power of the migrant. At various times, male migrants in Caió could purchase land with several head of cattle, rent land with one cow supplied every six or so years, or reclaim unused terrain from the swamplands at no fee. Near Sao Domingos and Sedengal, Cassanga landlords collected one barrel of gunpowder as the pledge for land grants to Baboi migrants (Caboi Interview 3, 1986). The Baboi male tenants
and their families could remain on the land for as long as they wished and the gunpowder was returned to them if they decided to leave.

Baboi and Pantufa landlords, on the other hand, rarely requested pledges or rent from migrants, but expected them to honor land divisions once they were determined and to respect rules of etiquette in the province (Pantufa Interview 3, 1987; Caboi Interview 3, 1986). These rules included paying regular visits to the host, informing hosts about household decisions and forthcoming plans, and asking for advice in problem-solving and dispute resolution. More importantly, for an ill-defined period following settlement, hosts retained control over thatch reeds and palm trees and guests had to exchange rice in order to acquire roof thatch and palm wine, fruit, and oil (Caboi Interview 3, 1986). Disputes often arose when guests harvested this produce without permission or when they planted or harvested terrain larger than the pre-determined boundaries. Game killed on the land could be kept by the hunter, but the innards were given to the senior member of the tenant’s lineage and the head of the beast awarded to the host (Caboi Interview 3, 1986). All of these rules closely resemble those in societies to the south where "the stranger-tenant ought to visit his landlord frequently—a mark of deference, give occasional small gifts—a mark of subordination, and tell
others of his landlord’s generosity—a mark of good manners and social savoir-faire" (Dorjahn and Fyfe, 1962: 392).

Landlord hosts sometimes competed over tenant guests, particularly if the potential tenants were wealthy to begin with and promised generous gifts or could furnish specialized skills (e.g. well construction, iron smelting, and divination) to the hosts and other residents of a province. Cooperation between landlord and tenant was also essential, given the closeness in social intercourse that a land grant entailed. To bind the landlord-tenant agreement, the parties to a land lease participated in an oath-swearing ritual and sacrifice at the host’s spirit shrine.

In the northeastern provinces, tenants quickly acquired tenure of the terrain and were themselves able to offer land to later migrants. In fact, Caboi territorial organization is the product of a complex series of land grants to tenants and the tenants of tenants (see Appendix VI). Land was granted to lineages who had moved from other Baboi villages, to non-Baboi, and to affines and distant kin from other areas.

Over time, the lineages of landlord and tenants usually intermarried, and in some areas immigrant groups preferred marriage into the landlord’s lineage to gain security of tenure (Dorjahn and Fyfe, 1962: 391). Only when land was granted to affines or distant kin was intermarriage forbidden (e.g. Kafambo and Kunkel in Appendix VI).
Patrons and Clients

These concepts of landlord-tenant relations continue to be important in dealing with outsiders, and there is substantial evidence that coastal Africans extended the rules to foreign traders as well (Dorjahn and Fyfe, 1962: 394;). Patron chiefs generally agreed to protect the life and property of their lançado clients and to guarantee their debts. Lancados and other traders, in return, paid an annual custom or rent and a tax on exports (e.g. a head tax on each slave exported from the territory) (Mouser, 1975: 429). Disputes involving strangers were usually settled by the landlord (Dorjahn and Fyfe, 1962: 392), and in some cases even foreign clients were bound by customary law (Rodney, 1970: 83-88). Although technically restricted from politics, European traders and lançados often supplied their patrons with arms in times of war and their commercial successes were often determined by the political power of their patrons (Mouser, 1975: 430). Oath-taking rituals at spirit shrines were performed to guarantee that both parties held to their side of the contract (see Chapter III, Colonial History, Religion; Chapter V).

In short, exchange was the basis of relations between the peoples of the Cacheu Region and migrants who settled either temporarily or permanently in their terrain. Spirit contracts and intermarriage served to reinforce positive
ties between hosts and guests. Only when land pressure became severe did landlords exact higher rent from their tenants and did alienation of land become impossible. Host-guest, patron-client, and landlord-tenant relationships also facilitated the settlement in spirit provinces of immigrants in search of ritual sanctuary (see Chapters VI and VIII).

The Manipulation of Descent, Kinship, and Alliance

Lineage Foundation

Landlord-tenant and patron-client arrangements tended to apply uniquely to free, adult male immigrants and their families. Of all types of permanent migrants, lineages established by men are today the most easily identifiable because of rules of patrilocal and virilocal settlement in most of region.

Cai6. In Cai6, residential patrilineages established by patrilineal peoples are easily distinguished as being of immigrant origins because of their unusually small residential compounds in which property and headmanship pass down patrilineally and because of their absence of descent ties with other clans. Male immigrants from the neighboring province of Cajegute have established residential matrilineages in Cai6, which nonetheless have remained distinct because of their claims to lands and offices outside of the province.
Caboi. In Caboi, as well, the "firstcomers" from Brikama established their male-oriented first settlement in Bassand. As descendants from Bassand increased, adult male offspring left to found residential patrilineages in their own right in each of the four villages. Most of these lineages were founded so long ago that it is impossible to ascertain their precise relationships.

In addition to settlements of Baboi "firstcomers", one-fourth of all residential lineages were founded by male settlers of Manjaco and Mankanya origin. Manjaco from Penumer (near Pecau) founded Wombar, Mankanya of Jol (Pantufa) founded Kaham Kunkel and Kaham Kafambo, and Manjaco of Churo founded Sapók, when men and their families sought refuge from persecution in their home communities and settled on lands granted by the landlord residential lineages of Bassand and Sandénu. The relationships among residential patrilineages, their ethnic origin, and lineages from which they received land grants are provided in Appendix VI.

Pantufa. The pre-20th century spirit province of Pantufa once contained over a dozen lineages each founded by individuals and families who had migrated from other areas. Since its complete abandonment during the war, Pantufa has again begun to be populated. Only one permanent residential lineage is Pantufa in origin. The male elders of this lineage presently control land rights and have provided...
grants to other permanent Manjaco settlers from Canhobe, Bugulha, and Costa de Baixo, as well as to Papel settlers.

**Lineage Fission**

In both Caboi and Caió, the establishment of a separate spirit shrine marks the foundation of a new residential lineage. Although temporary settlements also have shrines of their own, the establishment of a fixed spirit shrine usually distinguishes permanent lineages in Caboi and migrant communities from temporary divisions.

Many of the fissions that occur within lineages are themselves of a ritual nature. A residential lineage is a corporate group with the obligation to support its members in legal and ritual disputes. However, loyalties are often divided when a member has committed a serious transgression, whether of a social or mystical nature (e.g. murder, destruction of crops, witchcraft) that incurs heavy financial and ritual liabilities (see Chapter VI). When most of a lineage refuses to support a member, the offender and his immediate family are forced to break off to form a residential lineage of their own.

The lure of accumulating and controlling larger areas of land is another common reason for fission. In Caboi, extended family who had moved to live with a new chief, frequently refused to leave the royal court after the chief’s demise and instead founded new residential lineages.
near the court to maintain their holdings. On occasion, wealthy Baió men managed to reclaim large areas of swampland for rice cultivation by employing outside (Djola and Balanta) labor at personal expense, rather than through support from their matrilineages. Some of these men refused to allow their property to be inherited by their matrilineage, and so established residential patrilineages of their own with separate rights to this land.

Historically, residential lineages have also split, when geographically vulnerable sub-lineages were forced to relocate to avoid slave raids. Although there are many other reasons for lineage fission, these are by far the most common.

The Division of Power Among Lineages

In some spirit provinces, lineages established by outsiders were able to acquire considerable power. Outsider lineages that settled in Caboi could never inherit the ability to become sacred chiefs like the five chiefly Baboi lineages. However, in some Baboi villages (e.g. Kaham) guest lineages were accorded the powers of hereditary priests at central initiation shrines. The head of the priestly guest lineage of Wombar (Caboi Interview 17, 1986) claims that the allocation of ritual offices to guests and of political functions to original Baboi lineages was part of a conscious initiative to divide power and functions.
among resident and immigrant lineages and integrate outsiders into the spirit province. Baboi lineages did not want to take responsibility for both political and religious activities, and believed that the allocation of ritual offices to guests would balance social obligations and assure participation by all residents of Caboi. Accordingly the "pure" Baboi lineages of Katûnku, Bòndinga, Sakán, Belimbo and Bassand supplied sacred chiefs, while the lineages of Wombar, Sâfu Bissele, Tchob, and Bofor, originally founded by or heavily intermarried with "outsiders", became priestly lineages supplying shrine custodians to village shrines dedicated to the central spirit of the province (see Fortes, 1936; Fortes, 1987).

However, the distribution of these functions was neither uniform nor consistent (see Appendix VI). Many "pure" Baboi lineages had no political functions and three guest lineages acquired no priestly functions. This inconsistency casts doubts as to whether the distribution of power between hosts and guests was intentional or imputed ex post facto.

Fictive Kin

Fictive kinship serves as an important means for integrating outsiders throughout Africa (Kopytoff and Miers, 1977) and the Cacheu Region is no exception. The spirit province of Caboi in particular uses fictive kinship in a
variety of ways to incorporate captives and integrate lineages founded by outsiders.

The Adoption of Captives. As has been stated, most Baboi-initiated raids during the slave trade were oriented around replacing junior lineage members who had been abducted in previous incursions by their neighbors. Child captives were preferred because, if treated well, they would quickly adopt Baboi culture and were unlikely to escape. There were no permanent categories of slaves (see Kopytoff and Miers, 1977), since within a few years, captives became full members of the adoptive lineages; boys remained with their captors, married, and bore children of status equal to others in the patrilineage, and the foster lineage received bride wealth when captured girls married out.

Discussion of the origins of a captive or adopted child was taboo, so that after a few generations, only the village elders knew which were not true Baboi. The only lineages which are remembered as being partly of slave stock are Sâfu Bissele and its offshoot Tchob, the lineages that historically provided "auxiliaries to the chief". The ideal that the chief’s auxiliaries should be of slave origin, is probably a survival from pre-Mande times, when the Baboi, Cassanga, and Banyun formed a single group.

The adoption of captives from slave raids influenced the population size and ethnic stock of this isolated spirit province and proved to be an important way for Baboi
lineages to continue to grow while upholding the incest taboo and maintaining the ideal of marriage within the ethnic group.

**Real and Fictive Lineage Pairs.** Another mechanism for assimilating outsiders was the creation of real or fictive lineage pairs. A *lineage pair* (*gəhəna*, Gu.) is an exogamous grouping of two lineages bound together as a single "family" through common descent or friendship. Each of Caboi's sixteen lineages has a counterpart with which it cannot intermarry and with which it is believed to be united in the world of the dead. The lineages of Tchob, Moné, Gilidi, and Sakán, all created by fission and internal migrations from other settlements in Caboi, are paired with their parent lineages of Sáfu Bissele, Belimbo, Bassand, and Bofor, and abide by rules of lineage exogamy.

Lineages founded by migrants are also assigned fictive counterparts. The bonds between lineage pairs, such as Wombar and Sapók, Bóndinga and Sáfu Biniha, Katůnku and Sandénu, and Kaham Kafambo and Kaham Kunkel are based on historical friendships which also prohibit intermarriage. Members of the lineages of Kaham Kafambo and Kunkel, for instance, may not intermarry because their founders were uncle and nephew who maintained a close friendship throughout their lives (Caboi Interviews 1 and 18-20, 1986). The lineage pair of Wombar and Sapók is based on a legendary friendship between two members who set the precedent of
mutual support, by providing lavish sacrificial offerings at each others funerals (see Fortes, 1945).10

With the exception of Kaham Kafambo and Kaham Kunkel, the components of each lineage pair are residential lineages that are spatially separated by location in separate villages. Nevertheless, all members of a lineage pair (q@hána, Gu.) are believed to live together in a maximal lineage of ancestors (d@hána, Gu.) in the world of the dead. In daily rituals at ancestor shrines, members of each residential lineage consult this wider grouping (see Ancestors, Chapter V). By uniting the interests of related and unrelated residential lineages living in different villages, lineage pairs provide a wider set of affiliations and network of support to the diverse host and guest residential lineages of Caboi.

Marriage Alliances

Alliance in marriage was a common way to integrate both male and female outsiders into the spirit provinces of the Cacheu Region. Host chiefs of the Upper Guinea Coast often gave their daughters in "marriage" to lançado guests. By creating kinship obligations, marriage gave the host chiefs direct access to the wealth of their visitors, but also provided the visitors with networks of kin who served as trade middlemen while upholding common interests in economic profit. The offspring of lançados and matrilineal women
were in a particularly advantageous position because they could make claims to the wealth of their fathers and to lineage property through their mothers.

Patrilineal peoples, however, were often hesitant in giving women to outsiders because their descendants would not be members of the same ethnic group. Only when a male outsider acquired land and established a distinct patrilineage within the spirit province was intermarriage encouraged, especially with members of the host lineage. It is possible that many of the offspring of intermarriages between lançados and females of patrilineal groups were the creoles or mesticos that were so active during the colonial period; their primary social and ethnic affiliation was to their Portuguese, Cape Verdean, and Afro-Portuguese fathers since, by rules of patrilineal succession and inheritance, they had few claims to the lands and property of their mother’s ethnic group. This fluke in the succession rules of the African hosts with which lançados married may have contributed to the formation of the "native Guinean" creole elite that is so prominent in the politics of the Post-Independence period.

Spirit provinces incorporated outsider women through marriage, fictive kinship, and adoption. Because of the dominant system of matrilineal reckoning in Caió, the women who arrived in the seven distinct successive migrations presumably played a prominent role in the founding of each
of Caid's seven matriclans. However, if these legendary migrations did indeed occur they were extremely ancient, since it is now virtually impossible for a woman to found a separate residential lineage in Caid.

The Marriage of Female Captives. Unlike Caboi where both male and female captives became full members of the captor lineage, in Caid matrilineages adopted only male captives and married the female ones (Carreira, 1947: 100). This difference in policy had profound effects for the status of their offspring. In Caboi, it made little difference whether captive females were adopted or not because their offspring belonged to the patrilineages of their husbands. In Caid however, males of captor matrilineages married captive females with no matriclan membership (unless the women were from other matrilineal areas) so that the offspring had no claims to inheritance and remained permanent dependents of their father during his lifetime and on his immediate kin after his death. The offspring usually occupied small patrilineal compounds within a larger residential matrilineage. By contrast, the adoption of male captives by matrilineages had little effect on the descent system.

Because of this practice of adopting males and marrying female captives, the prevailing belief in Caid is that the matriclans which engaged most heavily in slave raiding, Batát, Baféi, Basétu, are now the most mixed in stock. They
also appear to be the smallest and least powerful clans in Caió.

Fictive Kinship of Outsider Wives. These problems of land rights and inheritance continue to exist among the offspring of Baió men who marry women from patrilineal areas. Outsider women may belong to Baió age sets, but otherwise have no local fictive lineage or kin ties upon which they can rely for support.

In contrast in Caboi, outsider women who marry Baboi men are adopted by the patrilineage of their choice; the only patrilineage which may not adopt them is that of their husbands, in observance of the incest taboo against lineage endogamy. Outsider women participate fully in the affairs of their adoptive lineages and in their husbands' residential lineages as would Baboi wives. Some outsider women who were married and then "adopted" exercise considerable political power in Caboi, even serving as village representatives to state committees.

Cross-Cutting Institutions

Village and Neighborhood Associations

Throughout the region, clusters of adjacent residential lineages make up villages with distinct names. Village-wide activities are important because they concern all residents of a village regardless of ethnic and geographical origin. The extent of village unity varies according to the degree
of centralization in other aspects of political organization. In Caboi, relatively decentralized, lineage-based authority makes for ill-defined methods for village-wide decision-making. Village-wide activities occur only rarely and in response to crises, for instance when the entire village must unite to cope with drought, plagues, or epidemics. The eldest male of all the residential lineages of a Baboi village has the responsibility of convening the village meeting, and elders and village representatives to State Committees usually have greater authority in these discussions.

Many village-wide activities are directed by Baboi women, who feel themselves responsible for resolving "problems of the earth", regarding the fertility and reproductive forces of the social and natural worlds. Whereas men are said to be most concerned with lineage-owned agricultural property, women feel the broader problems of the earth, like drought, illness, and pestilence, and organize the rituals necessary to deal with them (Caboi Interviews 21-22, 1986). These rituals, initiated by a senior woman (unambaré, Gu.), usually involve a series of pilgrimages to female and earth shrines following the prescriptions of the central oracular spirit.

The inhabitants of spirit provinces with centralized political organizations frequently unite as villages to perform rituals and resolve problems. In Caió, these
activities are carried out in a central clearing known as pubóm (Mjc.; tumba, Kr.; "tomb"), which is located near an earth shrine and the largest or most powerful residential lineage of the village. Inter-lineage dispute resolution, discussions about relevant government policies, meetings with development project representatives, and decisions about some agricultural procedures are all conducted here, principally by elders.

In many provinces, there are also village-wide youth and adult clubs or "friendship associations" for males and females. The clubs usually unite to perform major agricultural tasks for a contracting party, for festivities following this work, or to collect large quantities of palm wine for village rituals, etc.. Some "friendship associations" also have officers, dues, book-keeping, fines for misconduct, and even club houses with generators where members can spend collective earnings to host dances and parties.

Villages that have grown too large to organize activities for the entire population are divided into wards or neighborhoods. Both Batau (Caió) and Caiómete have four wards, each with separate friendship associations and pubóm and each conducting separate activities as if constituting distinct villages.
Voluntary Occupational Associations

A variety of voluntary occupational associations also cut across lineage divisions in various provinces of the Cacheu Region. A voluntary occupational association is an organization which any member of a spirit province may join in order to acquire specialized skills. However, many such organizations have gender-specific membership. Voluntary associations are distinct from ritual societies (e.g. diviners societies) that use descent and divine calling as criteria for membership (see Chapters V and VIII). Voluntary membership also distinguishes these associations from societies of persons with anomalous status for which membership is based on circumstances of birth and development (see Chapter V).

Voluntary occupational associations of drummers (or rather slit gong players) (dj@sů ngabóbolom, Gu.; tokadúr, Kr.), grave diggers (diúsin namír, Gu.; kobadúr di semi-téiro, Kr.), and blacksmiths admit only male members and appear to be present in most provinces of the region. Caboi also has an association of soul oracle makers (djeséri satónq, Gu.; maradúr di djon gágu, Kr.) for men (see Chapter V). Senior women may become mid-wives, but this skill is acquired less by membership to an occupational association than by a voluntary process of apprenticeship with one or two senior women. During colonial times, associations such
as these appear to have been far more numerous than they are now (Carreira, 1947a: 103-112).

Each voluntary occupational association has a chief who acquires his position by seniority within the organization. A male youth may become a drummer, grave digger, soul oracle maker, or blacksmith at any age by stating this interest to an association member and attending meetings in which the skill is practiced. There are never formal rehearsals or study sessions; rather members learn the respective skills at the rituals and events that require their services. The most junior members perform menial activities, senior members perform most of the work, and the association chief acts as supervisor and performs mostly honorary functions.13

The Blacksmiths Association. Of all the voluntary associations, that of the blacksmiths appears to be most imbued with ritual prohibitions and functions (McNaughton, 1987). Blacksmith associations usually have their own spirit shrines. In Caió, the blacksmith association resembles the diviners (bapéne, Mjc.) society in that both perform harvest rituals (kafák, Mjc.)14. In addition, the head of the Baió blacksmith association (nalí b@tch@k, Mjc.) like diviners receives a divine calling to office through illness15, performs a pilgrimage (p@súng, Mjc.)16 to announce the day of his accession to office (kaból nalí b@tch@k', Mjc.), and must construct a small shrine in his backyard where he accomplishes his work. The nalí b@tch@k
also has unusual ritual relations with the Chief and sons of
the earth (see note 6), because "the first head of the
blacksmiths was also a chief of Caiô" (Caiô Interview 16,
1986).

Despite these parallels between the Baiô blacksmiths'
association and ritual occupational societies, blacksmiths
have distinct functions. Not only do they fabricate the
plow tips that are so essential to inundated rice farming,
but they also preside over numerous purification rituals for
people with developmental abnormalities (e.g. dente de riba)
or whose households have been devastated by fire (see
Chapter V).

By allowing open access to these associations and by
assigning offices and privileges to senior members regard-
less of descent, voluntary occupational associations provide
a framework in which first and late comers alike compete
equally for prestige through seniority and achievement.

Age-based Organizations

Age Sets. The coastal Manjaco of Caiô, Pecixe, Jeta,
and Cajegute have an age-set system (urân, Mjc.;
mandjoandade, Kr.) which provides a basis for organizing
labor, festivities, and life-long allegiances that cross-cut
lineage divisions (see Photograph 3)\(^1\)\(^7\). Unlike age grades
that are temporary stages (see below), individuals remain
members of the same age set throughout life, and with the
same age-mates or fellow age-set members, progress through different age grades over time. Thus at any given moment, one age grade may contain several different age sets.

Each Caió age set derives its name from an important event which occurs when members are about seven to 12 years of age and the set of age mates "enters the pubóm" or begins the age grade system (see below). Age set names during pre-colonial times may have been derived from unusual events, like Coli Tenguela’s invasion, epidemics, plagues, political struggles, discoveries, and new trade items. During the colonial period, age sets called "central" (after the installation of central electricity at the district post of Caió), "jackknife" (kanivétu, Kr.), and "players" (udiúgan, Kr., from locally-held soccer matches) were named after Portuguese-introduced innovations. "Parachutists" and "Commanders" were wartime names and "Police" is the name of one age set formed after Independence. A complete list of Baid current age set names is provided in Appendix VII. Age sets are an easy way of determining a speakers approximate age and outsiders and affines automatically belong to one or the other when they move to Caió.

Every age set in Caió, both male and female, has one to three elected male guards ( condominium, Mjc.), who coordinate age set activities, act in their defense, and wear special garb during ritual activities. Each female age set also has a "mother" (ünstëko, Mjc.), an elected senior woman who
serves as counsellor to members of the age set and carries a large spoon as a symbol of her position.

Even outsider women who marry and assume residence in the coastal provinces and come from areas without age sets, become members of individual age sets based on the approximate time of their birth. Age mates are usually an individual's closest friends, who undergo life experiences together as they mature, enjoy adulthood, and grow old. Members of the same age set often help each other with agricultural work and participate in joint festivities. They are also the people who serve as character references and provide continuous loyalty in dispute resolution and in problems between individuals and their respective residential lineages.

**Age Grades.** In most spirit provinces of the Cacheu Region, age-based organizations are crucial to establishing cross-cutting loyalties that are not based on descent within priestly, aristocratic, or commoner lineages. An age grade system is a collection of stages through which cohorts or age sets ascend over time. As cohorts graduate to higher grades they acquire greater authority so that inequality marks relations between grades and equality obtains among cohorts of the same grade (La Fontaine, 1978: 12-15). Although most age grade systems of the Cacheu Region declined during the colonial period, they continue to survive in simplified form or have been partly replaced by
other cross-cutting institutions like the "friendship associations" of Caió. These associations remain the basis by which outsiders, immigrants, and affines, who share the criteria of age but lack real descent and kin ties, form friendships and participate in support systems with residents of the spirit province.

Many senior men and women of the Cacheu Region participated in an elaborate age grade system during their youth (1910-1930's). Adolescents entered the lowest age grade at around 15 to 18 years of age. The grades appear to have had different names in different provinces with some overlap. In Caboi, the entire age grade system was called Banéu and male youth proceeded through seven grades of increasing seniority: Baméhena, Bandúkéra, Batchútéra, Bamangá, Bandjândjana, Taselé, and Bambukará. In Caió, Banéu referred to two of the six male age grades: Bambelanda, Bagák, Bandjândja, Baneu rut, Baneu kor, and Baíla (Carreira, 1947: 58-9, 102; Carreirça and Quintino, 1964: 84). The age grades of Calequisse had slightly different designations (Reis in Mota, 1947: 149).

Females participated jointly with males in Banéu, but their age grades were much more modest and they tended to begin at an earlier age. The four female age grades corresponded roughly with maiden during Banéu, betrothed or adult married woman after Banéu, and senior woman after menopause. Females who became mothers while still in
Banéu skipped a stage in this sequence. Whereas men remained about 18 years in the collective Banéu house, women resided there for only three (Caboi Interview 23, 1986).

In both places, the term Banéu was derived specifically from age grades in which activities were centered around a communal house where both boys and girls slept. Sexual relations while in Banéu were forbidden and, technically, youth who had not completed the entire age grade system were forbidden to start families of their own. Girls who became pregnant while in the Banéu were expelled. To assure that this did not happen with betrothed girls, an older man often befriended a male youth in Banéu to protect his betrothed from other boys in return for one of his daughters when she came of age (Caboi Interview 23, 1986).

The completion of the age grades implied social seniority, and until men reached the senior grades they were prohibited to begin families or engage in sexual relations. Since most men were thirty and forty years old when they became socially mature, sexual prohibitions were difficult to follow and it was relatively common for men to consort incestuously with their female siblings, the only females to whom men had regular access. Incestuous siblings were required to undergo a purification ritual at a crossroads following the polluting act.

Taxation has been distinguished as the major reason for the decline of Banéu during the colonial period (Personal
Since taxes were usually based on the number of beds present in a house, the numerous male and female residents in the large communal Baneu house were required to pay taxes that were difficult for social juniors to acquire. In Caboi during the 1930's, residents broke down the Baneu house and moved to live with their fathers to avoid taxes (Caboi Interviews 12 and 24, 1986). Although this change in residence created problems of overcrowding, people have continued to sleep two and three to a bed.

In the simplified age grade systems that continue to exist, lower grades perform menial tasks, and as cohorts graduate to higher grades they learn specialized skills, and increasingly enjoy the privileges of their status. The boundaries between age grades are marked by ritual and contrasting behavior or moral qualities (La Fontaine, 1978: 13-14). The most significant division between male age grades coincides with uninitiated males, young initiated adults, and senior initiates or elders. Female age grades in Caboi have been simplified to accord to the statuses of junior (pre-childbirth) and senior (post-childbirth) women, but in Caió they appear to have retained the same basic divisions of uninitiated child, initiated and/or betrothed maiden, mother, and senior woman after menopause. The completion of the age grades implies social seniority.
Summary

The provinces of the Cacheu region have developed numerous social institutions for incorporating outsiders. An unusually fluid social structure, adapted to the extremely mobile population, facilitates the establishment of temporary and permanent guests in the province, and the creation of cross-cutting loyalties that counterbalance claims to aristocratic descent and precedence of arrival. By holding offices in age-based organizations and village, neighborhood, and voluntary occupational associations, latecomers have access to the prestige and privilege of seniority in their own right. Fictive kinship, the division of power among lineages, and the prohibition against revealing a captive's true identity all help to mask many of the differences among residents and generate an appearance of changeless tradition and province-wide unity in ethnic origin.

Shrines as the Bases of Group Identities

In most provinces, every important social sub-group has a shrine that symbolizes its unity. Every matrilineal, residential lineage, age grade system, neighborhood association, occupational association, ritual society, and society of persons with anomalous status has a shrine at which meetings are held and important decisions are made. The shrines of territorial groups are dedicated to non-ancestral
spirits and those of descent groups are dedicated to ancestors, although residential lineages on occasion also have shrines dedicated to non-ancestral spirits. The shrines may be either discovered upon arrival or established when a new social sub-group is created. But some residents explicitly recognize that these "shrines are nothing more than the shady areas under large trees where people have united historically to discuss and resolve their common problems, and which over time have acquired a sacred aura" (Caió Interview 17, 1987). Just as spirit contracts sealed alliances and peace treaties between Portuguese traders and their Guinean hosts, so too do the rituals performed at these shrines contribute to the sense of group unity and continuity.

Initiation

Initiation Spirit Shrines

Of all of these public spirit and ancestor shrines, those dedicated to the initiation spirits of the province are by far the most important, both from the perspective of residents of the province and as a basis of ethnic identity. Initiation spirit shrines represent the territorial unity of the province, uniting the members of different lineages, age grades, associations, and villages within it. By virtue of these initiation shrines, the spirit province becomes the widest range of regular social interaction of its residents.
and the unit from which they derive their social and ethnic identity.

Male Province Initiation

Initiation spirit shrines are the sites at which the rituals of male province initiation occur. Following La Fontaine (1986: 179), province initiation may be defined as "a patterned performance whose purpose is action to achieve transformed individuals but whose effect is to demonstrate the power of traditional knowledge and legitimize a continuing social order". Each of the thirty-odd spirit provinces of the Cacheu Region performs the rites of male province initiation separately, and these rituals define the residents or congregation of each spirit province and distinguish them from other spirit provinces or congregations of the Region.

Each ritual of province initiation admits males into a province-wide secret society. Initiation rituals that unite males throughout a province are unusual since many African societies organize initiation on the basis of the puberty of members of distinct descent groups (La Fontaine, 1986: 31, 164; Barth, 1975; Herdt, 1982; Hugh-Jones, S., 1979). Although province initiation sometimes forms part of puberty rites and age grade systems in the Cacheu Region, this is not always the case and the function of province initiation is distinct. Unlike puberty and age grade rituals, male
province initiation is the major public ritual of a province; it involves the whole province and mobilizes most of its important social symbols (La Fontaine, 119; 1969). Furthermore, the ritual of male province initiation is secret and it is this very secrecy that defines its membership and distinguishes initiates from non-initiates, be they females, male children, or outsiders.

Like the Poro and Simo societies of the West Atlantic, Kru, and Peripheral Mande living to the south in forest and coastal areas of Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea (Conakry) (e.g. Nalu, Baga, Mende, Temne, Sherbro, Bullom, Kissi, Sape, Vai) (Butt-Thompson, 1927; McCulloch, 1964; Little, 1965-6; La Fontaine, 1986: 83), the secret societies of the Cacheu Region are central institutions in the provinces and members hold beliefs that are part of the accepted cosmos. Undoubtedly the societies of the Cacheu Region represent a northern extension and simplified version of the more elaborate West Atlantic secret societies of the southern coastal forest zone. The symbolism and organization of secret societies of the Cacheu Region also exhibit numerous parallels with those to the north, such as among the Djola (Silva, 1983: 188-190).

The spirit provinces of the Cacheu Region are frequently sub-divided into "lodges" that organize sets of villages in common initiation around different, but related central shrines. Binsbergen refers to Manjaco lodges as "initiation
regions", but this usage obscures the interrelations among lodges within a spirit province that unite residents from different clusters of villages into a common territory that is different from, but often coincides with the boundaries of "defunct" chiefdoms (1984: 20). The following description of the secret societies of the provinces of Caió and Caboi illustrates some of the types of lodges within the Cacheu Region.

Lodges and Initiation Rituals of Caió. The provincial initiation society of Caió contains two lodges with separate, but related initiation rituals. Each lodge has its own set of spirit shrines at which most initiation rituals are conducted, but major rituals involve consultation of the principal initiation shrines of the other lodge as well. Map 7 illustrates the initiation shrines of the "Batau" and "Caiómete" lodges of Caió focused around the shrines to the spirits of Pigmur and Bakása respectively. The Batau lodge consists of the shrines to the spirits Pigmur, Kabén, Bêlák Ntchmpil, and Pelisan in the villages of Belabate, Bissoi, Tebebe and Batau. The Caiómete lodge orients rituals around the spirits shrines of Bakása, Pâtibi, Bandóka and Balél in the villages of Caiómete, Tumambo, and Dikantém. In Map 7, the hierarchy between spirits of each lodge is represented by solid arrows from the most to least powerful spirit. The order of consultation between lodges is represented by dotted arrows. The neighboring spirit
MAP 7: VILLAGES AND MAJOR SHRINES OF THE SPIRIT PROVINCE OF CAIO
province of Cajegute has a single lodge centered on the spirit Kalák which has occasional relations with the Batau and Caiómete lodges of Caió.

The criteria for membership in one of these Caió lodges appear to be partially associated with the location of the initiate's residential lineage and its historical connection with one of the lodges. The lodges of Batau and Caiómete are of equal importance and include virtually all (99.42%) male residents of their respective areas over the age of 20 (Meireles, 1960: 80, 82, table 9). Although researchers (Meireles, 1960: 79-80) considered it obligatory, a few Baió adults had not undergone the circumcision ritual (kambátxe, Mjc.) of initiation into the Caió province association in 1960 because of prolonged residence outside the Cacheu Region or due to chronic illness.

Initiation rituals begin after the harvest and last for three months. Baió claim that the ritual occurs very infrequently, sometimes as rarely as once every 12 to 20 years (Caió Interviews 8, 18-19, 1986-87), but there is some evidence that they may take place in intervals of as little as three to five years (Meireles, 1960: 82-6). In the recent past, Caió initiation took place in December through February 1986-9, circa 1978, and in 1960.

In each initiation year, hundreds of Baió usually between the ages of 13 and 20 undergo the ritual together in seclusion at one of the two sacred shrines to the spirits of
Bakássa in Caiómete and Pigínur in Batau. Initiates who leave the bush to acquire palm wine or other provisions must conceal their identities by wearing a grass and leaf costume made by other members of the society. During the seclusion, initiates undergo social instruction (katássa, Mjc.) and learn the rules of survival (e.g. how to extract palm fruit, dig wells, select medicinal plants, and cook), traditions about the history of their province, the mysteries of sexual life, and the meaning of secret symbols. They also swear an oath not to reveal to non-initiates what has been learned (Meireles, 1960: 92-100).

In this "school of life" (Meireles, 1960: 92), title holders and other members of the secret society teach and guide initiates and in so doing, demonstrate the importance of respecting the authority of seniors and reveal the organization of the secret society's titles.

**Lodges and Initiation Rituals of Caboi.** The provincial initiation society of Caboi contains only one lodge although there are six shrines to the same initiation spirit, Mama Djombo, at which males may be initiated. Map 8 shows the distribution of these shrines in the six villages of Caboi. Two of the six Mama Djombo shrines, one in Sáfu Bissele and one in Tchob, are considered to be auxiliary and are used only when the other shrines are occupied.

Unlike in Caió, joint initiation in Caboi does not lead to membership in separate lodges. Initiation at any of the
MAP 8: VILLAGES AND INITIATION SPIRIT SHRINES
OF THE SPIRIT PROVINCE OF CABOI

KAHAM

Bilimbò

BISSELÉ

Tchob

Wombar

Koham

Bilimbò

Bassend

Mone

Gisil

Kawouku

Satu Bisséle

Sapok

Sandengu

Sakan

Satu Bissalii

KEY

- Village

- Residential Lineage

- Site of Former Residential Lineage

- Mame Djenge Shrine

- Road
six shrines of Caboi transforms males into members of the same lodge or provincial initiation association. Baboi initiation is not obligatory but, like Baió, almost all Baboi males undergo the rituals.25

The timing of initiation rituals are determined by the number of eligible males within a village and by the availability of resources. Under normal circumstances, initiation rituals occur in one of Caboi's four villages about every five years.26 Residents of suitable age living in other villages join the initiates of the village where the ritual is being held.

Circumcision (g Peggy, Gu.; "cut") is a prerequisite for male initiation into the Baboi province association, but does not necessarily form part of the initiation rituals. Circumcision is no longer performed collectively and individual Baboi of any age may undergo the operation anywhere, even in hospitals in the capital city.

Baboi province initiation rituals are divided into two parts. The first part, simini (Gu., Cs.), is described by members of the secret society as a collective oath-taking ritual. Baboi boys between the ages of 12 and 17,27 journey across the Cacheu River to perform the ritual jointly with Cassanga and Banyun initiates. The spirit shrines at which simini takes place are found in the sectors of Sao Domingos and Bigene, and in the lower Casamance in Senegal, in areas that were traditionally part of Cassanga and Banyun ter-
ritory (Mota, 1954a: 291, note 139). The joint ritual of siminí underscores the common historical connections between the Baboi, Cassanga, and Banyun and socializes initiates for the ritual and social behavior appropriate to all three ethnic groups.

The second part of initiation, simindé, has been described as a "swearing-out" ritual, in which Baboi males take an oath that the secrets which will be told to them by the multitude of pilgrims to Mama Djombo will remain secret. Simindé must take place after siminí, but may be performed at any time, from the same day as siminí to several years afterwards. Unlike the collective rituals of siminí, boys may undergo simindé individually or in groups. Simindé grants Baboi initiates access to the sacred terrain (also called simindé, Gu.) of the Mama Djombo initiation shrines. This ritual also enables initiates to consume all libations and oblations to Mama Djombo that are offered in the sacred territory, food that is said to cause death if consumed by non-members. Unlike siminí which is performed outside of Caboi jointly with non-Baboi, simindé is unique to Baboi males and must be performed in the Caboi spirit province. This "swearing-out" ritual symbolically emphasizes that despite historical ties with other ethnic groups, the primary allegiance of Baboi is to the province association of Caboi organized around the spirit of Mama Djombo.
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**Titles.** The number of titles within a province-wide secret society appears to vary according to the degree of social stratification. In the relatively egalitarian spirit province of Caboi, there are no achieved titles. Rather, the eldest male of a priestly lineage, who is the custodian (uzúku djenyú, Gu.) of the shrine to Mama Djombo, functions as initiation priest (amánya, Mjc.) within the Baboi secret society.

In the comparatively stratified spirit province of Caió, by contrast, there seem to be numerous titles in the secret society each with distinct regalia. The initiation priests (amánya, Mjc.) who hold the highest title, preside over all initiation rituals in the sacred forests and, like the Chief of Caió and the chiefmaker, carry hand brooms (bikíl, Mjc.), axes (pétíbi, Mjc.), and rattles (usói, Mjc.) to represent propriety and the maintenance of social order. Chiefs of the palm tree (Borassus aethiopum) (Adjú Gibén, Mjc.) who hold the second rank in command, perform the circumcision operation and are distinguished by the knife (kasérán, Mjc.) and two gazelle horns (békássa, Mjc.) that represent their position, although they also carry brooms and rattles. A holder of the third title, "auxiliary of the forest" (nadián blek, Mjc.), serves as a warrior and defender of the secret society, who "for protection" carries a wooden stick (undógo, Mjc.) and leather shield (ubél, Mjc.) covered with gazelle horns, cowries, and a patina of libations (see Mark,
The holder of the lowest title, the "cook" (namún, Mjc.), responsible for preparing ritual meals in the sacred forest, may carry a carved wooden cooking stick (undógo, Mjc.) as a symbol of his rank. Initiated males address each other by these titles and display the regalia of their ranks above the door of their houses to be viewed by all passers-by. A deeper knowledge of the symbolic significance of these regalia is beyond the scope of non-initiates.

Criteria for Acquisition of Titles. Titles in the Baid secret society cut across the sharp hierarchy of commoner and aristocratic lineages. Although the precise criteria for acquiring titles are unknown, the offices are achieved. Some offices (e.g. cook or namún) appear to be related to excellence in the performance of specific duties during initiation. Other titles (e.g. possibly initiation priest or amánya) appear to be acquired through the successful accomplishment of a difficult task, such as sleeping without nightmares on a bed (bekáp, Mjc.) in front of the initiation spirit (Meireles, 1949: 13). Title-holding may also correspond to some extent with wealth, since costly rituals appear to be performed before a new rank can be achieved. It is important to note, that members of the secret society often hold several titles during a lifetime. Title holders may advance in rank and acquire higher titles as they attain seniority through the attendance of several initiation rituals.
These achieved titles held by numerous secret society members enable males of commoner lineages and migrants of different ethnic origin to acquire positions of power and prestige within the spirit province in which they are initiated. As with Poro (La Fontaine, 1986: 94), any member of provincial secret societies in the Cacheu Region is, in principle, eligible to rise in the organization, and leadership is determined by merit and learning rather than inheritance or divine selection.

Relations between Secret Societies and Age Grades. The relationship between age grade systems and provincial secret societies is unclear although their organizations appear to overlap in some provinces. In Caió, for instance, ranks within the secret society seem to be partly dependent upon seniority in age grades (Carreira, 1947: 101). Furthermore, as the most important ritual in a man’s life (Meireles, 1960: 82), initiation into the secret society is a major marker of the transition from adolescence to adulthood. But secret societies includes members of all age grades and therefore acquire a magnitude that far outweighs that of other social institutions.

Differences between Male and Female Province Initiation. In some provinces, females also undergo their own initiation at the central initiation spirit shrines. One such province is Caboi where the ritual (baré, Gu.) not only marks female adulthood as a possible survival of the age grade system,
but also resembles male initiation into provincial secret societies because it focuses on instructing females about the ways in which they may rely upon the central initiation spirit, Mama Djombo, during their lifetimes. Girls who have not completed *baré* may marry, but may not take part in women's rituals which are their basic means for redressing wrongs and resolving disputes.

Like *Simindé*, *Baré* is specific to the Baboi and always takes place in Caboi, occurring in the province roughly once every five years. In any given initiation year, the ritual takes place in a single village, although eligible girls from other villages may also participate. Senior (post-menopause) women of the village in which the ritual is to be performed schedule the event and supply a pig, while men contribute wine, rice flour, and two pigs.

A female initiation priestess (*unambaré*, Gu., "head of *baré*") presides over the ritual and is responsible for instructing the girls about marriage and social responsibilities. Each village has a single *unambaré* who is the eldest woman, usually an affine, living in the major priestly residential lineage of a village. Throughout her life, the *unambaré* is responsible for communicating messages from the spirit of Mama Djombo to female initiates in her village and for organizing women to perform fertility rituals at earth shrines.
Compared to the male secret society, female initiation at the central province shrines is of secondary importance and groupings of initiated females rarely organize for province-wide activities. Although the unambaré acts as a spokesperson for female residents of the spirit province, she, like any non-member of the male secret society, must rely on males to receive messages from Mama Djombo that she in turn communicates to her congregation. Only with the assistance of male members of the secret society can Baboi women summon and interpret the messages of the initiation spirit, and like non-initiates from other areas Baió females are forbidden to consume offerings sacrificed in the sacred shrine grounds. Thus, where female initiation exists, it assumes a secondary position in relation to male initiates in the provincial secret society.

Inter-Lodge and Inter-Province Relations of Secret Societies

Each lodge of the Cacheu Region is only linked to other lodges within a spirit province. Unlike Poro "lodges" which are bound to wider areas through an association of higher ranking members all belonging to an expansive secret society (La Fontaine, 1986: 95), the secret society of each spirit province in the Cacheu Region is a unit unto itself, in most cases with no formal, organizational connections with the lodges of other spirit provinces of the region. The members of different spirit provinces may universally recognize
certain titles (e.g. amánya, "initiation priest"), but the range of authority of these title-holders is usually limited to the secret society of the province in which members are initiated.

Each secret society of the Cacheu Region has a different organization and number of lodges from those in other spirit provinces. However, the members of all lodges of a given spirit province have one common characteristic: they may serve as intermediaries between non-initiates and any of the initiation spirits of the province, even those associated with other lodges of that province.

Initiates alone may enter the sacred grove of the initiation spirit shrines and consume the offerings made there. Because of the carefully restricted access to the initiation shrine grounds, non-initiated supplicants rarely perceive the complex hierarchies and offices in many secret societies. Non-initiates usually visit the shrine for brief periods and remain seated on a log bench outside the sacred grove until the ritual is completed. These supplicants are forced to work through an initiated male, who relays the request to the spirit and the spirit's response to the client. Moreover, non-initiates rarely consume the sacrifices they themselves offer to initiation spirits. In Caió, oblations and libations are reserved solely for members of any lodge of the secret society, while in Caboi only sacrifices which are too large to be consumed by the initiates
present are slaughtered outside the sacred grounds and consumed by initiates and non-initiates alike.

Initiation spirits are associated with uncultivation, and only through initiation do members of the sacred forest learn ritual techniques to help them control non-human powers and thus become capable of entering the untamed spirit grounds (La Fontaine, 1986: 96). Restricted access to the sacred grove represents the opposition between non-members and members, between domestic or household (female) interests and community (male) concerns (La Fontaine, 1986: 137). The supposed monopoly on ritual knowledge that initiation confers is what endows secret societies with their ability to maintain the natural and social order. Thus, becoming a member of a secret society and entering into this sacred space brings about a transformation in individuals, regardless of their lineage and ethnic origin.

Although participation in many of the rituals performed at these central shrines is voluntary, in some of the major initiation shrines, hundreds of rituals occur monthly providing initiates with the opportunity to meet with any other initiate of any lodge who wishes to participate. In some areas (e.g. Calequisse), the frequency of social and ritual action among initiates is guaranteed by the fact that any offering made at lesser, non-initiation shrines, must be reported at the central spirit shrines along with a suitable libation (Binsbergen, 1984: 21). Through this possibility
for regular ritual interaction among initiates of various lodges, members of a secret society acquire a sense of common interests and identity that make the spirit province a cohesive unit.

Secret Societies and Political Authority

The secret societies of the Cacheú Region are the institutions which most constantly define legal rules (lex) and order within a province. At initiation spirit shrines, members of provincial secret societies resolve disputes, promulgate new regulations, and reformulate the social contract (Mota, 1951: 672). At each initiation ritual, new rules are established, claims to office are assessed (Binsbergen, 1984: 21), female fertility cults that have acquired too much economic independence are abolished (Bassarel Interview 1, 1987; Personal Communication: Gable, 1987c), palm wine prices are changed, women are excluded from occupational societies (e.g. Caió), incest restrictions are modified (e.g. Caboi), new lesser spirit shrines are founded, etc.. The central initiation spirits are believed to provide the divine sanctions necessary to enforce new rules within the province, and their custodians, like chiefs, represent social and moral order and propriety symbolized by the brooms they carry.

These wide ranging functions are significant, particularly given the presence of secular and sacred chiefs in
many provinces whose spheres of activities occasionally overlap with those of secret societies. Like secret societies, chiefs have historically symbolized the political unity of villages in many spirit provinces of the Cacheu Region. However, over the years colonial and post-Independence administrative structures have undermined the power of traditional chiefs, who no longer mobilize people from throughout their chiefdoms (Binsbergen, 1984: 22). In 1951, 18 of the 29 provinces of the Cacheu Region had had no chiefs for some time and the offices had been vacant in four of these provinces for over 40 years (Carreira, 1951b: 46-7, 50-2). In provinces lacking centralized political leadership or where the institution of the chiefship has deteriorated, lineages, and in some provinces, aristocratic and commoner clans with independent political offices and lands, further fragment the chiefdom’s political unity. Although common languages and oral histories continue to provide some tradition for inter-village unity, province-wide secret societies have now become the active force that incorporates dispersed villages into a common unit.

Where chiefs still hold power, common rules of political succession, chiefdom-wide rituals, and the occasional demands of corvée labor in the chief’s fields unite subjects into a common political system. But even in these provinces, secret societies can be very powerful within their completely independent sphere of activities (Meireles, 1960:
It would seem that although chiefs are members of the secret society, they are rarely office holders, and are always subordinate to senior officials in matters involving spirits (La Fontaine, 1986: 94). In Caió, for instance, disputes involving the custodians of initiation spirit shrines and some title holders in secret societies are resolved in special courts organized around counsels of elders and completely outside of the Chief’s jurisdiction (Meireles, 1952: 401, 403). Accordingly, "crimes against religion" belong to a distinct class of penal law and are punished by authorities within the secret society (Meireles, 1952: 403-6). In some periods, Manjaco secret societies have even dominated secular authority by deposing usurpers of political office (Mota, 1951: 672).

As has been shown, even provinces that continue to select chiefs and have viable political institutions often undergo decades of interregnum during which centralized leadership is lacking. During these periods, secret societies often become the sole institution for decision-making and the only framework for integrating the numerous lineages and territorial groupings of villages into a common spirit province. Dispute resolution, the determination of fines for misconduct, and numerous other matters are settled at the central initiation shrine under the guidance of shrine custodians and initiation priests.
In many provinces of the Cacheu Region, a clear distinction obtains between chiefly authority based on hereditary secular office and ritual power dependent upon knowledge open to any one to acquire (La Fontaine, 1986: 92). Thus like the Poro society, province-wide secret societies in the Cacheu Region coexist with the secular or sacred authority of chiefs rather than work in opposition to established authority (La Fontaine, 1986: 83). 'The influential authority of secret societies that is derived from spirits supports and, on occasion, overrules the authority of chiefs (La Fontaine, 1986: 94). But while political offices are subject to the vagaries of human mortality, encompassing secret societies and the spirit shrines where they meet appear changeless and vital as long as there are men to be initiated.

**Spirit Provinces and Ethnic Identity**

Initiation spirits and the secret societies from which intermediaries and priests are drawn are consulted in both critical and calendrical rituals and penetrate all aspects of social life within the spirit province. Numerous smaller shrines that exist within a province draw their clientele from subgroups, while initiation spirit shrines are identified with the province as a whole. Even though women and children must work through initiated males to consult these spirit shrines, non-initiates and initiates together make up
the congregation of a province's initiation spirits because of the central position these spirits occupy in their cosmologies and the regular, key role they are believed to perform in their lives.

Given the central role of these secret societies in legislation and politics, particularly in the absence of other political authority, it is not surprising that the spirit province in which it functions is the basic unit of ethnic identity. "Initiation establishes a social identity, a 'sense of social-emotional anchorage for the growing individual'" (Cohen, Y., 1964b: 532). Initiates and their non-initiated kin consult the central spirits regularly and the policies of the secret society penetrate the lives of all residents of the spirit province. Organization into different secret societies distinguishes one spirit province from another and establishes a bond among all the residents of the same province regardless of historical origins. Through initiation, immigrants of different ethnic or province origin may become permanent members of the communities in which they have chosen to reside. It is in relation to this territory surrounding central initiation spirit shrines --the spirit province-- that the common denominator of ethnic identity is determined.
Lasting Identity despite Migration

The province-wide social identity established through initiation into a secret society overrides residence rules and prolonged absence from the spirit province. In an initiation year, hundreds of Manjaco migrants return to their spirit provinces to perform the essential but infrequent ritual or renew their bonds with the initiation spirits (Binsbergen, 1984: 21, 29, 38-9). Initiation into the secret society and socialization into notions of obligation, neglect, dependence and fear, have much to do with Manjaco migrants' continued observance of rural ties (Binsbergen, 1984: 30). The ritual assures not only that migrants return periodically to the Cacheu Region in order to retain some position in their secret societies, but also that they make every effort to retire in their homelands where they can reveal their secret spirit contracts and ritual obligations to their offspring before death (see Chapter VI).

There is some evidence that the rituals of male province initiation have themselves been modified to suit the peculiar needs of migrants, who are granted only brief periods of leave from their jobs in France, the Gambia, and Senegal. For initiates with foreign residence, the lengthy three month period of seclusion required for this important ritual is impractical. To accommodate these emigrants, some initiates may bypass the actual operation of circumcision
and be symbolically "initiated" through an oath-swearing ritual and the consumption of a sacred beverage of secret ingredients (Bassarel/Caió Interview 1, 1986).

Even while living abroad, many Manjaco and Baboi migrants in Senegal, the Gambia, and France continue to identify themselves in relation to the spirit provinces in which they were initiated (Binsbergen, 1984: 30, 39). In France, emigrants of particular spirit provinces have organized common funds to support funeral expenses of fellow emigrants and to finance the return of invalids to their homelands (Diop, 1985: 208-12). Thus, the territorial province that initiation spirits define serves as the basic social referent for Manjaco living in all parts of the globe.

**Historical Identity and Ties with Neighboring Peoples**

In some cases, initiation into a secret society goes beyond simply determining ethnic identity to emphasizing historical relations with neighboring peoples. Many secret societies of the Cacheu Region (e.g. Calequisse, Caió, Bassarel) associate the scheduling of initiation with a 20-year ritual cycle in which initiation rituals are performed annually in successive villages first among the Djola villages and then slowly traveling south to villages in Manjacoland, and later to Papel and Mankanya territory.
Because of this common cycle, some Manjaco initiates claim that their initiation rituals originated among the Djola, thus paralleling historical relations reported in oral traditions of origin. The historical bond between the Manjaco and Djola is further suggested by numerous other resemblances between the secret societies of the two peoples (e.g. terminology for initiation priest: amânya, Mjc.; amanyenyâu, Dj.; amanyenen, Dj.; amânya, Ehing) (Carreira, 1961b; Schloss, 1988: 24-5).

The role that male province initiation plays in establishing historical identities is even better exemplified in the secret society of Caboi, where the ritual substantiates linguistic and historical links with their Cassanga and Banyun forefathers. Not only is the first phase of the ritual (simini, Gu.) performed at Cassanga spirit shrines in Cassanga territory, but the ritual may be performed with Cassanga initiates as well. Furthermore, the central initiation spirit of Caboi, Mama Djombo (meaning unknown) is probably related to the "supernatural entity", Mama-jumbô associated with Cassanga male initiation (Nogueira, 1948: 378) and with the Banyun masked and grass-covered witch-finder, Mamma-Diombo (Bérenger-Féraud, 1879). Associated with male initiation associations and probably belonging to a larger complex which includes the Mande kankurân (Weil, 1988b: 14-15) and the Djola kumpo (Mark, 1988a), this masked figure lives in the forest and emerges to root out witches.
and criticize the behavior of individuals. Interestingly enough, the Baboi variety of Mama Djombo despite its clearly Cassanga or Mande root, is located in Manjacoland and occupies a territorial, central initiation spirit shrine with the same form and methods of consultation as Manjaco initiation spirits.

Initiation rites such as these not only socialize children into appropriate behavior as adults, but also serve to define historical and ritual ties within and between communities. Siminí creates links with Cassanga and Banyun, the historical siblings of the Baboi, and familiarizes young males with the spirits and terrain of their historical lands of origin north of the Cacheu River. The second stage of the initiation, Simindé, is unique to the Baboi and distinguishes their spirit province and initiation spirit from other provinces of the Cacheu Region. The villages and lineages which unite for initiation demonstrate the social fields of participants and the limits within which legal, ritual, and social action most regularly occur.

ETHNONYMS AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

Anyone who studies the history of the peoples of this part of the Upper Guinea Coast is inevitably struck by the profusion of ethnic labels or ethnonyms (see for example Bocandé, 1849; Carreira, 1964; Mark, 1985) in a relatively small geographic area and by the extent of change that these
terms have undergone over the centuries. In the Cacheu Region, part of this problem stems from the fact that its inhabitants historically have identified themselves by reference to "spirit provinces" in which men are initiated, rather than by larger ethnic groupings (Correia Lopes in Dinis, 1946: 253; Mota, 1954a: 146; Meireles, 1948: 608; Almeida, 1966). In the Cacheu Region alone, there are some 30 such provinces each with its own ethnic designation and identity. The Baboi of Caboi, the Baió of Caió, and the Pantufa of Pantufa are but a few examples of spirit province-derived ethnic identities.

In contrast to these fundamental self-defined ethnic identities based on ritual territories, numerous ethnic labels or ethnonyms have been imposed by outsiders on the peoples of the Cacheu Region. The history of the Cacheu Region provided in Chapter III shows that peoples of this Region have variously been called Buramo, Manjaco, Mankanya, Papel, Cassanga, Cobiana, Djola, Felupe, among other terms. An understanding of the etymologies of some of these foreign-imposed ethnic labels should provide insights into the processes by which ethnonyms are created, applied, and even adopted in the course of ethnogenesis.

Etymologies of Ethnonyms

The diversity of province-based ethnonyms in the Cacheu Region undoubtedly frustrated early European explorers and
geographers who sought broader categories that would simplify the task of documentation. The assistance of non-local, but African informants (Bocandé, 1849: 327) and translators, above all Wolof and Mandinga, nicely satisfied this need since they tended to define the inhabitants in relative terms, by the extent to which they were Islamized, or subjected to familiar political states. Numerous toponyms and ethnonyms appear to be of this origin, such as "Casamance" (from Mandinga mansa, "king" of the Cassas or "Cassangas"), "Djola" (19th century, from Wolof (Bocandé, 1849: 327) or Mandinga (Carreira, 1964: 243) verb, djoro, "to pay" to designate a "payer", "tributary", or "vassal"), and "Balanta" (from Mandinga "abalanta" meaning "they refused" (Pimentel, 1927: 3; Handem, 1986: 10).

These African assistants conveniently extracted other ethnic labels from toponyms. Place names like Mansoa, Mande, Jalon (Puta Djallon), Cassa, and Badiar, with the Mandinga suffix "nka", "nke", or "nga" gave rise to ethnonyms, such as Mansoanca, Mandinka, Jalonca, Cassanga, and Badjaranke respectively (Mota, 1954a: 178-9; Simmons, 1971: 11). Likewise, the ethnic label Caboiana or Cobiana was probably a 19th century Portuguese or Creole derivation of the toponym Caboi (Carreira, 1964: 255-56).

Although the origins of some ethnonyms remain uncertain (e.g. Buramo and Papel which referred to the inhabitants of the Cacheu Region in the 16th through 18th centuries),
elaborate and picturesque etymologies have developed to explain the pedigree of others. "Cunante" and "Manjaco" for instance, are said to be obtained from linguistic peculiarities that outsiders or neighboring groups considered to be distinctive. One etymology holds that "Cunante" (20th century) is a Portuguese Creole word for "Mansoanca", derived from the Mansoanca word, hunante, meaning "Balanta of Cuntohé" (Carreira, 1964: 271-2). Similarly, "Manjaco" (18th century) is believed to come from manjago, a word which these people presumably repeat often and means "I tell you" (Bocandé, 1849: 340; Almeida, 1966: 25). Nonetheless, many Manjaco deny the veracity of this interpretation.

The extent to which etymologies such as these are factual or folkloric is open to question. At least one Portuguese administrator appears to have overstepped this boundary in his explanation of the origins of the ethnonyms "Mankanya" and "Brame". In 1927, the Administrator of Costa de Baixo reported that "Mankanya" came from the Mandinga expression man-kanyá (or "not" "the same") and was a surname or clan name rather than ethnonym (Menezes, 1928: 3). According to him, "Mankanya" was applied collectively to this ethnic group by the first colonizer who met one of its members (Menezes, 1928: 3). The same author surmised that "Brame" was a corruption of the Mandinga name "Braima", the man who purportedly founded the chiefdoms of Co and Bula, where he settled after fleeing the wrath of his Fula
overlord or father-in-law (Menezes, 1928: 4). Among the flaws in these exegesis are the facts that the Mandinga have had no long term presence in Mankanya territory, that the Fula only became overlords of the Mandinga in the late 19th century, and that the label "Brame" is much closer to the ethnonym "Buramo" of 16th and 17th century accounts (e.g. Almada, (1594) 1964; Coelho, (1669)‘1937) than to the Mandinga name "Braima".

In some cases, even assimilation of aspects of colonial culture became a basis for distinctions in ethnic label. "Grumete", "Cristao", and "Kriolu", for instance, were "catch-all" terms that were applied to a diversity of peoples who were distinguished as separate groups because of having adopted Portuguese customs, converted to Christianity, or spoken Kriolu as a mother tongue. As each of these groups began to marry among themselves, the labels began to acquire an ethnic cast (Exposição, 1930: 12).

**Ethnic Identification and "Disidentification"**

The terms ethnic "identification" and "disidentification" (Hayano, 1981) are used here to describe processes of change in ethnic identity through the adoption and rejection of ethnic labels. Anthropological studies (Helm, 1968) have shown that the time-honored "tribe", whose members were of a common race, and had a uniform political system, language, socio-cultural organization, descent system, and group
identity, appears to be the exception rather than the rule in Africa (Kopytoff, 1987: 4). In Africa, ethnic categories undergo situational shifts as they incorporate large numbers of outsiders or as members reject one label in favor of a more advantageous identity. In few places is this process clearer than in the Upper Guinea Coast.

The situational shifts in ethnic labels and the gradual adoption of foreign terminology for self identification is a common pattern throughout Africa and other parts of the world (Alexandre, 1983; Cohen, 1978; Gallagher, 1974; Handelman, 1977; Hayano, 1981; Isaacs, 1974; Moerman, 1965; Naroll, 1964; Obdinski, 1978; Samarín, 1984; Schultz, 1984; Southall, 1976). In the Cacheu Region these shifts have been guided by the fundamental opposition between emically-defined province-based identities and foreign-imposed ethnic labels. This contradiction always provided the peoples of the Cacheu Region with several possible alternatives for ethnic identification that varied in different situations.

Sometimes, inhabitants of the Cacheu Region probably found it expeditious in conversations with outsiders to identify themselves by the widely known, simplified ethnic labels (e.g. Buramo, Manjaco) while reserving the more precise ethnonyms for communications with peoples familiar with their internal social diversity. An example of this is the tendency of Baboi youth to identify themselves as "Manjaco" since this is generally a better known ethnic
groups and places them in the general vicinity of their spirit province.

Relative prestige also seems to have stimulated the adoption of certain ethnonyms and the rejection of others. The ethnonym "Manjaco", for instance, underwent rapid expansion during the 19th century when the Manjaco Kingdom was at its height, possibly because of the prestige associated with the centralized political unit. The dwindling of the Cassanga and Banyun ethnic groups may be attributed to a similar process of socio-political assimilation by the Djola (Mark, 1985: 5-22; Baum, 1987: 44-97) and Mandinga (Weil, 1988b: 6-9; Baum, 1987: 44-97) over the past four centuries.

Although many peoples of Guinea-Bissau claim that ethnicity is determined by the father even in matrilineal descent systems, the offspring of mixed marriages at times find it advantageous to choose the ethnic labels of their mother or father depending on the ritual and material resources to which this identity would grant them access.

In each of these cases, there were several options of ethnic labels to be adopted and the choice varied depending on the historical prestige associated with the label, the ethnicities to which the speaker could lay claims, the familiarity of the person who was the object of the conversation, and a variety of other interests of the speaker at the time. To a large extent, the ethnonyms and ethnic
identities of the inhabitants of the Cacheu zone, as in neighboring areas (Mark, 1985: 6), are outgrowths of the colonial period.

A Case of Ethnoqenesis: the Manjaco, Mankanya, and Papel

Throughout the early period of trade and exploration, foreign explorers, geographers, and administrators lumped the residents of the Cacheu Region together as a single people, known interchangeably as "Buramo" or "Papel". As these early visitors became more familiar with the area, they distinguished three sub-groups, often referred to as clans (Carreira, 1964: 261): the Papel, Manjaco, and Mankanya (or Brame). Of the three ethnonyms, "Manjaco" is the most recent, appearing for the first time at the end of the 18th century (Mota, 1954a: 146; Beaver, 1805: 319-20).

In 1849, the terms Papel and Manjaco were used interchangeably for the inhabitants of the Costa de Baixo in the southern and central parts of the Region (Bocandé, 1849: 340-42). By the 1940's "Manjaco" applied to the inhabitants of the entire region of the Buramo, except those of the territories of Cacheu, Churo, Biânga, Jol, Pantufa and Bissau, who retained the ethnonym "Papel", and Co and Bula who were known as "Mankanya" or "Brame" (Carreira, 1945: 2-4; Carreira, 1964: 260). At least since 1983, the ethnonym "Manjaco" has referred to almost all the inhabitants of the
Cacheu Region, except those of Co and Bula who continue to be called "Mankanya," and the small enclaves of Baboi and Djola living along the fringes of the region. "Papel" now refers to inhabitants of the island of Bissau.

This gradual extension of the ethnonym "Manjaco" may have been the result of colonial recognition of real similarities between the dialects of the various "Manjaco" and a subsequent modification of former categories. The term may also have become popular by association with the development of the Manjaco kingdom and so was adopted by the people in its vicinity. In this second case, the term might have spread first with the integration of diverse petty chiefdoms into a single Manjaco Kingdom and later, by extension of this ethnonym to the bordering, small, non-integrated chiefdoms and provinces.

Portuguese colonial scholars (Carreira, 1947a: 24) considered the Manjaco, Mankanya, and Papel to be of a common ethnic origin because of the historical descriptions of Buramo, linguistic affinities, and similarities in funeral practices, enthronement rituals, belief systems, and several rules of common law. The clearest evidence is the similarity in syntax and vocabulary of the three languages (Marques, 1947a; Carreira & Marques, 1947; Wilson, 1959: 598).

Like oral traditions that tend to portray gradual historical processes as instantaneous, mechanical results of
specific events (Mark, 1985: 19), colonial scholars (Carreira, 1964: 261) attributed the tripartite fragmentation of the "Buramo" into the "Manjacó", "Mankanya", and "Papel" to intra-group rivalry and warfare over slave raids rather than to gradual social processes. Since there are neither primary historical documents nor oral traditions to support this claim, it remains unclear whether these new terms emerged from some internal process that created a fission within the group or from the simple fact of greater familiarity on the part the colonial powers with the diversity of peoples of the Cacheu region.

CONCLUSION

The relatively inaccessible forested and swamp environment of the Cacheu region has contributed to the formation of dispersed social groups with variations in language, socio-political organization, and beliefs. Downplaying distinctions among the origins of different residents, relations among residents of territorially proximate settlements are oriented around common rituals at central spirit shrines. By virtue of male province initiation, these numerous spirit provinces are the fundamental referents for ethnic identity within the Region.

This chapter shows that ritual relations can form an enduring basis for ethnic identity, particularly in areas suffering from marked population fluctuations. Ethnic
identities are constantly redefined as new settlers reject their former affiliations in favor of those of the spirit provinces in which they or their families are initiated. Landlord-stranger relationships, the manipulation of genealogical rules, and cross-cutting social institutions further assist in the assimilation of outsiders into the socio-spiritual identities of their new homes.

Spirit provinces such as these are not only adapted to the regular incorporation of outsiders, but retain many of these integrative symbols in rituals dealing with outsiders. The social emphasis in many spirit provinces is on sanctuary and the common problems of the human condition, rather than on ethnic differences. For this reason, the structure of the refuge spirit communities of the Cacheu Region are uniquely suited to their function as pilgrimage centers for peoples of different backgrounds.
ENDNOTES

1. The term spirit province is borrowed from Garbett (1977: 56) and Lan (1985: 34), but modified to signify a specific type of social formation that is organized around non-ancestral spirits.

2. Batau contains the neighborhoods of Kor Batau, Binhangai, Púp@1, and Kalélé, and Caiômête has neighborhoods called Blei, Barala, Casëgîüta, and Ktch@m.

3. The following 1987 figures are based on a census conducted during field research in Cabói and among Baboi temporary migrants in other areas during the month of March. A partial summary of these data are provided in Appendix II.

   A comparison of the 1979 Government Census and my 1987 statistics on Baboi living in Guinea-Bissau, provided in Table 2, shows that the total Baboi population has almost doubled in the last eight years.

   **TABLE 2: Baboi Population in Guinea-Bissau by Region**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAB</th>
<th>Bafata'</th>
<th>Biombo</th>
<th>Bolama</th>
<th>Quinara</th>
<th>Cacheu</th>
<th>Gabu</th>
<th>Oio</th>
<th>Tomb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'79</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>650</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'87</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1031</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   (SAB = Sector Autónomo de Bissau)
   (Tomb. = Tombali)

   My census also indicated that Baboi resided temporarily in several countries outside of Guinea-Bissau, as illustrated in the following table:

   **TABLE 3: Other Countries of Baboi Residence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senegal</th>
<th>Gambia</th>
<th>Maur.</th>
<th>Gabon</th>
<th>USSR</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Ttl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ziguinchor</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakar</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Unidentified=1
   Total Population=1205

   Official colonial censuses recorded the population of Cabói as more or less constant, under 300 in size from 1928 to 1950 (Provincià da Guiné, 1924; 1951: 264). Although recent statistics show that the population of Cabói has remained almost constant, statistics of Baboi migrants
suggest a contrary trend: that the Baboi are flourishing and expanding to other areas while retaining their ethnic identity. Clearly, high rates of temporary and permanent migration easily disguise population statistics.

4. The residential lineage of Lera controls a sacred spirit of restricted access (*Bidjigi Lera*), and men who wish to marry women of this lineage must undergo special rituals to do so.

5. This hypothesis is drawn by comparison with the way in which blacksmiths and iron-working innovations have been recorded in oral traditions in other parts of the Cacheu Region, such as in Calequisse (see Reis in Mota, 1947: 148-9).

6. The chief of Lera (*Adjú Lera*), the chief of Caió (*Adjú Kor*), and the head of the blacksmiths association (*nali b@tch@k, Mjc.*) are closely intertwined in ritual and perform complementary functions, all requiring iron regalia. Each must be present at the other’s funerals, which involves elaborate preparations and disposal of the corpse (see Chapter V). Each must attend the others accession to office. At Adjú Lera’s accession to office, the blacksmith association sacrifices a pig to an iron spirit (*p@s@ng, Mjc.*) which is bestowed upon him as regalia of office. Similarly, Adjú Lera must attend the ritual of accession of the head blacksmith and the blacksmith associations annual harvest ritual (*kafák, Mjc.*) both of which involve the manipulation of an iron spirit (*p@s@ng, Mjc.*). In like fashion, many of the rituals that the chiefmaker performs over several years to select the Chief of Caió are held at Lera, and Adjú Lera himself has the right to fabricate the Chief’s broom (*bikil, Mjc.*) and symbol of his appointment. Once the chief accedes to office, Adjú Lera and Adjú Kor may never again set eyes upon one another or suffer the penalty of death. When either plans to leave his compound, such as when Adjú Lera performs the ritual that initiates the thatch harvest (*katchíma pekáu, Mjc.*) in May, he must warn of his departure to the other by messenger.

Iron figures prominently in the ritual regalia of Adjú Kor (who acquires an iron spirit (*mtchak, Mjc.*) in a calabash at his accession to office), of Adjú Lera (who from the blacksmiths association acquires *p@s@ng*, a shrine which resembles an axe and iron inside a calabash), of the head of the blacksmiths (*nali b@tch@k*) (who also has *p@s@ng*) and members of the diviners association (*bapéne, Mjc.*) (who have *p@s@ng* in a different form).

7. New lineages continue to be established in Caboi as is illustrated in the case of a Mankanya man who migrated to Belimbo in 1986, following a series of misfortunes, includ-
ing the death of his only wife. This man had originally visited Caboi when commissioned to dig a well several years before. After cultivating rice for several years in forest lands that Belimbo had granted him, he built a home near that residential lineage. Since he has no wife, the chances of his bearing offspring and creating a new lineage are slim. Should the contrary occur, this would offer an interesting case for analyzing the mechanisms by which Baboi integrate males into their society.

8. In this way, the extended families of various chiefs from Belimbo, Bassand, and Bofor founded the residential lineages of Moné, Gilidi, and Sakán, respectively. Moné and Gilidi are located in Bissele near the current royal court. Sakán was founded during a period when the royal court had been moved, for reasons that are now forgotten, from its normal location in Bissele to the village of Biniha (see Map 8).

9. An example of this reason for fission is one sub-lineage of Sáfu Bissele in Caboi that broke off to found the residential lineage of Tchob.

10. According to this legend, a man from Wombar and another from Sapók were great friends. When the man from Sapók died, his friend was stricken with grief and offered a cow at the funeral. The Sapók lineage was moved by the offering, so when the man from Wombar died, Sapók also offered a cow at his funeral. The lineages continued to offer sacrifices at each other’s funerals, until after many years, the two lineages considered themselves to be family rather than mere friends. The lineage pair marked its unity and taboo against intermarriage with a spirit oath. To this day, when a person from Wombar dies, Sapók offers a pig or cow, alcohol, burial cloths, and rice, and helps to make funeral plans (and visa versa).

11. In the village of Ganjandé near Sedengal, Cassanga landlords preferred Baboi guests over the Islamic Mandinga as marriage partners for their offspring because of Baboi religious and cultural proximity (Corrêa, 1947: 128-9, 146).

12. The ritual performed "to search for rain" (bijaba dín, Gu.), for instance, usually involves pilgrimages to the following spirits in this order (which also coincides with most to least powerful): Akúbu, Abé, Gitchámta, Pióko, Sang@zú, Pitchalat, and Bidjóba. Women from the villages of Biniha and Belimbo often unite to conduct this pilgrimage when confronted with serious earth problems (Caboi Interviews 21 and 22, 1986).
For example, junior members of the Baboi soul oracle makers association procure the wood, vines and cloth necessary for making the oracle, senior members design and fabricate the structure, and the chief provides advice and receives the head of the pig that is given to the association in payment for their services.

At kafák, blacksmiths consume a sacred dish made of rice, mangrove fruit (ubádji, Mjc.), fish, chicken, and palm oil stew that has been specially harvested and prepared by the first wife of the nalí b@tch@k and served from a piece of iron, covered with "medicine" and wrapped in crocodile skin. Blacksmiths who consume this food are said to be unable to eat soft shell mangrove crabs (kákri, Kr.) for the entire year without causing their feet to swell. As a blacksmith consumes the ritual food, the spirit of iron and its medicine become part of the blacksmith; eating the forbidden crab would cause his foot "to catch afire" and the swelling could only shrink after a purification ritual. If a blacksmith believes himself to be unable to follow this dietary taboo, he tells the nalí b@tch@k at kafák and is served the food directly from the calabash instead of from atop the iron spirit.

Kafák is, nonetheless, a public ritual and all who attend bring palm wine to the head blacksmith as offerings to the iron spirit.

To confirm the interpretation of the illness as a calling to be nalí b@tch@k and to inform other blacksmiths, the candidate visits in succession the spirit shrines to Bakássa, Piginur, P@tibi, Katúr, Kabén, Balél (Pintching Katchákai), and Kalák (the central initiation spirit of Cajegute).

In this pilgrimage (p@smung), the nalí b@tch@k visits the initiation spirits Bakássa, P@tibi, Bandóka, and Piginur.

This photograph from Tumambo, Caió is of an age set ritual (b@ntchágra, Mjc.) which marks the marital eligibility of a senior age set (in this case, "parachutists" in the back row) and the ceding of their position in the tumba to a junior age set ("police", in the foreground). The beaded costumes and palm oil-anointed bodies represent traditional ritual dress, while wigs, money, and photographs of family or ancestors worn in the hair are signs of prestige. Performers also carry a metal gong (utápi, Mjc.) to inform the spirits of the event. As members of the senior age set dance to two drums, they are teased, given money, and carried on the shoulders of fellow dancers and other female friends who have been recruited by men wishing to show their affection for their betrothed.
18. Undiga are bare-chested and wear cloths wrapped like long pants (lopé, Kr.), sashes around their heads, and carry a long cord with a rock at its end which they swing around as they run to keep the audience away from performers.

19. Female Baboi for instance, had only three official grades, Badijäda or maidenhood when cohorts lived with men in Banéu, Galámmba Galich or betrothed, and Balámmba Galábel after having given birth. In addition, women who had passed menopause had special rights and privileges, (e.g. monopoly over salt production, rights to a sacrificial pig at funerals etc.) although no specific ritual marked this new status.

20. The more junior Baboi age grades performed menial tasks, such as executing orders and cutting firewood when in Baméhena. Cohorts in higher grades learned specialized skills: Bambangaj carved wood in the form of a sword and performed a special "backward-moving" dance; Bandjándjia wore a special dress, could steal livestock and produce at will, and were responsible for clearing the Banéu grounds; Taselé, the Governors of the age grade system dressed in hides, commanded the lower grades, could claim property if their orders were disobeyed, and organized collective agricultural work for contracting parties; Bômbukaré, "born" from the age grade system enjoyed the fruits of seniority, were exempt from labor and government, and were the first to be served at rituals (Caboi Interviews 23-24, 1986).

21. Age grade rituals vary from province to province. In Caió and other coastal provinces of the Region, age sets of females begin the age grade system when they "enter the tomb" (pubóm, Mjc.; tumba, Kr.), a ritual that was equivalent to assuming residence in the communal Banéu houses when these still existed. Like residents in Banéu, youth who have entered pubóm are in a liminal state, with considerable liberty and few responsibilities as they participate in games and parties with fellow cohorts of the age grade. Male youth of the equivalent grade compete in inter-village wrestling matches. Baió youth remain in pubóm for about four to five years. As the next age-set takes its place, females who leave pubóm in the ritual called bôntchágra become eligible for marriage.

Baió age grade rituals include bôntchágra in which women who have completed the age grade cede their position to new a new age-set; kawete pubóm in which "the tomb" is cleared; katchituran in which male and female age sets in one grade display their adulthood by being spat on with icy water by members of older grades, and pásinch in which adults around 50 years old terminate their participation in age grade rituals.
22. The secrecy that surrounds the ritual and fact that it involves the entire spirit province also distinguishes male province initiation from initiation rituals into

1. ritual occupations (e.g. priestly and diviner societies, and blacksmith associations), and

2. associations of persons with anomalous status (e.g. twins and unweaned orphans) (see Chapter V).

The rituals of entry into all of these associations and societies involve much more restricted criteria for membership and their rituals usually take place at spirit shrines that specialize for these sub-groups.

23. Forbidden to non-members and to females in particular, the secrets of male province initiation hindered my collection of first-hand data on the structure of initiation in the Cacheu Region. The following discussion is based on the little information I was able to obtain from assistants and on interviews and unconfirmed historical accounts by colonial administrators (Meireles, 1960; Carreira, 1947a).

24. The percentage of male secret society members in Caió is slightly lower than the regional average (99.59%), probably because of the extremely high rate of emigration and protracted residence abroad.

25. The only exception of which I am aware involves a twenty-seven-year-old "boy" who lived and studied in the Soviet Union between the ages of 11 and 26. The government of Guinea-Bissau had granted the boy the privilege of foreign study because his father had been a hero in the Independence war. With Masters degrees in Mathematics and Nuclear Physics, this somewhat acculturated Baboi doubted that he would undergo Simindé.

26. During the Independence struggle, however, the ritual schedule was interrupted. No initiation rituals occurred in Caboi from the late 1950's until 1977.

27. A boy's participation in the ritual depends more upon his maturity and whether he is old enough "to be trusted and conscientious," than upon his precise age.

28. Simini shrines are found in the villages of Ganjande (Cassanga) and Sonk (Banyun) in the sector of Sao Domingos, Katel (Banyun) in the sector of Bigene, and Bishi (Banyun, Balanta), Guidel (Banyun), and Nyadjo (Banyun) in Senegal. Until recently two other spirit shrines, in the towns of Kamarakunda (Cassanga) and Samik (Banyun) in the Casamance of Senegal, were also sites of the simini rituals of all
three peoples, but were universally abandoned when many Cassanga and Banyun converted to Islam.

29. An axe and rattle are, on occasion, also signs of the amánya's status.

30. The gazelle horns (bëkássa, Mjc.) which are associated with the initiation spirit Bakássa appear to symbolize protection and healing by virtue of their function in the initiation ritual. According to Meireles (1960: 95, 193-5), the Adjú Gibén holds behind the initiate as he is being circumcised two gazelle horns filled with earth from the base of the spirit shrine (where the foreskins of generations of Baió have been buried). The twin horns represent the spirits' protection over members of the twin lodges of the secret society; the same symbol appears on the shields (ubél, Mjc.) of the Nadján Blek and on the head dress (bèsimbéréng, Mjc.) of the chief's body guard (nadján adjú kor, Mjc.). The name for these horns, bëkássa, also refers to a type of Baió diviner who specializes in healing the ill with the help of a spirit.

31. According to Meireles (1952: 428), the nadján blek served as priest of the initiation spirit during the initiation rituals and oriented the instruction of initiates during the colonial period. Holders of this title enjoyed considerable prestige among the initiates whom they instructed. My data appear to indicate that the functions of nadján blek have since been modified, although my position as a woman and non-member makes it impossible to confirm this or the precise relationship and ranking of various titles. The superficial information I have provided here is based on a gleaning of numerous sources and is necessarily tentative.

32. In this context bad dreams represent a guilty conscience and bring about the wrath of the spirits, while anyone capable of enduring the trial receives the protection of the initiation spirit throughout life, and at death is honored with a long six-day funeral which all titled members of the secret society attend.

33. Baboi women may only undergo baré when they have reached puberty or had their first child.

34. Some scholars claim that, in this context, "migrants are not welcomed home as people who have made the grade abroad, but as pitiable patients who come to seek ritual redress, and as negligent observers of ritual obligations who come to make up for their shortcomings" (Binsbergen, 1984: 36).
35. The Portuguese administrator, Carreira (1964: 256) claims that people of Caboi call themselves "Uboi" and that the toponym Caboi is derived from this term and was "Portuguesified" to Cabolana. According to him, Mama means "mother" and the term Djombo is derived from the plural form of "Uboi" which is most commonly "Dja-Mboi". In Guboi, the language of the Baboi, Mama means "grandparent", but the Baboi today claim that Djombo is merely a name and is not translatable.

36. The name Mama Djombo itself, believed to be the root of the English expression "Mumbo Jumbo," has been traced to the Mandinga language (Webster, 1975: 1182). The Mande variety of the masked figure sings, dances, and beats people who come too close with a sack of sand that it wears around its head.

37. As Carreira notes (1964: 250-51), Djola (Diola, Yola) should not be confused with "Djila" (Djula, Dioula) which designates a class of itinerant Moslem traders of mixed Mande and Soninké, Bambara, Fula, or Sarakolé origin found throughout West Africa.

38. According to Mota (1954a: 146), the ethnonym "Manjaco" was first recorded by Beaver (1792) 1805: 319-20) at the end of the 18th century.

39. "Papel" (Papeis, Prt. pl.) or "Pepel" refer to inhabitants of the island of Bissau and "Mankanya" or "Brame" to members of the chiefdoms of Co and Bula (see Mota, 1954a: 146-149 for explanations of their origin). Carreira (1964: 263) claims that the ethnonym Mankanya was derived from one of the thirteen clans of the Brame.

40. In 1986, Manjaco of Caió rejected the colonial theory that the word "Manjaco" was derived from a common expression of these people, translated as "I say" or "I tell you" (Carreira, 1964: 260; Bocandé, 1849: 340).

41. Nonetheless, ethnic designations remained ambiguous until the end of the 18th century. In contrast to Bocandé whose reports are confirmed by oral data, later French visitors (Debuisson, 1886: map; Brosselard, 1889: 407; Bonvalet, 1891: 353, 1893: 298) claimed that the "Manjaco" occupied an area that comprises the Manjaco islands of Jeta and Pecixe and the Papel territory of Bissau. According to these writers, Manjaco formed two political groupings in the area, one centered on the island of Pecixe and the other in Bissau. As one account from that time reports,

the Manjaco are located in the territory which comprises the island of Cayo [Caió] and the river
of St. Martin [Geba Canal]. This large tribe is divided into two settlements each governed by a chief. The first extends from Cayo [Caió] to the point of Diombé; the chief resides in Bissis [Pecixe]. The other begins at the point of Diombé and continues until the St-Martin river; the chief resides in Bioum. The Ancoras river serves as the natural limit between these two settlements (translated from Brosselard, 1889: 407).
PHOTOGRAPH 1: Paddy Rice Cultivation, Calomete

PHOTOGRAPH 2: Forest Swidden of Upland Rice, Cabol

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PHOTOGRAPH 5:  Balo chief maker (n@lom@t) at ancestor shrine

PHOTOGRAPH 6:  Inquest of Babol soul oracle (satungu)
PHOTOGRAPH 7: Boti kasara satellite shrine in Calomete

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PHOTOGRAPH 8: Installation of Caio chief (Adjukor), 1987

PHOTOGRAPH 9: B@kassa's healing shrine, Calomete

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PHOTOGRAPH 10: Mama Djombo spirit shrine in Caboi

PHOTOGRAPH 11: Boti Kasara ritual and inquest, Pecixe
PART II
THE COSMOLOGIES OF THE CACHEU REGION

Part II focuses on the broad cosmological paradigm of spiritism that unites the peoples of the Cacheu Region into a common mode of thought and system of explanation and action. Spiritism is a pluralistic belief system which consists of a wide variety of cult institutions that provide a basis for defining group loyalties and a focal point for the articulation of intergroup relations. The peoples of the Cacheu Region interpret current and historical experience by reference to the categories of the spiritist cosmology and extend the paradigm to understand relationships with actors that may not themselves share the mode of thought. Nevertheless, some cosmological categories and ritual relationships are extremely widespread among the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Senegambia as common ritual actions and the publics of various shrines demonstrate. The spirit contract and profusion of easily accessible public spirit shrines make the Cacheu Region a ritually-charged heartland in which pilgrims from neighboring areas may harness spiritual forces for their own advantage. This influx of outsiders engaged in ritual activity has a considerable impact on the social structure of spirit provinces. Spiritism evolves in keeping with changes in ranges of clients, but also undergoes structural and ideological shifts in line with parallels with other
cosmological paradigms. The paradigm by which the peoples of the Cacheu Region interpret events also facilitates their understanding of other religions and problem-solving institutions and the adoption of innovations.

The spiritist regional cosmology forms a broad paradigm consisting of constantly changing categories that are perceived to hold a paradigmatic relationship with the categories of neighboring cosmologies, world religions, and secular problem-solving institutions. Certain cosmological categories, even of distant groups are, to some extent shared or are perceived as parallel. Urban diviners, in particular, play a prominent role in establishing parallels between cosmologies. This paradigmatic relationship among cosmologies explains the multi-ethnic appeal of spirit shrines and provides a fixed set of social and religious alternatives. This paradigmatic relationship among cosmologies also helps to provide a framework for the diffusion of beliefs and the introduction and adoption of organizational innovations.

Part II shows that the impact of religious institutions is not limited to the society in which those institutions are found, and that this impact may in turn have a feedback effect on the structure of host communities and cosmologies. Therefore, studies of religion must consider pilgrimage and the activities of people from outside the society to assess its real impact in the wider spirit region and within the
spirit province (host community). Part II shows that any analysis of a religion in its social context necessarily entails some description of the beliefs and thought categories that are either universal or shared with neighboring peoples and of the ritual action that is centered on institutions found outside of the social group. An understanding of both of these fields of social action reveal the perception that a people maintain of their relative place in the world, the manner in which ethnic groups use ritual to join and distinguish themselves from other ethnic identities, and potential directions of religious change.
CHAPTER V
SPIRITISM
INTRODUCTION

The peoples of the Cacheu Region share a common mode of thought in which supernatural beings and humans with extraordinary powers are believed to intervene in social affairs and influence the course of events. The inhabitants of the region spend much of their time and resources on rituals aimed at interpreting the acts of these invisible forces and at influencing the supernatural to work in their favor. An understanding of this mode of thought is essential for discerning the personal and collective perceptions that the inhabitants of the Cacheu Region have of local and world power relations and of history.

Knowledge of the spiritist mode of thought is also necessary to comprehend a remarkable feature of ritual behavior in the Cacheu Region: the frequency with which supplicants cross over social and territorial boundaries to conduct rituals in other spirit provinces. This crossing occurs not only among the spirit provinces of the Region, but also by pilgrims from outside of Cacheu who direct their rituals towards shrines found within this remote frontier. The two types of traffic articulate most often at the central public spirit shrines found in each province of the Cacheu Region. This chapter provides background on the spiritist mode of thought and corresponding religious
institutions and examines the role and place of central public spirits in the cosmologies of the Cacheu Region.

**Definition of Spiritism and Spirit Contracts**

The religion of the Cacheu Region may most appropriately be called *spiritism* and defined as the belief that a wide range of supernatural entities influence events and relations in the natural, social, and supernatural worlds by way of reciprocal contracts initiated by supplicants. In the Cacheu Region, these supernatural entities or spirits include nature spirits, ancestors, non-ancestral divinities, and a high god, although non-ancestral spirits are by far the most important due to their presumed abundance and range of influence and because of the frequency with which they are consulted (see Diagram 1).

All of these entities are believed to be invisible and to occupy planes of existence which are coterminous with the human world. Many of the beings are thought to be most easily contacted at *shrines*, clearings usually found near symbolic markers, such as at the base of a tree, by water sources, near a stone, or beside a house. These shrines distinguish spiritism from "animism" in that the natural objects which mark a spirit's location are believed to be places of residence for spirits and not spirits in themselves. Some of the nature spirits, however, have no established shrines and are believed to be approachable only
by people with special powers to see the invisible worlds of the cosmos.

In the spiritist mode of thought, humans are thought to be able to enlist the services of a supernatural entity by engaging in an exchange stipulated in a spirit contract. A spirit contract may be defined as an enforceable promise made to a spirit by an individual or group of supplicants. In such a contract, a supplicant asks a spirit to grant a request in exchange for a set fee involving a sacrifice. The spirit accepts the contract by fulfilling the request within a predetermined time span. A supplicant must pay the spirit promptly once it has accepted the contract or suffer the possibility that a rash of misfortunes befalls him or his family. If the spirit refuses the contract by not fulfilling the request within the specified time, the supplicant is no longer bound to the original contract.

An Ego-centered Approach to Spiritism

Because contracts bind people to spirits, the ritual act defines a shrine's public. Shrines may be grouped into types according to the range of their publics and the nature of the clients' relationship to the shrine. Since each shrine type may be seen as a resource to which a set of individuals have recourse to interpret and resolve problems and accomplish goals, an ego-centered perspective provides a logical framework for presenting the vast array of institu-
tional forms and corresponding beliefs available to the spiritist inhabitants of the Cacheu Region.

In the following description of the Cacheu Regional cosmologies, each type of supernatural entity is first described in relation to the social unit to which it corresponds, and secondly in relation to the morphology and behavior with which the entity is believed to be endowed. To emphasize the place of the supernatural within the spiritist mode of thought, this latter discussion is best presented from an "emic" perspective. Accordingly, beliefs about an entity's presumed nature and domains of influence will be treated as if they were true, as indeed spiritists themselves perceive them to be. This juxtaposition of analytical (empirical) and theological approaches should provide a balanced picture of some of the more pervasive religious beliefs and institutions of the Cacheu Region and their implications for the spiritist mode of thought.

CATEGORIES OF HUMANS WITHIN CACHEU COSMOLOGIES

In the Cacheu Region, humans are thought to form part of a continuum of cosmological beings which extends into the invisible worlds of ancestors, spirits, and the high god. An individual's access to these different types of supernatural entities depends partly on the acquisition of specialized skills, in part on membership in different social sub-groups, and partially on whether he or she is
believed to be born with special powers. The presence or absence of special innate powers is thought to be particularly important in distinguishing types of humans within the cosmologies of the Cacheu Region.

Ordinary People

Most of the world's inhabitants are considered to be ordinary people, a term used here to designate human beings born without the power to see the supernatural or understand its influence on their lives and on worldly events. Ordinary people are said to approach the cosmos "in darkness"; they may make requests or announce decisions at established shrines, but supposedly there is no guarantee that their requests will be answered or even that the invisible beings are present and listening. In all their relations with the supernatural, ordinary people are believed to be forced to rely on the assistance of various human and non-human intermediaries.

The physical signs attributed to ordinary people is that they are born singly and head first, with sound minds and intact bodies, and mothers who remain in good health until they are weaned. When an ordinary child begins to teethe, its bottom incisors must break the gum before the upper incisors. During a lifetime, an ordinary person must never be involved in a household fire, or commit a serious crime, such as incest or murder.
Anomalies of Birth and Development and Other Polluted States

As in many other parts of West Africa (Parrinder, 1978: 95-101; Field, 1937: 180), ordinary people who deviate from these norms are classified as temporarily anomalous and their statuses in the human world can be rectified only through ordeals, rituals of purification, or incorporation into specialized societies.

Abnormal Births

Products of abnormal births, such as twins, breech births (ahúne mantchúta, Gu.), and deformed infants are often thought to be the results of sexual unions between ordinary women and spirits and thus occupy an ambiguous position between the two worlds.4

Twins. In many parts of the Cacheu Region, twin births have been thought to produce one evil and one good spirit child. Although twins are usually tolerated today, until the Portuguese campaigns against infanticide in the 1940's (Personal Communication: Carreira, 1987) mothers in many parts of the Cacheu region tended to neglect their twins until one or both died. In other areas (e.g. Caió), the anomalous powers of twins are controlled by a ritual cleansing (binyáu mtánto, Mjc.; labásim de gémiu, Kr.; "cleansing of twins") and their incorporation into a province-wide twin society.5

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Breech Births. A child delivered by breech birth must be accompanied by its mother and undergo a secret purification ritual at a crossroad that is attended only by other mothers.

Deformed Infants. Deformed infants must endure an ordeal to verify whether they belong to the spirit or human world. Mothers leave their deformed infants, along with a plate containing a raw egg, rice, and palm oil, by the seaside at low tide. The mother returns after twelve hours to see if the infant has drunk the egg and plunged into the sea, or if it has been rejected by the spirits because it is human. A deformed child who has been proven to be human in this way must be cared for as any other infant.

Developmental Abnormalities

Infants whose mothers die before they are weaned or who develop physical abnormalities during childhood are considered liminal beings. Like abnormalities of birth, the perils of such developmental defects are believed to be counteracted through rituals.

Unweaned orphans. When a mother dies before her child has been weaned, the infant is believed to enter a state of danger. Until weaning has been complete, it is thought that the infant is susceptible to being stolen by its mother’s spirit to accompany her to the world of the dead. In some parts of the Cacheu Region (e.g. Caboi), unweaned orphans
are protected from death by being given a wooden stick to wear around the neck in attempt to trick the mother’s spirit into not recognizing her child.

In other parts of the Region (e.g. Caió), the dangerous status of unweaned orphans is dealt with in two ways. First, all lactating women who pass by the home of such a child are required to offer it their own milk. Secondly, such children are purified through initiation into a secret organization (kanyó kámbi, Mjć.) named after the cloth used to carry an infant on its mother’s back. As in the case of twins, unweaned orphans join the society only when they are fully grown and can afford to purchase the necessary sacrificial offerings.

**Premature Development of Upper Incisors.** Children whose upper incisors break the gum before their lower incisors (dente di riba, Kr.) are also believed to be dangerous. If this condition goes untreated and such children grow to adulthood, their spouses are thought to risk death should the dangerous consort eat before them after engaging in sexual relations. Thus, children whose upper incisors develop prematurely will eventually encounter difficulties in finding spouses if, while they are still teething, their condition is not treated in a secret ritual directed by a blacksmith and conducted at a crossroads.
Polluted States

An ordinary person may also acquire a liminal status by being involved in a polluting incident. Household fires in Caió, for instance, are believed to place the residents of the house in a state of danger making the home or its belongings susceptible to catching fire again and again, even if the belongings are moved to another locale. Residents and their possessions can only return to the edifice, after this dangerous state has been removed by a purification ritual (kanyó burúr, Mjc. "wash the fire") in which the head of the blacksmith’s society (nalí b@tch@k’, Mjc.) sweeps and cleans the ashes from the remains of the building.

Any ordinary person can be subject to these dangerous states or a product of an anomalous birth or development. Serious crimes that are also believed to place the offenders in a state of ritual danger are discussed in Chapter VI. All of these states are potentially reversible through rituals of purification, by "domesticating" liminal beings through incorporation into special societies, or through ordeals that verify statuses considered invisible to "ordinary people". Conditions that are observable are often also thought to be reparable.
Clairvoyants

In the cosmologies of the Cacheu Region, "ordinary people" are contrasted with clairvoyants, who may be defined as extraordinary humans who are believed to be born with hidden innate powers that enable them to see and communicate with the supernatural. A clairvoyant (pauteiro, Kr.) is most often described as a person "with eyes that see" (avipõkől'awim, Mjc.), "one who can see at night" (b@legende, Gu.), "one who can watch his back" or "see behind himself" (i púdi ödja si tras, Kr.), or "someone with a head" (umabugóf, Gu.).

This second sight is thought to grant its owners natural, social, and supernatural advantages over ordinary people. Clairvoyants are said to be able to defy the limits of time and space, to see all that is happening in a village at any given moment, to look behind people's outward appearances to glimpse their real nature, and to perceive the complex relations between unseen natural forces. It is these hidden abilities that are used to explain the inordinate wealth, power, popularity, or success of particular individuals.

Although idiosyncratic behavior or unusual skills are believed to suggest clairvoyant powers, there are no observable, widely-accepted criteria for distinguishing clairvoyants from ordinary people. Infants born with a caul over their heads, people with exceptional memories, persons who
can foresee events without any special training, or indi-
viduals who suddenly acquire undue political, economic, or
social advantage are frequently suspected of belong to this
category. Their ability to see the supernatural is thought
to make clairvoyants prone to being possessed and serving as
mediums for entities from the supernatural worlds. For this
reason, people who recurrently and unwittingly go into
trance (bamóba, Gu.; dianéda, Gu., from anéde, "a person
cought" or "a person possessed"), but do not belong to any
institutionalized group of spirit mediums (e.g. diviners),
are often judged to be clairvoyants.

Clairvoyants constitute an "empty" status in the Cacheu
Region, that is, a social role to which no verifiable or
self-identified human representatives correspond. Very
rarely do inhabitants of the Cacheu Region claim respon-
sibility for the numerous changes in relations and events
that are attributed to clairvoyants in general. Indeed,
people who are designated as clairvoyants by others would
never agree that the label be applied to them. The status
is only filled when a person has died and is imputed,
through divination, to have been a clairvoyant during his or
her lifetime.

The Role of Clairvoyants

The post-mortem identification of clairvoyants reflects
their role in retrospective interpretations of events and
relations. The distant past is believed to have been filled with clairvoyants, for only they could have performed the feats and fought the wars that changed the course of history. Along with other abilities attributed to these extraordinary beings, several mythical heroes and lineage founders are also thought to have been able to understand all languages. Many peoples of the Region believe that the frequency of clairvoyant births has diminished gradually over the centuries, but that a few continue to be born today in the region and abroad with the exceptional powers that permanently alter the course of events. Extraordinary and powerful historical figures, such as Hitler, Salazar, and Einstein, are considered within this world view to have been clairvoyants who were particularly adept at enlisting the power of spirits.

The clairvoyants of today are thought to acquire their "second sight" at conception, although rarely by heredity. Their perception of the invisible worlds is believed to endow them with anywhere from one to a multitude of uncommon abilities, but clairvoyants are often deemed to exercise only a few of their potential powers at any given time. These faculties are said to remain with most clairvoyants throughout their lifetimes, although under some circumstances the gift of "second sight" is only temporary, as when a child clairvoyant loses its powers as it grows older.
or when the extrasensory abilities are revoked by ritual techniques (see kasarâ, below).

Their special vision is thought to empower clairvoyants to compel supernatural entities to operate in their favor. Clairvoyants are deemed to have an advantage over ordinary people in contracts at established shrines because they know what kinds of offerings these beings prefer and make it difficult for the supernatural to refuse their demands.

Furthermore, clairvoyants alone are believed to have access to nature spirits that have no shrines. Their second sight is said to allow clairvoyants to discover the hiding places of nature spirits easily and to negotiate with them. Privileged access to nature spirits is believed to make clairvoyants economically, politically, or intellectually superior to ordinary people. The extent to which the social superiority of clairvoyants is due primarily to their innate powers, charisma, or contracts with nature spirits is unclear.

Despite their numerous advantages, the innate powers of clairvoyants are also believed to shorten their life spans. The constant alertness required to maintain multiple relations in several cosmological worlds is said to tax the energy of these extraordinary humans. Greed, for example, may entice clairvoyants into making numerous spirit contracts and overextending their resources in order to pay the debts incurred. Although spirits are thought to send signs
to ordinary people to remind them to pay neglected con-
tracts, clairvoyants are held strictly accountable for their
negligence and are readily killed in punishment. It is for
these reasons that clairvoyants are thought to accomplish
more and die earlier than ordinary people.

Types of Clairvoyants

Clairvoyants constitute an extremely ambiguous category
within the cosmologies of the Cacheu Region because it is
believed that their powers may be used for personal advance-
ment or for the benefit or detriment of society. As Wilson
has written of the Nyakyusa,

many of our informants were agreed that the power
of witchcraft and the power to see and fight
witches were one and the same. The essential
distinction lies in the use to which the power is
put; wrongly used it is 'witchcraft' (ubulosi);
rightly used to defend the village and to punish
evil-doers it is the 'breath of men' (imbepo sva
bandu) and how any particular case is labelled
depends upon the viewpoint of the speaker (Wilson,
1959: 66).

This ambiguity is compounded by the belief that a single
clairvoyant is capable of using his or her powers for
different ends in different situations. Nevertheless, two
types of clairvoyants may be distinguished by the ways in
which they are thought to use their common powers: guar-
dians who exercise their powers for social benefit and
witches who apply them to evil ends.
Guardians

A guardian (djerika, Gu.; pauteiro ki ka fetisérû, Kr.) may be defined as a clairvoyant who uses his or her innate powers exclusively for the benefit of the spirit province and human kind. Guardians are thought to use their extrasensory abilities most often to protect ordinary people from witchcraft. As one Baboi man relates,

One night witches came to attack U...., but his mother was a guardian and sensed their presence. She ran to his hut to fight with them, but was outnumbered. They beat her and fled. The next morning, her family found her lying on the floor gravely ill and discovered that her son’s legs were paralyzed because the witches had "broken" them. When the old woman died several days later, the oracle revealed that she had been a guardian and had risked her life trying to save her son (Caboi Interviews 27-28, 1987).

Guardians are also credited with the ability to secretly remove and hide the souls of ordinary people whose lives are threatened by witchcraft. It is believed that once such a person is out of danger, a diviner can perform a ritual to locate and restore the soul to the body.

Guardians are also thought to be able to foresee calamities, alert the population to forthcoming epidemics and plagues of insects, and prescribe the appropriate prophylactic measures against these disasters. In the harvest season of 1986, guardians reportedly notified the peoples of the Cacheu Region and neighboring areas that a disease was coming from Senegal that would cause residents to become lame in the right arm and leg and blind in the
right eye. For protection, the inhabitants had been advised to tie red cotton cords around their right wrists and ankles until the guardians had informed them that the danger had passed.

Many people of the Cacheu Region, and particularly women and children, wore these cords. However, there was considerable variation in beliefs about the type of illness and the parts of the body it would affect. Some wore the red cords on the left side of the body believing that the illness would affect that side. Others (e.g. in Canchungo) claimed that the illness would cause people to become hunchbacked. Residents in the Sao Domingos area believed that a spirit had lost its child and wanted to take a human child in its place, and in Bassarel, that a nature spirit called udjínpor had gotten loose and wanted to claim a life (Personal Communication: Gable, 1987b). People could not account for the diverse versions of the anticipated disease or reasons for particular prophylactic measures, nor could they identify the clairvoyants responsible for disseminating this information. As this episode illustrates, during those months the belief in clairvoyants had an enormous influence on the understanding and behavior of many residents of the Cacheu Region.
Witches

Witches (djëhël, Gu.; bakalâm, Mjc.; fetiséru, Kr.) are clairvoyants who are believed to use their innate powers to work evil. Through envy or ill will, they are thought to bring pestilence to healthy fields of rice, prevent the rains from falling, induce disease and infertility among healthy populations, and kill their kin as prey. Baboi witches are said to fly naked to the homes of their sleeping victims to steal their souls (bass, Gu.), leaving the human corpses behind. The souls are supposedly transformed into pigs which return with the witches to their nocturnal meeting place (akob, Gu., from akobahe "to chew") to be consumed. These voracious beings are implicated in many events that endanger and destroy human life or bring misfortune.

It is thought that clairvoyants may become witches in two ways: by having an evil soul with the instinct to do harm or by acquiring this instinct in agreeing to commit the ultimate anti-social crime of sacrificing the lives of one’s kin for personal greed and advancement. The melding of inherent and acquired traits in Cacheu witchcraft supports findings in other parts of Africa (MacGaffey, 1980: 301-5; Marwick, 1965: 69; Douglas, 1967: 72; Turner, 1964) that challenge the universal applicability of Evans-Pritchard’s distinction between witchcraft and sorcery (Evans-Pritchard, 1937; Gluckman, 1944; Gluckman, 1956). While this may be a
useful analytical distinction, many religious systems focus on the harmful effect of human agents rather than on whether this effect is caused by inherent and involuntary predilection or by purposeful malevolent action.

A witch soul destined to occupy the body of a woman’s child is thought capable of repeatedly killing its future ordinary siblings even before the witch itself has been conceived. In some parts of the Region, if an unborn child is suspected of these crimes, its mother will attempt to protect her next newborn by removing a small section of the infant’s ear, so that the unborn witch will either not recognize or reject her now-imperfect offspring. During colonial times in other areas, a mother would kill a child born after a succession of infant deaths in the belief that this newborn was the baby witch who had been eating her offspring. It is said that after such infanticide a woman would bear healthy children. The implication of witchcraft in infant mortality appears to be widespread in Africa (Field, 1937: 135, 141ff; Parrinder, 1978: 167-8).

Clairvoyants who become witches after birth are believed to do so by focusing excessively on personal achievement and advancement even at the expense of others. As in other parts of Africa (e.g. Azande, Lugbara, Tallensi, Bobangi, etc.), the peoples of the Cacheu Region maintain that immoderate greed and ambition can make clairvoyants ruthless and dangerous and willing to sacrifice the lives of their
kinspeople for their own advancement. Under these conditions, it is held that clairvoyants who had previously used their powers for social benefit and, like ordinary people, paid contracts with the spirits in livestock might one day turn to paying these spirit debts in human flesh. The supposed ease of this transformation from good to evil makes ordinary people wary of clairvoyants of all types and is said to induce even guardians to conceal their identities and perform their benevolent deeds anonymously.

A Witch's Code of Conduct. Even these anti-social creatures are believed to be obliged to respect certain rules of behavior. The basic canon is that witches may destroy property or kill only within one of their own kin groups. Baboi witches, for example, are believed to kill both members of their uterine kin group (abū, Gu.) and of their patrilineage (itáku, Gu.). Bái male witches are thought to kill their sons on occasion (babokumët, Mjc.), but both male and female witches generally favor members of their matrilineage segment (kaïch, Mjc.).

Within this broad range of conduct, witches are thought to follow an ethical code which ranks particular kin in relation to their preferability as victims. Principled witches are believed to kill only members of their matrilineage in Cáió and of their real or classificatory uterine kin in Caboi. In both provinces, a mother's brother is said to have "the right" to kill his sister's son and this
special relationship is reflected in kin terminology (see Appendix VIII). Baboi witches are believed to prefer to kill male members of their uterine kin who are genealogically closest and one or more generations (*apírna, Gu.*) junior to them. Baboi females are thought to be taken as victims only as a last resort because "a female child is the seed bed of the uterine kin group" (*walikán atchué abú, Gu.*). According to these rules, female Baboi witches supposedly begin by killing their own children, then the children of their siblings, and only as a last resort more distant and classificatory uterine kin, such as the maternal grandchildren of their mother’s co-wives or the children of their father’s brother’s daughters. Baboi witches are said to kill increasingly more distant kin, only when they or their sisters have no children or when these children have sought protection against witchcraft at a spirit shrine (*avá malába ussai, Mjc. atcház akúna, Gu.; i roça no irán, Kr.*).

Witches are believed to violate this ethical code by killing or bringing misfortune to very distant kin or people who do not belong to their uterine kin group or matrilineage segment. Amoral witches who cause death by "envy" or "kill on the path" (*akáli bëhál mam@l mam@l@, Gu.; i mata alquim ki invédja nu kamínyu, Kr. "he killed someone whom he envied on the path"; i kúdji ótra rasa, Kr., "he chose another race"; *ákakótch, Gu., "an outsider") are believed to be rare but extremely dangerous and subject to particularly severe
sanctions. A witch suspected of having committed this most heinous of crimes is considered to have exceeded the bounds of human cruelty and is regarded more as a dangerous and unscrupulous nature spirit (e.g. udjinpör, Gu., Mjc.) than as a human.

Sanctions Against Witchcraft. Since suspected witches like other clairvoyants are usually identified only after their deaths, as individuals they pay no penalties for their crimes. Rather it is at the level of the kin group that disputes involving witchcraft are most frequently resolved. Accusations of kin groups suspected of containing unidentified witches are made by an oracle (see Soul Oracle, below) which is incapable of charging individuals with witchcraft until after their deaths. If a death is diagnosed as having been caused by witchcraft, the oracle exposes a subdivision of the kin group to which the guilty witch is believed to belong by successively designating several bystanders who also belong to that category. Thus, at a young woman’s funeral the oracle may suggest that a witch belongs to the uterine kin of the mother’s generation (apírña irabú, Gu.) by indicating the woman’s mother’s brother and her mother’s mother’s brother’s daughter if these two happen to be present at the funeral.

Once the suspects have been narrowed down in this fashion, sanctions may be applied in either or both of two ways:
1. the residential lineage of the woman who is believed to have been killed by witchcraft may seek "justice" by making a vengeance spirit contract (pefūk, Mjc.; będjaqétę, Gu.; màndji, Kr.) to kill the unidentified witch who is responsible; or

2. fellow members of the accused category of kin may swear an oath of innocence (pubádiə, Mjc; atcház aguzúp, Gu.; màndji, Kr.) at a spirit shrine in which the penalty for perjury is death.

In either case, the closest kin of the witch who is believed to die as a result of these sanctions and is proven by an oracle to be responsible for the alleged crimes must pay fines at the spirit shrines consulted. These fines, in the form of a feast of sacrificed livestock and liquor, are a public recognition of a lineage's responsibility for its member's crimes and the lineages of both the witch and victim participate. These are the sanctions applied to the surviving kin of witches who are believed to have respected the witch's code of conduct.

The kin groups of people suspected of having violated the witch's code of conduct are subject to much harsher sanctions. This is so because there are few legitimate forms of redress among very distant kin or between different matrilineages or different uterine kin groups. When oracles reveal that a dead person had been an amoral witch, the surviving kin groups have two options:

1. if the alleged witch was found to have killed a very distant member of his uterine kin group, the witch's closest uterine kin or lineage segment may formally separate from the more distant segment, thus creating a permanent fission in the uterine kin group (abū ngárše, Gu.). This division is marked by the establishment of
separate shrines and the termination of mutual support in funerals and ritual obligations.

2. If the presumed witch was found to have taken victims from outside of his or her kin groups, the victimized groups may engage in multiple vengeance spirit contracts (bëdjàngë, Gu.) to punish and eliminate all of the witch's descendants. The alleged witch's siblings and closest lineage segment are forced to flee the spirit province (bigili bëhàngë, Gu.; kùrë ìran sëgu, Kr., "to flee from the python spirit") or risk extinction.

Whereas fines and a shared ritual sacrifice resolve witchcraft disputes among members of the same kin group, witchcraft directed against distant kin or unrelated people is socially disruptive, causing kin groups and lineages to fission and the descendants of amoral witches to flee for survival.

CATEGORIES OF SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

The peoples of the Cacheu Region consider the cosmos to contain four broad categories of supernatural beings which are believed to occupy three distinct worlds. In order of increasing ranges of clients, the four categories are nature spirits, ancestors, public spirits, and the high god. Ancestors are believed to live together in real, but distant towns in the Cacheu Region; non-ancestral private and public spirits are said to live among humans in the bush and compounds of a spirit province; the high god is thought to live in an inaccessible world of its own faraway in the sky. The four categories differ not only in their intermediaries
and types of clients, but also in their spheres of influence and the characteristics assigned to them.

**Nature Spirits**

The weakest of all supernatural beings are thought to be nature spirits which may be defined as spirits that lack publicly-established shrines and are accessible only to clairvoyants. Nature spirits are considered to be weak, because they are believed to lack the power of creation and are forced to steal or build on what already exists in order to boost the wealth, production, and social status of their clients. These entities are thought to live closely with humans in the forests and swamps on the outskirts of human settlements. However without shrines as presumed fixed territorial dwellings, nature spirits are believed to be available only to clairvoyants who alone are thought capable of detecting their hiding places in the wilderness.

Contracts with nature spirits are unusual in that these entities are purported to be willing to deliver continual services over an extended period of time in exchange for periodic payment, usually in the form of human flesh. Clairvoyants are said to offer a head of cattle every few years, while witches are thought to designate from time to time one child from among their kin as payment for the spirit’s services. Most of these contracts are thought to
continue throughout a clairvoyant's life and some to be transferrable to his or her offspring after death.

Types of Nature Spirits

There are three well-known nature spirits that are believed to dwell throughout the Cacheu Region, although others may exist as well. These are thought to differ in their physical characteristics and to a lesser extent in their functions.

The Python Spirit

Perhaps the best known of the nature spirits is the spirit of the python (udjînpor, Gu.; udjûnpor, Mjc.; iran ségu, Kr.; serpente, Kr.), a common focus of religious activity in many parts of coastal and fluvial West Africa (Parrinder, 1978: 51). In the Cacheu Region, the python spirit is believed to resemble an African python (Python sebae) and to prefer to dwell wherever there is standing fresh water (akiribo, Gu.), usually behind a house or beneath a large kapok tree (poilao, Kr.; Ceiba pentandra). The python spirit is considered to be one of the more dangerous nature spirits because it is thought to be able to act without human intervention and to seize its payment for a witch's contract even before the witch has selected which kin member it wishes to sacrifice.
A person who becomes wealthy suddenly and inexplicably is often believed to have made a contract with a python spirit. Python spirits are said to go to other villages to steal cows, cloths, and money for their clairvoyant clients. The stolen cows are thought to die at the homes of their original owners and materialize at the clients' households. If a python is caught and killed while it is believed to be stealing, the spirit is thought to come to life again elsewhere while the child of its client dies in its place.

Although the python spirit is usually thought to demand human flesh in payment for its services, it is believed on occasion to accept livestock and become subservient to a clairvoyant master if captured while young and vulnerable. This process is illustrated in the following account by a member of the Kaham lineage of Caboi:

A... was a Manjaco clairvoyant who migrated from a village near Cacheu to found the Kaham patrilineage. One day he discovered the egg of a python spirit in a fresh water pool while he was walking in the woods. He took the egg home and nurtured it until it hatched. When the python spirit emerged from its shell, A... threatened to kill it unless it promised to obey him. If the python granted his every wish, A... would spare its life and feed it. Because of this python spirit which he kept throughout his life, A... became rich and powerful.

Some of A...'s children were also clairvoyants, so when he died, the python spirit offered to work for them, but only if they paid it in human flesh. A few of the children agreed and prospered over the years, but the number of their offspring and kin dwindled. To keep the lineage alive, clairvoyants of Kaham today refuse to make contracts with the python spirit (Caboi Interview 29, 1987).
Python spirits are believed to be more independent than other nature spirits in that they are thought to kill occasionally without having been contracted by clairvoyants. This was reportedly the cause of death of a young girl who was visiting her family in Canchungo in 1986. Several accounts describe the incident as follows:

While she was playing by a well, she captured a white squirrel and took it home as a pet. She must have been a clairvoyant, for who else could have captured a squirrel with their bare hands? Her family told her that it was the python spirit in disguise. Whoever saw a white squirrel and by a water hole besides? Her parents wanted her to put the squirrel back where she had found it, but the girl refused. A few days later, the squirrel bit her finger, so she got angry and beat it to death. Shortly afterwards, she began to feel cold and headachy. She was taken to the hospital where she died. The Chinese doctors could not explain the death and said only that it was surprising, but everyone else knew that the python spirit had taken control of the squirrel to do its work.

Without provocation, the python spirit is thought to claim human lives in this fashion from time to time (see Guardians, above).

Nandjángurum

A second type of nature spirit called nandjángurum (Mjc., Gu.)\(^{13}\) is thought to live in the forests or on the river banks and to keep wild animals, such as bush pigs, buffalo, and gazelles. Even the bravest hunters under the most favorable of circumstances are believed unable to kill the game that nandjángurum protects.
Contracts with nandiąngurum are thought to provide clairvoyants with physical prowess, social and political favor, or economic well-being. With such a contract, it is held that a wrestler is never injured or defeated and a politician effortlessly wins support for all decisions and secures the trust of entire populations. In payment, nandiąngurum is said to prefer human flesh, especially of small children, and to kill the clairvoyant without hesitation if the payment is not made punctually.

Pitchir

Pitchir (Mjc.; puwitchir, Mjc.; pihir, Gu.) is a third type of nature spirit that is said to dwell in the woods until a clairvoyant contracts it and takes it home. Pitchir is said to augment wealth by making livestock inordinately fertile and increasing rice yields disproportionately to the sizes of the fields sown. Once the spirit has been contracted, it is believed that the clairvoyant need only remove the rice grains from the harvested stalks and leave the stalks in the silo overnight for the straw to produce new rice.

Like the other nature spirits, pitchir is thought to bring wealth at the expense of lineage perpetuity, as one informant relates:

Many years ago, we did not realize that riches could not be increased if family members were sacrificed. In those days, A.... of the Wombar lineage made a contract with pitchir to increase
his rice harvests and promised to pay a child or grandchild every four years. A... died many years ago, and today Wombar has no more rice than any other Baboi lineage, but women are afraid to marry men of Wombar because clairvoyants have warned that pitchir might kill their children.

This association of material profits for individuals with demographic decline for lineages is a key feature of the role of clairvoyants and nature spirits in spiritist thought in the Cacheu Region.

Functions of Nature Spirits

The belief in nature spirits helps to explain major socio-economic differences among humans in the Cacheu Region. Nature spirits are believed to make private agreements with select individuals to give them undue advantages over others. From another perspective, nature spirits may be viewed as scarce resources which bestow private advantages on anyone who is gifted and ruthless enough to have access to them.

As in all spirit contracts, relations between clairvoyants and nature spirits are thought to involve a negotiable and mutually acceptable exchange. Clairvoyants are believed to make contracts with nature spirits to increase their rice and wealth or to improve their social status. Nature spirits are said to accept contracts from clairvoyants to satisfy their appetites for livestock and human flesh and to test how far clairvoyant clients will go to advance their own positions at the expense of others. It is
thought that clairvoyants become witches when they agree to sacrifice their kin to further their own interests. By virtue of these lifelong contracts, clairvoyants are thought to maintain a permanent position of superiority over other humans.

**Ancestors**

In the cosmologies of the Cacheú Region, the most restricted category of supernatural beings to which all ordinary people are thought to have access are ancestors. An ancestor (díहána, Gu.; ulúqum, Mjc.; defúntu, Kr.; antepassado, Kr.) may be defined as the disembodied soul (ulúqum, Mjc.; básá, Gu.; uháis, Mky.; alma, Kr.) of a deceased person which is believed to have entered the world of the dead and to preside with other ancestors over the affairs of living descendants. Ordinary people are thought to be able to communicate directly with their ancestors at collective public shrines located within the compounds of their residential lineages.

At birth, each member of a spirit province has rights to the ancestor shrines of the lineage (gwoz itáku, Gu.; pisáp balúqum, Mjc.) to which he or she belongs (see Photograph 5). Most of these shrines have no sacred grounds or secrets associated with their maintenance and may be consulted directly by any lineage member since they require no specialized intermediaries. When rituals conducted at these
shrines involve two or more members or people from outside the lineage, the most senior lineage member pours the libations and announces the reason for consultation. Major fissions within a residential lineage are symbolized by the establishment of separate ancestor shrines.

Members of a minimal lineage perform the majority of their ancestor rituals at residential lineage ancestor shrines, although there are more senior shrines that they may also consult along with larger lineage segments. This is so because "different ancestors are recognized as relevant to different structural contexts (as, for example, in groups of different genealogical levels)" (Kopytoff, 1971: 129). Because ancestors are thought to preside over their direct descendants wherever they may be, senior ancestor shrines are the sites at which numerous individuals, dispersed by centrifugal rules of succession and residence as well as migration, reassemble as a descent group to pay respects to their founders. A few of the most senior ancestor shrines, such as those belonging to the "owners of the earth" (e.g. Lera in Caiô) or to the longest established segments of "firstcomer" lineages (e.g. Blei in Caiô), are located in sacred huts (ukarótch, Mjc.) and surrounded by numerous ritual prohibitions that mark their senior rank over other shrines dedicated to other ancestors.

A spirit province may contain hundreds of ancestor shrines, each thought to act as an axis mundi between the
worlds of the living and dead. In this decentralized cult, each shrine is thought to have a restricted range of influence and to grant a set of descendants a point of access to numerous ancestors concerned with overseeing lineage affairs and resolving internal problems.

Manifestations of the Soul

Ancestors are the focus of this section because they are distinct among the various manifestations of the soul (ulúqum, Mjc.; básq, Gu.; uhás, Mky.; alma, Kr.) in that they alone are thought to be easily accessible through established public shrines. Unlike other disembodied souls, ancestors are considered to have legitimate authority over a restricted domain of social life (their descendants) and their regular intervention within that domain is socially-sanctioned. A soul may only acquire this authority when it has completed the rites necessary to become part of the world of the dead and assumes the role of ancestor.

The progress of a soul towards seniority begins when it enters a human being at birth. The soul matures as an individual completes major life rituals (e.g. puberty, marriage, childbirth) and ascends through age grades and eventually commands considerable authority when it has attained the status of elder. Death and the funeral are essentially one more set of rituals through which the soul must pass before acquiring the status of ancestor and in
some areas even within this status there are additional ranks. This scenario describes the unilineal progress of one aspect of the soul, "the life force", towards seniority.

Another aspect of the soul appears to proceed in a cyclical manner, returning to the living world to give life to newborns. This aspect implies that souls are never created, but rather exist in a fixed quantity and are reused repeatedly over the centuries within the spirit province.

Although there appears to be no coherent or widely-recognized set of beliefs about the nature of the soul among the peoples of the Cacheu Region, these and several other characteristics can be discerned by examining the way in which souls are described in particular situations. The different cosmological categories of humans show that several different types of souls (e.g. ordinary, clairvoyant, witch) are thought to exist and the type that is given to a child determines to some extent his or her destiny. Furthermore, a mother has no choice in the type of soul that her child will have. Instead, it appears that each mother is allotted a certain number of souls destined to become part of her children; if one in this pool of souls is a witch it is considered capable of destroying the others even before birth.

A person is thought to die when the "life force" aspect of a soul departs, but other aspects of the soul are not considered to be as critical for human life. These other
aspects are thought to leave when an individual has been frightened by witches, or to be temporarily removed and hidden by a clairvoyant or spirit to protect a person from death. A victim of this type of soul loss is thought to become ill and eventually die if these aspects of the soul are not found and restored to the body by diviners before an extended period of time.

Once a soul has departed from the world of the living it is thought to be able to continue to manifest itself to people in a number of ways. One of these ways is in the form of ghosts (nalúgum, Mjc.), souls that have returned as specters to the land of the living to check on the well-being of their descendants. Ghosts are said to try to hide their return from their descendants and are able to remain invisible to all but clairvoyants. However, since a ghost is a disembodied soul, it is omniscient and a potential source of information about hidden social and supernatural forces, as well as a source of power to anyone who can control it. Clairvoyant diviners in Caió are said to have a special horn (p@ntím pidjíb) made of human bones which allows them to capture ghosts. When a clairvoyant diviners sees the specter, he places the horn on the ground and sets fire to it. The horn is said to shake as if it is boiling and suck the ghost in, despite its efforts to escape. Clairvoyant diviners are said to store captured ghosts in their priest bags (barkafón, Kr.), their regalia of office,
and to consult them for information about occurrences in the residential lineages of their descendants.

Ghosts must be coerced into providing information, but other manifestations of the soul are mechanisms used purposefully by ancestors to communicate with the living. These are best understood after a discussion of ancestors, their functions, and the funerals which grant them their status.

"Ancestors as Elders"

Numerous beliefs and practices relating to ancestors, such as their position in the human as opposed to spirit world (see Diagram 1), confirm their role as "dead elders" in the cosmologies of the Cacheu Region (Kopytoff, 1971: 140). However, ancestors are thought to be distinct from elders in that, as invisible beings, they require the assistance of diviners to interpret the signs they send to their descendants and because their powers exceed those of ordinary people (see Brain, 1971). Nevertheless, the numerous parallels between ancestors and elders offer a convenient framework for this discussion.

The Functions of Ancestors

In the Cacheu Region, ancestors are assigned functions in keeping with their role as senior elders. Like other senior lineage members, ancestors are credited with the
function of upholding rules of lineage etiquette, reinforcing the respect due to seniors, and protecting the interests and well-being of their descendants. Ancestors are also thought to preside over all major rituals conducted by their descendants and to visit their homes from time to time to see that all is well.¹⁵

To warn descendants of unprincipled behavior and to punish malefactors within the lineage, ancestors are believed to be able to send their souls to the world of the living to possess mediums,¹⁶ to communicate in the form of dreams (see Appendix IX, Table 1) or omens (e.g. the appearance of chameleons or rare snakes, see Appendix IX, Table 2), or to provoke misfortune (e.g. damage to lineage property), illnesses, or death. This was the explanation of an incident that occurred in the spring of 1987, when a Baboi woman gave birth to "a child with no umbilical cord" in a hospital in Bissau. The woman was rumored to have been a clairvoyant who had produced a spirit child after having had sexual relations with a spirit in the bush. Shortly afterwards, the woman grew ill and died. An oracle interrogated during her funeral revealed that the ancestors of her husband's lineage had killed her because of a crime she had committed against the household.

In like fashion, it is maintained that because of the ancestors, a junior member who has acquired wealth, but disrespectfully neglected to celebrate this ritually with
living and dead lineage members, may suffer the sudden loss of all the pigs of his residential lineage. Similarly a member of the residential lineage may become suddenly ill or die if he or she has violated household rules by showing favoritism to a single child, harming fellow members by witchcraft, stealing from the household reserves of rice and money, or committing adultery.

**The Benefits of Seniority**

Living and dead elders are consulted as a matter of course in all major decisions and events within a lineage. As people acquire seniority in a lineage, as in other aspects of social organization (see Chapter IV), they first are granted greater authority in decision-making and then gradually give up mundane responsibilities, as it becomes their turn "to eat" or to relax and enjoy the benefits of seniority. People who pass to a senior position through death, receive libations without asking, and are thought to leave the organization and financing of the funeral and other post-mortem rituals to junior, living descendants. They are also thought to have the privilege of residence in the world of the dead.

**The World of the Dead.** The world of the dead is thought to be a fertile and bountiful land in which ancestors of a spirit province satisfy their daily needs effortlessly. Ancestors of each residential lineage are said to
reside together, along with fictive lineage pairs where these exist (e.g. Caboi).\textsuperscript{17}

For the inhabitants of each spirit province of the Region, the world of the dead is thought to be located in a different place, but always on earth far away towards the west near the sea. The Baboi claim that their ancestors live in Utúrivanga (Gu., from Utúri Biánga, Gu.) in the spirit province of Biánga, located southwest of Cacheu and about 25 kms. from Caboi. The Bai6 maintain that their ancestors go to Pumún (Mjc.), a small island located off the southwestern tip of Caió near the Island of Jeta. On rare occasions, ordinary people journey to the villages where their dead are believed to reside, but refuse to speak to the dead relatives that they claim to recognize for fear of dying themselves.

Rites of Passage in the World of the Dead

Funerals. Funerals mark the passage of a soul to the world of the dead and are one of the few occasions on which scattered forest populations of the spirit provinces in the Cacheu Region unite to reaffirm kin ties and redefine social obligations. Members of the deceased’s residential lineage, uterine kin, and affines pool their resources to finance the costly ritual and join in festivities to show moral support to the bereaved.\textsuperscript{18}
Indeed, funerals are perhaps the most important type of ritual that occurs in the Cacheu region. They mark the juncture between the living and dead worlds and are the occasions at which lineages of the deceased and the larger social community establish the tone of future relations. By uniting all the significant kin of an individual, the ritual becomes an appropriate occasion for judging the deceased’s contribution to relations between different social groups that are articulated within his or her own kin.

Types of Funerals. In most of the Cacheu Region, funerals (pum, Mjc.; djizéng, Gu.; tchur, Kr.) usually consist of a feast, burial, and inquest which occur as a single ritual immediately following a death to mark the passage of a soul to the world of the dead. However, in some areas the components of a funeral may be divided and occur at different times. In Caboi, for instance, the feast and inquest may be delayed for as much as 20 years after a burial (djizéng batchútchu, Gu.). This arises when a residential lineage has insufficient time or accumulated wealth to stage the feast, such as when a death occurs during the rainy season, at wartime, following a poor harvest, or after several other funerals in the lineage during the same season.

Although delayed funerary feasts and inquests do not occur for all deaths, they are comparable to Hertz’s notion of the “great feast” because the ritual marks the end of an
intermediate period when a soul has been unable to enter the world of the dead (Hertz, 1960; Huntington and Metcalf, 1979: 13-14). Rather than being an object of dread whose arrival to the world of the dead must be confirmed by a "secondary burial" (Hertz, 1960), a Baboi soul is thought simply to wait during this interval for the surviving family members to accumulate surplus necessary for the ritual.

The soul is thought to inform its residential lineage when enough resources have been amassed by sending illness to one of the children, possessing affines who reside in the compound, or destroying lineage property (e.g. by killing its pigs or causing a lineage member to set fire "accidentally" to a house). Descendants may request an additional delay of one year if the harvest is poor, but most souls are said to solicit feasts only in years of good harvest. Delayed feasts occur in clusters after the harvest in the dry season, between the months of January and May. By postponing the ritual for 10 or 20 years, delayed feasts might form part of a strategy of crisis management and resource conservation, by which lineages only dispense wealth for souls that are likely to be remembered for having left many descendants.

In Caboi, immediate and delayed funerary rites are identical except for the substitution of symbolic instruments to represent the corpse in delayed rituals. In feasts immediately following a death, the prepared Baboi corpse is...
kept on a special podium (bizímpali, Gu.) and offered sacrifices and libations. In delayed feasts, the corpse is represented by an article of the deceased's clothing, or the cloth used to tie the corpse's mouth shut before burial, which is stored in a lighter weight facsimile of the podium (also bizímpali, Gu.). In immediate funerals the corpse is buried after the festivities and before the inquest of the soul oracle; in delayed funerals, the burial may occur many years before the other two stages.

**Funerals as Rites of Passage.** The funeral, in a sense, marks the passage to a higher age grade. The funerals of male and female elders are joyous occasions which celebrate accession to a more senior status in another world. The funerals for initiation priests (bamánya, Gu., Mjc.) are particularly splendid affairs, where Baboi initiates perform a sacred dance (sáibu bádju, Gu.) that only other initiates may witness, and titled Baió initiates appear in full regalia. However, the funeral ritual only grants exalted status to those who have passed legitimately through each stage of seniority and, in this way, have made a considerable social and material contribution to the living.

People who skip these ranks by dying before having reached social seniority undergo only a slight change in status after death. Because the networks they established during life are few and their effect is ephemeral, the funerals of social juniors are unhappy occasions, lasting
only one or two days, and children under three years of age are often given no funeral at all. Funerals for social juniors are so different from the flamboyant celebrations at the deaths of elders that colonial officials often neglected to recognize the former as funerals at all (Carreira, 1951b: 21).24

These differences in funeral rituals for the young and old reveal something of the process by which ancestorhood is achieved. Fortes has argued that jural status is the key and

the personality and character, the virtues or vices, success or failures, popularity or unpopularity, of a person during his lifetime make no difference to his attainment of ancestorhood (Fortes, 1965: 133).

Elders who have borne many children and influenced many lives are thought to continue to be present in the lives of their descendants even after death. In addition to this jural factor, society enshrines powerful people who have numerous offspring, affines, friends, age mates, and colleagues in occupational associations and who have built up large social networks during their lives, and thus ensured social continuity.

In addition to variations in the timing of funerary feasts and inquests in relation to burials, the characteristics of funeral celebrations and burials may also vary according to the lifetime occupation of the deceased. Throughout the Region, corpses being prepared for burial are
usually washed and wrapped in woven cloths and placed at the bottom of an "L" shaped grave, dug by the grave diggers association. Graves are located nearby in an adjoining uncultivated forest designated as the residential lineage's cemetery, where the dead remain bound to the interests of the residential lineage to which they belonged during life. Only when a person has died from infectious disease is an exception made to this rule.

People who are alleged to have been witches, because of the presence of unusual animals and insects in the vicinity of their death (see Appendix IX, Table 2), are buried naked supposedly to remind the ancestors that the deceased was a witch and should be eternally shamed. Certain measures may also be taken to punish the witch and ensure that it does not return as a ghost to harm the living. Placing a twisted palm leaf or piece of wood (atchí, Gu.) in the grave, for example, is said to prevent a witch from either entering the world of the dead or returning to the living. Baboi may also hide a knife in the bodies of people suspected of having died from witchcraft, so that the dead victim can kill the assailant. After the funeral, a cut is said to appear across the throat of the guilty witch, who is unable to eat or drink and soon dies.

In Caió, the chief of the first settlement (Adjú Lera), the chief of Caió (Adjú Kor), and the head of the blacksmiths association (nalí botchak', Mjc.) receive special
burials with parallel symbolism, as in other rituals and regalia associated with their offices (see Chapter IV, Importance of Seniority). The wrapped corpse of each of these officers is set in a grave into which the mothers of blacksmiths pour buckets of sea water until the corpse floats. The sons of blacksmiths remove the corpse and fan it with palm branches until it dries and then the corpse is buried as normal. In Caboi, blacksmiths (d1h'6, Gu.) and chiefs are buried in simple square graves and are seated in a cross-legged position as if at work at a forge.

Commemorative Wakes. Following funerals, other rituals may occur to promote certain ancestors to higher statuses within the world of the dead. In provinces where there are strong clan divisions and titles in secret societies (e.g. Cai6), select ancestors are thought to acquire ranks in the world of the dead through rituals that may be called commemorative wakes (kalómpo pisáp, Mjc.; finka firkídja, Kr.; "place the stake"). The accession to this higher rank among the ancestors is marked by the removal of the stake from the ancestor's grave in the cemetery in the woods, and the placement of a decorative, newly-fabricated one on a veranda or somewhere else within the compound of the residential lineage alongside other such stakes of the ancestor-shrine. The commemorative wake eternalizes the ancestor and elevates him or her to the status of a virtual divinity.
When descendants are prosperous and thriving, an ancestor is said to request the ritual to celebrate this well-being by sending a sign to one of its direct descendants. Like the "great feast" described by Hertz, the commemorative wake is a festive occasion which involves a ritual repast and numerous sacrifices and libations made in the ancestor's honor. But it is usually only the most prominent ancestors who have left numerous offspring that return to ask their descendants to perform the ritual. Ancestor stakes are planted for the most prolific, wealthy, and influential people of each lineage in Caió. Stakes are also installed for all properly established chiefs and kings in Caió and Bassarel and mark the succession of political office in these provinces.

Over the years, the individual for whom a stake was planted may be forgotten, but the ancestor stake together with others accumulated at the residence serve to mark the history of the establishment of the lineage in that area. The earliest settlements of each of Caió's seven matriclans, for example, are the sites of large collections of stakes which represent clan founders. The rules of matrilineal succession to the headmanship of residential lineages combined with virilocal residence for couples and patrilocal residence for offspring transform these shrines into collective meeting grounds for members of numerous sub-clans and lineages that are dispersed over large areas. Residen-
tial lineages that have the largest number of such stakes are either the wealthiest, because descendants can afford this costly ritual, or the oldest because the stakes accumulate over time.

The more egalitarian provinces (e.g. Caboi) conceive of ancestors in the land of the dead as occupying close to equal status. Residential lineages usually have only one ancestor stake or other marker and there is little distinction in wealth among descendants of various ancestors. Nevertheless, even here the most famous personages who are venerated in myth, great war heroes (e.g. Kadjípor of Belimbo), lineage founders (e.g. Mankanɛnde of Sakán), and powerful traditional and even Portuguese-imposed chiefs (e.g. Patünki of Katünku) have stakes established in their honor which are treated as secondary ancestor shrines by their residential lineages.

The Soul Oracle

The soul oracle (bekáp, Mjc.; satúngu, Gu.; djon gágu, Kr.) is a type of funerary bier or divinatory litter used as a vehicle of communication with the soul of a dead person. The interrogation of the soul oracle is equivalent to the practice of "carrying the corpse" mentioned in Sierra Leone and the Upper Guinea Coast since the 15th and 16th Centuries, and in Ghana, Angola, Surinam, and Brazil in the 20th century.
In its original form, the soul oracle is simply a human corpse wrapped in a cloth or carried in a coffin or on a long stretcher by two or more bearers. If the soul of the deceased fails to possess the corpse before burial, peoples of the Cacheu Region construct an abstract replica of the corpse as an oracle for it. Although there is some regional variation, the standard form of the soul oracle (bekáp, Mjc., Mky., Ppl., "bed") is a long bundle of about six wooden poles wrapped together with brightly-colored hand-woven cloth. In Caboi, the oracle (satúnqu, Gu.) variously takes the form of a rectangular box, a canoe, or a ship depending on the status of the deceased (see Photograph 6). The soul oracle may be carried either on the shoulders or heads of two to four bearers.

Activation of the Oracle

Throughout the funeral feast, the soul oracle is offered libations of alcohol and sacrificial blood. If the corpse is present at the funeral, six people carry the cadaver in a circle around the oracle. After the burial, a senior member of the deceased’s lineage places in or around the oracle the cloth that was used to bind the corpse’s mouth shut, or some other article of clothing in delayed funerals. The cloth serves as a medium for the soul that is attracted to the oracle by the libations. Once activated in
this manner, the oracle may be used in the final stage of funerary rites: the inquest.

The Funerary Inquest

Following the funeral feasts, the soul oracle is used to perform three major functions: to discover the cause of the death, to tap other information guarded by the ancestors, and to permit the soul entry to the world of the dead. During the inquest which may last for several days, males of the age grade and residential lineage of the deceased carry the oracle as lineage elders and other significant kin of the deceased conduct the questioning. The bearers are frequently replaced as these become tired.

The Diagnosis of Death. At death, the soul is thought to become omniscient, knowing not only the mystical, medical, and legal causes of its owner's death, but also many other hidden events and tensions within the community. Elders question the oracle to ascertain whether the death was caused by the high god, a spirit, an ancestor, witchcraft, or crimes that the deceased himself committed. The oracle gives a positive response by propelling its carriers forward and a negative response by driving them backwards. Thus contrary to many works on soul oracles (e.g. "carrying of the corpse" in note 31) that imply that its principal function is to identify witches, this is but one of many
agents that the oracle can uncover as the cause of death in the Cacheu Region.

It is also significant that unlike post-mortem witch identification oracles in other areas, soul oracles in the Cacheu Region never identify witches as individuals. Doing so, it is said, would provoke an immediate reprisal by the victimized lineage and result in instant death for the suspect, even if the oracle's response was later considered to have been erroneous. Instead, soul oracles in the Region merely identify the kin group of the deceased in which the witch belongs by consecutively running to several individuals and stopping before them. If, for instance the oracle goes to the deceased's father, father's brother, and brothers and sisters, observers can deduce that the witch is a member of the deceased's patrilineal kin (itáku, Gu.; p@sini, Mjc.). The oracle may occasionally supply more specific information, such as the witch's generation within the kin group. The inquisitors must then identify the social relation which exists between these individuals and the situation to which the oracle is referring, always seeking confirmation for their theories from the oracle's movements. Relatives of the deceased will then attend future funerary inquests of members of the suspect's kin group in the hopes that their soul oracles will identify the witch responsible for their lineage member's death.
If the death is attributed to a spirit or ancestor, the oracle "runs" to its hiding place or established shrine and continues the inquest there, so that the supernatural agency can presumably bear witness to the truthfulness of the soul's responses. If the deceased himself is identified as a witch and thus responsible for his own death, the oracle reveals all the crimes committed during his lifetime with surprising specificity. For example, by slowly responding to "yes" and "no" questions, the soul oracle is thought to expose not only the types of insects a witch has brought to destroy the harvests, but also the crops and portions affected, the seasons of the plagues and their approximate years, as well as disclose all of the witch's previous victims. To do this, funeral participants are sometimes required to recall events, relations, and funerary inquests that occurred as much as 70 years before.

Other Insights from the Soul. Following the diagnosis of the death, the soul oracle is also thought to be able to proclaim the deceased’s last wishes, communicate messages from other ancestors (e.g. requesting libations from descendants), presage forthcoming illnesses and deaths and prescribe methods for averting these misfortunes (e.g. that a lineage member contract a spirit as protection against witchcraft), or disclose family scandals and obscure connections between people and events which have led to animosity.
The final testimony of the soul oracles of witches commonly result in the payment of sacrificial fines by the deceased's lineage. However, some inquests can have much more far-reaching consequences. This was the case of the soul oracle of a young Baboi woman which revealed that she had died because she was unable to pay a contract she had made with a spirit to terminate her marriage. Shortly afterwards, the dead woman's sister declared that she wanted to marry a man from a sublineage related to her own; the marriage would be incestuous for it violated the rules of lineage exogamy. Although her father was against the marriage, her mother supported it for fear that this second daughter would also contract a spirit to terminate the marriage and eventually be killed. The incestuous union provoked no divine sanctions, so it set a precedent for endogamy within a previously exogamous lineage. In this way, the testimony of the soul oracle at one person's funeral modified marriage and incest rules within two sublineages. Thus, the soul oracle not only helps the peoples of the Cacheu Region explain plagues of insects, drought, epidemics, infertility, illness, and death, but also brings latent tensions between social categories to the surface and prescribes procedures for their reconciliation.

Disposal of the Oracle. After the inquest, the cloths that wrapped the oracle are removed for future use and in some areas its wooden remains are discarded on top of the
grave if the death was caused by the high god or at the shrine of the spirit or ancestor responsible if these were identified as the cause. For several weeks afterwards, as the structure slowly deteriorates, these visible remains stand as a reminder to passers-by of the deeds of the deceased and the power of the supernatural.

Misleading the Soul Oracle

Before the soul of the deceased may collect its belongings and embark for the world of the dead, it is thought that it must disclose its secret knowledge of the cosmos and confess its crimes and confidences to the living. Honesty during the final inquest is imperative, for if the soul lies or errs, the ancestors are said to bar the soul entry to the world of the dead. Instead of joining the peaceful and fertile after life, the soul is thought to remain on earth in the form of the living dead (mnómp@n@mpe, Gu.; nap@r, Mjc.; kasísa, Kr.)

The soul oracle may provide false testimony for several reasons. A powerful witch present at the funeral may manipulate the oracle to disguise his or her true responsibility for the death, by forcing it to move in the opposite direction and attribute the death to the high god, spirits, or some other cause. The soul oracle is also believed to err when its carriers become weary after a long interrogation and move intentionally, instead of waiting for
the oracle to move itself. On occasion, the soul of a deceased person simply refuses to confess or lies because of shame or because it wishes to remain among the living.

The Living Dead. The living dead (m@p@, Mjc.; kasisa, Kr.; mnómp@n@mp@e, Gu.) are souls that have been rejected from the world of the dead because of having lied during a funeral inquest. Said to be easily visible to ordinary people, the living dead are black, speak with a nasal voice, smell of the stench of death, and are usually surrounded by swarms of flies. Even when unseen, their presence is detectable by the mysterious disappearance of food that has been left out during the night within the residential compound.

The living dead are thought to be able to join the ancestors, only if the soul oracle is interrogated a second time and on this occasion confesses the truth. Family members may either retrieve the old oracle from on top of the grave if it is still intact or fabricate a new one. Following the inquest, the oracle is again abandoned. If the soul oracle of the living dead does not undergo a second inquest within a few days after the funeral, hyenas rapidly devour the soul and it disappears forever.

Significance

The interrogation of the soul oracle is a key moment in social life, when witches and their crimes are identified,
kin ties are reinforced or broken, and entire periods of history are reinterpreted to make sense of death and an individual's impact on life. Through the funerary inquest, inhabitants of the lands of the dead and living are thought to work together to redefine and redraw the boundaries of social groups. This social function of the funerary inquest is particularly noticeable in the fact that witches are identified as members of kin groups rather than as individuals.

Post-mortem witch accusations are a distinguishing feature of cosmological beliefs in the Cacheu Region. Although witches are thought to violate norms, witchcraft accusations rarely occur immediately as a direct result of these breaches, but rather years and sometimes generations afterwards. The fact that most witch accusations in the Cacheu Region occur only after death bears a close resemblance to other ethnic groups of Southern and Eastern Africa where witch beliefs are prevalent, but where full-scale public accusations rarely occur (e.g. the Pedi in Sansom, 1972; the Nandi, Mandari, Dinka, Nuer, Turkana, Karimojong, Samburu, Somali, Boran in Baxter, 1972). Like these other ethnic groups, the societies of the Cacheu Region are characterized by considerable mobility in residence and a "high tempo of sociation", that is they change fellows rapidly (Sansom, 1972: 210). In the Cacheu Region, only at death are the secrets of a person's life disclosed and their
contracts and innate powers revealed and only then do these past actions play a role in shifts in social relations, such as in lineage fission (see Chapter VI), which Douglas (1963: 141) calls the "obstetric" function of accusation. By identifying deceased witches or the kin groups of living witches, the soul oracle brings latent tensions between social categories to the surface and prescribes procedures for reconciliation.

Public Spirits

Public spirits are the category of supernatural beings with the largest variety of subtypes and greatest contrasts in ranges of their clientele. A public spirit (ussai, Mj.; utcháí, Mj.; djenyú, Gu.; iran, Kr.) may be defined as a non-ancestral divinity with established public shrines that, of all the categories of supernatural entities in the Cacheu Region, is most readily accessible to ordinary people. While nature spirits are believed to be available only to clairvoyants, and ancestors work exclusively for the interests of their lineages, public spirits are accessible to all humans through intermediaries and contracts. Nature spirits serve to explain differences in social status, ancestors define the relations between genealogical lines, while public spirits help to demarcate social categories and territorial groups. Of all the public spirits, province initiation spirits (introduced in Chapter IV) attract the
widest range of clients and help to define entire spirit provinces and their relations with other ethnic groups.

Public spirits are thought to live in an invisible world which is physically coterminous with the human world and much closer to it than either the world of the dead or the abode of the high god.\textsuperscript{41} They are also closer to the high god than other supernatural entities, although this relationship is believed to have once been even more intimate, as the following oral tradition recounts:

Many years ago, the high god gave the public spirits a package for safe keeping. As soon as the high god left, the spirits became curious about its contents. Instead of guarding it as they had been told, they opened it and ate everything inside. The high god returned and, seeing that the spirits were bad and could not be trusted, condemned them to the ground to the roots of trees. Now people know that spirits are bad, but we are forced to trust them and believe they are good, because they help us achieve our goals and satisfy our wants (Caiå Interview 22: 1987).

Since this rupture, only the most powerful public spirits are thought to have retained some ability to communicate with the high god in order to grant human wishes.

**Characteristics of Public Spirits**

Public spirits are considered to be domesticated entities with fixed residence and capable of living lives and pursuing interests of their own. Human knowledge about the appearance and behavior of spirits is said to come from clairvoyants.
Appearance

Public spirits are most often believed to resemble humans both in physical appearance and social behavior, but may also assume animal forms. At times, a public spirit is said to reveal itself to ordinary people in some form that reflects an aspect of its personality.

Those spirits closest to the high god are said to have indistinct personalities and forms. The Mama Djombo spirit of Caboi, for example, is abstract, lacking gender or other physical qualities, but considered to be powerful, good, and fair. Baboi claim that its judgement never falters, even when offered a tempting reward, nor is it deceived into performing evil acts, such as harming an innocent party in the name of revenge. As the high god’s bodyguard and confidant, it is said that appeals made to Mama Djombo are heard before other requests and given top priority.

Gender. Even when other physical characteristics are indeterminate, most public spirits are assigned a gender. Female public spirits are said to be gentle, lenient, and patient and to send omens and dreams to notify their clients when payment for a contract is due. For example, Ussai Pantufa of Pantufa spirit province is said to be normally gentle, but at times temperament. As one priest described her,

Ussai Pantufa is a beautiful spirit with light skin and long, straight, dark hair. She likes to stay at home except on the market days of Pelundo and Pantufa when she makes herself visible and goes to
the market to buy vegetables. On one Pelundo market day, she left her shrine and put on her shoes at the entrance, so being transformed into her visible human form. As she approached the Pelundo market, a man saw her from his window and fell in love with her. He went out and told her, "You are so beautiful. I want you". Ussai Pantufa smiled, but walked on without pausing. On the next market day, the man awaited her arrival and repeated his words to her while inviting her into his house. This time she went with him, but as she entered, the house burst into flames and burned to the ground. Only then did the man realize that the beauty was really Ussai Pantufa and never again did he attempt to play with fire (Pantufa Interview 6, 1987).

Male spirits, on the other hand, are believed to be more impatient; they are said to kill without warning or send illness to clients and their families if payment is not made immediately. Ussai Banhobe of the spirit province Canhobe (see Maps 2 and 6), for instance, is thought to be very masculine and dangerous because he makes clients forget about the contracts they have made and still expects payment immediately after providing services. After going mad, becoming ill, or unintentionally committing a crime and falling into disgrace, the client is made aware of the forgotten contract by consulting a diviner who identifies the unpaid debt to Ussai Banhobe as the cause of these misfortunes.

Behavior and Personality

Public spirits are also ascribed human-like motives and expectations and are thought to follow a calendar of festivities that coincides with important social occasions for
humans. Like humans, public spirits of the Cacheu Region are said to follow a six day week and to prefer that major rituals be conducted on their local or favorite market days. Like influential people, powerful spirits are thought to demand treatment that reflects their status. It is said that some expect to be summoned or greeted with the noise of a rattle or hand gong and most require small gifts of alcohol or water before granting audience to a client. In rituals, spirits are accorded the honor of being the first to receive alcohol and sacrificial blood. Major public spirits must be notified of important social events that are to take place in their domains and in certain cases must signal their approval through an oracle. The six-day calender and prescribed ways of consultation make the behavior of public spirits comprehensible and their powers potentially accessible to all people.

Functions

Public spirits are considered vital to human life because their proximity to the high god can empower them to bring rain, prevent pestilence and epidemics, provide refuge or protection against persecution, judge disputes, sanction crimes, collect fines, or simply to furnish information about the intentions and actions of other agents of the cosmology. In addition to these powers, public spirits are said to be able to perform all the functions of nature
spirits, such as increasing the wealth or skills that their clients already possess.

These powers enable them to serve humans in a variety of ways. By way of spirit contracts, ordinary people are thought to be granted protection, fertility, justice, prosperity, health, and longevity. In payment, spirits are said to accept alcohol (e.g. palm wine, cane alcohol, distilled liquors, and water on minor symbolic occasions, but never European table wine or cashew fruit wine) and the blood of domesticated beasts, including humans and livestock (e.g. cows, pigs, goats, chickens, and dogs, but for some reason never ducks, fish, or game). Before being sacrificed, goats, cows, and dogs must urinate near the spirit shrine to signify the spirit's acceptance of the offering.

**Public Spirit Shrines and Spheres of Influence**

Like ancestors, public spirits are thought to be accessible to ordinary people at established shrines. Located in open fields, beneath man-made shelters, or in streams and marked by a rock, ant hill, piece of wood, or pot sherd, many spirit shrines are difficult to distinguish from their surroundings. The most important shrines usually consist of cleared spaces bordered on one or several sides by logs and located beneath large shade trees, such as African mahogany (*bissilao*, Kr.; *Khaya senegalensis*), and kapok or silk cotton trees (*poilao*, Kr.; *Ceiba Pentandra*).
The logs are used as benches for clients and priests and the base of the tree usually serves as an altar at which offerings are made. Spirits often derive their names from some characteristic of their shrine site (e.g. Ussai Kabén meaning "Spirit of the palm tree" (Borassus aethiopum)).

Spirit Domains

All public spirit shrines are established by categories of people with some common interest and serve as sites for discussing their common concerns. These social categories may be united by the same gender or membership in a common residential lineage compound, age grade, occupational association, anomalous birth society, or spirit province. As their ritual meeting grounds, public spirit shrines symbolize the unity within each of these social sub-groups and distinguishes them from other groups of people with common interests. Fixed shrines, then, bind public spirits to groups of people and conceptual territories. The social unit associated with a particular shrine constitutes the spirit's inherent sphere of influence or domain.

The spirit domain is the raison d'être of a public shrine. It provides a spirit's intermediaries and its most regular clientele. People from within a spirit's domain maintain a special bond with the spirit. They maintain its shrine and perform frequent rituals there, for functions ranging from announcing temporary changes in a group's
membership (e.g. births, guests) to celebrations for giving thanks. Some of these shrines also require calendrical rituals to be performed by the social unit associated with the domain (e.g. marking accession to new grades at age grade shrines or harvest rituals at province initiation shrines). In turn the spirit is thought to watch over the people within its domain and provide them some protection from outside evils.

Although residence, age, gender, divine selection, occupation, or anomalous status are among the factors which qualify individuals to belong to a spirit’s domain and fall under its patronage, individuals from outside of a spirit’s intrinsic sphere of influence may contract the spirit to extend some of the privileges to them. In its extreme circumstances, an outsider may even come to belong to a spirit’s domain by seeking various degrees of protection or ritual refuge (see Chapter VI).

Relations among Spirit Domains. In most cases, the locations of public spirit shrines reflect the domains over which the spirit presides. Shrines often mark the boundaries of territories and villages and are the places at which people make offerings to protect themselves before crossing into a dangerous area (Van Gennep, (1909), 1960). Shrines also mark the boundaries between social categories and statuses and are the sites of rituals that mark transitions in the states of individuals and groups. The associa-
tion between shrines and statues implies that an individual usually falls within the domains of numerous public spirits simultaneously. Furthermore, the domains of public spirits are not mutually exclusive and that of one major initiation spirit may contain hundreds of lesser spirit domains within its jurisdictions.

Map 9 illustrates the variety of public spirit shrines that can be found within a single village. Residential lineage spirit shrines usually can be found at the entry or just within the boundaries of a residential lineage compound, although it may also be located at some distance from the actual settlement on an extension of the compound’s property, such as near a rice field or at the edge of a forest. When it serves more than one compound, the residential lineage spirit is usually found at the interstices between the settlements. The shrines for anomalous birth societies (e.g. twins) are too numerous to be shown on this map, since each member constructs a shrine of his or her own within the compound. The large diviners society has a sacred shrine for Ussai Blek located in the diviners’ forest (Bré Bapéne, Mjc.) which plays an important role in their initiation ritual. Ussai Bakássa, the major province initiation shrine is found by the roadside just before entering the village of Caiómete.

In the cosmologies of the Cacheu Region, each public shrine is considered to serve as the fixed residence and
MAP 9: NEIGHBORHOODS, RESIDENTIAL LINEAGES, AND SPIRIT SHRINES OF CAIOMETE
headquarters of a public spirit over its domain in its rudimentary socio-political relations with other spirits. These spheres of influence are thought to be constantly in flux as lesser spirits vie with one another for greater power and wider boundaries. Public spirits are thought to be most knowledgeable about and powerful within their respective domains. However, a contract may lead a public spirit to venture outside of its normal territory to unfamiliar terrain where it is vulnerable to unknown adversaries. A witch may, for instance, contract one public spirit to steal the soul of an enemy who is protected by another spirit. These two spirits must fight to control the soul of the proposed victim and usually it is thought that the more powerful spirit wins. It is held that for this reason, even people who have sought refuge in a spirit’s care may occasionally die. Ineffectiveness may place a spirit’s power in question, but never its existence.

Some public spirits within a province are thought to be related by kinship or political rank. In the province of Cai6, the domains of major initiation spirits are believed to be divided into two territories, each containing its own chief, second in command, and "security force". As Map 7 shows these major spirits are consulted in a sequence which reflects their relative seniority, as is often the case. The chief spirits (Pigínur and Bakássa) must be consulted first, then the "seconds in command" (Kabén and Pétíbi), and
finally the "security officers" (B@låk Ntch@mpil and Bandåka), who are thought in turn to relay the message in descending order to the other sacred spirits and eventually lesser public spirits in the province. Diviners and priests respect this sequence in announcing decisions, organizing rituals, and undertaking pilgrimages. In Caboi, two of the six Mama Djombo shrines (see Map 8), are considered auxiliary and are rarely consulted by Baboi, except for minor individual requests.44

Few formal ties exist between the spirits of different provinces of the Cacheu Region. Ussai Pantufa, however, is said to have weaker "children" shrines bearing the same name in all areas where Pantufa families have migrated and chosen to establish residence (see Chapter VII, IX). Although rare, these overarching ties are extremely important and are discussed in greater detail below (see kasarå).

Initiation Spirit Shrines

Within this wide variety of public spirit shrines, one type deserves special mention: province initiation shrines. These shrines, already discussed in Chapter IV, stand in contrast to the shrines of lesser public spirits and are significant for several reasons. First, while the numerous smaller shrines within a province draw their clientele from subgroups, initiation spirit shrines are identified with the province as a whole. They are consulted in both critical
and calendrical rituals and penetrate all aspects of social life within the spirit province.

Secondly, unlike the shrines of lesser public spirits, those of province initiation spirits are sacred and set apart by numerous restrictions concerning how they should be consulted (see Appendix IX, Table 3). Shrines dedicated to province initiation spirits, for instance, are often situated in up to a hectare of sacred groves which only initiates may enter. These grounds and all plants, fruit, or animals found within are considered to be the spirit's property and may not be removed, eaten, or killed. Non-initiates who wish to consult such shrines must remain in a designated area, usually on a log bench, outside of the sacred grounds, and communicate their purpose through initiates. Other sacred shrines place no restrictions on who may enter the grounds, but require all clients and intermediaries to remove their shoes or clothing, or to speak quietly and solemnly.

Thirdly, although most of a lesser spirit's clients come from within its restricted sphere of influence, province initiation spirits often attract large numbers of clients from outside of their domains, in this case, spirit provinces. A case study of the major initiation spirits of one province in Chapters VIII, reveals the composition of a shrine's clients and the impact these large numbers of
ethnically-diverse pilgrims have on the members of a spirit province.

Fourthly, province initiation spirits require specialized intermediaries. Whereas lesser public spirits may be consulted directly by laymen members of the domain --and in accordance with group principles of seniority, senior members preside over rituals involving two or more individuals-- the initiation spirits require institutionalized intermediaries who are usually hierarchically organized and range from highly-specialized, divinely-appointed priests to barely specialized male initiates.

**Intermediaries with Public Spirits**

The peoples of the Cacheu Region, use several types of intercessors to communicate with and interpret the messages of public spirits. Province initiation spirits require initiated males and specialized priests to intercede on behalf of non-initiated clients, whereas other specialists in the interpretation of signs, such as diviners, may be consulted to clarify omens and events sent by a wide range of social, natural, and supernatural entities.

**Intermediaries for Initiation Spirits**

The intermediaries for initiation spirits may serve individual supplicants or entire congregations, but are only competent within the province in which a particular spirit
is found. Some specialized intermediaries have an even more limited range of activity and function only for individual spirits.

**Initiated Males.** The broadest category of intermediaries for initiation spirits are the initiated males of a spirit province. As chapter IV has shown, males become intercessors for province initiation spirits by learning secret knowledge about their functions and roles while being initiated into a province-wide secret society. The rituals and offices associated with initiation simultaneously define the intermediaries for province initiation shrines and the largest range of regular social interaction among several villages (e.g. the spirit province). Even when there are several different initiation spirits in a province, male initiates occupy a common status and have privileged access to all of these sacred grounds.

Because only initiates may enter the sacred grounds of these powerful and dangerous initiation spirits, they must relay to the spirit the messages of non-initiated clients from both within and outside of the spirit province. Non-initiates are also excluded from most sacrifices, except in small provinces where offerings are occasionally too large to be consumed by the initiates present and are slaughtered outside the sacred grounds to permit universal consumption. Thus from the log benches where they remain seated outside the sacred grounds, non-initiated supplicants rarely
perceive the differences between these intercessors and other specialists who may be required for a ritual.

Priests. Most rituals at initiation spirit shrines also require the presence of a priest who is responsible for pouring libations to summon the spirit and directing ritual procedures. In some provinces a single office may provide the intermediaries and shrine custodians for all rituals, while in others intermediaries may differ according to the type of ritual to be performed.

Libation Pourers. Most sacred initiation spirit shrines appear to have a libation pourer (natůl uussai, Mjc.; uzůku djenyů, Gu.), who holds the office by virtue of either heredity or divine selection. In Caió, the batul uussai (Mjc.) or "spirit libation pourers" presides over most rituals performed at initiation spirit shrines, particularly those involving large sacrifices (e.g. a cow). Batul uussai of the lesser initiation spirits of Caió (e.g. Ntch&mpil) acquire the office when they succeed to the headmanships of specific residential matrilineages (see Appendix X, Table 1). Each of these minor initiation spirits have only one priest at any given time. The batul uussai of the two chief initiation spirits (Bakássa and Piginur), however, are chosen for the office by divine selection: by the onslaught of a spirit-induced illness identified as such by diviners and oracles. These major spirits always have several batul uussai simultaneously who are ranked in seniority in accor-
dance with precedence of assuming office. Through selection by diviner choice rather than succession, the priests of the most powerful initiation spirits of Caió represent the unity of the province’s numerous clans.

In Caboi, the libation pourers (uzúku djenyú, Gu.) of each of the six initiation shrines come from the most senior initiated males of six priestly patrilineages (see Appendix VI). In Pantufa, the libation pourers (natúl utcháí, Mjc.) acquire this ritual post by succeeding to the office of chief.

Initiation Priests. Although libation pourers often simultaneously direct the initiation rituals that occur at these shrines (e.g. in Caboi, Pantufa), some provinces require other intermediaries, such as initiation priests (bamánya, Mjc.), to perform this function. The bamánya of Caió hold the highest title in male province initiation rituals (see Chapter IV) and because of their role during this crucial rite of passage, command considerable respect throughout the province for their entire lives, even though their ritual function is concentrated in initiation years.

Institutionalized Mediums. Although the intentions of most public spirits remain unknown to the clients that consult them, a very few of the most powerful initiation spirit are thought to be able to communicate their intentions to clients through specialized mediums. In Caboi, for instance, institutionalized mediums known as ugégé (Gu.,
"interpreter" or "medium") are thought to have the ability to hear and translate the spirit's message. This intermediary may be any initiated male who has the gift of eloquence necessary to interpret and convey the abstract concepts in Mama Djombo's message in the Guboi language. The uyégétó is thought to be able to hear the spirit speak only when seated in a special place just inside the boundaries of the spirit's sacred grounds (simindé, Gu.). Although other initiates and the libation pourer who is summoning the spirit are but a few yards away just next to the shrine, the uyégétó alone hears the spirit's message and is in a position to interpret it. From his seat, the uyégétó shouts the spirit's responses to the client in Guboi.

Translators. If a client of Baboi initiation spirits do not speak Guboi, a third intermediary is required: the translator or uratchandála (Gu. "crossroad"). The uratchandála may be anyone, initiated or not, who shares a language with both the uyégétó and the client. The uratchandála must be seated outside of the spirit's sacred ground, at the meeting of two path, where he or she can hear the uyégétó's message and easily translate it for the client. When the ritual is complete, the uratchandála like other specialists may drink some of the alcohol that was offered as libation.
Generalized Intermediaries

Other intermediaries are believed to be capable of transmitting and interpreting messages from a variety of social, natural, and supernatural entities. These intermediaries include both non-human agents and human intercessors who employ a wide variety of divinatory techniques. All of these agents, with the exception of uninstitutionalized mediums, tend to act as interpreters and problem solvers for individual clients. Furthermore, they are mobile and therefore versatile in the places they may be consulted and in the ways in which they may be employed.

Uninstitutionalized mediums. Most provinces of the Cacheu Region contain uninstitutionalized mediums, that is individuals who with neither special training nor ritual office are susceptible to possession. A medium possessed by a spirit or ancestor characteristically becomes quiet and then appears to lose consciousness or "fall" (arini, anéde, anéze, Gu.; anédia, Mjc.). While in trance, the medium may communicate in tongues, use the voice or metaphorical speech associated with an ancestor or spirit, or remain silent and disclose information through a symbolic sign language. In this altered state of consciousness, mediums often encounter difficulties in motor coordination or experience extraordinary strength. However, because the experience is so physically draining, people often try to force the super-
natural entity to search for another medium by preventing
the spirit from gaining control of their consciousness.

Uninstitutionalized mediums are consulted situationally
to resolve a particular problem. A medium possessed by the
soul of a person recently deceased, for instance, may
explain the reasons for the death or disclose the deceased's
unpaid spirit debts to his or her living kin (see note 14).

However, spirits are also thought to use possession to
indicate their selection of an intermediary for their
shrines. This possession may either take the form of a
trance as described above or of a possession-illness (ussai
am6q@l, Mjc. "the spirit catches him"). A possession-
illness is a physical malady that is interpreted as a
spirit's summons to office. A possession-illness may have a
common set of symptoms as among the Mankanya (Trincaz, 1975:
325-6), or may take the form of any of a range of chronic
afflictions that are thought to remain incurable until the
summons is answered. These afflictions may include such
diverse manifestations as a chronic cut caused by a fallen
stick, delirium, aching in the entire body combined with
numbness in one arm, a deep knife wound without bleeding
until a day after it was inflicted, and unconsciousness.

After a diviner or oracle has identified the spirit respon-
sible and the nature of the summons, a person suffering from
a possession-illness must undergo initiation into a ritual
office or cult of affliction in order to be healed. In
Caió, libation pourers (batúl ussaj), diviners, and the chief of the blacksmiths society (náli bëetchëk', mjc.) are all selected in this way.

Diviners. Among the most generalized of all intermediaries are spiritist diviners (bapéne, Mjc., Mky., Ppl.; ulaag, Gu.; djambakús, Kr.; halobérù, Kr.) who are endowed with learned or inspired skills to interpret signs from all categories of entities from the supernatural worlds. Many diviners (e.g. Calequisse, Bassarel) of the Cacheu Region learn the skills necessary to be shamans, healers, and soothsayers after long periods of apprenticeship with close relatives beginning in childhood (Crowley and Ribeiro, 1987a). These diviners appear to be chosen by other diviners in the family largely by their ability to guard the secrets of the profession.

In other provinces (e.g. Caió, Bula), diviners tend to come from families in which either a maternal or paternal grandparent also performed the function. In these areas, a spirit is thought to send a possession-illness after one diviner has died to identify a successor from among his or her descendants. The candidate selected is usually a grandchild of the predecessor and is married with children. Diviners selected in this way usually undergo relatively short periods of apprenticeship, at times comprised within a six-day initiation ritual and through subsequent observation or counsel from other diviners. In Caió, for instance, this
ritual introduces a neophyte into a secret society of some 60 male diviners (bapéne, Mjc.) who specialize in the diagnosis and treatment of social, spiritual, and physical ailments (see Chapter VI and Appendix X, Table 2).

For most diviners, the office requires the establishment of a shrine (pubél, Mjc.) in honor of the patron spirit who summoned him or her to office. The shrine is usually located in a dark, cool and undisturbed area in the diviner's home or in a separate shelter in the backyard and consists of a collection of animal horns filled with earth and "medicine" from various spirit shrines. These divination horns (gifigal ulaag, Gu.) are acquired through pilgrimages to powerful spirit shrines and are thought to enable diviners to tap information from numerous supernatural sources, thus broadening their oracular visions to areas outside of the normal jurisdiction of the patron spirit. Some claim that the more horns that a diviner owns, the greater his or her insights into problems and events. Through these horns, the diviner's shrine becomes a satellite of several different spirits simultaneously (see Chapter VII).

Spiritist diviners use a variety of inspirational techniques to diagnose and treat their clients' problems. The most common technique is a form of directed possession (kadjin kamóbo, Mjc.; alsamón, Kr. "to move the hand") in which the diviner poses questions to the spirit while the
diviner’s right hand serves as a medium of the spirit’s responses, tapping the ground for a positive answer and waving side to side to signify a negative reply. Other techniques include aquamancy from a pot (*pitchûkêr*, Mjc.) or calabash (*pekânden*, Mjc.), interpreting the movements of a suspended horn (*ukût*, Mjc.), or the use of a set of sticks which move to the left and right to give "yes" and "no" answers (*bêsás*, Mjc.; "cast").

Each consultation begins by the diviner offering to the horns a libation of water or alcohol and summoning the spirits these represent by name. The diviner may also call upon captured ghosts (*nalûqum*, Mjc.) for assistance. With the help of these entities, an effective diviner is said to be able to identify the reasons for a client’s visit, expose the agents responsible for a dream, omen, or misfortune, interpret the meaning of these events, and prescribe prophylactic or conciliatory measures. A standard consultation in 1983-87 usually cost between $0.05 and $0.25 cents (50-100 pesos).

Unlike priests who are responsible for territorially-fixed spirits, divination horns may be removed and transported, thus allowing diviners considerable freedom of movement and the choice of practicing the profession wherever they wish. Renowned diviners frequently undertake short voyages to other regions and countries at the request of clients from these areas.
The Rooster Gonad Oracle. The most common non-human instrument capable of transmitting the responses of supernatural agents is the rooster gonad oracle (pwantch ugúk, Mjc.). By assigning questions to the hidden intestines and upper and lower halves of the gonads of a living rooster, a client may seek a spirit’s responses to up to five questions. The spirit’s responses are believed to be revealed by sacrificing the fowl and then slitting open its belly and examining its entrails.

Diagram 2 provides an example of some of the questions that a gonad oracle was asked by a young male who had lost several family members in a single year. Diviners had previously told the man that his family was dying because a brother-in-law, who suspected the family of having “eaten” his children through witchcraft, had contracted a spirit to kill them. A diviner had prescribed some medicine to protect the client and he wanted to know whether or not it would be effective. The client also asked the spirit if his girlfriend was being faithful to him, and whether or not he would win a scholarship in that year.

The gonads are usually white, meaning that the path is clear, that the problem is uncomplicated, or that the client’s wish will be granted. A black or spotted section, however, indicates that the problem is complex and requires
Is the girlfriend unfaithful and should he leave her?

Will you make the medicine effective?

Is the family dying because of the in-law's revenge?

Will he get a scholarship?

DIVIDING LINE

DIAGRAM 2: THE ROOSTER GONAD ORACLE
further investigation before it can be resolved. In the example provided, a darkened lower half of the right gonad would signify the following:

1. that the spirit has agreed to make the medicine effective in protecting the client;

2. that the client's brother-in-law had probably not sought divine revenge;

3. that the client's girlfriend is faithful and he should stay with her; and,

4. that there were factors preventing the client from being awarded the scholarship. The client would have to go to a diviner to eliminate these factors (e.g. neutralize the effects of witchcraft or bad medicine, or pay a forgotten debt to a spirit), before he could be assured of success.

The coloring of the gonads is thought to be not so much an indication of a spirit's "yes" or "no" responses as it is a description of the true nature of the problem. Whiteness marks simplicity and a darkened gonad, complexity. By changing the coloring of a gonad, a spirit is thought to provide its clients with a direct response about the nature or causes of a relationship or event.

Interpretations of white gonads are necessarily tentative because of the possibility that the spirit was not present while the oracle was conducted. Clients who use this non-human instrument often repeat the oracle with another rooster the following day to confirm the initial results.
Significance

The profusion of public spirit shrines in the Cacheu Region suggests the crucial function that this category of supernatural entity performs in social life. Although just one of a multitude of similar agents, province initiation spirits are most important for they mobilize and symbolize the largest units of social action within the Region. This close relationship between a public spirit and its corresponding social category or domain demonstrates that cosmological categories and religious institutions are "a means of solving certain prominent social, economic, or political problems, the solution of which required mobilization of the members of that particular society" or social category (Kimambo and Omari, 1972: 116).

The High God

The final category of supernatural entity in the cosmology of the Cacheu Region, is the high god (nalí batí, Mjc.; unámm safū, Gu., "head of the sky") which is thought to be an omniscient, all-powerful entity that dwells in a distant world of its own. Having an indistinct, non-anthropomorphic form, the high god is believed to be almost completely inaccessible and its actions incomprehensible to humans. Many high god-induced events and problems are considered to be "simple" (e.g. a "simple" illness, or death by old age), requiring no further investigation because they
are simply beyond the realm of human understanding and intervention. Except by way of an oracle known as kasará (see below), humans are generally thought to be unable to influence the divinity.

The Kasará Oracle

Kasará (cassará, cassará, Mjc.; kasará, Kr., significance unknown) is an oracle which is thought to enable humans to communicate directly with the high god and, in this way, to discover the cause of and influence plights that afflict the earth and whole communities. In current usage in the Cacheu Region, kasará is used variously to refer to a high-god shrine, a divinatory litter and shrine, and a prophet. All of the three types of kasará are relatively recent innovations and thus, their emergence will be discussed in Chapter IX. Kasará is also significant because it is one of the few religious institutions in the Cacheu Region that systematically forms overarching institutional links between different spirit provinces. To avoid duplication of the material, I will focus here on how kasará shrines function in the average spirit province of the Cacheu Region, and examine in later chapters the regional networks of these shrines that are centered around the spirit provinces of Boté and Caboi (Chapter VII) and the prophetic form and evolution of kasará oracles (Chapter IX).
Kasará Shrines and Domains

Only some provinces of the Cacheu Region have adopted kasará oracles and their forms vary according to the provinces in which they are established and according to the kasará network to which they are bound. In general, the shrine (adóngo gifígal, Gu.; karón petíng, Mjc. Churo; karón pesíng, Mjc. Caió; baraka di tchifré, Kr., "hut of the horn") consists of a circular or square shelter containing an earth-filled animal horn (gifígal, Gu.; petíng, Mjc.; pesíng, Mjc.) which is either hung from the ceiling of the shelter (e.g. Boté kasará in Caió), suspended from a forked stick stuck in the ground, or placed on or buried beneath the earthen floor of the shelter (e.g. Caboi kasará in Costa de Baixo) (see Photograph 7). The shelter may also contain a brightly-colored divinatory litter (bekáp, Mjc.), between 18 inches to one yard in length, that is either placed on top of the horn on the ground or suspended below the horn from the ceiling of the shelter.

Kasará shrines are usually located near the central spaces of villages or wards, reflecting the broad domains over which they are thought to preside. A common site is next to the central clearings used during age grade rituals (pubóm, Mjc. Caió; bení, Mjc. Calequisse; tumba, Kr.) which often adjoin the first residential lineage established in a ward or village (see Map 9).
Rituals using Kasará Oracles

Kasará oracles are thought to be empowered to resolve "problems of the earth" (bukoitch, Mjc., kuní akós, Gu.) which afflict entire congregations. These problems, usually believed to be caused by witches, concern the fertility of the natural and social worlds and include late or irregular rains, widespread illness, high rates of infertility or infant mortality, or plagues of insects.

Critical Rituals. Critical or non-calendrical kasará rituals are performed situationally to resolve the problems of individual members of a congregation. Kasará shrines with divinatory litters work in much the same way as the soul oracle, but with the high god's assistance are thought to be able to expose living individual witches and either kill them or neutralize their powers. Kasará shrines without divinatory litters are said to identify anonymous witches by killing them. By examining gonad oracles at these shrines, kasará is also believed to be able to warn of forthcoming events and designate public spirits to which preventive rituals must be performed to avert future misfortunes.

Calendrical Rituals. Prosperous congregations with good harvests and plentiful rains sacrifice a pig and feast at the kasará shrine biennially: once in the dry season as a thanksgiving for the harvest, and once in the rainy season before the rice is planted to ask that the crops be free of
insects, that the rains fall abundantly, and that residents of the village remain healthy. Congregations with fewer resources perform this ritual only once every two to three years or as long as relatively few problems afflict them.

The most important calendrical ritual (bidiéga kasarâ, Mjc.) performed at kasarâ shrines is organized by the amánya kasarâ and senior members of a congregation or some other interest group (e.g. women) and lasts for about one week during the months of April or May. A congregation performs bidiéga kasarâ with the objective of obtaining rain and exposing and killing witches. All members of the congregation contribute to and unite for a sacrificial feast of pigs and palm wine performed at the shrine. If the shrine contains a divinatory litter, any member of the congregation with a theory as to why rainfall has been scarce or why particular problems afflict the congregation may interrogate it, as it is carried on the shoulders of either the shrine priests (amánya kasarâ, Mjc., Gu.) or other members of the congregation. Should the litter determine that a witch is responsible for the client’s misfortunes, the examiner names all the people in Caió until the litter confirms which one is the guilty party (Caboi Interview 23, 1987). Then participants contract the high god to rid the earth of anonymous or known witches in exchange for a sacrifice at the shrine, performed either before or after the task has been accomplished. The guilty witch is said to die during or
shortly following the *kasará* ritual and the cause of death is confirmed by the soul oracle. Members of the congregation who die during this annual week-long event are recognized as witches and are not mourned. Similarly, members who are absent from the village during the ritual for consecutive years make themselves suspect of being witches afraid of exposure by *kasará* (Jong, 1987: 232).

**CONCLUSION**

In summary, the cosmologies of the Cacheu Region share several common categories of human and supernatural agents believed to influence worldly events. Diagram 1 illustrates the three interpenetrable worlds of spiritist cosmologies:

1. A human world consisting of the sub-worlds of the living and the dead, both of which are thought to be found on the earth;

2. an invisible non-spirit world, coterminous with the human world and in which both nature and public spirits dwell; and

3. a distant world in the sky which is the abode of the high god.

In addition, a variety of human and non-human intermediaries and oracles assist ordinary people in communicating with and interpreting events and problems sent by these supernatural entities.

Each type of supernatural entity is thought to control a distinct sphere of social life. Ancestors preside over the affairs of their descendants within a lineage. Lesser public spirits preside over relations between members of
different social categories, such as age grades, residential lineages and occupational association. Initiation spirits preside principally over the affairs of the entire spirit province and secondarily over the affairs of outsiders, even from different ethnic groups. The high god, usually too distant to influence human affairs, may eliminate witches in neighborhoods, provinces, or other territorial associations through kasará oracles. In short, spiritism with its multiple public shrines "supports an individual's identification with his in-group --whether it be a class, a tribe, or a nation--" as well as helps to "define (however loosely and broadly) the boundaries of loyalty, assert that outsiders are outsiders, and insist upon the distinctive virtues of one's own kind" (Wallace, 1966: 26).

Spiritism is essentially a pluralistic religion; each spirit province includes a myriad of smaller spirit cults while the province as a whole has its own set of central sacred spirits and local religious hierarchy. The pluralistic cosmology of spiritism is thus "a loosely organized federation of beliefs which are more tightly interrelated in the several cult institutions than in any overall system" (Wallace, 1966: 77).

The general structure of each provincial cult resembles that of its neighbors, and to a lesser extent the cults of more distant provinces within a region, but there are few formal organizational or structural ties between the
initiation shrines of different provinces that unite them into a single belief system. However, parallel categories of belief within the cosmologies of numerous spirit provinces, bind the inhabitants of the Cacheu Region into a common mode of thought.
1. The term "mode of thought" as is widely used in the anthropological studies of religion refers to the social theories and psychologies by which people categorize experience and interpret occurrences in relation to cosmological referents (see Fortes and Dieterlen, 1965; Karp and Bird (eds.), 1980; Horton, 1989).

2. The term "spiritism" (espiritismo, Kr.) has been adopted because it is the only one which several Manjaco, Papel, and Mankanya diviners have used to distinguish indigenous beliefs of the Cacheu Region from Islam and Christianity. Spiritism of the Cacheu Region should be distinguished from "spiritism" and "espiritismo" of New World African communities, such as in Cuba and Brazil, because unlike the latter, spirits of the Cacheu Region are believed to be volatile and independent forces associated with territorial domains rather than purely intercessory beings linked in a coherent hierarchy to the high god or saint cults.

3. This definition is an adaptation of Mehren's legal definition of contract (Mehren, 1974: 124-128).

4. Ordinary women are advised not to bathe alone in the woods to avoid unwittingly seducing spirits and becoming impregnated by them.

5. Initiation into the Caió twin society (kanyó mtánto, Mjc.; Caió Interview 20, 1986) is said to be the means of neutralizing a twin's evil powers and of protecting the twins from being reclaimed by the spirit world. Twins who do not join the society are believed to suffer from chronic illness and eventually death. Nevertheless, the initiation is often delayed for many years, until the parents have accumulated enough wealth to perform the ritual.

The society is directed by two female and two male chiefs who are its most senior members and all of whom are twins, but not necessarily of each other. Except for the initiation rituals of new twins, members of the society rarely unite. Attendance at initiation rituals is, however, mandatory.

Although the heads of the twin society were unable to explain its meaning, the ritual of initiation is replete with sexual and paired symbolism. In the ritual, twin initiates are secluded for six days in a makeshift shelter near the compound of their residential lineage. Throughout the seclusion, the chief of the twin society makes libations and oblations in one part of the hut. The offerings include groundnuts and bambara peas in their pods, bananas, yams, cassava, husked and unhusked rice, small circular bowls of
palm wine, livestock, and palm nuts, all of which are submitted in groups of four and selected to emphasize red and white coloring. Before the initiates may return to their homes, their parents must undress and bathe in the shelter. Afterwards the hut is destroyed and a small, but distinctive twin shrine is erected in its place in the area where the offerings had been made.

6. During my 22 months of field research among the spiritist Manjaco, Mankanya, and Baboi of the Cacheu Region and Papel and urban "Christians" of Bissau, I only once came across a deformed child that had survived this ordeal. In sharp contrast, deformities are common among the Islamic peoples of Guinea-Bissau who claim that the disabled and congenitally impaired, like ordinary people, are creations of God and are particularly qualified to receive alms from fellow Muslims.

7. Clairvoyants are said to be able to disappear or fly away to avoid capture or to escape from jail. The ability of clairvoyant’s to fly is considered to have been extremely common in the past, but has become increasingly rarer. One Badi man said that he knew a clairvoyant who had collaborated with the PAIGC during the Independence struggle and was sought after by the Portuguese. Reportedly, the Portuguese native police (cipei, Kr.; CPI) was told in each compound that he visited, that the collaborator had just been there and that no one had noticed when he had left. By disappearing in this way, the Party collaborator was said to have avoided capture until he chose to reveal himself.

8. In 1983 and 1986-87 many schools in Guinea-Bissau were teaching students that scientists were clairvoyants and that it was this natural capacity that allowed them to make important discoveries and inventions, to see invisible organisms, and to understand chemical reactions. When I told high school students that, in my world, science was not thought to be innate, but learned and that many of these extraordinary "skills" could be accomplished with special equipment, they asked me to explain genius. They said that genius was the clairvoyance of the western world.

9. A child born with a caul or placenta over its head is believed to have potential clairvoyant powers. The placenta can be used by any Muslim or spiritist diviner or healer, to make "medicine" that is presumed to protect the infant against knife and bullet wounds.

10. Rather than admit the possibility that a suspected clairvoyant has no special powers, ordinary people attribute this status denial to a clairvoyant’s fear of being associated with witches. Even in eliciting beliefs related to
the supernatural, informants were hesitant about providing information about worlds which they presumably could not see, for fear of being themselves classified as clairvoyants. When such materials were supplied, informants made a point to attribute their information to what "clairvoyants said the spirits looked like" rather than to common knowledge or to personal experience.

11. The following Baboi oral tradition about the late 19th century Caboi-Churo wars, for example, depicts folk heroes as clairvoyants:

A long time ago there were three brothers of the residential lineage of Belimbo. They were called Katchipor, Manganga, and Nkubu. All three were great clairvoyants, renowned for their courage and skill as warriors.

The Baboi and the Bachuro [Manjaco of Churo] went to war over the border between their two territories. The Bachuro outnumbered the Baboi and wanted to expand into the province of Caboi to acquire more cultivable forest, but they were too afraid of the brothers from Belimbo.

One day, a Bachuro clairvoyant named Dazondjo contracted a spirit to give him the power to kill Katchipor, the bravest of the Baboi warriors. In the duel between Dazondjo and Katchipor, the heroes shot guns at each others' stomachs simultaneously, but neither was injured. When Katchipor tried to attack Dazondjo with a sword, he flew into the sky and Katchipor followed in pursuit. They fought in mid-air until Dazondjo chopped off Katchipor's head and hand and both fell to the ground. Katchipor placed a rock on his shoulders which grew into a head.

Other Baboi arrived at the scene and cried when they saw what had happened to Katchipor. They took his severed hand before he could return it to his arm. They were certain he would die, but Katchipor disagreed saying that the Baboi would have to wait to witness his death. He lived on for many years, continuing to fell palm nuts and extract palm wine with only one hand.

The Bachuro rejoiced at the scene of the battle, because they thought that Dazondjo had killed Katchipor. But the spirit that Dazondjo had contracted killed him instead because he had failed in the duel. Believing Katchipor to be dead, several Bachuro went to a Mama Djombo spirit shrine in Caboi shortly afterwards to perform a ritual concerning a personal problem. They found Katchipor
in Belimbo and realized that Dazonj had lied about his success. Although the Bachuro returned to Churo for reinforcements, the Baboi managed to kill many of them. Then the Bachuro allied themselves with the people of Eni (Churobrique) and defeated the Baboi. The Bachuro captured some of Caboi's forest and intended to build houses in Caboi, but were afraid that the Baboi would retaliate. After this defeat, many Baboi fled across the Cacheu River. Although some Baboi died in this war of guns, many more Bachuro were killed (Caboi Interviews 9, 11, 25-26, 1986-87).

12. The founding ancestors of Caboi were said to have been able to communicate by talking drums (ngabombolon, Gu.; bombolém, Kr. "slit gong") even though Caboi, unlike Manjaco, is not communicable in this medium. Even now, many people of the Cacheu Region claim that the Baboi are clairvoyants because of their "innate" ability to understand and speak many languages, including Manjaco, Djola, Mankanya, Balanta, Banyun, Cassanga, Kriolu, and to a lesser extent, Mandinga, Fula, French, and Portuguese.

13. Nandjàngurum and pitchír/puwitchír, pihír are proper names and have no direct translation.

14. The souls of dead people are thought "to come out" (awiyu, Gu., "the soul comes out") in their descendants or in other lineages. An infant that cries relentlessly and inexplicably is often believed to have received the soul of an ancestor and to continue to cry or become seriously ill if the soul is not identified. The family may be able to infer the soul's identity by similarities in the behavior, appearance, or idiosyncrasies of the infant and a dead person. However, the identification of the soul is usually done formally by a diviner or oracle and thereafter, the infant may be addressed by the ancestor's name or kin term. Soul names often have humorous consequences, as when a father refers to his son as "grandmother" because he is said to have acquired her soul. In Baboi, all infants are thought to receive the souls of ancestors, although many are never identified. Each individual is thought to have only one soul but it may be the same one as in several other people. People with the same soul are said not to get along.

15. It is thought that ancestors also conduct rituals of their own for their unintelligible voices can be heard at night at central initiation shrines in Caboi and at diviner initiation rituals in the diviners' forest (Bré Bapéne) in Caió.
16. In most parts of the Region, mediums are thought to enter into trance when ancestors visit the house or return at funerals. Ancestors in Baboi are said to prefer as mediums women who have married into the residential patrilineages of their descendants, because "ancestors will speak to you only if you are in a house other than your own".

During Baboi funerals, these women carry an oracle (diibélen, Gu. "shield") which is made by senior, post-menopause women and is believed to transmit the wishes of ancestors. The diibélen of Manjaco origin, is made of sticks twisted to form a circle and then coated with wax, and covered with an orange-red woven cloth. The possessed clairvoyant holds the diibélen with both hands in front of her and waves it near various participants to indicate that the recently deceased wants libations at the corpse receptacle (bizimpali, Gu.) or that the ancestors desire offerings at the ancestor shrine (gwoz itáku, Gu.).

The recent dead in Caió are said to prefer to possess close friends and family members of any gender or age just before their corpses are buried. In contrast, recently deceased witches are thought to prefer alternative methods for revealing the causes of death since possession exposes too readily the crimes they wish to hide.

17. During life a Baboi's first obligation is to the discrete residential lineage (itáku, Gu.) in which he or she lives, but after death it is to the ancestors (djehána, Gu.) of all members of a lineage pair (gëhána, Gu.) (see Fictive Lineage Pairs, Chapter IV). To resolve daily problems concerning the ancestors, living members of a residential lineage consult a wider grouping of guest lineages and Baboi lineages that are thought to form an integral whole in the world of the dead.

18. Each category of kin and friends play out their distinct relations to the deceased through material contributions and participation at the funeral. The residential lineage of the deceased is principally responsible for financing and organizing the ritual. The lineage contracts the services of the talking drummers (djésú ngabóbbolom, Gu.; tokadúr, Kr.), grave diggers (djúsin namír, Gu.; kobadúr di semitério, Kr.) and soul oracle makers associations (djeséri satóng, Gu.; maradú di djon qágu, Kr.), and other entertainers, such as guitar and flute players.

The residential lineage usually kills a cow and goat or pigs for the guests and entertainers. To give an idea of funeral expenses, in the spring of 1987, one prominent Baboi man, giving a delayed funeral for a wife who had died about 20 years before, killed six pigs: two for the drummers, one for the grave diggers, one for the soul oracle makers, one for post-menopause women, and one for guests. He used 200 kilos of rice that he had grown, and bought onions, toma-

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toes, and 100 liters of wine (10 jugs). In Senegal, he sold two liters of palm oil to acquire CFA francs and exchanged this currency on the black market to buy refined cooking oil in Guinea-Bissau.

Uterine and fictive kin and affines also make contributions of livestock and palm wine, and provide organizational support commensurate with their status. The age mates of the deceased furnish refreshments, dance to entertain the guests, and carry the soul oracle (see below). In Caboi and Churo, senior post-menopause women also receive one pig if they play metal idiophones (utápi, Mjc.) and fabricate the djibélen oracle (see note 15).

19. Funerals were delayed during the war for National Independence (1963-1974) because of the risks involved in assembling large numbers of people in combat zones.

20. Many funerals occurred between February and May of 1987 because the harvest of November through mid-January of 1986-87 was exceptionally good. I witnessed four such funerals: one for a prominent old priest in Belimbo, and three in Sáfú Bissele, for a priest’s second wife and for two young men who died in their early twenties. All of these funerals were for people who had died in the Independence struggle in the 1960’s. The two young men had been members of the nationalist guerrilla forces: one died in combat in Bafata and the other in a car accident in the nearby village of Churobrique.

21. In the Cacheu Region, funerals for elders may last anywhere from two to three days for women to three or four for men. These rituals were said to have been even more prolonged in the past.

22. A similar dance is performed at funerals for Baboi priestesses (unám baré, Gu.) of female initiation rituals, but non-initiates may also witness the performance. For the female dance, different songs are sung and hand clapping (obalás, Gu.) replaces drums as percussion.

23. During funerals for Baió initiation priests, non-initiates must keep their distance from the representatives of the secret society. Any funeral participant who unwittingly touches the broom regalia of an initiation priest during the ritual must sacrifice a cow as a fine at the major initiation spirit shrine.

24. In Caboi, seniority at death is also reflected in the different forms that corpse receptacles and soul oracles assume (Crowley, 1989). During the funeral, the corpse—or articles of the deceased’s clothing, in delayed funerals—is placed on a receptacle (bizímpali, Gu.) with a base and
three sides, which is made of sticks and covered with woven cloth. Adult receptacles have four short legs and are kept in a funeral hut (adôn, Gu.), and those for social juniors have a smaller thatched shelter and are built on stilts two to three meters high. The soul oracle variously takes the form of a ship with a sail and two people atop a central cabin for senior men, of a simple canoe for senior women, and of a rectangular box for social juniors. The oracle is shaped like a boat because after death the soul travels by sea to the other world. For more information on the form, function, and symbolism of the soul oracle see Crowley, 1989.

25. In some parts of the Region, as many as 20 richly designed red and black handwoven cloths are used to dress the corpse for the next world. These cloths are important heirlooms and a major symbol of a residential lineage’s accumulated wealth. Each full "country cloth" or barafula (Kr.) is composed of six strips sewn together. In regional trade during the 15th through early 20th centuries, these strips functioned as a standardized measure of exchange. The cloths are also used to construct the soul oracle (see Soul Oracle, below).

The intricate workmanship on these textiles makes them extremely valuable and recently there have been reports of robbers exhuming corpses from the cemetery in the capital city of Bissau, to retrieve the funeral cloths.

Among the Manjaco of Churo and Baboi, white cloths were said to be used at the funerals of sacred chiefs in accordance with the chiefly taboo against seeing the color red.

26. In Caboi, men are buried on their left sides in a reclining position with the left hand cupped under the head, leaving the deceased’s right arm "free to grab a cutlass from underneath the bed and defend himself in the next world". Women lie on the other side, in the same direction as if in sleep. The prepared corpses of small children are carried to the cemetery in a small square coffin and then removed and buried, while the clothes that wrapped the child are reused to cover the soul oracle, described below.

27. In Caboi, only the corpses of people who have died from an infectious disease such as leprosy (banyâm buzângi, Gu., "ugly" or "dangerous illness") or smallpox (variola) (dêhindi, Gu., "millet") are buried outside of this cemetery, a considerable distance from the house, to minimize the chance of infection of other members of the compound. To remind passersby of the location of the infected tomb, members of the residential lineage drive a wooden stake made of hard, durable wood into the funeral mound.

During smallpox epidemics (e.g. 1960’s), Baboi restrict their activities to their residential lineage compounds. As protection against the disease, a healthy person makes a cut
in his or her wrist and places pus from the sore of an infected person into the wound. The healthy person is said to get a mild case of the disease for two or three days and then to recover (Caboi Interview 30, 1987).

28. However, Baboi believe that even witches must be clothed. When Baboi discover a decomposed corpse in the water, they must dressed it immediately in their own clothes and then wrap it in woven cloths from the village, before it can be returned to the water. If the body is in good condition, the clothed corpse may be taken to the village to be shrouded in woven cloths before performing a normal funeral and burial.

29. Adjú Lera digs the grave (buar, Mjc.) for the chief blacksmith (nålî bë' chëk', Mjc.), the chief blacksmith digs the grave for Adjú Lera, and both dig the grave for the Chief of Caiô, Adjú Kor.

30. This exercise usually takes about eight hours, since the ritual begins around 7:30 p.m. and the corpse is usually dry by dawn. The symbolic importance of salt water and fanning is unknown.

31. More modest versions of commemorative wakes involving smaller groupings of kin and no ancestor stakes may also occur at an ancestor’s behest, one or two years after a death.


    In many areas the process has fallen into disuse through suppression by the British colonial administration (Goody, 1957: 356; McLeod, 1975: 110), because of the adoption of ostensibly more efficient witch-finding techniques as in the case of the Abron (Terray, 1979) and Surinamese Maroons (Velzen & Wetering, 1988: 83, 343, 354), or due to conversion to Islam and the belief of the Cassanga and Manjaco of Jol (Abol) that the practice was decimating their population (Caboi Interview 31, 1986).

33. Baboi soul oracles for junior males or females resemble two to three-foot-long rectangular boxes, for senior women are shaped like canoes, and for senior men are modeled after a western-style ship transporting two indistinct people with small heads, soft bodies and long, moveable hands standing atop a central cabin. One soul oracle for a senior male is
represented in Photograph 6. The increasing elaborateness of these three types reflects the heightened social status of the deceased. Since the interrogation of the oracle is the act which is believed to permit the soul entry to the world of the dead, the canoe and ship motifs are used to symbolize this passage by sea.

34. This theory is partially based on oral histories (Caboi Interview 31, 1986) that chronicle the use of soul oracles by neighboring groups (e.g. Manjaco of Jol or Abol and the Cassanga or Ihâdja) to identify individual witches. Among these peoples, angry kin of witchcraft victims were said to slay the suspects in retaliation immediately following the inquest. The protracted blood feuds that erupted as a result eventually led the elders to abolish the practice because it was decimating the population. Both groups have since abandoned the soul oracle altogether and the vast majority of Cassanga have converted to Islam.

35. The soul oracle is thought to identify all victims that a witch killed during his or her lifetime by moving towards the victim's closest living relatives and responding as they name deceased kin whose deaths were attributed to witchcraft. If the dead witch had killed an outsider, the oracle also attempts to summon a relative of the victim.

36. These ancestors are thought to be identifiable by naming the father of the eldest person of the lineage, the father of the next eldest, and so on, until the oracle responds affirmatively. Female ancestors are said only rarely to make requests of their descendants.

37. The true cause of death is said to be revealed only when this witch dies and his or her soul oracle is interrogated in turn.

38. Because of this possibility, the residential lineage members of a dead person accused of witchcraft often consult other oracles after the inquest to verify the testimony of the soul. The rooster gonad oracle in particular is used to confirm that all of the deceased’s crimes have been identified and expiated, so that the lineage will suffer no further misfortunes as a result of these actions.

39. Souls are also thought to desire the company of a spouse, parent, or child in the world of the dead and to return to claim this relative, as the following example from Caió illustrates:

A friend of mine was an only son. His mother tried for many years to have children, but they always died. Finally she bore a son, whom she loved very
much. The boy grew up to be big and strong, but without brothers or sisters, he was forced to work very hard and often worked for other people cutting bunches of palm nuts and drilling for palm wine. When his mother became ill and thought she would die, she told him, "If I die, I will take you with me". His mother went to a spirit and told it that she wanted her son to go with her to the next world. When she died, her son became ill and went to Dakar for treatment. He returned to Caió, only when he was completely healed. Before a year had elapsed, he was dead. The woman stole her son's soul. She was a witch to have said those things to her son when she was alive (Caió Interview 21, 1987).

40. Manjaco of Caió maintain that the living dead abound near the villages of Cacheu, Caboi, and Bacon (near Calequisse), whereas Baboi hold that they are most often found near Biânga.

41. Because they are considered to be closer to humans than ancestors, public spirits are often forced to inform ancestors of deaths among their descendants. On occasion, the public spirits of residential lineages are said to dominate and work with ancestors to resolve problems of common concern.

42. In Caió for instance, major spirits may be consulted on any day, but major rituals occur only every sixth day on the local market day. Ussai Pantufa may be consulted only on two of the six days, on the market days of the provinces of Pantufa and Pelundo which are said to be the spirit's favorite. The market circuit which runs through the area of Pantufa (see Chapter III) passes from Pantufa to Pelundo, Canchungo, Binar, Co, Bula and back to Pantufa. Thus, if the Pantufa and Pelundo market days fell on a Monday and Wednesday one week, they would fall on a Sunday and Tuesday the next, and so on.

43. The hierarchy among spirits is often reflected by the sequence in which they are consulted. In the Baboi search for rain (biába dín, Gu.), for example, the pilgrimages that women undertake begin at the most powerful spirit shrines and end at the least powerful ones that are selected for a specific purpose (see Chapter IV, note 12).

44. Nonetheless, one of these auxiliary shrines, Sáfu Bisseele, attracts the largest number of pilgrims from outside the spirit province because of the renown of its priest (see Chapter VIII).
45. Katénde Pitchükër, means "to look inside the pot" because the diviner heats a small pot of water over a fire and then places "medicine" in it. The diviner interprets the way the herbs disperse when they are placed in the water. This technique is most often used to supplement a difficult session of kamóbo kandjin (hand divination) and may be subsequently verified by a gonad oracle.

46. In Caió, diviners are thought to have a particularly close relationship with the dead. Not only does a neophyte of the divination society experience "death" (in a 12 hour coma) and "rebirth" in the initiation ritual, but also has "his eyes removed" (so he can see all things), when he enters the priest forest (Bré Bapéne) for the first time. Initiation into the diviners society is said to enable members to see and meet the ghosts of the ancestors (balúgam, Mjc.), and to walk with them throughout the forest to learn to identify and use various medicinal plants. Initiation also trains diviners to summon the ancestors for assistance and understand their voices.

47. Since chicks and small roosters are most frequently used for the oracle, the fowl's gender is often mistaken. When a hen has been mistaken for a rooster, the fallopian tubes (kasñn’tá uqúk, Mjc.) may be read instead of the gonads. However, gonads are preferred because they are easier to read.

48. It is interesting to note that in the selection of chiefs in Caió, only candidates assigned to darkened gonad sections are given serious consideration, for these alone possess the complexity and unusual clairvoyant abilities that make for good competent political leadership.

49. Although in Manjaco, karón means "hut" and peting means "horn", it is also possible that karón refers to the Djola province of Bliss-Karone in which kasará may have originated.
CHAPTER VI
THE SPIRITIST MODE OF THOUGHT

INTRODUCTION

Although each province has a collection of cults around its own particular public spirits and few institutional ties unite the peoples of different provinces into joint ritual performances, there are parallel beliefs and activities relating to the cosmos. This chapter shows how the shared categories of the numerous provincial spiritist cosmologies function as a single regional cosmological paradigm that guides a mode of thought. By manipulating cosmological categories in multiple, divergent, but mutually-consistent interpretations of events every individual and group arrives at an explanation or justification that suits their particular circumstances.

The Cosmological Paradigm of the Cacheu Region

The cosmological paradigm of the Cacheu Region consists of a set of conceptual categories that share a common relationship to one another. A cosmological category may be defined as any grouping of natural, supernatural, or social agents that are thought to share a set of similar characteristics that distinguishes them from and establishes their relationship with other agents within a cosmos. Cosmological categories within the Cacheu Region include humans, ancestral spirits, non-ancestral spirits, nature spirits,
and the high god. Each such broad category also consist of several sub-categories composed of agents with a closer relationship among themselves than with other agents. Thus witches are a sub-category of clairvoyants which are in turn a sub-category of humans that stand in contrast to another human sub-category: ordinary people. The cosmological categories are practical groupings of numerous cosmological agents that make up a person's world view. An individual may recognize hundreds of public spirits with different names and domains, but all of these spirits belong to a single cosmological category because they work in the same way and have a standardized form of consultation that distinguishes them from other categories in a regional cosmology.

Not surprisingly the specific elements within the cosmologies of the Cacheu Region exhibit considerable variation from province to province, as well as among genders, lineages, and occupational specializations within single provinces. Furthermore, the constituents that make up the categories of an individual’s cosmology vary considerably from person to person depending upon different personal, social, and historical experiences. Despite these variations, shared cosmological categories allow us to speak of a regional cosmology with a long and deep history which is composed of numerous more shallow provincial, lineage, and individual traditions. This common cosmological
paradigm allows different individuals and provinces of a region to engage in similar ritual activity and common interpretations of personal and world events.

COSMOLOGICAL STATES

In the cosmological paradigm of the Cacheu Region, events and relations among people may best be understood with reference to general cosmological states. A cosmological state is a condition which typifies the relationship between a human individual or group and other categories of a cosmological paradigm at any point in time. This relationship is thought to determine the events that affect an individual or group and to dictate a course of action that would ensure survival. In general terms, cosmological states involve assumptions about normal social and natural situations and an individual or group’s relative position with relation to this norm. These assumptions make up overarching theories of morality and causation of which misfortune, the focus of many studies on modes of thought, forms only a small part (Gluckman, 1965: 218; ).

Cosmological states may be divided into normal states, and states of favor and danger. An individual or group is thought to be placed in or move between these different cosmological states by performing particular mystical or secular acts.
Types of Cosmological States

Normal Cosmological States

An individual or group in a normal cosmological state is believed to abide by the rules of the various social and mystical agents of the cosmology and thus maintain a good rapport with them. These rules include meeting kin obligations, maintaining peaceful and positive feelings towards others, paying spirit contracts, exhibiting ordinary achievements and abilities, and respecting authority. In short, maintaining a normal cosmological state involves submitting to the "forces of society" (Horton, 1989).

People within a normal cosmological state are thought to experience relatively good health, economic and political equality, longevity, fertility, regular employment, an average harvest, and sufficient rain and food to ensure social continuity. As an example, in this perception of the cosmos "there is no such thing as sterility. All women would bear many children, if witches did not exist" (Caboi Interview 21, 1986). All deviations from the normal cosmological state are believed to be induced by cosmological agents or unusual relations with these agents.

States of Favor

A cosmological state of favor (sórti, Kr.; usórt, Gu.) is characterized by inordinately good fortune, such as great longevity, bountiful offspring, exceptionally good harvests,
plentiful rains, a disproportionate raise or promotion, the sudden acquisition of money or property (e.g. winning a lottery), uncommon popularity or power, unusual skills, and extraordinary success in disputes. Individuals and groups with unusual advantages over others are thought to have attained this state.

As other deviations from normal cosmological states, excessive fortunes are thought to be breaches of the moral order and due to an unusual ability to use innate powers or control supernatural resources to one's own advantage. The possession of superhuman capacities, such as clairvoyance and witchcraft, and contracts with nature and public spirits are all believed to enable people to achieve abnormal states of favors. Non-mystical explanations, such as hard work or perseverance may also be used to justify the advantages of some individuals or groups over others.

States of Danger

Cosmological states of danger (mufanésa, Kr.; umufanésa, Gu.), in contrast, are distinguished by persistent misfortune, illness or physical disability, sudden or premature death, a succession of deaths of offspring, sterility, the loss of a job or chronic unemployment, crop failure, poor rains, the loss, damage, or theft of money or property. This condition characterizes individuals and groups who
occupy a structurally disadvantaged position with relation to others.

In the Cacheu Regional cosmology, there are numerous ways in which people may be placed in a cosmological state of danger. By disregarding the rules established by ancestors, reneging on spirit contracts, or committing other serious secular or mystical crimes, people can disrupt the normal cosmological state and bring misfortunes upon themselves and others. In addition, malevolent agents in the cosmology, such as witches or envious colleagues, are thought to place others in ritual danger even without provocation. Particular types of misfortunes may also be interpreted as signs from ancestors to perform a ritual or from public spirits to summon candidates to the priesthood or diviners society.

Ways of Altering Cosmological States

The ways in which people enter and leave different cosmological states must be examined in greater detail in order to understand the impact of the regional cosmological paradigm on interpretation and action. Detailed information about entering and exiting cosmological states are most easily derived from examining situations in which this process is frequent and generalized. This is especially so for states of cosmological danger, for it is usually only at moments of desperation when confronted with misfortune, that
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people seek explanations for these events and perform actions to control them. People who experience unusual fortune tend to focus more on enjoying and maintaining the state of favor by assuring that basic social and spiritual obligations are met, rather than on changing their position. For this reason, the range of interpretations and actions available to humans is most explicit in cases of cosmological danger.

Changes in cosmological states are related to a particular view of time in which

the future is not fixed, but is conditionally there in the present; for the present includes an alignment of occult powers (among the Azande, usually witchcraft) which may threaten the future. This alignment of occult powers may change, over even a short period, so that the future, in the present, becomes prosperous instead of ominous, or vice versa. Hence even an oracle prophesying a beneficent future may be accurate at the time of consultation, yet prove inaccurate in the event, because of a shift in the alignment of occult powers (Gluckman, 1972: xiii).

The "alignment of occult powers" in this passage is synonymous with the concept of cosmological states in the Cacheu Region where beliefs and actions relating to changes in this alignment appear to be guided by four principles. One is that each change in fortune and accompanying change in a person or group's cosmological relationships has a particular, knowable cause. Secondly, placement within a cosmological state is usually temporary and reversible by human action. Thirdly, the actions necessary to change a cosmological condition must be directed to the specific
cause. Fourthly, if this action does not produce the desired cosmological condition, additional causes must be sought. These four principles show that the processes of interpretation are closely intertwined with pragmatic actions oriented towards problem-solving.

In the Cacheu Region, public spirits are the cosmological category with by far the greatest import and versatility in affecting the cosmological state of clients. Whereas ancestors function mostly to maintain the moral order within descent groups, public and private spirits may be actively contracted to improve one’s own cosmological state or to place others in states of danger. Powerful public spirits are thought to be able to act not only on individuals from different lineages, but also on those of different ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds.

The Role of Spirit Contracts in Inducing States of Danger

Spirit contracts contain several inherent ambiguities that make it a powerful tool for interpretation. These ambiguities may best be understood by examining some of the ways in which spirit contracts are thought to alter cosmological states.

Neglected Payment of Spirit Contracts

By far the most common way in which a client enters a state of danger is by neglecting to make timely payment on a
spirit contract after services have been provided. Whether this neglect is due to forgetfulness or simply an inability to pay, the sanctions are the same. Even when the spirit was originally contracted to improve a client’s normal cosmological state, failure to pay spirit debt is thought to initiate a slew of extraordinary events and mishaps that signal the spirit’s impatience for compensation.

The misfortunes sent to punish unpaid contracts may range from chronic illness or death to mild misfortunes which ensure that a client’s new found fortune is greatly reduced or short-lived. In its mildest form, for instance, a highly skilled college graduate might repeatedly encounter difficulty in finding employment after returning from studies abroad because of a neglected spirit contract made before the foreign sojourn to win the scholarship that financed the studies. However, spirits may also bring misfortune to close family members to remind a client of an unpaid debt. This procedure is not unlike the legal systems of many segmentary societies in which sanctions are extended to the lineage of an individual who has violated the rule (Gluckman, 1982: 108-116). Thus, for any individual misfortune within a family, all the spirit contracts of all members of that person’s family must be reexamined to see if there are any unpaid contracts. Once the spirit responsible for the state of danger has been identified, the sanctions
for neglect are thought to be easily lifted by offering the promised payment at the spirit shrine.

However, clients often find it difficult to abide by the rules of the spirit contract. This may seem surprising given the simplicity of the agreement and the implications if the rules are not observed. Several factors help account for why spirit contracts are so frequently neglected. The first reason relates to the unspecified time frame in which spirits and clients are expected to fulfill their respective sides of the bargain. Not only do different supplicants reckon the passage of time in different ways, but clients usually only make contracts with spirits at moments of desperation or when an objective is anxiously desired, in short under circumstances in which time considerations are of little importance. Even when clients specify the time frame in which they expect the spirit's services to be delivered, spirits are often thought to require a certain amount of time to perform their tasks, just as clients usually need time to obtain the promised payment.

Although spirits are thought to expect prompt payment, priests and supplicants often interpret this to mean that the sacrifice should be made as soon after the contract has been accepted as possible. This is itself a difficult task, since single contracts often involve multiple requests and it is often difficult to know exactly when a contract has been fulfilled in its entirety. At a single consultation, a
woman might ask a spirit to find employment for her husband, to make her son succeed in school, and to grant her daughter success in finding a wealthy boyfriend. Because of the complexity of such contracts, it is hard to determine when a spirit has granted the requests and expects payment to be made.

Another reason why clients hesitate to pay spirit contracts is that they often overextend their resources in an attempt to entice spirits into granting their requests. Although it is maintained that spirits expect payment only in proportion to the wealth and status of each clients, larger offerings are also thought to produce quicker results. But while a Manjaco immigrant from Senegal or a party member from Bissau might be able to offer a cow, younger poorer farmers may only be able to pay a small goat for the spirit’s services. The implication is that supplicants must offer enough to tempt the spirit into action and assure that the request is fulfilled, but not so much that the debt would be impossible to pay promptly. Promised offerings often exceed real means since under the circumstances which prompt people to engage in spirit contracts, clients are more concerned with the ends they wish to achieve than in the price needed to attain them.

These problems in payment are further compounded by the fact that during a lifetime a person may make numerous contracts with many spirits whenever misfortunes occur or a
desired objective appears unattainable. Impatience may lead a client to contract several different spirits to resolve a single problem. Over time, it becomes difficult to remember all the spirits that were consulted or to identify which one of the spirits was instrumental in attaining the desired objective. In addition, several members of a family may make different spirit contracts to achieve the same end, making it difficult to ascertain which contract was accepted. Because of the presence of numerous outstanding spirit debts, individuals tend to pay their contracts only when misfortunes occur and the payment of a particular spirit becomes imperative.

Violating Spirit-Sanctioned Rules

A person may also enter a state of danger by disregarding legislation or property rights that are supported by spirit contracts. The most important spirit-sanctioned rules are established during province initiation rituals and range from decrees banning women from diviners societies (see Chapter IX) to mandates establishing a fixed price for palm wine (see Chapter IV). However, individuals may also contract spirits to support independent rulings of their own. An angry man may banish his wives from the house and contract a spirit to kill any that violate the ruling. More commonly, individuals establish rules against the theft or destruction of their property by contracting a spirit and
sacrificing an animal at its shrine. Property which is mystically protected in this way is marked by the skull of the sacrificial beast. It is thought that anyone who violates the rule by stealing cashew fruit from a tree or rice from a field where such a skull is displayed, will succumb to illness or other misfortunes sent by the spirit. Only by admitting to the crime and paying a sacrificial fine of the same beast at the spirit shrine will the state of danger be rectified.

Lying in an Oath of Innocence

People who commit perjury under an oath of innocence sworn at a spirit shrine may automatically be placed in a state of cosmological danger. These oaths, which are performed to resolve disputes among any parties regardless of descent, ethnic, or religious background are thought to work in two ways. One type of oath involves all the members of a kin group which has been accused, usually by the soul oracle, of containing an unknown witch. Another type of oath involves a plaintiff, suspect, and other concerned parties. Thus oaths of innocence may include anywhere from two to well over fifty participants.

United at a spirit shrine, the parties to the dispute discuss the problem and argue their cases. Then members swear their innocence one by one and ask the spirit to kill
them in a particular way if they are guilty. The following
case illustrates how the spirit is thought to work:

A Bachuro [Manjaco of Churo] man took his wife and
a friend to a Mama Djombo shrine because he sus­
pected them of having committed adultery even
though they denied the charges. They discussed the
case at the shrine and swore their innocence before
the spirit. The accused friend swore that if he
was lying, Mama Djombo should kill him either by a
fall from a palm tree, by water, or by a gun
backfiring. While returning to their village, the
canoe they were in overturned. The adulterer and
wife were drowned. After spending three days in
the water, the husband found his way to safety near

Through an oath of innocence, a guilty party is thought to
enter a state of danger that eventually results in death.³
In this case, the spirit places a client in a state of
danger and sends death to identify and punish the transgres­
sor. The closest kin of the guilty party is also assigned
responsibility for the crime. The residential lineage of
the transgressor is placed in a state of danger and may
suffer further misfortunes unless it recognizes and atones
for its member’s guilt by paying a sacrificial fine at the
spirit shrine which all parties to the dispute help to
consume.

Vengeance Contracts against Transgressors

People who have committed secular or mystical crimes may
also fall into a state of danger if an injured party
contracts a spirit in vengeance. Victims of robbery or
lineages that have lost a member to witchcraft or murder may
promise a spirit a set fee if it kills the real or suspected perpetrator of the crime. Vengeance contracts often apply to disputes involving real or mystical crimes that are not resolved satisfactorily by secular means. Accordingly, the parties to this type of dispute may be of any background and located on any continent. One case, for example, involved a Manjaco man who had become paralyzed by an injection he received at a hospital in France and who contracted a spirit in Caió to kill the nurse responsible. Some spirits specialize in this type of contract, such as Ussai P@tibi\textsuperscript{4} of Caiómete, and others demand unusual sacrifices in payment, such as a dog to represent the human life taken.

Unlike oaths of innocence, disputes resolved through vengeance contracts contain an element of ambiguity, stemming from the fact that only the plaintiff is present when the spirit is contracted. Such cases are presented only from the plaintiff’s perspective and most spirits\textsuperscript{5} are thought to accept the contract if the payment is high enough, whether or not the suspect is indeed guilty of the transgression of which he or she is accused. Thus, there is a fine line between contracts that punish real criminals and those that punish purported transgressors suspected of provoking the relative ill fortune of their rivals. As an example, a man who is envious of his rival’s promotion might contract a spirit to punish "the witch who has advanced at his expense" presumably by having contracted another spirit
to work against him. If the plaintiff promises the spirit a handsome payment of two cows for killing his rival "in revenge", it is thought that the spirit may be enticed into accepting the offer and killing the rival without any reflection on the plaintiff's intentions or the validity of his claims. Only after the rival has died and the contract has been paid, might the spirit reflect on its actions and consider the original complaint and contract to be unjustified. Them the spirit might even attempt to redress the wrong by eventually killing the original plaintiff, who had enlisted its services in the first place.

Vengeance contracts are also thought to be ambiguous because they often place not only the defendant, but also the defendant's entire lineage in a state of danger. The perpetrators of major crimes, such as murder or the destruction of livelihood (e.g. burning a village's rice harvest), may be the subjects of multiple vengeance contracts. In such cases, spirits are thought to be ruthless in their punishment, often killing not only the transgressor but all of his or her offspring as well. In so doing, multiple vengeance contracts not only extend sanctions to other members of the criminal's lineage, but in a sense, also extend these sanctions over time. Descendants may be made to pay for crimes they did not themselves commit. By involving other lineage members and offspring of different
generations, vengeance contracts are thought to place the very continuity of a criminal's lineage in jeopardy.

The possibility that a lineage may not know of its members' crimes or spirit debts and yet suffer sanctions for these deeds, helps to explain the close ties that emigrants in the Senegambia and France maintain with the Cacheu Region. Emigrants usually try to return to their homelands before their deaths to inform other family members of crimes committed and secret ritual obligations incurred during their lifetimes. Failing this, an emigrant's corpse may be sent back to the Cacheu Region instead in order to permit the interrogation of the soul oracle.⁶

Lineages that have been placed in a permanent state of danger in this way have several options available to them. One is that the descendants of the criminal may pay (ayá kalók kaból, Mjc.) a sacrificial fine every few years to the spirit that was originally contracted in vengeance to "bribe" it to keep them in a normal cosmological state. This type of payment resembles "a protection racket" in that when payment is not made regularly, the spirit is thought to coerce the lineage into payment by continuing to claim its member's lives. The following interpretation of a misfortune that occurred in the late 1950's reveals how these sanctions and payments work.

When I was nine years old I wrestled with a friend and broke my forearm. I went to Bókássa [a healer] for treatment, but after two months my arm had grown worse. My mother and I went to diviners
to discover the reason for this illness, but explanations varied. Shortly afterwards I lost consciousness and my parents took me first to the Portuguese administrative post in Batau, Caió and then to the hospital in Canchungo. Finally the Portuguese flew me to Bissau with my mother’s cowife. Every one thought that I would die. The Portuguese doctors cut my arm off and before long I recovered.

This was no ordinary, simple illness. People break their arms all the time, but it does not end like this. When I became ill, my mother remembered a story that a very old woman had told her when she was very young. My mother’s brother used to work for the Portuguese and capture people in our village to conduct forced labor for them. Once he went to the woods to persuade farmers who were harvesting upland rice to leave their work to build a road. The farmers ran to the woods to hide when they saw him coming. He was furious and in his rage he set fire to all the mounds of harvested rice, one after the other. The villagers who had been deprived of their livelihood without compensation went to Ussai Bakássa and demanded justice. They told the spirit what my uncle had done and asked for revenge.

My uncle died of old age, but one of his sons became paralyzed. My mother was too young to know of her brother’s actions. If she had known, she would have sought refuge at the spirit because she had nothing to do with her brother’s evil deeds. But because she did not know, Ussai Bakássa killed all her children and took my arm. Only when my mother nursed at Mama Djombo did three of her children live.

Now that we know the cause of these problems, we sacrifice a cow at Ussai Bakássa every 10 to 20 years and a goat every two to three years. These rituals make us poor, but without them my lineage would die off (Caió Interview 12, 1987).

Because of vengeance contracts against an ancestor’s crimes, members may incur heavy spirit debts in order to protect the lineage from extinction.

A second and related option available to lineages in this state of danger is fission. Exorbitant ritual obligations force members of a lineage to reexamine their loyal-
ties and determine whether or not they will share the financial burden of accepting responsibility for their member's crime. When members of one lineage segments refuse to support another segment in its spirit debts, permanent fission may result. This separation manifests itself in the establishment of separate residences and ancestor shrines and in the termination of mutual support and attendance in funerals. The allocation of responsibility for crimes and spirit debts (Moore, 1972: 51-107; Werbner, 1972: 227-255) is the pretext for publicly reordering descent relations in the Cacheu Region.

A third alternative available to lineages that are victims of multiple vengeance contracts is flight. This philosophy is exemplified in the Baboi praise name "kangóhã karité kakóha" (Gu., "the back of the head feels no shame") (Caboi Interview 32, 1986). Rather than confront the shame and suffer the misfortunes, debts, and threat to lineage survival, people who have committed serious crimes, together with their lineage segments, often "turn their backs" upon the provinces in which they would suffer these sanctions. Suspects of mystical or secular crimes who select this option, may either hide in distant or urban areas or seek protection or even asylum under the care of a spirit in another province. They may remain in hiding permanently or return after several years, when the crimes have been partially forgotten.
The Role of Spirit Contracts in Restoring Normal States

The above examples show that people placed in states of danger by different types of spirit contracts require different procedures to be restored to normal cosmological order. States of danger may be removed variously by paying neglected spirit contracts, disbursing required sacrificial fines, or seeking protection from a spirit in another area. This last procedure deserves further discussion since it may take a variety of forms and has played an important role in the historical formation of spirit provinces.

Spirits are believed to be able to provide protection and in this way restore the normal cosmological state to clients suffering from severe spiritual sanctions and chronic misfortune. Whether produced by vengeance contracts for real or alleged crimes committed or by other unknown causes (e.g. a forgotten spirit contract), persistent states of danger are experienced and treated in much the same way. Infertility, lingering illness, incessant poverty, a succession of premature deaths in a lineage, exorbitant spiritual debts, the possibility of severe secular sanctions, or unwarranted envy by others are all legitimate grounds for seeking the protection under a powerful spirit’s care.

Like vengeance contracts, contracts for protection are one-sided, but are argued from the victim’s point of view.
instead of being presented from the plaintiff's perspective. Clients may seek a spirit's protection through mystical refuge or by temporary or permanent physical relocation. In mystical refuge, clients perform a spirit contract in which they "beg" the spirit (avá malába ussai, Mjc.; i roga no iran, Kr.; afáti akúna, Gu.) for safety from persecution. Clients promise an offering if the mystical protection is effective in restoring him or her to a normal cosmological state.

Some spirits are also thought to be capable of providing protection against witchcraft to mothers who have lost a succession of infants to early deaths. Women who "nurse their young on the spirit" (djabó, Gu.) receive protection either by mystical means based on a contract or through temporary physical refuge in a spirit province. Women may assume residence in the province of the protecting spirit either while they are pregnant or shortly after giving birth. In both types of protection, the new born must be washed at the spirit shrine before it can be carried on its mother's back. Once the child has reached a safe age, usually three to four years, it must return to the shrine with its extended family to perform a ritual of removal from the spirit's protection (banút, Gu.). In banút, the mother dances naked at the shrine and the spirit is offered some 200 liters of palm wine, rice, and a pig in payment for its protection. Only after this ritual can a mother and child
resident in a host province return to their village of origin.

The third type of protection is permanent asylum in the province of a contracted spirit. Asylum may provide clients not only with protection from vengeance contracts, immunity from witchcraft accusations, impunity from sanctions against secular crimes, and sanctuary from witchcraft, but also offer the possibility of improved material and social conditions and the prospect of better options for divorced and infertile women.

Historically, ritual asylum was also sought for protection from slave raids. The relative ease with which the afflicted "turned their backs upon" problems and, in voluntary migrations, moved to more isolated and less densely populated spirit provinces for asylum helps account for the formation of important spirit provinces like Caboi and Pantufa.

The Role of Spirit Contracts in Inducing States of Favor

Clients are also thought to engage spirit in contracts in order to accomplish particular instrumental objectives that would improve their normal cosmological state. A client who pays spirit contracts promptly may win the love of a spouse, receive a promotion, secure a good harvest, and have healthy children, as well as maintain this improved cosmological condition. After winning important lotteries
in France and Abidjan, Manjaco immigrants returned to the Cacheu Region in 1986 and 1987 to pay the cows and 200 liters of alcohol promised to guarantee that the spirit they had contracted would allow them to maintain and enjoy their new found fortunes.

However, people who are extraordinarily successful are often suspected of knowing secrets regarding the most effective spirits and the appropriate methods for persuading these entities to accept their requests. A client who experiences extreme popularity, repeated promotions, exceptional harvests, or abundant healthy children is often thought to have accomplished this extraordinary state of favor with the help of clairvoyant powers, by having offered humans as payment, or by contracting nature spirits. All of these methods are based on superhuman capacities which offer clairvoyants the alternative of moving beyond the normal limits of spirit contracts to follow a broader course of action and to overstep the normal boundaries of time, space, and social behavior.

A SPIRITIST THEORY OF CAUSALITY

In the Cacheu Region, assumptions about cosmological states and categories form the basis of the spiritist theory of causality. In this theory, all major changes for the better or worse in a person's life, in the social process, or in history occur with some intervention of super-human or
supernatural powers. The theory is used not only to understand events within the Cacheu Region, but is also extended to understand peoples and cultures that do not themselves share this mode of thought. The impact of national and international policies affecting the peoples of the Cacheu Region is ultimately determined by this theory.

Individual Interpretations of Events

In general, each person who undergoes a change in cosmological states, that is, anyone affected by a fortune or misfortune, interprets it with reference to personal ritual obligations and social networks. The following interpretation of a misfortune illustrates how social, spiritual, and natural causes for events are closely intertwined.

In 1982, I was told to return to my home in Canhobe because my father was gravely ill. My family asked me to bring palm wine for the ritual that was to cure him. I went to a nearby island and climbed a palm tree to drill for wine in the same way that I had done for four years. I checked the rope and it was good, but when I got to the top, my left foot slipped and I fell with the rope still around me all the way to the ground. When I opened my eyes I felt nothing. The knife I used to drill the wine and wore around my neck had pierced my throat just below the jaw bone and blood was dripping. I stood up but sat down again immediately because I felt so weak. I called my friend who was drilling another tree. When he saw me he began to cry at the sight of the blood and my cut face. I could not move my legs, so my friend went for help and some Papel put me in a boat and took me to the hospital in Canchungo. I had broken my spine. I stayed in the hospital for two years and still could not walk so I came here [the healing shrine of Daméri Bokassa in Calómete].
My family went to many diviners to understand why the accident had happened and what I should do to get better. There were many different explanations, but one thing was repeated over and over again and verified by the gonad oracle: there was a problem within my immediate family. One of my siblings was jealous of me because I had always done well in school when all of my siblings had failed and because I had won my father's affections while he was alive. This sibling had tried to kill me through a vengeance contract but only succeeded in making me crippled.

I have been here healing for two years, but stopped treatment recently because I know it is no use. I have contracted Ussai Bakássa to protect me in the future (Caió Interview 25, 1986).

An event (fall from a palm tree) and its repercussions (broken spine) constitute the simplest level of explanation. These events are irreversible and can never be altered by human action. But underlying each simple event is a myriad of complex relations that are rallied to explain the misfortune. In the victim's interpretation, the underlying reasons for the event was the jealousy of a sibling and a spirit contract. Before arriving at this conclusion, the victim with the assistance of numerous diviners, examines his entire network of social and spiritual relations to explain the event and undertakes new spiritual obligations (protection contract with Ussai Bakássa) to resolve them.

By looking beyond the simple event and assigning social and spiritual causes to fortune and misfortune, those affected are no longer passive subjects of "fate". Once the underlying reasons for a problem are identified, victims must work actively to address and resolve these causes, or prevent future occurrences. According to the spiritist
theory of causality, the causes of any misfortune may be understood, foreseen, and influenced, if not controlled.

Viewed in this way, misfortunes and other changes in cosmological states are not events, but processes. To determine the cause of an unusual event, diviners assist their clients in analyzing their social relations so as to link various events and actors into a common theory of causality. By attributing misfortune to witchcraft, spirit contracts, and ancestors and the human actors that instigate these, individuals are given an opportunity to redefine and realign their loyalties.

One spiritist hypothesis may explain an isolated event, but an entirely different one may be necessary to understand a series of similar events that affect an individual or lineage. An infected arm for instance may be explained by any number of hypotheses (e.g. witchcraft, neglected spirit contract), but one family that undergoes an unusual series of misfortunes (e.g. a mother experiences trouble in childbearing, her son loses his arm, and a nephew is crippled) requires a more comprehensive hypothesis to explain the onslaught of a serious state of cosmological danger (e.g. vengeance contract for ancestor's crime). A series of mishaps forces the victim to reexamine relations with family, neighbors, and friends in an attempt to discover which troubled relations in the present or past were the cause. Thus events are understood not only by relating them
to an individual's social and spiritual contexts, but also
by linking them to other similar events within the lineage
to develop a theory about a victim's cosmological state.

Different Perspectives Generate Different Interpretations

Nevertheless, for each event there may be multiple
interpretations depending on whether the situation is being
explained by the victim, by another family member, or by a
more distant observer (see Janzen, 1978). The mother who
has lost a child might attribute the ill fortune to the envy
of a neighbor, her father might view the death as a sign
from a spirit reminding him of a neglected contract, and the
neighbor might perceive the calamity as the mother's
agreement to sacrifice the infant to a nature spirit to
increase her own wealth. Conversely, a school boy who does
exceedingly well on his exams may attribute his good fortune
to a public spirit's acceptance of his contract or to hard
work, while a sister who did not do so well might consider
her brother's uncommon gains to be the result of witchcraft,
or to his clairvoyant abilities to control nature spirits or
entice public spirits into accepting his contracts. Thus an
individual who perceives himself as an innocent victim may
be considered to be a guilty transgressor by a more distant
observer.

The various interpretations given to the causes of
misfortune or excessive fortune reveal the ambiguity of
"justice" within this mode of thought. Justice is ego-centered and situationally determined. Explanations for the cause of misfortune and good fortunes always vary depending upon the perspective of the interpreter (Crowley, 1987). This ambiguity is thought to make contracts with the spirits essential for sanctioning all forms of human activity.

Because it is believed that public spirits can be "bought-off" to support the claims of various clients and since most spirit contracts are presented solely from the supplicant's perspective, no all-encompassing code of morality obtains in every case. This type of situational ethics is better known as "amoral familialism" (Banfield, 1958). Supplicants seek retribution or protection for whatever ills they believe they have suffered. Whether or not the accused parties have actually committed these wrongs, the perceived infractions are thought to be potentially sanctionable through spirit contracts as long as particular supplicants are able to make a strong case to support their position.

Similarly province initiation spirits must automatically grant protection and asylum to anyone who requests it, regardless of the dubiousness of their claims. This universal acknowledgment of supplicants makes distant province initiation spirits an important "impartial" alternative available to supplicants involved in disputes in their home territories. Whereas legal and religious
institutions may be rigged against certain classes of a society, spirits of other provinces assure the unbiased treatment of a case, in many instances even favoring criminals by treating them as persecuted people. Public spirits of distant provinces allow supplicants to redress perceived wrongs that in secular courts would be difficult to contest and afford supplicants relative privacy in the adjudication of disputes. In these ways public spirits are believed capable of transcending and complementing the legal systems of the many ethnic groups that consult them.

Collective Interpretations of History

Interpretations of events vary according to different degrees of involvement and wide-ranging changes that affect large numbers of people are no exception. In 1986 a series of calamities assailed the peoples of the Cacheu Region: an overloaded canoe sank in the Cacheu River drowning many people, rainfall was irregular and infrequent, fishing catches were below normal, several fatal car accidents occurred, and the country endured severe gas shortages. Elders of several spirit provinces considered these catastrophes to have a single cause: they were signs from the spirit Mama Djombo requesting payment for protection it furnished to the inhabitants of the Region during the Independence struggle (Cacheu Interview 1, 1986). These provinces sent emissaries to the president of the Region
requesting his support for the necessary ritual (Cacheu Interview 1, 1986). At the same time, the Director of a regional development project interpreted the events as a personal sign (Bissau Interview 8, 1986). He linked several of the fatal car accidents that had involved project personnel to personal tragedies and viewed the sequence of calamities as a sign from another spirit reminding him to pay a neglected contract.

Collective interpretations of events are most interesting when they are applied retrospectively to understand the reasons for major social and historical imbalances. The alleged role of spirits in rectifying the injustices of the slave trade is an interesting example provided in Baiô oral traditions (Caiô Interview 26, 1987). According to several accounts, the Baiô clans which historically engaged most heavily in slave raiding, such as Batât, Baféi, and Basétu, are now suffering for the actions of their forefathers. Although colonial slavers established rules preventing those selling slaves from reclaiming captive family members that the ship had already purchased (Rodney, 1970: 116), they could not control the historical actions of the spirits. This is reportedly so because the lineages of Calequisse that frequently fell prey to Baiô slave raids made vengeance contracts with local spirits, such as Ussai Pantchêm, to retaliate against these "criminals" and their offspring. When descendants of these slave raiders began to die, they
learned about the vengeance contract and to this day, members of several lineage segments of these clans must go to Ussai Pantch@m of Calequisse to pay the spirit not to kill its members. This ritual fine for past actions must be paid every few years or members of the lineage segment will continue to be punished for the actions of their forefathers. Thus, decades after the fact, victims of the slave trade have been able to redress this injustice by making the once most powerful slaving clans, the smallest and least powerful clans in Caió today.

Just as particular spirit contracts help to explain major social imbalances within a spirit province, they may also be used in collective interpretations to explain national and international events and relations. A spirit contract involving a buried boat (described in Chapter III) was used on a national level to explain the Portuguese success in occupying the region in 1915 and the fall of the country’s president, Luis Cabral, 60 years later. Rumors of the current president’s attempt to remove the boat in the early years of the 1980’s shows how old spiritist hypothesis can be summoned to understand recent events and national political legitimacy.

Another oral tradition collected in several villages of the Cacheu Region reveals how contracts with the spirits were again interpreted as determining the international balance of power. The tradition refers to a period begin-
ning in 1958 when Portugal gave the American company of ESSO exclusive oil-prospecting rights in Guinea-Bissau in return for a percentage on production and profits. The American oil workers opened new roads and visited some areas in which the inhabitants had seldom seen white people. The oral tradition describes the American ESSO team as follows:

They had trucks that were larger than houses and cars that could cross over water. They had machines that were taller than the tallest palm tree. They would climb on top of their tall machines and drop something on the ground that sounded louder than thunder and dig holes so deep that they could never again be filled with earth, even after the rainy season. Americans are clairvoyants. They came only for a short time, but could see our spirits and knew what they liked to drink. They sat in the shade, beneath the large trees where our spirits are found, and feasted and drank. When the spirits came out to taste the sumptuous liquors, the Americans stole them. The Americans stole all our spirits and then crossed over the Cacheu river towards Senegal. When they left, our well water began to taste salty and bad. The rains stopped falling here, but the Americans are doing well. They stole our spirits and now Americans have everything and we have nothing (Caió Interviews 27-28, 1986, 1987; Caboi Interview 13, 1986; Pantufa Interview 7, 1987; Personal Communication: Gable, 1987b).

As is common in cargo cult traditions (Worsley, 1968), this oral account explains "American" prosperity and world power, the poverty of Guinea-Bissau, and the recent irregularity of rains in the Cacheu Region by linking these elements together and relating them to a single event in the late 1950's seen as involving a transfer of spiritual resources. Given the awe-inspiring technology they employed and the unfamiliar exotic beverages in their possession, residents of
the Region perceived Americans as clairvoyants with a natural advantage over ordinary people like themselves. It was these innate powers that were believed to have given the American's the ability to lure the spirits away and so acquire the extraordinary world power which they hold today.

Several facts are relevant to understanding how this interpretation was generated. One is that even ESSO workers admit to having sought out the spirit shrines, in order to take back carvings and earth from these sacred spots as souvenirs (Interview, Portuguese ESSO worker, Bissau, 1986). Some residents claim to have sold their residential lineage spirits to Americans for handsome fees (Caió Interview 28, 1987). Elders' recall that as the huge vans drove off, hundreds of "spirits" that had been captured by the Americans could be seen inside through the windows of the vehicles (Caboi Interview 33, 1987). Thus there were specific actions which led inhabitants of the region to believe that it was the spirits rather than oil that the Americans were after.

Secondly, the Americans usually ate their lunches in the coolest spots that could be found: beneath the largest shade trees which also happened to be the sites of shrines consulted over the centuries. Mockingly, the Americans poured their liquor on the ground in imitation of the rituals of their hosts. It is no wonder that inhabitants of the Cacheu Region believed that these foreigners could see
where the spirits resided and knew how to entice them into deserting their homes to work in America's favor.

By stringing together historical incidences and relating them to particularly viable agents in the regional cosmology (e.g. clairvoyants and spirits), the spiritist mode of explanation extends beyond individual interpretations of personal misfortune to cultural explanations of social change and international order. While redefining relations with an expanding world, the flexible cosmology of spiritism imparts continuity and common explanations for the success or failure of military coups, regional differences in literacy, scientific discoveries, genius, and the apparently easy economic and political superiority of technologically developed nations.

CONCLUSION: THE AMBIGUITY OF JUSTICE

In understanding the spiritist mode of thought and theory of causality of the Cacheu Region, it is important not to view misfortune as an isolated event with a single cause or explanation that is universally accepted by all actors concerned. Spiritist explanations are much broader and are based on a fundamental classification of the cosmos into normal versus abnormal cosmological states which include both misfortune and excessive fortune. The spiritist mode of thought allows for a plurality of explanations of the role of spirits in determining the course of human
events, based on the cosmological states of the various people involved and on the particular situation.

In exploring the functions of witchcraft in the Upper Zaire Basin, Harms describes witchcraft as an idiom for explaining a "zero-sum game in which one person's gain was another's loss" (1981: 197). The less successful believe that the more successful have magically stolen their share of the profits. People who become inordinately wealthy do so at the expense of others and even of their own family. When the member of a wealthy person's family dies, others may claim that it is because they have been willing to sacrifice their own kind for personal wealth. These same features of belief in witchcraft describe the role of nature spirits, public spirits, clairvoyants and witches in the Cacheu Region. By including the unfortunate's view of the fortunate, this approach furthers our understanding of spiritist explanations of misfortune.

Carrying these explanations of unfortunate events to their logical conclusions, all of the unfortunate should attribute their misfortunes to witchcraft, while all of the inordinately fortunate should be accused of witchcraft. Yet, this is clearly not the case. The fortunate and unfortunate are not separate and mutually exclusive categories of people in society. People become fortunate and unfortunate in different situations. What is missing in these ap-
Explanations of fortune and misfortune vary with the perspective. Successful people attribute their good luck to the high god, hard work, and successful publicly-accepted spirit contracts, while attributing their misfortunes to envy and the witchcraft of others. But these people also appeal to witchcraft as an explanation for their misfortunes. From their perspective, it is the unfortunate, the sterile women, the poorer neighbor, the unsuccessful colleague who are envious and employ witchcraft or spirit contracts to harm them out of jealousy. Thus the vision of what is fair and just in the world depends largely on a person's perspective. The rich man, who has lost several of his children because of a neglected spirit contract or the malicious envy of his neighbor, would be considered from his neighbor's perspective as the witch next door who has sacrificed his own family out of personal greed. The innocent victim is also the guilty persecutor. This ambiguity in notions of "justice" makes recourse to a spirit's protection and impartial judgement essential for survival. It is because of ambiguous justice that the innocent aggressors and guilty victims have sought refuge at spirit shrines and distant communities over the centuries.

The ways in which people view the cosmos and interpret relationships between events has a direct impact on the
types of activities in which they engage. A set of people with common concerns may regularly perform rituals jointly in the belief that performance by a large number in group solidarity will be more effective in directing the course of events and modifying power relations for group mobilization. At the heart of the spiritist mode of thought and rituals is the particular way that spirits can be mobilized through individual, family, or collective contracts to influence the events of daily life, define and relate social groups, and provide charters and legitimacy to social relations and social action in the Cacheu Region.
1. These "deep traditions", a set of constants that underlie local and temporal variations, are explored in depth by Vansina (in manuscript).

2. An interesting example comes from an oath of innocence sworn in a case of dispute resolution concerning a missing person. A Baboi living in Dakar disappeared during a journey to return to Caboi. His lineage suspected a member of his wife’s uterine kin to be responsible for the disappearance, since the kin group was thought to have contained a number of powerful witches in the past. The wife’s mother, for instance, was said to have had a witch airplane that flew between Dakar and Caboi to transport witches to their nightly meals. One widely-accepted theory that emerged while the case was disputed at the Mama Djombo shrine, claimed that the taxi which the man took to the airport had actually been a witch taxi belonging to his wife that whisked him away. All members of the wife’s uterine kin group swore an oath of innocence at Mama Djombo to determine whether one of them was indeed a witch, to punish the transgressor, and to learn which theory of causality was correct.

3. Voluntary submission to the state of danger and the role of the oath of innocence in revealing hidden identities is symbolized at some shrines (e.g. Mama Djombo) by the requirement that participants remove all clothing before entering the spirit’s sacred grounds and in this way swear the oaths when they are physically exposed and vulnerable.

4. Ussai Pétibi (Mjc., "spirit of the axe") is particularly renowned for its effectiveness in killing witches. When a contract with Ussai Pétibi is responsible for a death, the spirit is said to identify its work and the witch by sending an unusual creature near the corpse shortly after death. If a soul oracle confirms the deceased’s guilt, not only must the contractor pay the spirit for its services, but all of the witch’s belongings, including gold must be taken to the spirit shrine and become part of Ussai Pétibi’s property. In the forest surrounding its spectacular shrine are hung the clothing, bags, and other personal effects of the hundreds of witches it has allegedly killed and within its sacred grounds are said to be mounds of suitcases full of precious belongings.

5. Shrine custodians of the spirit Mama Djombo, however, do not permit plaintiffs to name the suspects they wish to punish in vengeance contracts because it is thought that Mama Djombo can identify transgressors more accurately.
Moreover, ambiguous cases of a secretive and sensitive nature are too easily publicized at Mama Djombo, where the translator (uvégite, Gu.) must shout the plaintiff's case to the shrine medium (uratchandala, Gu.) and priest (aminya, Gu.) before it can be transmitted to the spirit.

6. I witnessed this in 1987, when the hermetically-sealed coffin containing a corpse of a Manjaco emigrant to France was flown back to Caió at great effort and expense, so that his crimes and secrets could be exposed during the interrogation of the soul oracle and so that he could be buried in his native soil.

7. Separate funerals are a particularly significant marker of lineage fission. At all funerals of members within the indebted lineage, the crime, vengeance contract, and ritual debt incurred are postulated as a possible cause of death. Thus the soul oracle of an adolescent girl may reveal that the child died because her mother's mother's father beheaded another man many years before her birth, and because the spirits Ussai Bakàssa and Ussai Pigínur demanded that the lineage make the annual sacrifice that had been neglected for three years (Caió Interview 24, 1986).

8. This contract was an important source of revenue for the Portuguese military campaign during the Independence war and was renewed in 1966 and 1973 (Lobban and Forrest, 1988: 90).
CHAPTER VII

SATELLITE SHRINES

INTRODUCTION

Around each major province initiation spirit shrine of the Cacheu Region is a broader field of supplicants and congregations who focus some of their ritual activity upon it. This chapter examines several types of inter-province and inter-regional ritual networks that center on shrines of the Cacheu Region. All of these centralized networks are marked by the establishment of special shrines which assure the maintenance of ritual links between provinces and regions. These networks are one of the few exceptions to spiritism’s otherwise segmentary organization.

Definition of Satellite Shrines

A satellite shrine may be defined as a sacred object or place that comes from and serves as a vehicle of communication with a public spirit that is territorially bound. Satellite shrines are essentially minor and subordinate versions of the public spirit shrines or high god oracles from which they originate. A public spirit which has a fixed shrine in one province, but is thought able to grant franchises for satellite shrines to be established in other provinces may be called a parent spirit shrine. Important spirit shrines of the Cacheu Region (e.g. Boté, Caboi, Pantufa) become parent spirit shrines when they establish
concrete enduring institutional links with individuals, families, and congregations living in other areas.

Satellite shrines provide clients and congregations with a more complete alternative to singular, situational spirit contracts and their presence indicates individuals or clusters of clients who rely regularly on a parent spirit's powers. Because their establishment obviates the need for supplicants to make pilgrimages to the parent spirit shrine except under exceptional circumstances, satellite shrines become the focus of heightened and regular social interaction based upon common belief in a parent spirit's power. By retaining the name of the parent spirit, satellite shrines remind clients of the spirit's power and constant protection.

**TYPES OF SATELLITE SHRINES**

Satellite shrines may be distinguished by the parent shrines which generate them and the range of clients that consults them. Some can be acquired at very few parent shrines, but affect thousands of people organized in congregations throughout the Cacheu Region and other parts of Guinea-Bissau and Senegambia. Other satellite shrines may be acquired from most important public spirits in the Region and tend to serve smaller groupings. Based on these two features four types of satellite shrines may be distinguished.
Kasará Satellite Shrines

Of all types of satellite shrines, kasará shrines are by far the most important because they affect the largest number of people and create lasting ritual institutional links between different spirit provinces. As Chapter V noted, the three main features of kasará shrines is that they are thought to provide a direct link to the high god, that they are accessible to entire ward or village congregations through locally established shrines, and that these shrines alone are believed capable of resolving "problems of the earth", such as drought or infant mortality, that affect large numbers of people. This section focuses on the links between different provinces containing kasará satellite shrines and the parent shrines that generate them.

Kasará Parent Spirit Shrines

In the Cacheu Region, there appear to be two distinct networks of kasará satellite shrines centered around different spirit provinces. One kasará parent shrine is found in Boté, a province renowned for its mixture of Felupe and Manjaco ethnic groups and customs, the second is in Caboi, a Baboi enclave in Manjaco territory. The paucity of historical documentation makes it difficult to determine whether the kasará parent shrines that emerged in Caboi and Boté are related in origin or distinct parallel phenomena.
The common designation of "kasaré" suggests that some links do exist between the two, if only in peoples' perception that both these parent shrines have a monopoly on communication with the high god. Other similarities in the organization, intermediaries, and functions of the two regional cults also suggest a common origin.

The major distinctions between the two provinces as parent shrines for kasaré satellite networks appear to be historical and geographical. The parent shrine in Boté began to generate kasaré satellite shrines sometime around the turn of the century and its influence appears to be mostly concentrated along the Atlantic Coast. It is unclear when Mama Djombo of Caboi first became a parent shrine for kasaré satellite shrines, but its network appears to be located just to the east of the Boté satellite zone as Map 10 shows. Boté kasaré is dominant among Djola, Manjaco, and Papel congregations in the coastal areas of the Regions of Cacheu (e.g. in Caió, Bassarel, Injante (Pecixe)), Biombo, and Bissau, but not among the Mankanya (Menezes, 1928: 20; Mankanya Interview 3, 1988), while Caboi kasaré¹ is dominant among Djola, Manjaco, Mankanya, migrant Baboi, and Papel but not Balanta² congregations.

Other differences relating to the way these two satellite networks function and communicate with their parent shrines are better understood by examining satellite kasaré shrines in the congregations where they are found.
KEY
* Parent Shrines
| Botô Kasará
- Cabol Kasará (horn & litter)
- Cabol Kasará (horn alone)
— International Borders

MAP 10: PARENT AND SATELLITE SHRINES
OF THE CACHEU REGION
Kasará Satellite Networks  
Boté Kasará Satellite Shrines

Acquisition of the Shrine. The decision of cult leaders in the parent province to permit the creation of Boté kasará satellite shrines marked a trend towards routinization of the kasará prophetic movement (see Chapter IX). Congregations wishing to eliminate witches and resolve widespread problems afflicting their members now may send emissaries on pilgrimage to Boté to request a satellite shrine for their province. The emissaries, usually trusted, willing volunteers, travel to Boté and receive instructions from members of that spirit-province, on how to construct and maintain a satellite shrine and select a priest. The emissaries sacrifice a pig on behalf of the congregation and return to their province of origin with an animal horn filled with earth from Boté.

Selection of the Shrine Priest. Upon their return, the emissaries unite the congregation and explain what they have learned. Then the congregation selects a kasará priest (amánya kasará, Mjc.) from among its members. The priest is responsible for the shrine's upkeep and for organizing calendrical events that occur on its premises.

The Form of the Satellite Shrine. Boté kasará satellite shrines are characterized by the presence of a brightly-colored divinatory litter (bekép, Mjc.) usually suspended from the roof of a shelter near the Boté horn. The litter
is used to identify witches and respond to questions posed by their congregation regarding the reasons for "problems of the earth" (*bukoīch*, Mjc.). The litter may be used in both calendrical and critical rituals as Chapter V has shown.

**Links between Parent and Satellite Shrines.** In addition to these rituals, satellite congregations also stage a major witch-finding ritual about once every three to seven years which requires the renewal of ties between the parent shrine and satellite congregation.

Duplicating the direction of the initial introduction of the kasarā movement (see Chapter IX), this ritual has been described as the descent of kasarā from heaven, arriving in Boté, and spreading over Manjaco territory to the island of Pecixe where the Papel from Biombo fetch him and eventually take it to Bissau (Jong, 1987: 232). Roman Catholic missionaries in the Region have equated Christ with the kasarā figure, the messenger of the high god (*nasín batí*, Mjc.) who periodically visits the world to expose witches (Binsbergen, 1984: 38; Jong, 1987: 232).

The timing of this major kasarā ritual is based on a congregation’s decision that "problems of the earth" have accumulated to the point that only the more powerful ritual will be able to resolve them. Links to the parent shrine are renewed when the amánya kasarā makes a pilgrimage "to get kasarā" from Boté in person. The shrine priest must abstain from food and sexual relations for one day preceding
his journey to Boté and throughout the pilgrimage to assure that he is in a ritually pure state to receive kasará. In speech, congregation members imply that the amánya kasará acquires a special kasará litter when he goes to the parent shrine, but it appears that it is actually a man from the spirit province of Boté that returns with him to the satellite congregation to oversee the ritual. Before leaving Boté, the amánya kasará and the Boté delegate cut a small branch from a palm tree (Borassus aethiopum) to take with them to the satellite congregation.

The Boté delegate remains in the satellite congregation for a week while the major kasará ritual is performed to ensure that the proper procedure is followed to enhance the divinatory litter’s witch-finding powers (see Photograph 11). Unlike the normal situational and calendrical rituals in which the divinatory litter kills witches secretly, during major kasará ritual "from Boté", the litter is said to have the power to catch and punish specific living witches (apétch kakútch, Mjc). In Caió, child witches are the most frequent culprits discovered on these occasions.

As one resident of Caió explains,

Kasará chases, collides with, and beats child witches. If the child is a clairvoyant and tries to escape by flying away, bekáp kasará flies after and catches him without harming its bearers. The child witch that has been discovered just cries and cries, never telling what he or she has done. Kasará never kills child witches, but only beats them to prevent them from causing future harm. Bekáp kasará also steals the power of child clair-
voyants making them into ordinary children (Caió Interview 23, 1987).

During the last major Boté kasará ritual in Caiómete which occurred in 1985, bekáp kasará was reported to have caught and punished several witches who then confessed to having eaten people and stolen and eaten the "eggs" of women who then were unable to have children (Caió Interview 23, 1987). The divinatory litter was said to have beaten the witches until they became ill and lost their powers, but they were allowed to live normal lives thereafter. Witches who have been exposed in this way are said to lose the power to perform evil, but retain enough clairvoyant powers to defend themselves against vengeance contracts made by victims of their past deeds.

This sporadic ritual serves as a pretext for renewing ties between a satellite congregation and the parent shrine and offers Boté an opportunity to assure that proper procedure is being followed among its dispersed congregations.

**Caboi Kasará Satellite Shrines**

**Acquisition of the Shrine.** Like Boté kasará satellite congregations, wards and villages experiencing "problems of the earth" (kuní akós, Gu.; guzúp akós, Gu. "justice of the earth") may send half-a-dozen representatives as emissaries on a pilgrimage to the kasará parent shrine in Caboi. To acquire a satellite shrine, these representatives offer
libations of alcohol and sacrifice a small animal (e.g. goat or pig) as the priest (uzóku djenyú, Gu.) of any Mama Djombo shrine in the parent province of Caboi asks the spirit on their behalf to eliminate the witches and other problems afflicting their congregation. The emissaries promise to make another sacrifice if this request is fulfilled and return to the satellite congregation with an animal horn filled with shrine earth, sacrificial blood, and other ingredients.

Selection of the Shrine Priest. The priests of Caboi satellite shrines (also amánya kasará (Gu., Dj.) must be divinely-appointed at the parent shrine in Caboi. The spirit of Mama Djombo is said to chose its priests (or priestesses) from among the emissaries sent to acquire the satellite shrine and to select individuals based on their having clairvoyant powers to enable them to serve as spirit mediums. The spirit is said to possess one of the emissaries seated outside the sacred shrine grounds while the priest of the parent shrine is offering libations to Mama Djombo. The chosen emissary "falls" (aríni, Gu.; anéde, Gu., "to be possessed"; amánya, Dj., Mjc.) or becomes possessed by the spirit in the usual manner (see Chapter V, Mediums).

However, Caboi satellite kasará shrines often have more than one priest. Other lesser amánya kasará are ranked by the order in which Mama Djombo possesses them during the
initial pilgrimage. The second emissary to "fall" is second in power (unekânga, Gu. "second"), and so forth. These lesser amânya becomes responsible for the satellite shrine at the first amânya's death. When all the bamânya selected at the original pilgrimage have died, a new set of representatives are sent to Caboi to be divinely-appointed. In general, amânya kasarâ are responsible for maintaining and offering libations to the satellite shrine, overseeing all rituals held on its premises, and communicating serious problems to the parent shrine.

The Form of the Satellite Shrine. Caboi kasarâ satellite shrines may take two forms. One type resembles Boté kasarâ satellite shrines by the presence of a divinatory litter accompanied by a Caboi horn. Caboi kasarâ shrines with bekâp predominate in the province of Costa de Baixo and the bamânya kasarâ carry the litter while they are possessed to respond to clients consulting the shrine.

A second of Caboi kasarâ shrine consists of the horn alone (gifîgal akôs, Gu., "horn of the earth"), which is placed in a specially constructed shelter (adôngô gifîgal, Gu.; karôn petîng, Mjc. Churo; karôn pesîng, Mjc. Caiô; baraka de tchifre, Kr., "hut of the horn"). Baboi say that horns from other kasarâ parent shrines should not be kept in the same shelter with the Mama Djombo horns, since the latter are more powerful and will cause the other horns to explode, disappear, or rot.
Lacking the oracular aspects of the divinatory litter, these simpler horn shrines are the sites of ritual contracts and work in much the same way as province-wide initiation spirits. When a client's wish has been fulfilled, sacrifices are usually made at the kasará satellite shrine, but if the client has the means and is very satisfied with the work of kasará, he may make a pilgrimage to Mama Djombo in Caboi to pay the contract there.

**Links between Parent and Satellite Shrines.** The eventual authority of the parent spirit in Caboi to select its representatives in the satellite congregations ensures that satellite congregations remain dependent and maintain a continuing connection with the parent shrine despite their apparent autonomy. This rule explains the high number of pilgrimages to Mama Djombo made by representatives of satellite congregations in each year.  

Satellite priests also reestablish ties with the parent spirit during occasional pilgrimages to Caboi to resolve major problems in their congregations. These pilgrimages appear to be most frequent among congregations without divinatory litters. Since satellite shrines containing only kasará horns lack the facility of communication that divinatory litters have, these objects are thought to communicate with their congregations in other ways at times of crisis. If for example a prosperous congregation does not perform thanksgiving rituals, the horn will disappear.
and return to the parent shrine in Caboi. As a Baboi resident of Gendem recounted,

When the kasará horn of our satellite shrine in Gendem disappeared in 1982, the amánya went with several friends to a diviner to interpret the sign. The diviner said that we had neglected to perform the annual rainy season ritual. We would have to sacrifice a pig to kasará and feast together before the horn would return. On the day that the ritual was to occur, when the horn had not yet appeared, the amánya summoned the congregation and explained that under the circumstances she would have to go to Caboi in person. Suddenly the horn reappeared on the ground out of nowhere, so we killed the pig, feasted, and rejoiced.

Caboi kasará horns are also thought to return to the parent shrine when they have not been properly maintained or when major problems of the earth threaten the congregation. When the horn disappears, the amánya kasará must travel to Caboi to recover the horn, discover the cause of its disappearance, and learn what the congregation must do to resolve these special problems and enable the horn to resume its functions.4

Although satellite congregations have a relatively equal status in relation to the parent shrine, the priests of Mama Djombo in Caboi maintain a higher rank than the bámánya kasará in the satellite congregations. A priest of the parent shrine who visits a satellite congregation has the privilege to offer libations at the satellite shrine and preside over all rituals conducted there during his presence in the satellite congregation. Furthermore, contracts made with the assistance of the Caboi amánya must be paid both at
the satellite shrine and at Mama Djombo in Caboi. Finally, all other members of the parent spirit province who visit kasarâ satellite congregations are treated as guests and receive generous hospitality from their hosts.

**Interlocking Satellite and Initiation Spirit Congregations**

Kasarâ satellite shrines minister only to clients from the congregations that originally organized to acquire them and once such shrine has been established it may never again be dissolved or returned to the parent shrine. However, these satellite congregations themselves belong to different spirit provinces. Thus, satellite congregations have two nuclei for rituals: one around the initiation spirit shrines of their respective spirit provinces, and another around the parent shrines from which their kasarâ shrines were derived located in other spirit provinces.

Each of the congregations in the satellite area maintain enduring relations with the parent spirit shrine outside of its territory. However in many ways, satellite shrines function autonomously from the parent shrine. Once a satellite shrine has been established, rituals that would have been directed to the parent spirit take place in the satellite villages instead. Alcohol and livestock which would normally be offered to the parent shrine and shared with the residents of that spirit province are presented to the shrine in the satellite congregation. Thus cult leaders...
and residents of the parent province benefit only indirectly
from the institution of satellite shrines, through the
spread of knowledge about the power of the parent spirit to
individual clients who may later make pilgrimages to make
contracts or acquire satellite shrines of their own.

**Significance**

The presence of *kasarā* satellite shrines serves as an
index of the importance of a particular parent shrine in a
ward, village, and spirit province. These shrines link
satellite congregations into ritual networks with central
point in two parent spirit provinces. These regional cults
create institutional links that extend beyond the limits of
a single ethnic group. The direct access to the high god
which these shrines are thought to furnish allows ordinary
people to bypass the human and spirit intermediaries in
their own provinces that are normally required for problem-
solving.

**Individual Horns and Family and Diviner Satellite Shrines**

Although *kasarā* satellite shrines are most important
because they affect large numbers of people, there are
several other types of satellite shrines that merit discus-
sion. All of these shrines are acquired in pilgrimages to a
parent shrine, but unlike *kasarā* that is restricted to two
provinces of the Region, the parent shrine may be any
powerful public spirit. All types of satellite shrines take the form of animal horns filled with earth from a parent shrine. Like the parent shrines from which they are derived, satellite shrines provide protection and may be contracted to resolve the problems of the members of their various domains.

Unlike kasară shrines that are attached to fixed congregations, individual, family and diviner satellite shrines tend to be diffused and mobile, making it difficult to identify their precise geographical locations. It is clear, however, that their distribution is considerably broader than that of kasară satellite congregation shrines. The most mobile, individual horns, have the widest distribution, but also have the highest concentration in the provinces of their parent spirits. The other types of satellite shrines are absent in parent spirit provinces and found in clusters throughout the spirit region.

Individual Satellite Horns

Worn around the neck, waist, or upper arm, or kept in a drawer or other undisturbed part of their rooms, individual satellite horns (gifìgal, Gu.; tchifre, Kr.) are extremely mobile and travel with their owners providing protection wherever they go. When a client dies or believes the shrine to be ineffective because of illness or misfortune he or she may return it to the parent spirit.
Individual satellite horns of public spirits in the Cacheu Region are used by virtually every ethnic group of Guinea-Bissau, including Christian, Islamic, and Islamisized peoples. Even in the spirit province of Caboi, where residents have regular access to a powerful public spirit, many of the inhabitants and even children have their own individual satellite horns of this spirit to provide special protection during travel outside of the spirit’s domain.

**Family Satellite Shrines**

Families may also request family satellite shrines *(gifígal itáku, Gu.; tchifre di kása, Kr.*) for protection in their places of residence. Unlike individual satellite horns, those belonging to families tend to be fairly permanent and are kept in a dark and undisturbed part of the house or buried beneath the ground. However, the family may also return the horn to the parent shrine if illness or death proves the shrine to be ineffective. For every three pilgrimages made to Mama Djombo to acquire individual horn or family satellite shrines, one is made to return an ineffective horn.

The ethnic groups that appear most frequently to request family satellite shrine from parent shrines in the Cacheu Region are Manjaco, Mankanya, Papel, Balanta, Mansoanca, Djola, migrant Baboi, and the partially Islamisized Sosso. Unlike individual satellite horns, families resident within
a parent spirit province have little need of requesting separate satellite shrines, however these are extremely popular among families from a parent spirit province who have migrated to live elsewhere. Migrants who acquire family satellite shrines from their provinces of origin, usually establish these permanently in their new residences. Baboi families who have emigrated to Canchungo, Bissau, and Dakar, and Pantufa immigrants throughout Guinea-Bissau, maintain family satellite shrines of this sort. Family satellite shrines are particularly common among migrants from Guinea-Bissau living in the Casamance and the Gambia who made up one-third of all pilgrim groups sent to Mama Djombo to acquire these horns (see Chapter VIII, Case 2). When temporary migrants become permanent settlers, family satellite shrines often become fixed residential lineage spirit shrines in their own right.

**Diviner Satellite Shrines**

Spiritist diviners may also undertake pilgrimages to acquire satellite shrines (*gifagul ulaaq*, Gu.; *pesame*, Mjc.; *tchifre di djambakús*, Kr.) for use in divination. Unlike other types, satellite divining horns are thought to provide diviners with information necessary for effectively diagnosing the problems of their clients. Thus in a permanent shrine, a single diviner may keep a collection of such horns acquired from different parent spirits to
diversify access to spiritual power and insights from multiple spirit provinces. Manjaco, Mankanya, and Papel diviners usually summon the names of the parent spirits of the satellite shrines they own at the beginning of each consultations. Similarly, the diviner may use the shrine to relay a client’s message to a parent spirit in another province, and clients may make and pay contracts at the diviner’s satellite shrine.

Divination satellite shrines abound wherever spiritist diviners are found: in both urban and rural areas and particularly in zones of former Buramo influence, such as Bissau and Canchungo, or where there are concentrations of Manjaco and Baboi immigrants, such as in the Departments of Ziguinchor and Dakar in Senegal. Many Manjaco, Mankanya, Papel, Djola, and some Creole diviners employ divination satellite shrines and their distribution appears to correlate roughly with that of kasará satellite congregations. The relationship between diviner and kasará satellite shrines is likely more than circumstantial since the two institutions tend to reinforce each other.

**Links with Parent Spirit Shrines**

Like kasará shrines, individual, family, and diviner satellite shrines create specific links between parent spirits in one province and individuals and families of different ethnic groups throughout a broader region.
Although of variable duration, these links tend to be more regular and persistent than isolated spirit contracts.

The ties between a parent spirit and its individual, family, and diviner satellite shrines tend to be less formalized than those of kasarā, because they require no specially-appointed priests. Nevertheless, owners of these other satellite shrines are responsible for maintaining and "feeding" the shrine with regular libations of wine and blood and may return to the parent shrine when the horn has disappeared or after it has granted an important contract.

Like kasarā horns, when an individual, family, and diviner satellite horn disappears, communication with the parent spirit must be renewed. The following letter from an Afro-Portuguese Christian client living in Bissau to the shrine priest of Mama Djombo in Caboi reveals the multiple functions of satellite shrines and a client’s response to a horn’s disappearance:

This is a letter from N.... I have not been to Caboiana [Caboi] in two years. Many of the requests I asked of Mama Djombo in my contract have been realized, but others have not yet happened. My husband left work and is unemployed, but I am working and successful at my job. The family satellite horn that I got from Mama Djombo is lost. It disappeared two months ago. I do not know if it returned there [to Caboi] or if an insect took it. I am sending this message to inform you so that you can pour libations on the ground and ask that all go well in my work, that my children succeed in school, that my son get a scholarship, that my daughter’s new boyfriend like her a lot and give her lots of money (she has an individual satellite horn around her waist), that everything goes well for my family and in my home, that my eldest son who is in Portugal have good thoughts of his
mother, that all these things be realized. I also want my husband’s problem to be resolved so that all his endeavors are successful and he finds employment.

I want to go [to Caboi], but I do not have the means [lit. "there is no path"]. I do not know why. Please help open the way for me to return and succeed in achieving all these things.

I am sending one litre of cane alcohol to tell Mama Djombo how the horn was lost. I would like the family satellite shrine that disappeared to return to guard the house. If it is there [in Caboi], please give it to her [the messenger] and she will bring it to me. If there is some other problem, tell my friend so she can tell me (Letter, 1986).

The priest in Caboi replied that the satellite horn had returned to Mama Djombo, as a sign that she should pay her contract as soon as possible. The horn had since left to go to the high god and a new family satellite shrines would be given to the client once she returned to Caboi to pay the parent spirit. The letter shows that acquiring a satellite shrine is often part of a general contract for protection and success that involves many smaller wishes and many other individuals. It also shows that several satellite shrines may exist in one family: one to guard the entire household and smaller ones to protect individuals within it.

CONCLUSION

Satellite shrines are extensions of a parent spirit’s influence in areas outside of its normal jurisdiction. Clients and congregations who request them are in effect requesting to become honorary members of the spirit province and to acquire a franchise to establish the parent spirit in
their own territory. Although the individuals, families, and congregations who acquire satellite shrines are thought to be subordinate to the parent shrine, they receive privileged access to many of the parent spirit’s benefits. The various types of satellite shrines allow different ranges of clientele, regardless of their location, to tap into the powers of important parent spirits. The capacity to generate satellite shrines may be crucial to the transformation of a local initiation spirit cult into a regional or even international spirit cult.

Satellite shrines introduce an element of flexibility in the territorial organization of spiritism. Although spiritism is mostly a decentralized religion and there are few overarching hierarchies between the public shrines of different spirit provinces, satellite shrines create networks that link the individuals, families, and congregations of different spirit provinces together and to parent spirit shrines in other spirit provinces. Through this institution, province initiation spirits and particularly spirits associated with the high god (e.g. Mama Djombo and Boté) transcend the normal restricted territories to which their shrines are bound and are consulted regularly by a broader clientele located in other provinces. This regional organization contributes to the renown of parent spirits among peoples resident in other distant areas.
The range of clients of each type of satellite shrine is inversely related to the variety of ethnic groups to which it appeals. Satellite shrines serving smaller ranges of clients tend to have a broader geographical distribution than those serving entire congregations. For example, over a third of the family satellite shrines taken from Caboi appear to be established in Senegal and Gambia, while less than one-sixth of the Caboi kasarà satellite shrines serve congregations outside of Guinea-Bissau.

Satellite networks are one of the ways in which spirits of the Cacheu Region extend their influence to other provinces and regions. The common ways in which these shrines are established, maintained, and function suggests that members of a social field broader than the Cacheu Region itself, share a common mode of thought. Satellite shrines bind congregations and individuals to spiritist institutions of the Cacheu Region.

The existence of satellite networks shows that even in traditional African religions, the impact of religious beliefs and institutions is not limited to the society in which those institutions are found. Satellite networks demonstrate that the boundaries of religious belief and ritual action do not always coincide with those of geographically-based socio-political groups. Rather, these two phenomena often combine in diverse and interesting ways along shared categories of thought. Because of this shared
mode of thought, a large number of the inhabitants of one
spirit province may focus their ritual activities around
shrines in another province or region, just a single shrine
may attract pilgrims from many other areas and ethnic
groups, so extending its influence regionally and interna-
tionally. Studies of African religion must consider
categories that are wider than particular societies (in this
case provinces) in order to assess the real impact of
religion and thought on that society and the region more
generally.
ENDNOTES

1. The satellite area for Mama Djombo comprises some 40 congregations concentrated in the sectors of Cacheu, Canchungo, Sao Domingos, Bigene and the Department of Ziguinchor, with smaller ones in the sector of Bula and Dakar, Senegal. The points in the Caboi kasarâ zone in Map 10 represent the following sectors and villages:

Kasarâ horn and litter
Costa de Baixo (Canobe, Bukugut, Pupal, Utia Kor, P@ntén Ukuinhe, Tcholam, Badjob, Cajinjassa, Bukul, Katchohîr, Batukuhr, Petabe, Binitch), Cacheu (B@kanal, Uronguhl, Bitchiben, B@reyapinde, Tchantém, Balombo, Bassereil)
Casamance (Suguta), Dakar (Grayoff)

Kasarâ horn alone:
Cacheu (Bachil, Caguep), Bula (Co), Bigene (Gendem, Mangomuca, Akintcha), Sao Domingos (Kennângâne, Bugompâr, Mbayan, Ponta de Loza Poilao de Leao, Campada, Atank), Casamance (Utata, G@sândjil), Dakar.

2. Baboi claim that Balanta never request kasarâ satellite shrines from Caboi, preferring individual and family satellite shrines or isolated pilgrimages to resolve their problems.

3. Between May 1987 and April 1988, about 36 pilgrimages involving some 937 people were made to Mama Djombo by representatives of satellite congregations to resolve related to kasarâ.

4. It is thought that Caboi kasarâ horns frequently disappear when they are unable to perform their function of protecting the congregation because of the presence of witches who are trying to destroy it. Paradoxically, Baboi believe that it is often witches themselves who offer to go on the initial pilgrimage to the parent shrine because, if they were to refuse, everyone would know immediately that they were witches. Outwardly witches are said to act as if they are happy at the prospects of a local kasarâ shrine, but at the same time plot to bring insects, illness, and other evils to the congregation.

When a kasarâ horn disappears, all of the original representatives of the congregation journey to Caboi. There, a Baboi specialist interprets the strange sounds from Mama Djombo and explains to the representatives that if they want Mama Djombo to fight the witches, they must request this specifically, by making a vengeance contract (mándji, Kr.; bayóba, Gu.; pefûk, Mjc.) to kill these evil doers.
Within two or three days after such a vow, a witch in the congregation is said to die, and in two more days another, and so on until all are killed. The deaths occur mysteriously, often after simple headaches and the causes are verified by the soul oracle.

5. There is some evidence that individual satellite horns may protect their owners at the expense of others. This was reputedly the case when a 20 year old woman died of tetanus in Bissau in 1986. On her deathbed, she confessed to her sister that she had had a clandestine abortion, performed by the wife of an employee of the Ministry of Health. The woman had been afraid to tell anyone or go to the doctor for an examination, because the person who had performed the operation (and had killed some half a dozen women in the same way before her), waved a spirit horn in her face and threatened that the spirit from that horn would kill her if she told any one.

6. In many areas (e.g. Costa de Baixo) Mama Djombo is the first spirit that diviners summon showing its relative importance.
CHAPTER VIII
REGIONAL CULTS AND THEIR IMPACT ON SPIRIT PROVINCES

INTRODUCTION

The province initiation shrines of the Cacheu Region perform a dual role. Within the province, they serve as exclusive spirit shrines that define ethnic identity and provide a common ritual focus that cross-cuts ascribed divisions. To outsiders, the shrines serve as inclusive, far-reaching pilgrimage centers for ritual problem-solving. The common ritual activity in which all these pilgrims participate shows that there is a shared understanding of spirit shrines and spirit contracts that transcends the spirit province and the Cacheu Region, and even national and international boundaries. These pilgrims whether they visit the shrine for brief or extended periods have a considerable impact on the social organization and economy of the spirit province.

In this chapter, I describe the composition and origin of a shrine’s entire clientele and demonstrate the impact that these large numbers of pilgrims have on the spirit province itself. I also attempt to identify the theories, beliefs, and institutions that underlay common ritual action. To do this, the chapter focuses on shrines in two spirit provinces as case studies. The first is the healing shrine of Daméri Békassa of Caiómête which is an example of a single, specialized spirit shrine that attracts a cross-
section of mostly local clients seeking cures for physical ailments. The shrine of Başkäsı belongs to a larger network of similar healing shrines and specialists in the spirit province and the inhabitants of the province have adapted to host the patients that these shrines attract. The second case study is of the Mama Djombo initiation shrines of Caboi, one of the most important shrine clusters in all of Guinea-Bissau. These shrines are multi-functional and draw clients from several different nations and over two dozen ethnic groups. The large number of pilgrims have a significant impact on the province’s economy and social structure and demonstrate the national and international importance of the Cacheu Region as a reserve for spiritual resources.

**A Methodology for the Study of Regional Cults**

**The Spirit Region**

This chapter examines the ritual fields that emerge around spirit shrines and shrine clusters when clients engage in spirit contracts. For any shrine or set of shrines, the term spirit region, in this thesis, designates the largest ritual field including all clients who undergo a pilgrimage to make or pay a contract. The spirit region, then, contains the shrines' entire public. All of the clients in each spirit region share a belief in the potential power of that spirit and a common understanding of the
conditions of a spirit contract. This thread links all peoples of the spirit region into a common mode of thought and understanding of the process of misfortune.

Critique of Werbner's Concept of "Spirit Region"

This definition of the spirit region contains several important differences from that of Werbner employed in his seminal work on Regional Cults (1977). Werbner distinguishes between two types of "cult traffic:" a spirit region composed of congregations and representing the widest communal traffic in the cult" (Werbner, 1977: xvii), and its vicinity containing supplicants. According to him, the spirit region or cult region "is a set of many separated pieces -- the locally defined congregations" which make up a shrine's constituency and each of which has its own central staff, oracle, adepts, and communal shrine (1977: 180). In contrast, the spirit vicinity is

"the area from which supplicants come to consult a regional oracle as individuals rather than on behalf of congregations... Every region has a wider vicinity around it, beyond its congregations, from which it receives individual supplicants" (Werbner, 1977: 180).

My definition of the spirit region is broader than Werbner's and encompasses both the congregations of his restricted "spirit region" and individual supplicants of what he calls the "spirit vicinity". The reasons for this modification of terminology are threefold.
First, Werbner's focus on congregations reflects a bias towards the more structured and organized forms of religious organization. This preference may be due to the methodological difficulties inherent in analyzing loose organizational processes that unite diverse constituencies during occasional, sporadic consultations. However, the narrow bias ignores the crucial role that supplicants not affiliated with congregations play in sustaining the cult and even in defining the structure of the spirit province around which the congregations are centered. Werbner himself recognizes that funds from individual supplicants contribute to the priest's accumulation of wealth and are necessary to sustain congregational traffic (Werbner, 1977: 202). He also recognizes the importance of supplicants for providing personnel and contacts that lead to the establishment of new congregations, and vice versa (Werbner, 1977: 202). By relegating supplicants to a secondary position, the spirit vicinity is not really part of the spirit region, as Werbner has defined it, and the precise relationship between the spirit region and its vicinity is obscured. The vicinity is presented as being of a relatively wider and more ad hoc and indeterminate nature, but its precise configuration and the impact of suppliant traffic on the cult and spirit province is left unexplored.

Secondly, one of the bases of Werbner's distinction between spirit region and vicinity does not apply for
shrines of the Cacheu Region. Werbner argues that spirit vicinities overlap selectively since supplicants of one spirit may consult others in different regions (1977: 180). However according to him, spirit regions compete for congregations, implying that a congregation holds only a single affiliation at any given time (Werbner, 1977: 183). Although Werbner does not make it clear if this is the case for all congregations, congregations of the Cacheu Region appear to work quite differently. As the preceding chapter on satellite shrines has shown, in the Cacheu Region a single congregation may affiliate with several different spirits simultaneously and maintain distinct local shrines and custodians dedicated to each.

Finally, by defining the spirit region in a restricted manner, Werbner’s concept of the spirit vicinity becomes contradictory. On the one hand, just outside the region is a vicinity of supplicants with traffic directed through regular channels which represents the region’s potential and the limits for its variation (Werbner, 1977: 202-204). On the other, “at the outer limit beyond any region” are also the cult’s "borderlands", the enduring barriers to cult expansion (Werbner, 1977: 180). Thus according to his analysis, the spirit vicinity simultaneously constitutes the cult’s potential and its barrier to expansion. This ambiguity is also indicated in his statement that the spirit region contains impermanent "enclaves" of territorial
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communities which do not themselves join any region (Werbner, 1977: 180), since it is probably within these impermanent enclaves that many of the supplicants of the same spirit shrine are drawn. To clarify these ambiguities, the spirit region must be redefined to include all variations in its traffic, supplicants and congregations alike.

From these three criticisms of Werbner's concept of the "spirit region," it becomes clear that Werbner focuses primarily on the qualitative differences between the two types of cult traffic, paying less attention to other variations among clients. In the Cacheu Region, the important substantive difference between congregations and supplicants distinguishes only two (i.e. satellite congregations and others) of the many types of clients that make up a cult's public. Evidence from the Cacheu Region shows that studies of regional cults must also include quantitative data on the supplicants of a spirit. By considering differences in the numerical frequency of supplicants to a shrine, it becomes clear that there is not one, but several different types of supplicants, and that the areas from which they are drawn overlap and intermingle with sub-regions of congregations. The spirit region, then, must comprise the entire area from which supplicants to a shrine are drawn in gradually varying frequencies. Formal congregations constitute just one type within this total range of clients of a spirit.
Identification of Zones within Spirit Regions

For analytical purposes, in the Cacheu Region each spirit region is defined as the broadest ritual field surrounding a shrine or shrine cluster and may be further broken down into several zones. The zones are distinguished by the frequency with which clients from a geographic area undertake pilgrimages to the shrine and by the nature of these ritual contacts.

Spirit Province. In the Cacheu Region, the most restricted zone within the spirit region of any major set of spirits has been labelled the spirit province (see Chapter IV). Clients who belong to the province tend to have the most regular, intensive, and multi-faceted relations with its province initiation shrines. Members of the spirit province constitute the spirits' most regular congregation and derive their very ethnic identity from the ritual ties established with the spirits through male province-wide initiation. The spirit province is, thus, a "moral community" in the Durkheimian sense (Durkheim in Lessa and Vogt, 1979: 29) since its members share a more or less unified system of beliefs and practices relative to the central initiation spirits of the province and since the functioning of these shrines is inextricably intertwined with the province's social and political order.
Satellite Zone. A second zone surrounds the provinces of initiation spirits that produce satellite shrines. I refer to this as a satellite zone consisting of pockets of individuals, families, and congregations who have acquired satellite shrines from the central spirit. Clients from satellite zones tend to maintain regular and enduring ties with the spirit, but are located outside of the spirit province. A satellite zone, then, is distinguished by the intense and regular nature of relations that its inhabitants maintain with the spirit by acquiring an official franchise to establish a satellite shrine and priest in their own spirit provinces, as Chapter VII and Map 10 have shown.

Core, Intermediate, and Peripheral Zone. Several other zones that are larger than the spirit province and satellite zones may also be distinguished within the spirit region. These are the core, intermediate, and peripheral zones which are principally distinguished by degrees of statistical variations in the numbers of supplicants in the spirit region who make contracts with the spirit. The number and limits of these zones are different for each shrine because of the diversity in origins and number of the clients they attract and differences in the populations of their places of origin. For example, the spirit region of each of the most renowned province initiation shrines of the Cacheu Region may contain a spirit province, core, intermediate, and peripheral zone with distinct configurations, while
smaller, more local cults may have a region divided only into a spirit province and a peripheral zone. Thus the distinctions between core, intermediate, and peripheral zones of a spirit region tend to be in the degree and intensity of relations between clients and the spirit and not in the kind of relations.

Given the institutional ties between the spirit and clients from the spirit province and satellite zones, these zones appear to be fairly stable over time. As the zones become more peripheral and pilgrimages are made less frequently, the configuration of zones become increasingly unstable. Thus, the supplicants who visit a Cacheu spirit shrine from its peripheral zone vary from season to season and year to year. As in other regional cults (see Werbner, 1977: 180), the peripheral zone also contains impermanent pockets or "enclaves" which do not provide supplicants to the shrine.

Thus the zones of each spirit region form a continuum: at one end, clients consult the shrine regularly as individuals and congregations for diverse objectives and at the other, the shrine is mostly consulted sporadically by individuals to achieve specific goals. In the first end of the continuum, the spirit is central to the cosmologies of its clients and at the other end, the spirit is more or less peripheral to local cosmologies.
Advantages of Proposed Methodology. The analysis advanced here has several advantages. By applying a consistent definition of the region, it allows us to recognize both qualitative and quantitative differences within a cult region, and to assess a spirit's relative influence in different areas, with or without the presence of congregations. Since the high frequency of supplicants from an area is one factor which can indicate the potential spread of congregations, the varying frequency of supplicants from different zones helps to illuminate the directions of this spread, and to explain other dynamics of the expansion and decline of cults.

This approach also allows us to understand what is shared among supplicants, congregations, and potential congregations. In essence, the supplicants of a spirit region share a common element in their cosmology: the recognition of a given spirit's ability to influence the social and natural order. However the position of this element in the various cosmologies of supplicants differs depending on geographical and ethnic proximity, religious background, and personal experience. It is only when considering the spirit region in its largest sense that the various alternatives available to supplicants and the relative position of the spirit among these can be accurately assessed. This broader scope of analysis divulges the full range of resources available to clients and reveals the
mechanisms of change and innovation which are often found within the supplicant region, rather than outside of it (see Chapter IX).

This approach also reveals socio-cultural differences among congregations and the nature of the spirit provinces in which regional shrines arise. Inadequate attention has been given to the way in which a single cult functions differently for different types of congregations. Colson argues that

No cult which primarily functions to serve the particular interests of a territorial community on a regular basis can serve a general public unless it radically alters its practice and its constituency: a cult serving a wider constituency on an ad hoc non-exclusive basis may well serve the special purposes of local communities. The two can coexist and reinforce each other (1977: 119).

For Colson, this coexistence takes the form of separate local and prophetic cults.

In the Cacheu Region, however, the spirit province immediately surrounding a central or "parent" shrine is often itself a congregation of that shrine and has a special relationship with it which is markedly different from that of outside congregations. Not only do different cults coexist and reinforce each other, but a single shrine or shrine cluster can simultaneously serve as an exclusive local cult for its immediate spirit province, a selective interlocal cult for some of its satellite congregations, and a universalistic regional cult for other congregations. The supplicants to these shrines also come from all three
ranges. To understand the expansion and contraction of a cult region, variations in clientele (defined in relation to place and ethnicity of origin, reason and numerical frequency of visit, and nature of relations with the spirit shrines) must be linked to the alternative institutions available to them. In this way, the "waxing and waning" of spirit regions which occur in some contexts may more appropriately be viewed as a change in emphasis in the relations with various ranges and types of clients of a spirit shrine or cluster of shrines at different times.

CASE I: THE HEALING SHRINE OF DAMERI BOKASSA IN CAIOMETE

Introduction

In many parts of the Cacheu Region, healers are grouped together with diviners as problem-solvers who specialize in the diagnosis and treatment of the social, spiritual and natural causes of "disease". In local theory, "disease" encompasses "a broad category of afflictions of all sorts, or conditions perceived as such: diseases, misfortunes, failure of expectations, and startling experiences" (MacGaffey, 1983: 148). Some healers depend on a spirit's assistance to treat illness, while others perform these functions purely on the basis of their knowledge of medicinal plants and chiropractic techniques. While hospitals focus on the diagnosis and treatment of natural causes of illness, within Guinea-Bissau there exists a vast range of
alternative forms of treatment for people exhibiting physical and psychological maladies regardless of their causes.

Like spirit contracts, the pursuit of therapy often involves an exchange between a client and a healing shrine or the specialist that represents it. Unlike the calendrical meetings of congregations, supplicants usually seek therapy situationally and sporadically to resolve specific problems. Relations between healers and the healed tend to endure only when healing involves membership in cults of affliction (Turner, 1968). Nevertheless, the supplicants of healing shrines form spirit regions and have a distinct impact on the provinces in which these shrines are found.

The Healing Process in Caiô

The Healing Shrines of Caiô

The most prominent healer of Caiô and one of the most renowned of the Cacheu Region is Joao Bico Daméri Bôkássa (henceforth Bôkássa). The shrine which he established (Photograph 9) when he began to practice healing in 1945 forms part of a much larger complex of similar shrines and "disease" specialists (bapêne, Mjc.) found throughout the spirit province of Caiô. These specialists, basically healers and diviners, form a single ritual society which encompasses some 60 males distributed throughout the province (see Appendix X, Table 2).
The bapéne society is divided into two major branches, Batau and Caiómete, which correspond to the two lodges of the secret society of the province of Caió (see Chapter IV). Each of these branches has its own set of officers selected by seniority or appointment. These officers, in order of descending rank, schedule and preside over rituals (nání bapéne, Mjc. "chief of diviner society"), distribute ritual food (namún, Mjc.), cook medicines (nadján bukó, Mjc.), and provide general assistance and execute orders (nadján, Mjc). The two branches often meet together, attend each others' initiation rites, and coordinate their respective ritual schedules.

Each branch of the bapéne society is composed of about half-a-dozen sub-divisions distinguished by the different spirits they are believed to serve and techniques they employ. Bapéne who specialize in the treatment of pains, for instance, are called pubúl ("roots"), in the care of bones, b@kassa ("gazelle horns"), and in divination through hand mediumship, kandjín kamóbo, (Mjc.). Each sub-division has a head who guides neophytes through initiation into the society. Membership in each sub-divisions is determined by inheritance and a calling to the bapéne society by way of a possession-illness.
The Appointment of B@kássa as a Napéne

The bapéne society of Caió is a cult of affliction because its members become healers of "disease" by being healed themselves. When one napéne dies the spirit that he served is said to send a possession-illness to one of his descendants as a means of identifying the successor. Other bapéne and oracles diagnose the cause of the illness as a calling to serve that spirit. The illness is reportedly cured by the symbolic death and rebirth involved in initiation rites (Photograph 4) and by the construction of a shrine dedicated to the spirit which they serve.

B@kássa, for example, suspected that he might become a bapéne from an early age, because he was born into a lineage in which many males before him had served as b@kassa specialists in the bapéne society. His grandfather and great-grandfather had been b@kassa and even his father, who was never initiated into the bapéne society, acquired the name "take the spirit, talk to it" (nandj@'kussai kadjí pandúl, Mjc., meaning "if you don't talk with the spirit, it will kill you") because he received a calling that he resisted. In the 1930's, after he had married, B@kássa fell from a palm tree three times, each time badly injuring his back. Bapéne interpreted the accidents and injuries as a possession-illness sent from Ussai B@kássa summoning him to work in its service as one of its intermediaries. B@kássa had been called to succeed to his grandfather's position,
but was forced to learn about medicinal plants and tech-
niques from other healers and members of the b@kassa sub-
division since he received the calling long after his
grandfather's and father's deaths. In like fashion, one of
B@kássa's grandchildren or grandnephews will probably be
summoned to the commission after his death and learn the
skills of the trade from his apprentices.  
3

The Healing Functions of B@kássa's Shrine

As other members of the b@kassa sub-division of bapéne,
B@kássa and his shrine specializes in the treatment of
"afflictions of the bones" which includes fractures,
sprains, bruises, internal hemorrhaging, and paralysis.
Before accepting a client for treatment, B@kássa must
identify the cosmological nature of the affliction. This is
done by examining the gonads of a rooster that the client
brings to B@kássa's spirit shrine on the first consultation.
White gonads in the oracle are thought to indicate a
treatable "simple" illness and the spirit's acceptance of
the client as a patient. Black or partially darkened gonads
are believed to indicate the spirit's refusal to treat the
illness and to identify a "complex" cause for the afflic-
tion, usually relating to a cosmological state of danger.
In such cases, the client is considered untreatable until
these socio-spiritual causes of the illness are identified

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and addressed and the oracle reveals white gonads on a second consultation.

When the spirit accepts a client, B@kássa cannot refuse treatment on penalty of death, although he receives no payment for his services. The therapy involves a combination of topical and oral medicinal remedies, bone setting, massage, hot steam, and rest (see Crowley and Ribeiro, 1987a and 1987b). In addition, B@kássa makes regular libations and supplications to the shrine of his healing spirit and periodically makes pilgrimages and libations to the central initiation shrines of the province to plead for their help on his patients' behalf.

Treatment is terminated when the patient considers him or herself to be healed or when alternative therapy elsewhere appears more promising. Before leaving the healing shrine, a client must accompany B@kássa to offer libations and announce the decision to the province initiation spirit, Ussai Bakássa. The arrival and departure of all patients in the spirit province are marked in this way.

The Ritual of Kafák

Following successful therapy, clients are required to return to the healing shrine of B@kássa to offer libations and oblations during an annual harvest and thanksgiving ritual sequence known as kafák. As in other spirit contracts, clients who fail to return for kafák are believed to

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risk a relapse or a new affliction sent by the spirit to
remind them of the obligation. However these rituals are
not exclusive to Békássa's healing shrine, but rather
performed by the entire bapéne society of Caió and all of
their clients.

Kafák occurs in mid-November or early December and marks
the commencement of the paddy rice harvest. In the ritual,
bapéne appeal to the spirits of Caió to resolve the personal
problems of and grant good health and protection to clients,
their families, and members of the spirit province of Caió.
Bapéne also ask for a bountiful harvest, abundant rains, and
protection against witches and plagues of insects.

The rituals occur in three parts which are separated by
six-day intervals. The three phases are scheduled and
hosted respectively by the nali bapéne of the Batau and
Caiómete branches of the bapéne society and by the nali
bëtchëk of the blacksmith association. On the first day of
each of the two bapéne kafák, clients of bapéne who are
satisfied with the spirits' healing powers return in person
or send a family member to offer oblations of cooked rice
and palm oil and libations of palm wine to the healing
spirit shrines (puból, Mjc.) of each napéne they consulted
that year. With the offerings, each napéne of the province
in his puból recounts the misfortunes that have afflicted
his clients over the year and requests solutions for the
afflicted and continued well-being for the healed. These
requests are repeated as each successive client arrives with offerings.

Although the first day of the first two phases of kafák unites healers and healed in a common ritual performance, the second day includes only the initiates of the bapéne societies. In like fashion, the third phase of kafák, hosted by the chief blacksmith, unites only members of the blacksmith's association and their families. On this second and final day of each phase, members of the bapéne society and blacksmiths association renew their vows of membership and thank the spirits. Indeed, kafák is the most important occasion on which members of these organizations assemble to take stock of the problems that affect human relations to the supernatural and to nature. In this way, the responsibility of annual renewal and thanksgiving is shared among the various ritual societies of the spirit province.

A Two-Tiered Cult of Affliction

Through joint participation in therapy at the healing shrines of Caió, clients and bapéne become part of a two-tiered cult of affliction. The ritual of kafák periodically redefines membership in this cult and renews the spiritual protection granted to its members. One tier of the cult of affliction consists of the exclusive bapéne society in which membership is determined by specific spirit-induced illnesses that afflict only specific families in the spirit
province of Caió and qualify the afflicted as healers. The second day of each phase of the kafête ritual celebrates the unity of this specialist sub-section of the cult as they share some of the wine brought by their clients. Initiation rites into the bapéne society which grant exclusive access to the bapéne forest further set the bapéne society apart from the other tier of the cult.

The second tier of the cult of affliction consists of all the clients who have been successfully healed by bapéne techniques. Patients who are satisfied with Békássa's treatment make considerable effort to return once a year for kafête to thank-Ussai Békássa for its assistance. Mandatory participation in this single annual ritual, the comparable therapy which they undergo, and a common recognition of the effectiveness of Caió spirits in healing unite members of this second, inclusive lay section of the cult.

This two-tiered structure of the Caió cult of affliction resembles the organization of other spirit cults in the Cacheu Region. Typically they play a dual role in defining an exclusive set of ritual specialists associated with a spirit province and in encompassing an inclusive set of lay-suppliants who seek the spirits' assistance. Only the annual thanksgiving ritual of kafête which involves both these tiers of the cult of affliction can assure social, natural, and cosmological renewal within the spirit province.
The Spirit Region of Bëkássa’s Healing Shrine

The configuration of the spirit region of Bëkássa’s shrine and the characteristics of its clients suggest the significant impact that healing shrines such as these have on other areas and ethnic groups. An analysis of the types of afflictions that lead clients to seek this type of therapy also provides a portrait of the demographics of disease and injury and insights into the relationship between the healing shrines of Caió and alternative therapeutic institutions.

Origins of Clients

The healing shrine of Bëkássa in Caiómete ministers principally to a local clientele, although the peripheral zone of the spirit region includes the countries of Guinea-Bissau (96%), Senegal (3%), and France (1%). Based on a sample of 110 clients collected between September 1986 and September 1987, Graph 1 shows that two-thirds of Bëkássa’s patients come from the spirit province of Caió and about one-third of these from the village of Caiómete itself. Of the remaining third, only 4% come from outside of Guinea-Bissau. Because it is principally a local cult, the shrine appeals more to rural (81%) than urban dwellers (19%).

Almost all of the clients are Manjaco, who like Bëkássa speak Manjaco and derive their ethnic identities from
GRAPH 1: PLACES OF ORIGIN OF CLIENTS AT B@KASSA'S HEALING SHRINE
(Percent from Cumulative Areas)

Place of Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Origin</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
<th>Urban Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calomete</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Calo Spirit Province</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calo (sector)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cacheu Region</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea-Bissau</td>
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<tr>
<td>West Africa</td>
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</table>

Percent of Total Clients

(sample size = 110)
provinces in the Cacheu Region. High rates of emigration within this ethnic group, help explain the geographical distribution of clients in the spirit region since most of the pilgrims from other regions and countries were Manjaco. Only 8% of B@kässa’s patients are Mankanya, Papel, Baboi, and Creole or mestico. The shrine attracts patients of all ages equally, but about twice as many males as females seek treatment.

The Afflictions of B@kässa’s Clients

Physical Explanations of Afflictions

The physical explanations for afflictions show that the numbers of clients from different age and gender categories reflect the risks that these people run in suffering from an affliction in which B@kässa specializes. An examination of the physical explanations for illness, summarized in Graph 2, reveal the types of social activities that most frequently result in injury.⁶

Falls. Among B@kässa’s clients, the most common explanation (44%) given for injuries were falls. Children were injured in falls from fruit trees, dikes in rice fields, cows (which they ride for fun), and bicycles. Adult female clients, exclusively first wives (namåka, Mjc.) responsible for distributing food among co-wives, often fell from granaries in the roof where rice is stored.
GRAPH 2: CAUSES OF PATIENT'S DISORDERS AT B@KASSA'S HEALING SHRINE
(Physical Causes of Injury and Illness)

Physical Causes of Disorders

- Injection
- Accident
- Fight/Wrestling
- Illness
- Fall

Percent of Total Patients

- General
- Fall from Palm Tree

(sample size = 110)
However, adult males between the ages of 16 and 45 were by far the most common victims of this type of mishap because of the occupational hazards of rural life. Almost one-quarter of all of Bôkôssa’s patients were adult males who had fractured, broken, sprained, or bruised their bones and internal organs in falls from palm trees while drilling for palm wine or harvesting palm fruit.

Maladies. A general category of “illness” was the second most common explanation given by patients for their infirmities. The one-third of the clients who cited this as the cause usually described physical ailments which developed from no single observable event. Illnesses included fevers and pains which resulted in paralysis (poliomyelitis), curvature of the spine (spinal tuberculosis and severe spinal deformation), pain (arthritis), swelling, abscesses, and degenerative diseases which caused tremors (Parkinson’s syndrome). Among Bôkôssa’s clients, “illness” affected people of all ages and genders, although it seemed to be slightly more common among children under four years of age.

Fights. Brawls and wrestling resulted in injuries in over one-tenth of the patients who sought treatment at the healing shrine. Wrestling is a fairly common event in the spirit province since it is organized as an age grade activity involving male and female youth between the ages of five and twenty years old. Not surprisingly then, all of the clients who were injured in this way were Manjaco
children between the ages of six and fifteen. Boys of this
group appeared to be at highest risk, making up almost
three-fourths of the sample.

Accidents. Accidents, including car crashes (3%) and
work-related accidents such as sailing and hunting (3%) were
a fourth reason given for injuries. Among B@kássa’s
clients, accidents of this sort afflicted only adult urban
dwellers. Not surprisingly, all of these patients sought
therapy in hospitals before going to Caiómme for treatment.

Injections. Poorly-administered injections accounted
for the afflictions of 4% of B@kássa’s clients, three-
fourths of whom were under four years of age. All of these
patients had received injections in hospitals in Canchungo
and France that had resulted in paralysis and atrophy,
usually by damaging the sciatic nerve. Ironically, the
initial reasons for receiving the injection have long been
forgotten and the injection alone is cited as the cause of
the injury.

B@kássa’s Ability to Treat Afflictions

B@kássa’s ability to heal his clients varies greatly
depending on the injuries and illnesses involved. The
healer was least successful in curing patients with paralysis (e.g. caused by illness, injections, or broken spines),
deformities, and tuberculosis of the spine (also perceived
as a deformity), although almost half of the patients with
these afflictions considered that the treatment had brought about some improvement. However, Bëkássa was much more competent in treating fractures and sprains: over 80% of patients with these affliction were completely healed after one year of treatment and only 5% detected no improvement in their conditions.

The length of treatment varies according to the severity of affliction. As with most medical treatment, Bëkássa's therapy shows diminishing returns over time. About half of all patients were healed within three months of treatment, but less than three-fourths had been healed at the end of three years. The longer a patient remained at the healing shrine for treatment, the less likelihood of a cure, possibly because many of these afflictions were incurable (e.g. paralysis, degenerative disease). Patients were free to terminate treatment either when they felt well enough to resume normal activities or when there had been no improvement over an extended period of time and other alternatives appeared more promising.

**Clients' Consultation of Alternative Healing Institutions**

The distribution of geographical origins of clients (Graph 1) reflects the fact that unlike other motives for pilgrimage, clients needing solutions for physical ailments usually seek diagnosis and treatment close to home. This is so not only because of the cost of transport to and main-
tenance in a distant community, but also because relocation is onerous to clients in physically-weakened states.

Depending on availability, alternative institutions that are frequently consulted in cases of illness include diviners to identify cosmological causes, local healers who employ pharmacotherapy or preventive and curative magical "medicines," and state hospitals and clinics that treat the natural causes of ailments using acupuncture and scientific techniques. Most often the quest for therapy involves some combination of these (Janzen, 1978). It is usually only when faced with a persistent illness, or when other alternatives are exhausted, that the physically-afflicted seek help outside of their immediate vicinity.

This tendency was borne out in an examination of the alternative institutions consulted by Békássa's patients. Most of the patients from Caió automatically consult Békássa when they were injured or fell ill because it was the most familiar and easily accessible healing institution. In addition to their physical explanations for the affliction, these clients also identified underlying social and spiritual reasons which were believed to play an equally important role in their progress towards health. In the mode of thought, the obvious solution for a fractured appendage is to receive treatment until it is healed, since nothing can be done to reverse the event of having fallen from a palm tree. But even with the best healers, the treatment of the
physical ailment alone is thought to be ineffective if it does not consider the social or spiritual causes. Only when these other influences have been identified and controlled can Bôkâssa's therapy be effective.

In addition to the clients who automatically sought treatment from Bôkâssa and consulted other local diviners, two-fifths of all patients sought other remedies either before, during, or after their treatment at the healing shrine. One-fifth of the patients were advised to go to Bôkâssa's shrine by doctors (4%) or other patients (16%) while interned at national hospitals. Some of these clients who consulted hospitals were told that they were not sick (4%) or that their illnesses were incurable (18%). Only one-fifth of the patients who went to hospitals, pharmacies, or local government-run health posts felt that their afflictions had improved after these treatments. Others went to hospitals to verify that they were in good condition following treatment at Bôkâssa's healing shrine.

In short, the afflicted employed a variety of therapeutic strategies to cure their illnesses. Availability and accessibility of a healing institution in addition to belief in its potential effectiveness were the main criteria for choice. The sick sought alternative treatments when other institutions and specialists were unable or unwilling to treat them. By undergoing his spirit-guided therapy and promising to return for kafák, Bôkâssa's patients, regard-
less of origin, make a type of spirit contract that assures good health and protection within a normal cosmological state. Through this contract, patients even if from other ethnic groups and religions, accept the basis of spiritism.

**Impact of Clients on the Spirit Province of Caió**

Even though the cult around Bëkássa's healing shrine is principally a local one, the type of clients it attracts has a distinct impact on the structure of the spirit province. The most evident repercussions relate to the fact that the whole province, and particularly the village of Caiómete, must adapt to the presence of invalid, non-productive guests in their midst.

**Residence in a Therapeutic Community**

Depending on the severity of the affliction, client's of Bëkássa's healing shrine either live at the shrine, with a host family, or at their own homes in the spirit province during the duration of the treatment (see Graph 3). Because of the primarily local clientele, about one-fourth of all of the shrine's clients are based in their own homes during therapy. Ambulatory patients who are residents of the spirit province usually walk from their homes to Bëkássa's shrine to receive treatment, while Bëkássa makes "house-calls" to the homes of the more severely afflicted clients who cannot make this journey.
GRAPH 3: RESIDENCE OF PATIENTS DURING TREATMENT (CAIOMETE)

Residence of Patients During Treatment

- Friend
- Family
- Host
- Home
- Dameri B@kassa

Percent of Total
(sample size = 110)
Bëkâssa and his family host clients from outside of the spirit province and those living in the province's more distant villages. At any given time, the healer usually has 15 to 25 patients residing within his residential lineage compound who usually sleep on the veranda, in the kitchen, or in makeshift shelters in the backyard. Over half of the patients interviewed who had received treatment from Bëkâssa between 1982 and 1988 had resided at the healer's home. When Bëkâssa's compound is overcrowded patients may also request lodgings from strangers, relatives, and friends who live in Caiómete.

Since the ill are often incapable of cooking for and cleaning after themselves, many clients who live with Bëkâssa or other hosts bring along a companion or several companions for help. These are usually the mother, wife, or daughter of the patients, although some male patients bring all of their wives and children. The companion remains with the patient throughout therapy. Thus the number of people that the healing shrine and spirit province host is much greater than the individual patients who come for treatment.

**Maintenance of Patients**

All of the patients and companions who live at Bëkâssa's shrine or with host families are responsible for their own maintenance. They bring their own bedding, personal effects, and supplies of rice, and gather lemons, pepper,
wild sorrel (bagウィチche, Kr.), shellfish, and fruit as condiments. The clients also purchase fish, meat, and palm oil from residents when these are available in surplus. B@kássa selects and provides most of the herbal medicines, but patients are responsible for buying palm oil as a lubricant in their massages.

Without kin ties in the province and without the ability to work for salaries or to produce food for themselves, many of B@kássa’s clients are dependent upon charity once they have depleted their own small reserves. Although their kin from home send occasional supplies of rice and other staples, those who have no able-bodied companions to buy or collect condiments for food or repair the beds or shelters often suffer from cold and undernourishment. However, convalescing patients with initiative, skill, and time occasionally fabricate fish nets, carve wooden dolls, and collect discarded palm kernels for sale.

Even under these conditions, patients consider B@kássa’s home to be far more comfortable than the hospital. Living in the open air or in improvised shelters, patients have much more contact with their family, B@kássa’s family, and other visitors from the village. The possibility of preparing one’s own food makes even these poor meals superior to those provided in national hospitals. Above all, all of the materials and medicines that B@kássa requires are easily available. The treatment of a patient
begins immediately after the gonad oracle has indicated the spirit's acceptance. For this reason, patients frequently leave hospitals in Bissau and Canchungo for Bëkássa's shrine because of prolonged delays in treatment resulting from national shortages of essential supplies (e.g. casts, blood, antibiotics).

Patients who have been accepted for treatment at the healing shrine may remain indefinitely at Bëkássa's home. Invalids who are unable to resume their normal roles in the villages of origin may become permanent residents in the therapeutic community.

Payment

Aside from providing a small market for local produce and at times themselves producing artisanal crafts for sale, for the most part patients make little economic contribution to the host community. Adults and adolescents who have accompanied an ailing relative, work from time to time on Bëkássa's rice fields for a meal and as a gesture of appreciation. Bëkássa also benefits from consuming parts of his patient's annual offerings at kafák and by drinking a portion of the small quantities (1 l.) of palm wine that patients provide every few weeks as libations to province initiation spirit shrines requesting the rapid restoration of their health.
Bëkássa receives little other remuneration for his services or other material benefit from the presence of these guests, but cannot refuse patients that the spirit has accepted. Indeed, many bapéne claim that their popularity is disadvantageous since the occupation is time-consuming and often detracts from agricultural duties and other essential subsistence activities.

**CASE II: MAMA DJOMBO SPIRIT SHRINES OF CABOI**

**Introduction**

The province of Caboi, isolated from neighboring regions by swamps, rivers, and a dense forest, has fascinated ethnographers, linguists, and historians with its small and constant population size, uncommon language, peculiar social structure, and famous province initiation spirit. The spirit shrines of Mama Djombo (Photograph 10) have throughout history facilitated the incorporation of peoples of diverse origins into this small isolated chiefdom and exerted a disproportionate influence on surrounding areas by attracting large numbers of pilgrims.

Unlike Bëkássa's healing shrine in Caió, the Mama Djombo spirit is thought to be multi-functional as is evident in the following description:

It is an ancient tradition that the Spirit Djombo also known as Mama Caboi, "mother of Caboi" [sic.], of the Caboianas...can resolve the most grave family problems, and combat witchcraft, sterility in women and sexual impotence in men, annul the "ills" of pregnancy, prevent the birth of
deformed children or twins, protect newborns, etc. At certain times of the year, they organize true pilgrimages to these Spirits, in which Papel, Cassanga, Brame [Mankanya], Manjaco, Banyun, Balanta and native Christians, etc. take part (Carreira, 1964: 256-257).

These multiple functions of Mama Djombo and indeed the very history of the spirit province of Caboi help explain the shrines' extraordinary appeal to its diverse clients and the impact of this appeal on the distinctive organization of the province of Caboi.

The Spirit Region of Mama Djombo

The Mama Djombo spirit shrines of Caboi have an unusually broad range of clients and large spirit region, the study of which was facilitated by Caboi's isolation and small population, and the availability of resident assistants for the collection of data on pilgrims. A survey conducted at five of the six Mama Djombo shrines between May 1987 and April 1988 shows that, despite being the home of a tiny linguistic and ethnic group in Guinea-Bissau (1/12 of 1%), an average of 830 clients visit Mama Djombo per month, totalling almost 10,000 pilgrims annually. This survey provided the statistical data analyzed in this section. An examination of these data on the distribution and composition of Mama Djombo's clients provides insights into the function of the shrine cluster and its appeal to different populations.
The Limits of Mama Djombo's Spirit Region

The spirit region of Mama Djombo from May 1987 to April 1988, shown in Map 11, included pilgrims from the countries of Guinea-Bissau (79%), Senegal (18%), the Gambia (2%), and secondarily from Guinea (Conakry), Mali, Portugal, and France (combined 1%). In months not analyzed in this sample, pilgrims also came from the Congo and the Ivory Coast.

Zones within Mama Djombo's Spirit Region

The zones identified by different shading in Map 11 represent variations in Mama Djombo's influence within its spirit region. To determine these zones, data on numbers of pilgrims from different administrative areas were compared with 1979 population statistics to determine the relative concentration of pilgrims in each area and thus, differences in the degree of the spirit's influence.

Like the spirit region, the zones cross-cut international boundaries. The frequency of pilgrims from different zones range from as many as 50% per year in the spirit province of Caboi where Mama Djombo functions in a regular and multi-faceted manner, to as few as .0001% per year in the peripheral zone from which pilgrimages are made only sporadically for specific, instrumental purposes.
MAP 11: THE SPIRIT REGION OF MAMA DJOMBO, CABOI
The Spirit Province

The spirit province that lies at the core of the Mama Djombo spirit region has an area of about 70 km$^2$ in which at least half of all inhabitants request rituals at Mama Djombo annually$^{10}$. This figure (210 people) is probably much lower than the real number of Caboi residents who participate in rituals at Mama Djombo shrines because it does not take into account the daily involvement of ritual intermediaries, initiates, and other villagers in rituals requested by pilgrims from other areas.

Within the limits of the spirit province, Mama Djombo is thought to have automatic jurisdiction, providing protection to residents and regularly intervening in their affairs through the oracle and spirit mediums (see Chapter V), even when it has not been summoned. For the inhabitants of the spirit province, the Mama Djombo shrines are thought to fulfill a wide variety of functions, helping individuals to achieve personal aspirations, resolving disputes between lineages, punishing witches and other transgressors, and assisting villages to increase rainfall and rid their crops of insects.

Furthermore the residents of Caboi have a privileged position vis-à-vis Mama Djombo that distinguishes them as members of the spirit province in contrast to outsiders. Only Baboi are defined and organized around Mama Djombo by virtue of initiation rituals performed at its shrines that
are the basis of their ethnic identity as members of the spirit province. Calendrical rituals also unite members of the spirit province into regular gatherings further contributing to the common identity associated with this unique relationship to the spirit. Furthermore only initiated members of the priestly lineages of the spirit province of Caboi may become the libation pourers that summon the spirit for pilgrim consultations.

The spirit province of Mama Djombo, then, is defined by the high frequency of consultations with the spirit, ritual dependence on the spirit for a wide variety of functions, social and ethnic definition through initiation at the spirit shrine, residence within the area of the spirit’s jurisdiction, and the exclusive right to serve as Mama Djombo’s intermediary with visitors from other areas.

The Core, Intermediate, and Peripheral Zones

Core Zone. Just beyond the spirit province lies the core zone, an area of approximately 1,177 km², in which between one-sixth and one-third of all residents make pilgrimages to Mama Djombo annually. The core zone is composed of territories which coincide with the colonial administrative posts of Cacheu and Sao Domingos, and the chiefdoms of Ganjande and Sedengal. The spirit province and core zone combined supplied about one-third (32.9%) of all pilgrims who visited the shrine during 1987-88.

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Intermediate Zone. Immediately surrounding the core is an intermediate zone which provides 42% of Mama Djombo's pilgrims. Nonetheless, Mama Djombo is only of moderate importance in the zone for it attracts only between 1 and 5% of its inhabitants annually. This zone has a total area of approximately 3,550 km², and comprises the sector of Bolama of the Bolama Region, the Department of Ziguinchor in southern Senegal, and the remaining sections of the administrative Zone of Cacheu (Regiao de Cacheu) except for the districts of Bigene and Barro13.

The Peripheral Zone. The outer boundaries of the peripheral zone of Mama Djombo are coterminous with the limits of the spirit region. In the peripheral zone, annual pilgrims to Mama Djombo constitute less than 1% of the population. Nonetheless, one-quarter of all pilgrims who visit Mama Djombo annually come from this zone. In the sample studied, inhabitants of the peripheral zone span seven countries in two continents, including Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, the Gambia, Guinea (Conakry), Mali, Portugal and France. Shading on the map shows variations in pilgrimage frequency within this zone. Further data, currently being collected, should provide information on the impermanent "enclaves" which do not provide pilgrims to the shrine and on monthly fluctuations of the outer boundary of the spirit region has no clearly defined limits (Werbner, 1977: 180).
The Satellite Zone

A comparison of Maps 10 and 11 demonstrates that the congregations of the satellite area fall within the boundaries of the intermediate zone. This relationship suggests that Mama Djombo plays a regular, integral and multi-faceted part in the social and religious functioning of congregations within this area. Although only 1% to 5% of the inhabitants of the intermediate zone make pilgrimages to Mama Djombo annually, in satellite areas these numbers are much higher and approximate the figures for the core zone (16-33%). When a congregation sends representatives to acquire or give thanks for a kasaré satellite shrine, the average number of pilgrims in a group is large (28 persons). Thus the number of people involved in pilgrimages made to acquire kasaré satellite shrines is higher than that for any other type of ritual. The figures for Ziguinchor are somewhat lower (1.15%) because of the high population density of this urban area. The combination of kasaré shrines and relatively high concentrations of pilgrims from the intermediate zone reflect an increased ritual dependence of these congregations on Mama Djombo, but the congregations within the satellite area have an even closer relationship to Mama Djombo than do the populations of other villages of the intermediate zone.
Explanations for the Configuration of the Region and Zones

Population Density. Since the distinction between core, intermediate, and peripheral zones is based on statistical frequencies, the comparatively low number of pilgrims from the intermediate zone may be due to differences in population density. In contrast to the core zone, an area of low population density (about 15 inhabitants per km²), the intermediate zone has population densities ranging from 20 people per km² in Caió to 1,202 people per km² in Ziguinchor (Departamento Central do Recenseamento 1982a: 396; Camara 1974: 535).

Distance from the Shrines. Lower numbers of pilgrims from the intermediate zone may also be attributed to distance from the Mama Djombo shrines. The geographical proximity of pilgrims from the core zone, located within a 25 km. radius from Caboi facilitates frequent travel to the shrines and helps account for the high number of pilgrims from this area. In contrast, pilgrims from the intermediate zone are forced to travel twice as far.

Historical Spiritual Center of the Region. The spirit province, core, and intermediate zones combined, lying in a radius of about 55 km. from Mama Djombo, provide about three-fourths (7,443) of all pilgrims. Mama Djombo may appeal to the inhabitants of this areas because of its historical position on the periphery of the Manjaco Kingdom. When commoner clans were subordinate to the authority of an
aristocratic clan, and a King in Bassarel appointed chiefs and demanded tribute (see Chapter III), the ritual sanctuary in Caboi may have provided an alternative system of justice and problem resolution for those peoples most closely affected by the hierarchical structure of the Manjaco Kingdom. Located in a type of no-man's land, at the interstices of different ethnic territories, Mama Djombo's cosmological proximity to the High God distinguished it from the public spirits of many other provinces (except Boté), and gave it an aura of unerring judgement and impartiality.

Thus, although Bassarel was the political center of the Manjaco Kingdom, Caboi may have acted as the focal point of spiritual power and authority for the spiritist peoples of northwestern Guinea-Bissau. This spiritual power complemented, rather than competed with, the political and trading power of the Manjaco Kingdom. This hypothesis appears to be supported by the fact that many diviners from the Costa de Baixo and other spirit provinces central to the Manjaco Kingdom first summon Mama Djombo, the most powerful of spirits, before all other spirits in their repertoire.

Cultural Proximity. The reasons for Mama Djombo's appeal to inhabitants of the northwestern provinces of the Cacheu Region (see Chapter III) may be attributed to the fact that they have undergone similar historical processes. The inhabitants of the northwestern provinces of Churo, Bíanga, Cacanda, Mata, and Pecau, belong to peripheral
provinces that, like Caboi, were organized into petty ritual chiefdoms and remained autonomous from the Manjaco Kingdom. All of these northwestern provinces, to varying degrees, experienced a process of "manjakization" (Carreira, 1964: 235) through trade and intermarriage with their more centralized neighbors. All of these provinces now share certain Manjaco institutions, such as a drummers society and age grade system and their inhabitants increasingly identify themselves as Manjaco to outsiders and speak dialects of or understand the Manjaco language. To some extent, these marginal, decentralized groups may have acquired prestige and political counterweight to the powerful, centralizing influences of Islam through association with the more centralized Manjaco Kingdom. Through this intermingling, inhabitants of the various provinces of the core and intermediate zones have come to recognize common symbolic referents.

Historical Contacts. The northern part of the core and intermediate zones, comprising the sector of Sao Domingos (but not Suzana), the former chiefdoms of Ganjande and Sedengal and Ingoré in the sector of Bigene, as well as the Department of Ziguinchor in the Casamance, are also areas with which both Baboi and Manjaco have had a long history of contacts. For at least a hundred years, Baboi, like the Manjaco have travelled to these areas to trade forest products such as palm oil, mats, and honey for manufactured
goods, like clothes, arms, and agricultural and household utensils, which were cheaper and more easily available in territories dominated by French commerce. Life histories (Caboi Interviews 3, 9, 25, 34, 1986-87) show that Baboi have been migrating to these areas since the turn of the century (see Chapter III). Frequent trade relations with neighboring groups and the nearly 600 Baboi (see Appendix II) and thousands of Manjaco who presently reside in the sectors of Sao Domingos, Bigene, and the Department of Ziguinchor, are probably responsible for the spread of Mama Djombo's influence in this zone.

Moreover, these districts were once dominated by the Cassanga and Banyun, ethnic groups that are culturally and linguistically most closely related to Baboi. Although these two groups make up only a small percentage of the inhabitants of the areas today, the historical dominance of Cassanga and Banyun may also contribute to the shrine's popularity in northwestern Guinea-Bissau and southern Senegal.

Migration. Finally, the core and intermediate zones are among the areas of Guinea-Bissau most affected by out migration (see Chapter III). Indeed, these northern intermediate zone along with the southern sector of Bolama (also part of the intermediate zone) were the areas in which migrants from the Cacheu Region settled in greatest numbers. The sample of pilgrims from this area confirms this, since
17% of the pilgrim groups from the intermediate and northern core zones were made up of Manjaco and Mankanya settlers. Migrants were undoubtedly responsible for extending the appeal of the shrines in that area.

Indeed, Mama Djombo shrines appear to have a distinct allure to migrants of all ethnic backgrounds, particularly among those who trace their origin to other parts of Guinea-Bissau. Almost one-quarter of the pilgrimage groups originating from outside of the country that visited the Mama Djombo shrine in 1987-88 were displaced peoples who had emigrated from their ethnic homelands in Guinea-Bissau for a variety of economic and political reasons over the last century (Carreira, 1956, 1967; Carreira and Meireles, 1959; Colvin, et.al., 1981; Diallo, 1964; Diop, 1985; Galli, 1987; Trifkovic, 1969). These pilgrims were of diverse ethnic origin, such as Balanta, Mansoanca, Papel, Manjaco, Mankanya, Beafada, Nalu, and Bijago. People who have undergone a common migration experience may seek links with a shrine that represents continuity with a past in their country of origin (Trincaz, 1973). The large number of Guinean immigrants now residing in other territories probably also stimulated the spread of Mama Djombo's influence among other ethnic groups, with whom they are now in frequent contact.
Analysis of the Spirit Region

Several features of the spirit region reveal what is distinctive about the Mama Djombo spirit cult and help to illuminate the distinctions and connections between the various zones within it.

Ecology, Environment, and Rainfall

One distinguishing feature is that the different ecologies and economies within the spirit region roughly coincide with the boundaries between the core, intermediate and peripheral zones. Maps of farming practices in the area (Mota, 1954b: 152-53) show that the core zone, in which shifting cultivation is practiced, constitutes a small enclave within an area of intensive paddy rice cultivation. This is so because the core zone, and particularly Caboi itself, is a highly forested area of low population density while the area immediately surrounding it, the intermediate zone, has fewer forests, a higher population density and requires a more intensive system of rice cultivation. Caboi may be considered the northernmost extension of forest in the area.

The peripheral zone to the north and east of Caboi is considerably dryer, and residents practice rainfed field agriculture. Pilgrims from the east and north of Caboi travel from less forested areas to the denser forestation of the spirit province. This finding lends some support to the
observation made in literature on other regional cults (Werbner, 1977: xvii) that pilgrims travel from zones of lower rainfall to higher rainfall. In this way, the ecological differences may contribute to Mama Djombo’s appeal within the different zones of the spirit region.

In the peripheral zone to the south and south-west (including the Bijagos Archipelago); however, rainfall is higher than in the spirit province. Inhabitants of the southern peripheral zone practice paddy rice cultivation, like the residents of the intermediate zone. Here, geographical and socio-cultural distance rather than ecological difference play a part in the decreased number of pilgrimages from the southern peripheral zone.

**Ethnic Diversity**

As one moves from the spirit province to the peripheral zone, the clients of Mama Djombo shrines become increasingly diverse in ethnic composition. Only Baboi come from the spirit province, but 15 different ethnic groups came from the core zone, 17 from the intermediate zone, and 25 from the peripheral zone. This correlation is an obvious one, since geographical area increases with distance from the shrines.
Gross Numbers of Pilgrims by Ethnic Origin

These pilgrims, representing some 25 ethnic categories, may be revealingly grouped into ten ethnic clusters based on ethnic, linguistic, and historical affinities. Graph 4 shows the total number of pilgrims (shown by hatch marks) that each of the ethnic clusters sent to Mama Djombo annually. It also shows the number of pilgrimage groups (black) in which the pilgrims were organized.

The Buramo Cluster (Manjaco, Mankanya, Papel). By far the most important numerically is the Buramo cluster composed of Manjaco, Mankanya and Papel who account for over two-thirds of the pilgrims. This cluster makes the most pilgrimages to Caboi and the average size of each of their pilgrimage group (5 people) is larger than any of the other clusters (2-3 people). The Manjaco alone make up over half of all pilgrims to Mama Djombo, about half of the clients from Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, and the Gambia, respectively and 100% of those from Europe.

Other Ethnic Groups. The Balanta (Betzá, Benaga, Berasse, Suín), Djola (Felupe, Bayot) and Banyun (Banyun, Cassanga, Baboi) clusters are second in importance constituting, respectively, approximately 9%, 7% and 4% of all pilgrims who visit the shrine annually. The Mande and Wolof-Serer-Niominke provide 3% each, the Fulbe, Bijago, and Beafada-Nalu 2% each, and peoples of Cape Verderan and Gold Coast (Ghana, Benin, Togo) origin combined make up an
GRAPH 4: NUMBER OF PILGRIMS AND PILGRIM GROUPS TO MAMA DJOMBO
(by Ethnic Cluster)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Groups</th>
<th>Av. Gr. Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mande (1)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulbe (2)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serer-Wolof (3)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banyun-Baboi (4)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djola (5)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buramo (6)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanta (7)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beafada-Nalu (8)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bljago (9)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (10)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Number of Pilgrims: 9962

Pilgrim Groups (sample size = 2404)

No. of Pilgrims (sample size = 9962)
additional 1%. Only 4% of the pilgrim groups were of an ethnic origin related to that of the village where Mama Djombo is located, that is, Banyun, Cassanga or Baboi.

Number of Pilgrims Relative to Total Ethnic Group Population

While Graph 4 depicts a profile of the ethnic composition and relative group sizes of Mama Djombo’s clients without reference to the differences in population of each of these ethnic clusters in Guinea-Bissau, Graph 5 summarizes the data on the annual number of pilgrims of each ethnic group as a percent of the total population of that ethnic group within Guinea-Bissau.

This graph reveals that Mama Djombo is particularly important to the Banyun related peoples of whom 10-40% visit Mama Djombo annually. The shrine is also of moderate importance to several peoples who practice other traditional religions, such as the Nalu, Manjaco, Mankanya, Djola, Balanta Mané and related Mansoanca, and who each year send 1-6% of their population to the shrine. The shrine draws a smaller proportion from the Christian, Islamic, and Islamized populations of Guinea-Bissau, and from several groups that observe traditional religious practices, such as the Balanta, Papel and Bijago.

For methodological reasons, these statistics count each pilgrimage as a separate occurrence and do not reflect the possibility that the same people may have visited the
GRAPH 5: IMPORTANCE OF MAMA DJOMBO FOR ETHNIC GROUPS
(Total Pilgrims as Percent of Ethnic Population in Guinea-Bissau)

Ethnic Groups

- Fula (2)
- Mandinga (1)
- Sosso (1)
- Balanta (7)
- Bijago (9)
- Papel (6)
- Beafada (8)
- Capes Verdean (10)
- Mansoance (7)
- Mankunya (6)
- Balanta Mane (7)
- Djola (5)
- Manjaco (6)
- Nalu (8)
- Cassanga (4)
- Banyun (4)
- Babol (4)

Pilgrims (1987-88)/
ethnic population ('79)
(sample size = 8882)

Percent of Each Ethnic Population in Guinea-Bissau
shrine twice in one year. Even so, the graph shows that despite the fact that only a small number of pilgrims to Mama Djombo shrines are ethnically related to the Baboi of this spirit province, this form of spiritism is relatively more important to this group (Banyun, Cassanga).

The Gender of Mama Djombo’s Clients*

The distance of residence from the spirit province, also correlates with the gender composition of pilgrimage groups. On the average, women make up 46% of pilgrims from the Cacheu district and adjoining Casamance, but only 33% of those from Senegal and Gambia (excluding the Casamance). Women may be restricted from traveling great distances, and most pilgrimage groups of women are accompanied by at least one male. The fact that many of the Islamisized pilgrims originate in the peripheral zone also helps to account for the lower numbers of women from these areas.

On the whole, however, Mama Djombo appeals almost equally to both males and females. Although Baboi libation pourers estimated that more of the pilgrims would be female, a survey\(^{17}\) showed that on the whole males outnumbered females by 12%. This proportion varies from season to season as Graph 6 demonstrates. During the months of January through April males and females visit Mama Djombo in almost equal numbers. From October through December, female pilgrims continue at much the same level, while male
GRAPH 6: MONTHLY NUMBER OF PILGRIMS BY GENDER
(Mama Djombo, Cabo)
pilgrims increase significantly. At present, there is no adequate explanation for the increase in male participation during these months, but continued research on the reasons for pilgrimage may provide the answers.

The gender of pilgrims also varies considerably among different ethnic groups, particularly depending on religious affiliation. Graph 7 shows the approximate religious background of pilgrims who visited Mama Djombo in 1987-88. Female participation in pilgrimages increases inversely to the level of Islamization. In spiritist and Christian groups, females participate in pilgrimages in numbers almost equal to those of males, constituting 46% and 48% of total pilgrims respectively. Females make up 24% of the pilgrims from semi-Islamized groups and only 17% among pilgrims of Islamic faith. These differences may be explained by the restrictions on the movement of women among certain Islamisized groups (Boserup, 1970: 115; Callaway, 1987).

Reasons for Pilgrimage

In keeping with Werbner's argument that supplicants, who tend to come from more distant areas, "consult the oracle about individual affairs, rather than seasonally about communal ones" (1977: 202), I expected to find that pilgrimages from near the nucleus of the spirit province would be made for multiple purposes (e.g. protection and nursing, satellite shrines, dispute resolution), while pilgrims from
GRAPH 7: RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF PILGRIMS TO MAMA DJOMBO

percent of total pilgrims

(sample size = 9962)
more distant areas would visit Mama Djombo for limited and instrumental ends (e.g. making or breaking contracts). However, research showed that there was no clear correlation. In the sample of 202 pilgrimage groups involving 1436 people, the reasons given for pilgrimage were evenly distributed throughout the four zones. Rather than being associated with a zone of residence, the variety of reasons for pilgrimages correlated strongly with ethnic origins, as shown below. The high levels of migration among the Baboi, Manjaco, Mankanya, and Djola, for whom Mama Djombo serves the most complex and multi-functional role, help to explain the even distribution of the reasons for pilgrimages originating from these four zones.

A supplicant’s objectives in consulting Mama Djombo are often complex. Many people try to resolve several problems simultaneously (e.g. seek protection and fortune in work). Others perform two different rituals during a single pilgrimage; for instance a pilgrim, when returning to pay a contract, may take the opportunity to request an individual horn, which would guarantee a continued tie with the shrine in the future.

Because of these multiple objectives, it is difficult to group the reasons for pilgrimages into neat categories. Nonetheless, four broad categories of reasons may be identified for analytical purposes. In Graph 8, the 202
pilgrim groups involving 1436 people have been classified as follows:
1. making and paying contracts
2. acquiring and returning satellite shrines
3. protection for people in a cosmological state of danger and nursing mothers
4. dispute resolution

In a general sense all of these four "reasons" are really types of spirit contracts and therefore could be grouped under the first category. However, the "reasons" have been delimited to distinguish between contracts that involve individuals and families engaged in simple contracts for personal objectives (making and paying contracts), and those that involve symbolic or physical resettlement (protection), the franchise of satellite shrines (satellite shrines), or litigation between groups (dispute resolution). The present discussion of the spirit region concentrates on the distribution of the reasons for pilgrimage, and in particular, on the relationship between these reasons and ethnicity.

Making and Paying Contracts

Making and paying spirit contracts is by far the most important reason for pilgrims of all ethnic groups to visit Mama Djombo shrines. Representatives of every one of the 21 ethnic groups contained in the sample made or paid personal contracts in Caboi. More significantly, for some ethnic groups (Banyun, Cassanga, Beafada, Nalu, Wolof, Serer,
GRAPH 8: REASONS FOR PILGRIMAGE TO MAMA DJOMBO, CABOI

Reason for Pilgrimage

- make contract
- pay contract
- satellite shrines
- protection
- dispute resolution

Percent of Total Pilgrims (sample size = 1054)
Niominke, Fulani and Tekrur), it was the only reason for visiting the Mama Djombo shrines. It should be noted that all these peoples, including the Fulani and Tekrur, speak languages that belong to the Western Atlantic sub-family of the Niger-Congo Group.

The graph shows that a large percentage of spirit contracts are related to requests for assistance in work. Much of this work is agricultural, since the vast majority of pilgrims are farmers, although some are professionals, such as teachers, merchants, civil servants, etc. An additional fraction of all contracts involve requests for health and fertility. The majority of spirit contracts, however, were unspecified, principally because of their sensitive or highly personal nature.

The graph also shows that more pilgrimages were undertaken to make contracts (50%) with Mama Djombo than to pay for them (15%). This difference may be explained by the existence of "unfulfilled" spirit contracts and by the strategies, described in Chapter VI, of paying spiritual debts only when it becomes absolutely imperative in order to conserve resources.

Acquiring or Returning Satellite Shrines

Pilgrimages made to acquire individual horns and family satellite shrines (see Chapter VII) attracted an inter-
mediate range (7-8) of ethnic groups, of whom the Balanta, Manjaco, Papel, and Baboi figured most prominently.

In contrast, pilgrimages to request kasará shrines had a slightly more limited ethnic distribution. Kasará shrine appeared to appeal exclusively to the Baboi, Manjaco, Mankanya, and Djola ethnic groups whose homelands were closest to the shrine. The size of the pilgrimage groups sent to acquire these satellite shrines were considerably larger than average (28 persons as opposed to 2 to 3 person), because congregations usually select a set of representatives from their ranks to serve as emissaries to Mama Djombo (see Chapter VII).

Protection

The category of protection on Graph 8 includes people seeking refuge from a cosmological state of danger and nursing mothers. Pilgrims of both types may either remain at the shrine in physical refuge or seek symbolic protection through a spirit contract, and return secure to the village of origin.

Like pilgrimages for kasará shrines, protection and nursing had a limited ethnic distribution within the spirit region and appealed only to the Baboi, Manjaco, Mankanya, and Djola ethnic groups. Also like kasará pilgrimages, the size of the pilgrim groups for nursing mothers were fairly large (average of 16 persons) because in the ritual of
banút, the mother, her kin, and affines return to Caboi to give thanks to Mama Djombo for "nursing" the child to a safe age. The disproportionately large size of pilgrimage groups in the Buramo cluster (see Graph 4) may be explained by the fact that Manjaco and Mankanya frequently make pilgrimages to the shrine for these reasons.

Dispute Resolution

Dispute resolution drew representatives of seven different ethnic groups from all four zones of the spirit region. Of these, the Balanta, Manjaco, Papel, and Baboi were the ethnic groups that most consulted the Mama Djombo shrine for this purpose. Graph 8 shows that of the disputes specified, the majority were related to thefts of property or cash (44%), marital conflicts (e.g. adultery) (19%), and illness brought about by witchcraft (12%).

Seasonal Variations in Clients

These reasons for pilgrimage are also crucial for understanding seasonal variations in the number of pilgrimages made to Mama Djombo shrines. Graph 9 shows that there is a marked decline in the number of pilgrims who visited Caboi during the drier months (January through April).

This finding is surprising because the rainy season (May through October) is logistically the most difficult period for pilgrimage. Poor roads, difficult travel conditions,
GRAPH 9: MONTHLY FLUCTUATIONS IN TOTAL PILGRIMS
(Mama Djombo, Caboi)

No. of Pilgrims

--- no. pilgrims
(sample size = 9962)

Month (1987-88)
illness, and agricultural tasks are important deterrents against pilgrimages being made to Caboi during the rainy months. By contrast, during the dry season, people have more free time to dedicate to ritual activities and other festivities. In fact, Baboi themselves believe that relatively few pilgrims visit Mama Djombo during this time (Caboi Interviews 35-36, 1987).

Nonetheless, the paradox has an explanation. The very factors which discourage pilgrimages during the rainy season are related to others that necessitate frequent ritual consultation during that time. Because of the high incidence of malaria during the rains, many pilgrimages at this time are made for the purpose of curing the disease. Furthermore, despite the difficulties which the rainy season brings, the regularity of rainfall is critical for successful agriculture endeavors. Many Guinean farmers believe that in the years since Independence, there has been less rainfall than previously (CEFC, 1986: 20; Caboi Interview 37, 1987; Caió Interview 29, 1987). Pluviometric studies (Sidersky, 1987: 22) support this, showing the increasing irregularity of rainfall in the last ten years. Rainy season pilgrimages to Mama Djombo are a response to these changing environmental conditions; they are an opportunity to request that powerful spirits make the rains fall regularly and abundantly during that period of the agricultural cycle.
The number of pilgrimages during the months of November and December, directly following the rainy season, are also above average (830). These are the principal months of the harvest. Pilgrimages are made during this time to ensure that insects, birds, and disease do not destroy the crops before they are harvested.

In short, health and agriculture are two major concerns of the peoples of Mama Djombo’s spirit region. In the dry season, when agricultural and health needs are reduced, many of the pilgrimages to Mama Djombo focus on thanksgiving rituals and the payment of contracts made during the rainy season. Although most contracts relating to health and professional employment appear to be constant throughout the year, requests related to agricultural are concentrated in the rainy season, while payment of these contracts is made in the dry season, following the harvest.

Seasonal fluctuations in the numbers of pilgrims may also be due to changes in the focus of ritual activity. During the months of January through April, fewer pilgrims visit Mama Djombo because rituals are concentrated within the clients’ villages of origin. Although thanksgiving rituals would continue to attract clients to pilgrimage centers during the dry season, commemorative wakes, delayed funerals, and initiations into ritual offices are an equal incentive to remain in the home spirit province. Furthermore, during periods of increased ritual activity, livestock
and alcohol must be carefully distributed between these various demands. Priority may be given to rituals within the province which promote status and conserve resources for family consumption, while thanksgiving rituals at pilgrimage centers may only be paid as a last resort, when the spirit sends a sign that such a payment is unavoidable. As has been shown (see Graph 8), more pilgrimages are aimed at making contracts with Mama Djombo than paying for them.

The seasonal shifts in ritual focus between community of origin in the dry season and pilgrimage shrine in the rainy season may reflect an implicit distinction in the type and function of shrines in each of these two areas. Important pilgrimage centers and major spirit shrines tend to be more inclusive, and are therefore considered competent to resolve fundamental problems which underlie the human condition, such as illness, agricultural prosperity, rain. Local shrines in home communities, however, relate primarily to social sub-groups, and are used in initiation into distinct statuses; and therefore they may serve to maintain lineage and class distinctions within a village. The more distant shrines are perceived to have an inclusive nature, while those closer to home are exclusive in nature, for they unite subgroups or play out power relations within a village. Pilgrimage centers focus on the problems that unite human kind, while initiation shrines help to distinguish one province from another and highlight the different statuses.
of individuals and sub-groups within these. Thus, over time, ritual activities shift from focus on the broad, inclusive concerns of humanity to emphasis on the narrow, exclusive concerns of individuals, sub-groups and single spirit provinces, and then back again.

The Adaptation of a Spirit Province as a Host Community

The structure of the spirit province of Caboi exhibits several unusual institutions and values which allow it to accommodate the large numbers of transient guests who visit the shrine for varying reasons and durations. It is this set of institutions and values which transforms the spirit province of Mama Djombo into a host community. In much the same way that Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese settlers first established themselves as guests on Guinean soil with the support of spirit oaths (see Chapter III), initiation spirits such as Mama Djombo continue to play a role in articulating the relations between the hosts of a spirit province and their pilgrim guests.

Types of Guests

Short-Term Guests

The vast majority of pilgrims who visit Mama Djombo do so for brief periods, ranging from two to six hours, just long enough to make or pay a contract. Pilgrims who visit Caboi to pay contracts tend to remain slightly longer than
those who come only with libations to contract the spirit, since the slaughter and consumption of sacrificial beasts takes some time.

Offerings. All pilgrim groups, even those of Islamic origin, are required to offer at least half-a-liter of alcohol as libations to Mama Djombo. However, in rituals of banút and kasarà, in the payment of major contracts by wealthy pilgrims, and in agricultural rituals within the spirit province, as much as 200 liters may be brought to the shrine to accompany the festivities. On the average, pilgrims bring approximately 27 liters of alcohol to the spirit province daily. Distilled cane alcohol, available year round in most towns, is the most common libation and used in over half of all rituals. However, palm wine produced in the Cacheu Region is cheaper when in season and is often the choice in rituals involving large quantities of alcohol. Two-fifths of the pilgrims brought palm wine as libations and the rest employed a combination of the two beverages.

Over half of all rituals performed at Mama Djombo shrines also involve some animal sacrifice. Table 4 shows the quantities of various types of livestock which pilgrims offered to Mama Djombo in 1987-88:
TABLE 4: Quantity of Livestock Offered to Mama Djombo (per year)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>offering</th>
<th>quantity</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>subtotal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cows</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pigs</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>345</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goats</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>280</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>712</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>742</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, pilgrims offer an approximate total of 742 head of livestock to Mama Djombo annually, averaging to over 10 animals per shrine per month.

Long-Term Guests

Two other categories of pilgrims visit the spirit province of Caboi for much longer periods. The first are nursing mothers (mamantadores, Kr.; djabó, Gu.) who have brought their children to suckle at the shrine. Djabó usually remain in Caboi from two to four years, until the spirit "announces" through one of its mediums (uyég@t@, Gu.) that it is safe for the child to return to his or her village of origin, usually when the child has reached a "safe" age and is believed to have acquired sufficient defenses against witchcraft.

A second category of long-term guests are pilgrims who have sought asylum or protection (akúna, Gu.; rogadores,
Kr.) within Mama Djombo's domain. The refugees usually take up residence in Caboi, some for several years and others indefinitely. Refugees who decide to make the host community their permanent residence, request land grants from the host community following the same traditional rules described in Chapter IV.

**Offerings.** Both of these categories of long-term guests are required to provide their hosts with labor necessary for their upkeep. Nursing mothers, for example, provide agricultural labor or perform domestic tasks in the residences of their hosts while they are pregnant or following childbirth. If their older children live with them in Caboi, these are required to perform all the duties of other children in the host household. The husband of the nursing mother customarily provides gifts of alcohol, cloth, and rice to both his wife and her host family when he visits.

**Types of Hosts**

**The Host Community**

In a general sense, the entire Baboi population is transformed by the thousands of pilgrims who visit the tiny province annually. The mere presence of these pilgrims affects the perceptions that residents have of themselves and others, while the material input of supplicants through labor and sacrificial offerings affects the well-being of the province as a whole.
Impact of Pilgrims on World View. The residents of Caboi are accustomed to having large numbers of strangers in their midst. The isolation and diminutive size of the province makes it easy for all residents to know each other, but the presence of unfamiliar faces is extremely common and comes as no surprise. Indeed, Baboi exhibit little curiosity about the presence of strangers, since it is assumed that they have come because of Mama Djombo’s powers.

This fundamental acceptance and trust of outsiders is partially based on the belief that Mama Djombo protects the members of its province. Even though most (over 95%) of the pilgrims observe customs and rules that are different from those of their hosts, Mama Djombo is thought to ensure that these visitors respect the basic rules of the spirit province during their stay. This is illustrated in the following story, recounted by an uzuku dienyũ:

Not long ago, a Balanta came with two of his friends to contract Mama Djombo to grant him a successful harvest. While he was waiting for me to conduct the ritual, he entered my house and stole my radio without saying a word to his friends. During their journey home, the Balanta pilgrims climbed into a canoe to cross a river. As they began to row across, the thief began to swell and the more they traversed the river, the more swollen he became. The thief became frightened and his friends realized immediately that he had committed some crime. After confessing to the theft, the three pilgrims backtracked to Caboi to return my radio to me. As they approached Caboi, the man gradually deflated until he was completely normal when he reached the shrine. The Balanta thief bought a goat from me and sacrificed it to Mama Djombo begging for pardon (Caboi Interview 38, 1986).
Because Mama Djombo is believed to intervene to protect the residents of Caboi and uphold the rules of its province, Baboi have no need to fear the presence of strangers.

**Impact of Pilgrims on Provincial Pride.** Baboi recognize Mama Djombo's popularity and feel a sense of pride and even superiority in relation to the spirits of other more local cults that do not enjoy as much attention. Baboi enjoy a certain prestige when they visit areas that supply many pilgrims and at times are viewed with awe. The inhabitants of some of the other provinces of the Region (Caió Interview 30, 1986; Pecixe Interview 1, 1986; Pantufa Interview 7, 1987) have claimed that all Baboi are clairvoyants with the ability to detect witches, perhaps imputing some of Mama Djombo's alleged powers on the members of its province. Baboi know that in the isolated spirit province they control a powerful spiritual resource that is in considerable demand.

**Impact of Pilgrims on Multilingualism.** The regular visits of pilgrims of diverse ethnic and linguistic stock has fostered a high rate of multilingualism within the host community. Manjaco is the most common second language of Baboi, not only because it is spoken by the majority (almost two-thirds) of Mama Djombo's clients, but also because it is employed by the inhabitants of most of the adjoining provinces with whom Baboi have intermarried extensively. The other languages that are most commonly spoken by Baboi
are Cassanga, Djola, Wolof, and Kriolu, principally because these are the languages spoken in the areas to which Baboi travel for trade and emigration.

The benefits enjoyed by the translator (uratchandála, Gu.) of the spirit medium’s message encourages multilingualism. The translator requires no special training to translate the message other than sharing one language with the acting Baboi medium and one language with a member of the pilgrim group. This translator, required in between 55% and 95% of the rituals performed at Mama Djombo spirit shrines, receives a portion of the offerings made even if he or she is not initiated.

The Hosts of Rituals

Certain subsections of the host community are more deeply affected by the guests than others. One factor which influences the effect of pilgrims on sub-groups is the extent of participation in rituals. The "hosts of rituals" refer here to the libation pourers, mediums, and initiates who direct the rituals from inside the sacred grounds.

Most rituals involve sacrifices and libations, but of the livestock and liters of alcohol presented, only a small part of the blood and beverages are actually poured upon the shrine grounds. The rest of the offerings are divided among the hosts of the rituals. The libation pourers, mediums, and the initiates present consume both the alcohol and meat.
at all rituals. In contrast, the pilgrims and non-initiates of the spirit province taste only a small portion of the alcohol offered.

The only exception is when livestock is too large to be consumed by the hosts of the ritual, so the beast is slaughtered outside of the sacred grounds for all to share. This is the case for offerings of cows and large pigs, sheep, and goats. A rough estimate from Table 4 would make between one-fifth and one-third of the livestock brought to Mama Djombo shrines consumable by non-initiates.

**Male Initiates.** In short, adult males as a whole tend to benefit more from the alcohol and meat offered in ritual activities than do women. There were only about 79 initiated males in the total adult Baboi population of 184 in 1987. Purely as a result of pilgrim offerings at spirit shrines, each initiated male consumes roughly six head of livestock and 55.2 liters of alcohol annually.

Although the sacrificial meat might benefit initiated males through increased protein consumption, they are clearly adversely affected by the large quantities of alcohol they consume. In addition to the palm wine which is harvested for personal consumption, the average Baboi male consumes about 2 liters of alcohol per week because of the offerings of pilgrims as libations in rituals and as gifts to their hosts. Given the disproportionate number of guests that this tiny spirit province receives, alcoholism is
common among initiated males, the regular participants of all rituals, and affects both young and old alike, and seemingly especially members of priestly lineages. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that in most cases, the attendance of initiated males at rituals performed at Mama Djombo shrines is voluntary. The exigencies of agricultural tasks force men to participate most frequently in the evenings or in the months of February through April, after work in the rice fields has been completed.

**Libation Pourers.** Libation pourers enjoy all the benefits that male initiates have as "hosts of rituals", but have distinct relations with guests in their own right (see "Owners of Guests", below). A high frequency of pilgrims to a spirit shrine tends to be somewhat detrimental to the libation pourers' agricultural productivity. Although most members of host communities maintain relatively flexible work and dining schedules in order to accommodate guests, libation pourers are required to leave their fields or other activities to attend to pilgrims' needs.

Libation pourers often lament the complications that responsibility for a popular shrine brings to their material welfare. Nevertheless, some uzuku djenyú manage to produce surpluses of rice in order to support pilgrims who arrive to their shrine without basic provisions of their own. In most cases, however, pilgrim visit the shrine very briefly and
those requiring longer stays, usually come prepared with their own supplies.

The "Owners of Guests"

The "owner of the guest" (eméma d'jigénál, Gu.) is any Baboi who acts as host to a pilgrim visiting Caboi for a ritual, while he or she is not consulting the spirit shrine. Although any individual or family in the spirit province may be "owner of the guest", some families have more success than others and Baboi often compete among themselves to receive the largest number. The success with which the hosts or intermediaries of rituals and "owners of hosts" attract pilgrims to the shrine appears to determine differences in social status within the spirit province.

The number of contacts a person maintains with outsiders who make pilgrimages is a crucial factor in his or her ability to "own guests". Baboi men and women who have travelled extensively or have extended family living in other areas because of migration tend to receive more guests, both acquaintances and affines of migrant kin. Women of other ethnic groups who have married Baboi men, also receive many extended family and friends from their villages of origin, particularly if they are densely populated areas. People who participated in the armed struggle or who serve in state politics, as deputies (deputados, Prt.) or members of the state committee (comité
de estado, Prt.), are likely to receive many guests as well. These political figures make acquaintances during their meetings in the capital of Bissau and are often the first people contacted by pilgrims who have never before visited the shrine.

In many cases, the most effective "owners of guests" also happen to be the libation pourers (uzůku djenyú, Gu.) of Mama Djombo shrines. Libation pourers tend to be the most popular hosts not only because they are immediately sought to perform all rituals, but also because they are the only residents that short term pilgrims tend to remember. Nevertheless, a combination of the aforementioned conditions clearly contributes to even a libation pourer's ability to "own guests". Thus, for example, of the six uzůku djenyú of Caboi, the two who served as guerrillas in the Independence war received 15% to 40% (on the average 27%) more pilgrims at their shrines than the other libation pourers.

Impact of Pilgrims on Material Well-Being. The reasons for this competition over guests is that the "owner of the guest" receives between 50-60% of the alcohol brought as offerings to the spirit. While alcohol is by far the most conventional gift, the "owner of the guest" may also receive other token contributions of rice, cloth, money, and even radios upon a guest's arrival.

Impact of Pilgrims on Regional Network of Alliances. Underlying the acceptance of pilgrims in the spirit province
is the conviction that hospitality to strangers is more important than wealth or even than having large families (Caboi Interview 39, 1986). For many Baboi, travel is perceived as a norm of human behavior; journeys are vital for trade as well as for ritual purposes, as the regular visits of pilgrims in Caboi show. Because of the necessity of regular travel, Baboi view hospitality as an investment. The pilgrims who are guests of the Baboi during visits at Mama Djombo shrines, often become their hosts when Baboi leave the spirit province. If Baboi treat their guests well, they can expect to receive the same hospitality when they visit other areas.

Hospitality also ensures the broadening of this network of potential hosts. If treated well, temporary pilgrims return to the same host and shrine when in need of future assistance. Furthermore, a pilgrim who is satisfied with Mama Djombo’s work advises friends and family to go to the same shrine to resolve their problems. These friends and relations almost always visit the same shrine and are guests of the same families as the original pilgrim. In this way, the friendships that emerge between hosts and guests become the bases for networks of alliances that spread throughout the spirit region.

**Impact of Pilgrims on Accumulation of Capital.** Because of their ability to attract pilgrims, "owners of guests" have a distinct advantage over other members of the province.
in generating wealth. Although most pilgrims bring the livestock they wish to sacrifice, sometimes this becomes impossible because of insufficient time or difficult travel conditions. Under these conditions, a guest normally tries to buy livestock from his host and, given the scarce alternatives, tends to buy at the asking price.

Sometimes, the livestock which the guest has brought is too small for the spirit debt he or she is obliged to pay. Here again, the host may charge a fee to exchange the inferior livestock for a larger one of his own. If the host has no livestock, he or she may offer to keep the guest's small beast until it becomes larger and then offer it to the spirit in the guest's name. Under these circumstances, the timing of the guest's payment is immediately terminated and the host assumes responsibility for paying the guest's contract. In one case, a host kept a guest's suckling pig for years until it became enormous, and then paid the guest's spirit contract with a smaller, but adequate pig of his own. By carefully juggling these alternatives, a wise host can augment his stock of livestock considerably.

On rare occasions, hurried pilgrims who cannot find livestock to buy in Caboi, may instead give money to the libation pourer to purchase the necessary offering. Although the libation pourer is obliged to purchase the livestock and sacrifice it to the spirit, in one case a libation pourer "showed the money to Mama Djombo, explained
who brought it and what it was for and then, since spirits have no need for money, purchased several cows with it" (Caboi Interview 40, 1987).

Technically these cows should have been sacrificed shortly afterwards, but the libation pourer showed no intention of doing so and instead treated them as his own property. One evening, when children of the libation pourer's lineage went to the pasture to bring the cows home, they found them dead and completely devoured by vultures. "Mama Djombo took what was rightfully its own". These examples show that much of what is finally offered to spirit shrines is left to either the discretion of either the "owner of hosts" or the libation pourer. Because of the variety of possible substitutes for original offerings, both hosts and libation pourers potentially stand to gain considerably from the offerings of their guests. Undoubtedly, it is largely because of these material benefits, that hosts are considered to be the most wealthy members of a spirit province.

A host community's relations with outsiders revolve around granting access to the shrine in a type of exchange. Members of the host community offer access to a spirit shrine and in return receive a percentage of the alcohol offered as libations to the spirit. For hosts, the spirit becomes a valuable resource which may be monopolized and which can, if properly administered, be an important source
of wealth. If the contract is successful, a share of the meat sacrifice is also given to the men and occasionally women.

Some categories of the Cacheu Regional cosmological paradigm are shared with the cosmologies of peoples of neighboring regions. In many cases, these shared beliefs and institutions generate similar ritual activity, some of which is focused on shrines in spirit provinces of the Cacheu Region.

CONCLUSION

In many ways, the consultations of supplicant making contracts with spirits appear to resemble magic rather than religion. Most of the supplicants to spirit shrines of the Cacheu Region make only transient and sporadic consultations with the spirit. Like consultations with magicians (Middleton, 1967: ix; Durkheim in Lessa and Vogt, 1979: 29), contracts with the spirits are of a highly instrumental nature and supplicants rarely know each other or have other relations among themselves. Their relations with shrine priests are generally accidental and transient, much like those of a sick man with his physician (Durkheim in Lessa and Vogt, 1979: 29).

Because of its highly instrumental nature, the spirit contract occupies a much ignored borderland between religion and magic. Spiritist supplicants appeal to spirits with
promises of sacrifice in order to achieve particular, instrumental ends. At the same time, the instrumental spirit contract is expressive, for it defines the supplicant's place within other social and cosmological relationships.

Since supplicants or even congregations of the spirit region do not unite for a common purpose as in churches with formal centralized structures, how does the brief encounter of spirit contracting and payment bind together the clients of these spirit shrines? The bond exists at the most basic level, in common aspects of modes of thought exemplified by the making of spirit contracts.

Participation in a spirit contract implies shared knowledge and a common understanding. All of these people must understand what a spirit contract is and comprehend the implications of engaging in one. The ritual procedures for a spirit contract are formal and must be uniformly observed; if they are not, the contractor is penalized. Furthermore, the supplicants of each region share a common belief in that spirit's potential in resolving their problems and thus, a common acceptance of that spirit as part of their otherwise distinct cosmologies. In this common recognition of spirits as an active force in the environment, and in the common understanding of the way spirit contracts work, the peoples of the spirit region share aspects of a mode of thought. They share explanations of the process of misfortune which
makes consultation of shrines such as these an essential part of problem resolution and daily life.

By focusing on shrine-centered ritual action, this chapter reveals how spiritism unites a broader social field (the spirit region) of groups and individuals into a common mode of thought bound in varying degrees by different organizations which includes beliefs about the actions of a particular shrine. A shrine-centered approach reveals the potential range and variety of clients in a regional cult and the impact these have on the social organization of a spirit province.

An analysis of the pilgrimages made to the spirit shrines of Békassa in Caiómete and Mama Djombo in Caboi shows that diverse forms of religious organization coexist. In the Cacheu Region, several of these may be present simultaneously in a single spirit province. The vague term, "animism", is inadequate for describing the variety of forms of religious organization which in some spirit regions include

1. well-defined, formal, cohesive "moral communities" that are coterminous with particular social groups,

2. satellite congregations that through orientation around a central spirit shrine become part of a belief system that transcends single social groups to include several provinces within a region, and

3. broadly defined spirit regions which are connected by a common mode of thought.

The spirit contract links clients to a shrine or to shrines more generally by involving them in a system of causality.
that makes them variously dependent upon spirits to resolve misfortunes, and upon diviners to interpret them.
1. There are ten additional bapéne who reside and work in Caió, but belong to diviner societies from Cajegute and Calequisse. They must undergo a ritual before being permitted to practice in the spirit province of Caió.

2. The spirit province of Cajegute has a separate bapéne society with its own offices and divisions. To my knowledge, Cajegute bapéne never meet formally with those of Caió.

3. Bôkassa’s principal apprentices belong to other subdivisions of the bapéne society and will never themselves inherit his duties or occupy the commission of bôkassa.

4. However, former patients who reside far away and lack the resources to return for kafâk are thought to be punished very infrequently.

5. This sample is based on interviews with 110 patients who were either patients at the healing shrine during my research or had returned for the kafâk ritual. Two factors may introduce biases in this sample. One is the fact that it is logistically easier for the healed who reside in Caió to return for kafâk than it is for more distant residents. This bias may make the shrine’s local appeal appear disproportionately greater than its regional influence. Secondly, because kafâk is a ritual of thanksgiving, those who were interviewed on this occasion had more positive experiences than others who did not return.

6. A controlled comparison of participants in each of the activities that would show the relative risk of injury involved was beyond the scope of this study.

7. This survey is part of a larger study of all pilgrims who visited the Mama Djombo shrines of Sâfu Bissele, Bofor, Tchob, Wombar, and Sakân. The study began in April 1987 and will continue for several years. The results provided here are the preliminary results of the first year of research from May 1987 until April 1988. The findings for the months of May through September 1987 have been published in Crowley (1988).

8. These national percentages are based on a sample of 1,997 pilgrim groups observed between May 1987 and April 1988.
9. To determine the relative concentration of pilgrims from different areas, I divided the total number of pilgrims from each administrative district by population statistics for that area. In this way, the differences in concentrations of pilgrimages from various areas are corrected for variations in population density. The absence of complete statistical data on village and province populations obliged me to limit the quantitative analysis to official administrative units. Whenever possible, however, I try to identify differences in shrine appeal within these convenient, but broad divisions.

10. The 48% figure is derived from dividing the 434 residents in Caboi (Bissele, Kahám, Belimbo, Biniha), Fanho, Bárêm, Bitchil and Kayil by the 210 supplicants recorded as having come from the province.

11. The percentages of the populations who undertook pilgrimages from each area may be enumerated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colonial Post of Sao Domingos</td>
<td>19.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiefdom of Ganjande</td>
<td>17.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiefdom of Sedengal</td>
<td>17.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial Post of Cacheu</td>
<td>33.47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The boundaries of these areas are based on colonial figures (Mota, 1954a: 193-202). The population statistics upon which the percentages are based are projections using 1979 census data for the sectors of Sao Domingos and Cacheu and maintaining the proportions between populations of sub-districts during the colonial period. These projections were necessary because of the absence of aggregate data at the district level.

The area of the core zone in square kilometers does not include the spirit province.

12. Excluding the spirit province, the core zone provided 3,072 pilgrims in 1987-88, that is about 31% of the pilgrims who visited Mama Djombo annually. With the spirit province, the number of pilgrims totalled 3,282.

13. The intermediate zone includes the following areas which were designated as "chiefdoms during the colonial period (Carreira, 1951b: 7): Suzana in the sector of Sao Domingos; Ingoré in the sector of Bigene; the provinces of Mata de Ocón, Boté, Timate, Bó, Bassarel, Calequisse, Catí in the sector of Cacheu; and all the provinces of the sectors of Canchungo (Cajinjassa, Blequisse, Costa de Baixo, Pandim, Bugulha, Canhobe, Tame, and Pelundo), Caió (Caió, Jeta, Pecixe, Cajegute), and Bula (Bula, Co, and Jol).
14. Perhaps for this reason, among colonial scholars the northwestern Manjaco were known as "Papel", like the inhabitants of the island of Bissau, even though their languages were much more closely related to Manjaco.

15. Baboi say that the languages of the Djola, Cassanga, Banyun and Baboi can not be communicated on the slit gong. In the only remaining drummers society of Caboi, drummers communicate on the slit gong exclusively in Manjaco and have translated Baboi praise names and lineage designations to this language. As a consequence, Manjaco mnemonic devices have been used to record Baboi history.

16. The ethnic clusters represented may be broken down as follows:

Mande: Mandinga, Sarakole, Bambara, Iholhadji*, Sosso
Fulbe: Fulani, Tekrur (Tucouleur)
Serer, Niominke, Wolof
Banyun: Banyun (Iágár), Cassanga (Ihádja), Baboi (Cobiana)
Djola: Felupe, Bayot
Brame: Manjaco, Mankanya, Papel
Balanta: Balanta (Berasse), Balanta Naga (Benaga), Balanta Mane (Betzá), Mansoanca (Cunante)
Beafada, Nalu
Bijago
Other: Cape Verdeans, immigrants from the Gold Coast.

The numbers following the ethnic categories on Graph 5 show how these groupings correspond to the ethnic clusters of Graph 4.

* Pilgrims who call themselves "Iholhadji (0.06%) probably are members of and take their name from a Muslim messianic movement, such as that lead by the Wolof, El Hadj Malik Sy (see Coulon, in Binsbergen and Schoffeleers, 1985: 346). These pilgrims claim to be Mande related and reside in Central Senegal.

17. The gender variable was added to the inventory in October 1987. The survey discussed in this section is based on the period of October 1987 through April 1988, containing a sample size of 3892 people.

18. The data on religious background is based on the ethnic origin of all pilgrims to Mama Djombo in the full inventory of May 1987 through April 1988. Categories of religious affiliation were assigned to ethnic groups as follows:

Traditional
Balanta (Benaga, Berasse), Bijago, Banyun, Baboi, Djola, Mankanya, Manjaco, Papel, Gold Coast
Semi-islamisized
Balanta Mané, Mansoanca, Beafada, Cassanga, Nalu,
Niominke, Conhagui, Bambara

Islamisized
Fula, Toucouleur (Tekrur), Mandinga, Sarakole, Sosso,
Serer, Wolof

Christian
Cape Verdean, Creoles

19. Decline in rainfall is one of many conditions that are
associated with and even attributed to National Independence
in 1974. Other changes in the physical (e.g increased
salinity of drinking water), economic (e.g. inflation), and
political environment (e.g. political chaos) are not so much
linked to administrative changes brought about by the
transfer of power from the Portuguese colonial government to
the Nationalist Party, as to disturbances in the cosmologi­
cal order initiated at Independence which have continued to
the present.

20. Approximately 4359 liters of alcohol are brought by
pilgrims annually (or 363 liters per month) as libations to
Mama Djombo shrines. This constitutes 50-60% of the total
amount of alcohol taken to the spirit province, the rest of
which is given to the "owners of the guests" in appreciation
for their hospitality. This quantity of alcohol taken to
Caboi is estimated from an inventory of pilgrim offerings to
the Mama Djombo shrines of Sáfu Biselle and Bofor in

21. These statistics which project the type and number of
annual sacrifices to six Mama Djombo shrines are based on an
inventory of shrines at Sáfu Biselle and Bofor during the
months of May-July 1987 and October-April 1988 and of Tchob,
Wombar and Sáfu Biniha during the months of October 1987 -
April 1988. The table includes the following combinations:
14 pilgrimages with both a pig and a goat; six pilgrimages
with both a cow and a pig; and seven pilgrimages with both a
cow and a goat.

22. The number of adults and initiated males is based on a
complete census conducted in 1987 and estimated as all Baboi
of 16 years and over.
CHAPTER IX
COSMOLOGICAL CHANGE AND CONVERGENCE

INTRODUCTION

Some of the broad categories that make up the Cacheu Regional cosmology overlap with conceptual categories from the cosmological paradigms of other regions and ethnic groups. It is this convergence between various cosmological paradigms that permits parallel interpretations and common ritual actions among the ethnically diverse clients of province initiation spirits. The spirit region of Mama Djombo, for example, illustrates that some cosmological categories (e.g. public spirits) and principles (e.g. the spirit contract) are shared by ethnically and culturally heterogenous supplicants from throughout Guinea-Bissau and Senegambia, as well as from parts of Guinea (Conakry), Mali, France, and Portugal. This chapter analyzes the routine changes which may occur within categories of the Cacheu Regional cosmology and how new cosmological categories may emerge either through internal innovations or through diffusion from the cosmological paradigms of neighboring groups.

Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Cosmological Change

Several complementary approaches are useful in examining processes of cosmological change. One focuses on cosmological changes as a response to broader social and historical
developments (Horton, 1971, 1975; Velzen, 1988; Brown, 1984; Roberts, 1984; Goody, 1957). A second related approach views changes in the cosmology as a consequence of syncretism or the assimilation of beliefs from other cosmological paradigms. A third approach treats cosmological changes as a product of conscious manipulation of organizational structures by cult leadership or by other human actors, such as prophets (Werbner: 202-206; Binsberg: 149-152; Schoffeleers: 23-234). A fourth approach takes cosmological change as a gradual process built into the structure of the cosmology itself (Barth, 1987). These complementary approaches operate at different levels within a region and when taken together provide a complete picture of the major factors influencing changes in belief systems and ritual action.

ROUTINE CHANGES WITHIN THE CACHEU REGIONAL COSMOLOGY

Elements within the categories of the Cacheu Regional cosmology constantly change, but the categories themselves and the relationships between them remain fairly constant over time. Immigrants, for example, may establish new ancestor shrines in a spirit province, but these occupy a similar position within the ancestor category and a similar relationship to other cosmological agents as do other ancestor shrines in the province. Even if the immigrant brings with him a different perception of how the ancestor
for whom he establishes a shrines works, this rarely influences the overall relationship between cosmological categories within the province.

However, cosmological categories are not fixed symbolic systems that represent unchanging relations between people, spirits, and nature. They vary according to geography, ethnicity, and individuals and may change radically under different historical circumstances. Similarly, the nature of actors within a cosmology is constantly redefined and some elements may eventually be discarded.

This section explores these routine changes of elements within Cacheu cosmological categories that do not affect the fundamental structure of the cosmology itself. Given the importance of public spirits in the belief system, the section will focus on routine changes which occur within this category. The most significant developments relate to the establishment of new spirit shrines, and the factors which influence changes in their ranges of clientele and at times, their abandonment.

The Establishment of Public Spirit Shrines

Public spirit shrines may be established in several ways. First, a spirit shrine may be founded to placate a spirit that a diviner has identified as the cause of a series of misfortunes or omens. Public spirit shrines, such as these tend to be created concurrently with the consolida-
tion of social groups. Thus when a lineage fissions and one segment establishes itself in a new locale, new shrines may be established not only to mark a separate set of ancestors at this genealogical level (an ancestor shrine), but also to symbolize the establishment of a new territorial group and the imperative of abiding by group decisions made at the new public spirit shrine. The diviners would instruct the settlers that these omens and misfortunes were from a spirit who wanted to be offered libations and show where the new shrine should be located. The recently established Baboi shrines to the spirits atábo, nantóhe, and akávil in migrant settlements like Gendem were founded in this manner.

Secondly, migrants may establish shrines in their new residences with parts of public shrines brought from their places of origin. This method may also be used by clients wishing to establish a new shrine for a public spirit from another province with which he or she has had a history of successful contracts. Following a ritual, a migrant or client may transport part of an established shrine (e.g. an initiation shrine) in the form of a horn filled with shrine earth and sacrificial blood. The portable shrine horns are eventually buried beneath the ground and mixed with the earth of the new residence marking permanent relocation. New shrines founded in this way often bear the name of the parent spirit. As an example, there are numerous small Pantufa spirits shrines throughout Guinea-Bissau, es-
established as residential lineages spirits for migrants from this spirit province.¹

Thirdly, a public shrine may be established in honor of a spirit which a clairvoyant has "discovered" in a new locale. This is in keeping with oral traditions that hold that the Region was inhabited by numerous spirits before it was populated by humans. The foundation of a shrine makes the spirit publicly accessible and a potential means of problem resolution for inhabitants. The first settlers in the Cacheu Region and numerous migrants from the region in the administrative sectors of Sao Domingos and Bigene reportedly established numerous shrines in this way.

Finally, public spirit shrines may be founded in homage to nature spirits that are said to have been "domesticated" by clairvoyants. The python spirit, for instance, is believed to be able to be raised in captivity from egg form and fed the blood of sacrificed livestock. If this nature spirit proves to be innocuous and manages to maintain a long-standing rapport with an entire residential lineage (including ordinary people), a shrine may be established in its honor to institutionalize public consultation. The domestication of nature spirits explains the presence of the nature spirit, nandjángurum, as a public spirit for the residential lineage of Bétcip in Caiómete (see Map 9).

Members of the social category for whom a shrine is to be established perform a sacrifice in the spirit’s honor to
mark its foundation. The locale may be identified as the spirits abode by a diviner or selected as an appropriate spot for regular consultation by members of the spirit's domain. An undisturbed or shaded corner of a yard are among the criteria used in a sites selection. To install the spirit, a forked stake is driven into the center of the cleared shrine area and a cow is tied to the stake and then sacrificed. When a satellite horn has been brought from another shrine, this is usually buried beneath the ground. When there are no natural markers to distinguish the locale, a symbolic object (e.g. a carved wooden figure) may be placed at the site.

The establishment of a new spirit shrine generally has little impact on beliefs about public spirits as a cosmological category. The shrine may vary slightly in its specialization, functioning, or presumed power, but this range of variability is standard among spirit shrines. Indeed, peoples of the Cacheu Region tend to attribute this variation to the different powers and personalities of spirits as they presumably vie among themselves to broaden their domains (see Chapter V).

**Mechanisms Contributing to Changes in Clientele**

It is important to remember, however, that a spirit shrine's influence is never constant. The greatest indicator of a shrine's influence is its range of clientele,
measured by the pilgrimages made there. These pilgrimages have an important effect, not only on the shrine provinces as Chapter VIII has shown, but also on the Region, since "pilgrimages sometimes generate cities and consolidate regions" and yet they are sometimes also "the ritualized vestiges of former sociopolitical systems" (Turner, 1974: 227). Changes in clientele often coincide with changes in the relative position of a spirit in a provincial or regional cosmology. Shrines which attract large numbers of pilgrims from different ethnic groups, for instance, usually occupy a more central position in the regional cosmology. In contrast, shrines that draw supplicants principally from a single province may play a central role in the cosmology of that province, but only a marginal role within the regional world view.

Numerous factors may influence changes in a shrine's region. These changes depend partly on the type of cult and on the cosmology and socio-historic context in which it is found. Material conditions have proven decisive in influencing the regions of cults that legitimize a particular status quo (Velzen, 1977: 93-118), while structural characteristics of the fields in which a cult arises may also determine its range of appeal (Binsbergen, 1977: 141-175). Some of these factors appear to be intrinsic to the site at which the shrine is established and its relations to surrounding areas, others relate to the flexibility and
resourcefulness of cult leadership in responding to changes in client needs, and others depend upon perceptions of a spirit's effectiveness. Even when geographical, historical, and cultural contexts provide the foundation for its multi-ethnic appeal, the flexibility of shrine organization, leadership, and consultation is also crucial to sustaining a wide public.

**Political Marginality**

One of the factors that appears to have a decisive impact on the range of a shrine's clientele is the nature and extent of political relations between a spirit province and neighboring provinces and regions. Many of the most important province initiation spirits of the region (e.g. Pantuwa, Mama Djombo, Boté) developed on the margins of larger political units.

These marginal areas became particularly important during the slave trade, when the political elite of the centralized Cassanga and Manjaco Kingdoms were able to control and even generate slaves through the manipulation of laws and witchcraft accusations (see Chapter III, Slave Trade, Religion) (Bocandé, 1849: 106-108). The Cassanga soul oracle, for example, was used to identify living witches and promote their sale, thus contributing to the political and demographic demise of this once powerful Kingdom (Caboi Interview 31, 1986). During a time when
social institutions were oriented towards the profits of elites through slavery, distance from a political center may have increased a person's chances of survival. The prestige of the initiation spirits of distant, peripheral provinces increased if they could effectively afford asylum to refugees escaping political oppression and witchcraft accusations.

A prime example of the importance of political marginality is the province of Caboi, which was never subordinated to larger political units even when the paramount ruler of the Manjaco Kingdom formally legitimized chiefs in many of the other provinces of the Region. Rather, the province initiation spirit of Mama Djombo made Caboi a center of power in its own right, but this authority was of a religious nature. People from Bassarel and other villages in the heart of the Manjaco kingdom often went to Caboi to perform rituals, particularly those involving problems and disputes which could not be resolved at local spirit shrines. Baboi claim that these Manjaco were afraid of Mama Djombo (Caboi Interview 41, 1987) and of the ritually powerful Baboi and even now when Baboi arrive in a Manjaco village, they are usually treated as important guests because of their ritual superiority.

The initiation spirit shrines of provinces that could provide a continuous alternative to other political systems had considerable symbolic appeal for clients seeking the
protection and support of impartial spirits. Impoverished and structurally underprivileged families and parties who, for whatever reason, risked defeat in dispute resolution in their own provinces stood a better chance if they took their pleas and cases to impartial spirits that were not associated with sectarian interests, but removed from political intrigue in their distant no-man's lands.

Successful Alliances with Political Factions

Political marginality is conducive to the broad appeal of a spirit shrine, but opportune and strategic political alliances can also play an important part in expanding a spirit's region by validating its perceived effectiveness and power. Studies (Lan, 1985) of the ways in which political factions manipulate allegiances with spirits and spirit medium to mobilize support in combat and other campaigns suggest the importance of analyzing the relationship between political affiliations and a spirit's regional appeal. Here again, the case of the spirit Mama Djombo of Caboi is revealing. Although Mama Djombo has been considered one of the five most celebrated spirits of the Cacheu Region for much of this century (Menezes, 1928: 21), a pivotal event in the history of Lusophone Africa placed the spirit in an ad-hoc alliance which considerably broadened the expanse of its client region: the armed struggle for National Independence (1963-74).
Although most works on Guinea-Bissau (e.g. Galli and Jones, 1987) treat spiritism as an inconsequential factor in the history, politics, economy, and society of Guinea-Bissau, oral histories of Portuguese and nationalist fighters during the armed struggle suggest otherwise. The spirit Mama Djombo, in particular, is perceived as having been crucial to the success of nationalist forces during the Independence war. The spirit’s power to protect its domain and importance in the struggle is symbolized by the fact that the province of Caboi was one of the few areas in the Cacheu Region that Portuguese forces never managed to occupy.

The role of Mama Djombo during this period may be partly attributed to a conscious attempt on the part of nationalist forces to use the spirit’s reputation to their own advantage. Spiritist troops, who believed in the power of Mama Djombo, asked guerilla leaders in the PAIGC to support a ritual requesting the spirit’s protection of a military base located in the forests of Caboi (Interview: Baticam, 1988). The party’s founder, Amilcar Cabral, conceded and authorized the purchase of a sacrificial cow and alcohol, in the belief that such a ritual might bolster the confidence and courage of the fighters (Interview: Baticam, 1988). The contract with Mama Djombo had the intended effect, for when African troops who fought for the Portuguese (Commandos Africanos) learned of the contract they became afraid to
enter the woods that was under Mama Djombo’s care and "were morally defeated and apprehensive about the success of future attacks" (Interview: Baticam, 1988). The contract with Mama Djombo allegedly proved fatal for the Portuguese, since it was around this time that guerrilla forces acquired an edge over colonial troops.²

Numerous guerrillas stationed near Caboi and a number of renowned government members also became regular clients of Mama Djombo at this time and continue to be (Mankanya Interview 2, 1988; Caboi Interview 16, 1987). In addition, many civilian individuals, families, and villages, also made contracts with Mama Djombo to request satellite horns for protection against mines and bullets.

Although hundreds of fighters on both sides lost their lives in the battles that occurred in the forests of Caboi, Mama Djombo also reportedly provided protection to many of its clients. The spirit is said to have prevented mines from exploding and caused Portuguese troops to become lost in the forest, despite the assistance of aerial photographs and the proximity of a camp in Churo (Bachil) (Caboi Interview 41, 1986).

The spirit’s presumed success in accomplishing its mission also appears to have been facilitated by environmental factors. Not only was the forested terrain less familiar to Portuguese troops, but the dense vegetation impeded surprise attacks. Indeed, the dense forest emanated
an almost mystical aura of security because any penetration by outsiders disturbed the wildlife and silence of the sanctuary and was easily noticeable to those who lived within. This "feeling" from the forest, ascribed to Mama Djombo, warned the hidden guerrillas of the attempts of Portuguese troops at surprise attacks.

In one sense, Independence did not merely constitute a victory of the PAIGC over the Portuguese colonial regime, but also the triumph of the coastal spiritists, who composed the majority of liberation forces, over the Islamisized groups that sided with the Portuguese. The Islamic peoples were generally allied with Christian Portuguese to defend themselves against socialist-oriented Creole trading rivals, and what they viewed as their "culturally inferior", spiritist neighbors (Pelissier, 1974: 875). In short, they regarded Independence as undermining their assumed sense of religious and cultural superiority.

Coastal spiritists also made their alliances, and not only with the Creole elites. When coastal peoples decided to join the liberation struggle, they mustered all the material and cultural resources at their disposal, including their spirits, to protect them and guarantee the success of their cause. For many of the spiritists who fought the war, the struggle was not merely between two political powers, but between two cosmological orders and the ritual and spiritual resources they controlled; it was a contest of
power between shrines like Mama Djombo and foreign High Gods like Allah and God. In keeping with the spiritist mode of thought, success or failure was not evaluated through personal ability or coincidence, but measured through contact and contract with spirits, the knowledge of their powers and influences, and the capacity to harness and direct their energies.

The densely wooded areas of the liberated zone not only provided physical protection to nationalist forces, but also happened to be the place where major public spirits were believed to dwell. Which of these two conditions actually led to the nationalist victory is beside the point. In popular interpretations, it was Mama Djombo who accepted the contracts of prominent fighters and party leaders and so granted their wishes for an independent Guinea-Bissau. In fulfilling these contracts, Mama Djombo came to symbolize the power and will of many spiritist Guineans. The continued importance of Mama Djombo in the popular consciousness can be seen in the use of its name by celebrated post-Independence musical groups, such as "Super Mama Djombo" and "Cobiana Jazz". The association between Mama Djombo and national culture and independence helps account for its vast number of clients, both peasants and the powerful, who come from urban and rural areas alike.
Political Subjugation

Just as the propitious alliance between Mama Djombo and nationalist guerilla forces proved to be decisive in expanding the range of one spirit region and in making the spirit more central within the regional and indeed national cosmology, political subjugation appears to have the reverse effect. The history of the shrine of Ussai Pantufa illustrates how political pressure may lead to the total abandonment of a province initiation spirit shrine that was once of regional importance.

The small, patrilineally-based ritual chiefdom of Pantufa located between the Mankanya province of Co and the Manjaco province of Pelundo, remained autonomous from these political units even when they became part of the Manjaco Kingdom in the 19th Century. In the 1840's, when the Manjaco Kingdom was gaining strength, the shrine of Pantufa appears to have been at the height of its regional appeal.

As a French geographer wrote at the time,

The Village of Pantufa -- famous in the country of Papel. It serves as a place of asylum for criminals, as does the village of Bandim on the Island of Bissau. It is, they say, the residence of a Hiran or Spirit, that operates miracles. People come from afar to Pantufa in pilgrimage, to obtain the cure of their families; and sterile women go there to have children (Bocandé, 1849: 339).

Until the first quarter of the 20th Century, Ussai Pantufa reportedly attracted clients from throughout coastal Guinea-Bissau and Senegambia, principally of the Manjaco ethnic group, but also Mankanya, Papel, Cassanga, Banyun, Balanta,
Creoles, Djola, and Mandinga. The ritual importance of the province of Pantufa explains its place on almost all maps of the region throughout colonial rule.

After the Portuguese occupation of the Cacheu Region in 1915, Pantufa’s power began to decline. In the 1940’s, the Portuguese administration placed Pantufa as a subordinate province to the chiefdom of Pelundo. The Portuguese-imposed warrant chief of Pelundo exploited this position and coerced Pantufa residents into working intensively on cash crop production (e.g. groundnuts) and construction of buildings for his personal profit and use and on public works (e.g. road construction) for the colonial administration (see Chapter III). The chief of Pantufa was powerless to resist these demands given that the chief of Pelundo’s activities were sanctioned by the Portuguese regime. The time consumed in forced labor hindered subsistence activities and the resident of Pantufa were soon unable to provide for their own livelihoods.

The residents of Pantufa understood this subordination not only as evidence of the relative weakness of their chief, but also as a sign that the province initiation spirit, Ussai Pantufa, was powerless to protect the members of its domain. In this ritually and politically vulnerable state, residents of Pantufa chose to forsake the spirit and emigrate to more protected zones to the east and north of the country. In the 1940’s Pantufa was one of the areas
hardest hit by out-migration. Through the last decades of colonial rule and during the Independence struggle, the province of Pantufa and its initiation spirit were abandoned altogether.

Just as political domination revealed the ineffectiveness of Ussai Pantufa, the reestablishment of relative political autonomy following Independence seemed to suggest that the public spirit had recovered some of its powers. In the early 1970's, numerous Pantufa children residing in migrant communities in other regions and countries began to die after sudden, brief illnesses. The diviners that these families consulted in their various residences reportedly identified Ussai Pantufa as the cause of the deaths and a sign that the spirit was angry about having been abandoned. To prevent future deaths and appease the spirit, Pantufa migrants would have to return to their homeland and revive the cult. Only one family responded to this call and one of its members now functions simultaneously as state committee representative, de facto ruler, and shrine priest (natúl ussai, Mjc).

National liberation and the autonomy of the province of Pantufa is thought to have revived Ussai Pantufa. Not only has a new settlement been founded within the province, but the spirit has begun to recuperate some of its former prestige, although it remains limited primarily to a local public. Although "the spirit helps anyone who is afflicted
and seeks its help" according to the shrine priest, most of its clients since the shrine’s reconsecration have been Manjaco from Pantufa and neighboring areas and, to a much lesser extent, Balanta, Papel, and Creoles in declining order.

The case of Ussai Pantufa shows how political domination can undermine the viability of an important regional cult and severely reduce the extent of its public. Although Ussai Pantufa’s origins as a sanctuary for Manjaco and Mankanya refugees made it an important alternative to Manjaco and Mankanya political and legal systems, its ritual power disappeared when it became politically subjugated to another province and its demanding chief. Only after independence, when this secular authority was removed, did Ussai Pantufa regain some of her former prestige. Like successful political alliances, political subjugation can influence the way in which spirit regions expand and contract over time.

Geographical Isolation

A second factor which may influence the ability of a spirit shrine to attract a wide regional or international clientele is the extent of its geographical isolation. Although spirit shrines proliferate throughout the Cacheu Region, many of the initiation spirit shrines with the
broadest appeal appear to be located in the most remote areas. As one observer described these ritual sites,

The habitat of these people has all the conditions of isolation. Access to it is difficult due to many estuaries and dense forest cover, bordered by muddy river banks...small areas...[which are] permanently or temporarily immersed... The residents there can not have frequent contact with neighbors and for this very reason become segmented [into small groups] (Carreira, 1964: 256).

It was isolated sites such as these, the "almost inacces­sible hideouts away from the main waterways and slave-raiding chiefs" that Rodney claims became the new sites for villages that had relocated to elude the slave trade (Rodney, 1970: 259). It is no coincidence that impenetrable terrain also lends itself to political and ethnic mar­ginality, two other conditions which contribute to a shrine's broad symbolic appeal.

Ethnic Marginality

These natural sanctuaries may also have become as­sociated with impartiality and political immunity because of their origins and relations with neighboring ethnic groups. All three shrines, Mama Djombo, Bâkássa, and Pantufa are located on the margins of the Manjaco Kingdom and at the interstices of ethnic territories (see Map 5). The people of Caiómete possess kin organization and social structure most similar to the Papel, the Baboi are of Cassanga-Banyun origin, and the Pantufa are reportedly of Mankanya descent as the province histories and traditions of
origin have shown (see Chapter III). Other important spirits, Nacine Calequisse of Calequisse and Bôté, the parent shrine for kasaré, are located near or within enclaves of Djola settlers within Manjaco territory and have been heavily influenced by these neighbors. The provinces have diverse origins, but all have undergone similar transformations because of proximity to the Manjaco Kingdom and frequent contact with its language and culture.

Located on the frontier between two or more ethnic groups, these shrines often come to be associated less with their ethnic origins than with the common conditions that underlay human experience in all of the ethnic groups. This ethnic marginality is supported by the non-ancestral character of major public spirit shrines. Unlike ancestor shrines which guard lineages and clans and emphasize the distinctions between members of different descent groups, the public spirit shrines that are associated with ethnically marginal provinces stress the common problems of the persecuted of any descent which non-ancestral shrines have helped to resolve over the centuries.

The most powerful province initiation spirits cannot be invoked for individual ends. They are not appealed to for vengeance against some other community or faction within a community or personal enemy. They are thus neutral in human disputes. Presumably they symbolize the general relationships between the forces of nature and human society rather than the division of that society into particular communities, whether these be based on neighborhoods or descent groups (Colson in Werbner, 1977: 124).
Historical Emphasis on Inclusion of Outsiders

All of the spirits studied in the Cacheu Region around which regional cults had been established have functioned simultaneously to distinguish an ethnic identity associated with a spirit province and to emphasize the availability of the spirit's powers to outsiders from a larger spirit region. Outsiders may be included within a spirit region either by the very way in which the province was originally founded (e.g. Pantufo as an asylum for outcasts from other ethnic groups, Mama Djombo division of ritual and political office among host and guest lineages) or by consistently providing solace to the unfortunate, underprivileged, and unprotected who seek the spirit's solace (e.g. nursing mothers and clients seeking ritual protection).

These geo-political conditions and cultural emphasis on inclusion of outsiders made it easy for shrine custodians in marginal areas to orient functions and symbols to clients who came from all directions. Loan words and regularity of contact with neighboring peoples made it easy to communicate with surrounding groups and focus on common concerns. Neighboring peoples and even many from farther afield could easily identify with the basic symbolic referents (e.g. large trees, removing shoes or clothing in respect, contract, sacrifice, exchange) that were present at the shrine and emphasized the common conditions of humankind.
The Last Frontier of Spiritism

Geographical isolation, impenetrable terrain, and the predominance of Creole over Islamic trading contacts made the Cacheu Region both a sanctuary for outsiders and an enclave of spiritism. Peoples fleeing political conquest and Islamic conversion found a haven in the Cacheu Region. Because it could provide protection, the area became symbolically charged as a sanctuary for the persecuted and exiles of all areas.

Of the coastal sections of the Upper Guinea Coast, the Cacheu Region was among the least penetrated by Islamic peoples and trade networks. Trade was conducted through Christian Portuguese and Creole traders, the lancados and tangomaos. The different effects of Islamicized and Christian middlemen on the indigenous peoples with which they traded can be clearly seen in the contrasts in religion and socio-economic structures of peoples residing to the north and south of the Casamance River (Personal Communication: Klei, 1988).

In the north, where trade was directed towards the Gambia and conducted through Muslim traders since the late 19th century, many of the coastal peoples intermarried with the Mande and have been converted to Islam. To the south of the Casamance, where Portuguese and Creole traders were used, the religion, economy, and politics of the inhabitants of the area underwent fewer changes. No comprehensive
system of tribute or administration was ever established in the Cacheu Region until after 1915.

These factors have made the Cacheu Region, along with the lower Casamance, among the only remaining areas where public spirit shrines can be found that far north along the Upper Guinea Coast. The Cacheu Region’s role as the final frontier of spiritism in this part of West Africa has been cited explicitly by several pilgrims as the reason for undertaking pilgrimages to the remote area. A striking example is of pilgrims originally from Benin who migrated to Dakar in the 1920’s and view shrines such as Mama Djombo as among the few spiritual resources in the area capable of serving their needs (Dakar Interview 1, 1988). Furthermore, many of the Islamic and partially-Islamisized peoples of Guinea-Bissau and adjoining countries retain numerous pre-Islamic beliefs within their cosmologies that encourage the consultation of Cacheu spirits to resolve practical problems that are not easily addressed by Islam.

The Spread of a Spirit’s Reputation

Crucial to determining the range of a spirit shrine’s public is the perceived effectiveness of the spirit and the channels by which this reputation may be diffused to different areas and other clients. A client who considers that a public spirit has fulfilled a contract or resolved a problem usually advises family and friends to undertake the
same pilgrimage when they too are in distress. A spirit's reputation, then, tends to diffuse along kinship lines and among clients who live close to one another.

The rate and direction of out-migration in a spirit province may also have some impact on the areas from which future clients will be drawn; important initiation spirits often retain a strong hold on migrants in other countries who communicate the fame of these spirits to others. Migration then, helps explain the configurations of the spirit regions of both Mama Djombo and B@kássa.

Knowledge about a spirit may also be communicated through specialized institutions that perform similar functions. Local hospitals that are unable to treat certain afflictions often advise patients to seek treatment at spirit shrines or spiritist healers who have already established a reputation for handling these afflictions. As its reputation passes through these various channels, a spirit may acquire an increasingly more central place within the cosmologies of the diverse peoples who consult it.

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE CACHEU REGIONAL COSMOLOGY

Routine Changes Producing Substantive Transformations

In the short term, these routine changes may have little impact on the overall relationship between cosmological categories, but in the long run gradual shifts often lead to substantive transformations in belief. However, gradual
substantive transformation in cosmologies are often difficult to recognize. As Barth writes,

The dogmatic view is certainly that all cult activities are based on a received tradition from ancestors. Nor was I able to identify any distinct concept of innovation at all, perhaps because the stepwise dramatic revelation of secrets through initiations dominates the individual experience and provides a template that conflates subjective novelty with objective innovation (Barth, 1987: 27).

Nevertheless, these changes do occur as suggested in two oral accounts involving the gradual exclusion of women from ritual offices. In the first account, Baió claim that originally, women had exclusive access to the sacred spirits of Caió that now figure prominently in male initiation rituals. The following oral tradition describes this historical shift of power:

Before, women alone could enter our sacred forests. Women used to make secret offerings to the spirits, using livestock and palm wine that men provided, and claimed that men would die if they ate the sacred meat or entered the sacred forest. The fatal flaw of women, however, was their weak and generous nature. Feeling sorry for excluding their husbands and children, they hid pieces of the sacred meat and shared them with their families when they returned home. The men realized what they were missing. One day, when the women were performing their rituals at a sacred shrine, the men secretly entered the forest and hid to watch how the women consulted the spirits and prepared the sacrifices. When they had learned the secrets, they ran from their hiding places and ate the sacred meat. Men discovered that the meat did not harm them, so they swore an oath forever banishing women from the forest and requesting that the spirit punish by death any woman or child who disobeyed. The men became initiated at the shrines for the first time, and from then on only they could enter the sacred grounds and partake in the sacrifices (Caió Interview 8, 1987).
This oral tradition recounts a shift in ritual power from females to males, the current holders of political office in the predominantly matrilineal society of Caió.

While this oral tradition describes the gradual exclusion of women from direct access to the spirits, we have more recent evidence within the memory of living religious specialists of the substantive transformations in religious organization that occurred within the Baió bapéne society. In about 1967, male bapéne swore an oath (ukók, Mjc.; mándjí, Kr.) to the initiation spirits of Caió abolishing female bapéne from their society. It was believed that because of this oath, any female napéne of Caió who attempted to practice the profession in the spirit province would be killed by the initiation spirits in punishment.

Several explanations have been given for this change in legislation. The most common official explanation given by most male diviners and former female practitioners relates to a female napéne who was married to one male napéne and had an affair with another. The woman's scandalous behavior allegedly convinced male bapéne that women were too untrustworthy to hold such ritual offices.

However, the decision appears to have really been the outcome of several factors (Caió Interview 31, 1987). One was that female bapéne had previously provoked several divorces by telling clients who had become ill that the envy of their spouses was responsible for the malady and that the
only remedy was divorce. Another factor was that female bapéne could not perform their tasks properly since they were forbidden entry to the most important spirit shrines of Caiô, those used in male province initiation. Thus female bapéne encountered difficulties in treating cases of soul loss or soul fright that required the specialist to recover souls that were believed to have taken refuge at the sacred initiation spirit shrines. A fourth reason was that men could not consult female diviners about problems related to initiation because of the possibility of violating the secrecy oath.

These explanations which justify female exclusion from this ritual post are due to potential infringements by women on male privilege. Instead of resolving the problems of female diviners by allowing them access to the sacred initiation spirits or to the secrets of initiation, the solution was to ban them from practice in the area. Like the myth justifying the expulsion of women from initiation spirit shrines, this is one more example of the exclusion of women from the ritual domain and other positions of power.

Barth describes the gradual process of substantive cosmological change as following a course of "subjectification" and "reobjectification" occurring through the periodic staging of initiation rituals. According to him, sacred symbols are first "subjectified" during the intervals between initiations, when only cult leaders and initiation
priests retain a restricted knowledge of their meaning and use. During the periodic initiation rituals, these symbols are "re-objectified" as they are made public and interpreted or incorporated into the various cosmological frameworks of participants. In each of these two stages, the actual meaning and use of the symbols change based upon the diversity of cosmological frameworks employed, the referents of personal experience, and even memory.

Barth sees three forms of change as plausible results of this process:

- Incremental shifts in the fan of connotations of sacred symbols;
- Incremental changes in the saliency of various meta-levels of significance of sacred symbols;
- The incremental elaboration and reduction of the scope of particular logical schemata in the cosmology. Each of these shifts can take place, and can be expected to take place, as an unintended and unnoticed trend changing the real content of the lore transmitted in any particular temple, given the way these traditions of knowledge are organized and expressed and transmitted" (Barth, 1987: 31).

The parallels of large interludes between initiation rituals among both the Ok and provinces of the Cacheu Region make this model plausible for explaining some of the changes in belief which occur in the Region.

**Consciously-Induced Innovations**

Although broad socio-historical processes contribute to the formation, rise, and decline of spirit shrines in the Cacheu Region, every public spirit has human intermediaries who also play a crucial role in determining the range of a
cult's appeal. Many scholars have emphasized the conscious role of human agents, such as shrine custodians, spirit mediums, and prophets (Werbner: 202-206; Binsbergen: 149-152; Schoffeleers: 23-234) in introducing changes that affect a shrine's public. The focus is on the personality and charisma of human representatives, rather than on the nature of the ritual field, in determining a cult's distribution. This bias toward the charismatic power of shrine custodians may reflect the predominance of data from Central African cults where the shrines are themselves often dedicated to real or mythical persons or anthropomorphic chthonic beings (e.g. Eickelman, Marx, Garbett, Colson, Binsbergen, and Schoffeleers in Werbner, 1977).

Accounts by Portuguese administrators imply that the intermediaries of spirit shrines located in the Cacheu Region also exploited these natural conditions to increase the shrine's public.

Taking advantage of the particular conditions of isolation, the dominant social classes of Caboi and Pantufa, above all that of ritual specialists, created around the spirits in the kapok forests, a halo of mystery and prestige, fostering the belief that they possess powers to cure the most diverse physical and moral ills (Carreira, 1964: 256-257).

This view appears to be in keeping with materialist explanations of the appeal and rise of regional cults that give priority to the shrine custodians' monopoly of economic, ecological, or ritual resources (Brown, 1984; Maier, 1983).
However, in the Cacheu Region the principal resource controlled to some extent by ritual specialists is not material, but spiritual. The particular geography and history of the region have contributed to its exclusivity, in making the Cacheu Region a symbolically-charged enclave of non-Islamic, non-Christian spirit shrines. Senegal, Gambia, and Guinea (Conakry) have majority Islamic populations, but Guinea-Bissau is one of the few zones in the Upper Guinea-Senegambia Region in which Islamic and non-Islamic peoples can have recourse to non-ancestral spirit shrines to resolve their problems or improve their fate. This spiritual monopoly is also supported by the fact that many of Mama Djombo's clients travel from zones of lower to higher rainfall, from sparser to denser vegetation, or from greater to lesser population density. The tendency for peoples of low rainfall zones to make pilgrimages to areas of higher rainfall, at least, appears to be a pattern in other regional cults as well (Werbner, 1977; Colson, 1977).

However, in an alternative approach based on work in Zimbabwe, Garbett argues that

Only within limited local areas is it meaningful to speak of strategy.... The appearance of strategy, when the total ritual field is viewed over time, arises not from the manipulations of particular mediums, coordinated in terms of some overall plan --the key actors rarely if ever meet and do not collude-- but from the emergent properties of the ritual field itself (Garbett, 1977: 90).

For the most part, this view of strategy as a product of the ritual field is more appropriate for our understanding of
cosmological change in the Cacheu Region, particularly since
the spirit cults of the area exhibit numerous characteristics which militate against the manipulations of individual actors.

First, there are few full-time ritual specialists in the
Cacheu Region. Shrine intermediaries rarely depend exclusively on cult assets and related income for their livelihood. Even though these revenues may be significant, and some competition may arise among custodian of shrines dedicated to a common spirit (see Chapter VIII), shrine custodians are first and foremost farmers who perform the same agricultural tasks as other members of the spirit province. For most, serving as an intermediary for a spirit is an obligation and not a choice. Many people who perform these functions, bamánlya (Caboi Interview 36, 1987), healers (Caiô Interview 32, 1986), and diviners (Bissau Interview 11, 1987) consider that these time-consuming rituals interfere with their livelihood as farmers and their other social activities.

Secondly, almost all offerings that supplicants make to the spirits are perishable in nature, making accumulation difficult. When a spirit demands payment, a client usually attends the ritual in person to assure that his or her sacrifice is made in a timely fashion. The offering is made to a spirit, not to its custodians. On the rare occasions that shrine custodians attempt to accumulate cash or
livestock (see Chapter VIII), it is said that spirits themselves are quick to take back what is rightfully theirs.

Thirdly, changes in cult organization and popularity are usually attributed to the public spirit itself rather than to its custodians and it is the spirit rather than its intermediaries that receives credit for the fulfillment of spirit contracts. In many cases, pilgrims do not even know the names of the shrine priests or that more than one shrine to the same spirit exists within the province (e.g. Mama Djombo), particularly when their visits are of short duration. Because of the size of priesthoods, priestly lineages, and the number of initiated males who attend the rituals, the actual human intermediaries may be different at each consultation that a pilgrim makes. If the senior libation pourer is absent when a pilgrim arrives, the next most senior in line performs the ritual in his place. This organization makes it difficult for any individual custodian to wield substantially more power over clients than others or to monopolize access to the shrine.

All of these factors reduce individual incentives and opportunities to manipulate the spirit’s message for personal advantage and accumulation. The abundance of mediums and flexible organizational structure make Cacheu regional cults less vulnerable to manipulation by charismatic intermediaries than the well-documented cults in Central Africa. Individual Central African mediums may

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introduce innovations which contribute to a cult's sustainability, but the rivalries of contending successors also make the cult peculiarly vulnerable (Werbner, 1977: 204-207). Rather, in the Cacheu Region, the representatives of the spirit are perceived as an amorphous and impermanent group; humans die and are replaced, but the spirit is thought to be eternal. Thus it is the spirit, the spirit province, and the ritual field these define rather than the custodian, that are the decisive factors in determining the extent of the spirit region.

The spirits of the Region may more appropriately be viewed as a collective resource rather than ones controlled by individuals or classes of specialists. Collective initiation rituals and other meetings of initiates provide opportunities to reorient the content of a spirit's messages and functions. However, cult strategies are modified on a collective basis with the collaboration of all initiates present, and particularly in the interests of elders of clans and lineages who are accorded greater status.

As conditions and clients change, spirit mediums introduce innovations to allow the full range of potential clients to have access to the spirits. Recently, some shrine priests have accepted cash from migrants in place of the traditional animal sacrifice to accommodate the time constraints of these visitors (Caboi Interviews 36, 40, 1987). Another shrine priest was also said to have begun
accepting cassette recorded consultations from his clients residing abroad, eliminating the need for the initial pilgrimage altogether (Caboi Interview 43, 1986).

One of the most significant examples of strategic reorientation that has occurred within the last century was the institution of satellite or kasarâ shrines from Mama Djombo in Caboi. Initiates attribute this innovation to a mandate from Mama Djombo itself, ordering priests to diffuse its power by distributing satellite shrines in the form of horns to the supplicants and congregations who most frequently requested its aid. This order was said to have come as a response to a marked increase in clients. The excessive demand by nursing mothers for protection for their infants and by congregations for protection of their villages from droughts, pestilence, and witchcraft began to place serious constraints on the time that shrine intermediaries had to dedicate to agricultural and domestic activities in the host community (Caboi Interview 44, 1987). The presence of numerous nursing mothers in Caboi reduced the space and food available for the province’s own population.

To remedy this, Mama Djombo reportedly ordained that nursing mothers and communal pilgrimages of village representatives should be provided with special horns to establish satellite shrines in their home provinces. In this way, the spirit’s power was transferred to congregations
whose residents most regularly sent pilgrims to the parent shrine. Thereafter, clients could consult the shrines in their own spirit provinces, and need only make pilgrimages to Caboi for major requests and payments. The innovation facilitated the expansion of Mama Djombo's range to accompany the high rates of outmigration from the region and transformed some clients into congregations. Through the chartering of satellite shrines, spirits shrines that once had congregations only within their own provinces expanded their influence to other ethnic or geographic areas. Once again, custodians in the parent province profited only indirectly from this change, but it did alleviate the pressure of excessive clients on the time and resources of the small ritual centers.

Organizational innovations, such as these are vital to ensuring a cult's flexibility and sustainability over historical periods that have seen the radical modification of political boundaries, decolonization, and dramatic economic changes and social transformations.

**PROCESSES OF COSMOLOGICAL CONVERGENCE**

The most fundamental changes in cosmological paradigms appear to follow a pattern of cosmological convergence. **Cosmological convergence** may be defined as the process by which individuals and groups perceive categories of two different cosmological paradigms as equivalent. For
example, cosmological convergence occurs when spiritists perceive that their High God is the same as or equivalent to Allah of Islam or God of Christianity. In conceptual terms, the spiritist category of High God partially overlaps with the Islamic category of Allah and the Christian category of God in spiritist thought, even though the full range of believed powers and characteristics of these entities are quite distinct in the respective cosmologies.

Although the high god of spiritism is much more remote from human lives than its parallel in Christianity and Islam, spiritists view this distance less as an attribute of two different concepts of divine beings and more as a difference in human abilities to harness its powers. The ability of Muslim holy men (al imami, F.) and Catholic priest to pray or "talk directly to God" endows these specialists with a presumed superiority over spiritists who generally believe themselves to be unable to do the same. Many spiritist believe that Christian priests and Islamic holy men have powers of clairvoyance because of this ability.

The Role of Prophets

Although human and non-human intermediaries with the spirit world abound, there are few agents thought capable of understanding the will of the high god. People of the Cacheu Region usually depend upon second-hand information
which spirits communicate to diviners or other intermediaries. The information is often considered to be limited, merely identifying the high god as the cause of a misfortune without prescribing conciliatory measures. From the perspective of ordinary people, the high god is just one of many agents responsible for influencing the course of events, and the one over which humans and spirits have least control.

On very rare occasions the spiritist high god is thought to reveal its truths to selected human beings. These humans are prophets or "children of the high god" (uwál unám usafú, Gu.; kendièn'kan nasín batì, Mjc.) who are thought to have the clairvoyant abilities which allow them to receive messages directly from the remote being. Prophets who can demonstrate this ability through effective prophecy rapidly attract large numbers of clients who follow the prescriptions for action in order to resolve the problems that afflict them or their societies. A prophet’s mandates frequently appeal to members of several different ethnic groups who otherwise lack any other basis for common action.

There have been periodic waves of prophetism in the Cacheu Region which tend to coincide with other forms of religious revitalization. One such period occurred at the turn of the century, when several individuals in the Cacheu Region (e.g. in Cajegute) became renowned for speaking the word of the high god (Caió Interview 33, 1987). These
isolated prophets claimed that the high god spoke to them and transmitted its message to others.

In general, however, the emergence of prophets among the inhabitants of the Cacheu Region appears to be a rare phenomenon. Instead, peoples of the Region appear to turn more often to Djola prophets to receive messages from the supreme being. Djola prophets have proliferated in the Casamance area of Senegal ever since the famous Alinsitoue movement of the 1940’s, after which many of their prescriptions are modelled (Personal Communication: Klei, 1988; Girard, 1969).

In 1987, a new prophetess arose among the Djola in Kabrousse, (Ossouye) Senegal, preaching a doctrine very similar to that of her predecessors. She prophesied that rains would be abundant that year and that there would be few insects but many weeds. She preached that people should not abandon traditional African culture, but rather live in their villages and follow their own customs. Otherwise, the rain would cease to fall and there would be famine. Large numbers of Manjaco, Baboi, Djola, and members of other ethnic groups made pilgrimages to her village where she ordered that they work six days of the week and reserve the seventh day for rest. On the day of rest, all people should dance African dances, dress in traditional garb, and refrain from touching or using goods and materials of "white", that is, of foreign or European origin. On the day
after they returned to their home communities, each village congregation was to dig a special well which the prophetess said would be easy to complete in a single day because both she and the high god would help the people with the work. Villagers who carried out her wishes confirm that the woman was herself "a small god", for as she promised, none of them felt fatigue in this normally arduous task (Caboi Interview 45, 1988). On Sundays, the day of rest, followers were to drink and wash exclusively from that well.

This prophetess appears to be part of a general period of religious revitalization that is now taking place throughout Guinea-Bissau. Another notable example is the Yang Yang movement among the Balanta (Jong: 1987; Brooke: 1988). This recent well-documented case appears to be the most recent example of a much wider phenomenon which affects the entire country.

The current profusion of revitalization movements in Guinea-Bissau and adoption of some of these canons by peoples of the Cacheu Region seems to result from major social transformations which the area is undergoing. An analysis of the kasară witch-finding movement reveals some of the factors which help explain the directions of religious change. An examination of the origins of this movement may help explain the range of its appeal and its tenacity through time.
History of Kasará: A Case Study

Written sources (Cunha, 1899a) trace the origins of a revitalization movement resembling kasará to the end of 1897, shortly before the rise of prophets in the Cacheu Region (Caió Interview 33, 1987). The first mentions of kasará appeared directly following an unprecedented attack by the Portuguese in the same year on an alliance of peoples from the provinces of Boté, Caió, Caiómete, Calequisse, Pecixe, and Jeta in retaliation for their attacking and seizing the cargo of European merchant vessels (see Chapter III).

Boté kasará spread to areas, including Caió, which suffered most from this military defeat. While the setback may have signified impotence of the spirits designated to protect the area, the introduction of a new revitalized organization enhanced, but did not supplant, the already existent spirits. The revitalization movement may have also been an attempt to preserve symbolically the former political and economic alliance that united these peoples.

The Boté kasará movement introduced an important innovation in traditional coastal societies, by permitting ordinary people to consult the high god and resolve social problems without the intervention of intermediaries and the factional interests they invariably represent. Recent written sources (Binsbergen, 1984: 23; Jong, 1987: 232) treat kasará as an apparently immutable institution adopted
from the Djola. However, kasarā had a variety of origins and underwent successive forms of organization and expression throughout its development.

In February 1898, the Governor of Portuguese Guinea was informed about the appearance of a "heathen" god in the Felupe (Djola) area between the Cacheu River and Senegal border (Cunha: 1899a). This early report described the god as a white woman with long blond hair who possessed special powers over water, capable of making undrinkable water drinkable and pure water into poison (Cunha: 1899a). She reportedly performed a series of miracles in different areas to reveal her divine power and warn the people that she would return (Cunha: 1899a). Although some thought the god was a native of the Costa de Baixo province who was amusing herself and exploiting the ignorance of others, the Governor suspected that she was actually "an intelligent native or European subsidized by the French Government, in order to mobilize the less civilized people of...Guinea and at a given moment create difficulties" (Cunha: 1899a).

Further investigation (Cunha, 1899c) revealed that the movement began when a Muslim "patriarch" returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca and ordered his "mouro bishops and priests" (imams and marabouts) to promote religious festivities and the giving of alms in order to placate the spirit of God. These imams gave feasts throughout the Casamance and in the northern areas of Portuguese Guinea.
Felupe from the town of Varela attended the festivities and heard the *imams* preach the maxims of the Koran on the importance of travelling and spreading the faith. These festivities had a profound influence on the Felupe who sent their own priests throughout the territory to preach the word of this new God, prohibiting the spilling of blood, and encouraging good will, peace, and hard work (Cunha, 1899c).

Nonetheless, the actual identity of the god (always referred to in the singular) remained a mystery (Falcao, 1899). Perhaps this was an intentional ploy of the leaders to disguise the fact that not one but several people were performing "miraculous" deeds in different parts of the province. This possibility appears to be corroborated by Cunha’s report (1899c) that the god spoke from inside a hut, without being seen by anyone, and having his words transmitted by one of his companions. The vague identity of the god is also reflected in the fact that in all but the first report, the god was assumed to be male in gender.

The god's or the Felupe priests' strategy for converting followers varied as the movement progressed. Initially, the god was renowned for performing miracles that required it to be taken seriously. In the first miracle, a female god transformed a well which had become dry and filled with mud into one filled with the purest water, before the eyes of a Felupe girl (Cunha, 1899a). A second miracle occurred in Pecixe where
...the population was divided into two parts, one of believers and the other of unbelievers...she opened three wells, and forbade them to drink water from them, punishing by death those who did not comply.... Those who did not believe, to show the absurdity of this threat, drank water from the three wells, some 20 died; it must be understood that the...believers, attributed these deaths not to the poison that the god poured into the water, but to punishment for having been incredulous, disobedient, bad, etc... (Cunha, 1899a).

A later, more accurate report (Cunha, 1899c), determined that the god had only forbade the people of Pecixe to drink from the middle well which was reserved for her. Non-believers disregarded her warning and drank from the middle font, dying shortly afterwards.

A third miracle did much "to transform incredulity into belief and fanaticism" (Cunha, 1899c). When the god arrived in Catum, he announced from inside the hut that those who were bad and incredulous and disobeyed his word would die. Just as he finished speaking, his companions saluted with gun shot, which accidentally hit and set fire to several barrels of gunpowder that had been set aside by the residents of the village for special use. The resulting fire killed some thirty people. The residents of Catum, who had previously been very skeptical, fell to their knees and begged for pardon, accepting the god and acting henceforward as it commanded (Cunha, 1899c).

In this way the movement spread throughout Varela, Jufunco, Mata de Putama, Catum, and then down through Costa de Baixo, Jeta, Pecixe, the Island of Bissau, and the
territory of the Buramo (Cunha, 1899a, 1899c). Felupe, Papel, Manjaco, and Mankanya alike accepted the word of this god. Ironically, reports that many people died by poisoning wherever the god went merely increased its prestige (Cunha, 1899a).

Only when one of the miracles backfired did the leaders of the movement change their strategy. After leaving Bissau, the god went to Nhacra and showed the Balanta special rice that was reserved for it, telling them they would die if they ate it. When several people died after eating the rice, the Balanta became angry and chased the god away from their territory (Cunha, 1899c). Even now, the Balanta do not participate in kasará (Cabci Interview 46, 1987), and apparently the Mankanya have also renounced the cult (Menezes, 1928: 20; Mankanya Interview 3, 1988).

As a result of this defeat, the god "changing his tactics, divided his people by the territory covered and then began killing them left and right, spreading terror everywhere by way of the tumba" (Cunha, 1899c) The tumba or "tomb" was the divinatory litter which connects this god to the religious organization which, since the 1920’s, has been known as kasará. Even today, the shelter in which satellite Boté kasará shrines are kept is called the "tumba". According to Cunha (1899c), the god of the end of the 19th century "resuscitated" the operation of the tumba, "a
ceremony which had once been common but had long since fallen into disuse".

The archaic ceremony which Cunha describes below closely resembles the interrogation of the soul oracle:

When someone died, the cadaver was placed on a long litter: people formed a circle drinking and dancing, and four men ran with the litter [on their shoulders] from one side to the other and would suddenly touch one individual, secretly chosen previously, who would be killed for being a witch and for having been the cause of death, afterwards the cadavers would be taken to the cemetery (Cunha, 1899c).

Although the kasará divinatory litter resembles the soul oracle as a medium of communication, it may in fact be a distinct phenomenon, since the soul oracle communicates the words of the dead while the kasará tumba communicates the words of the high god. Falcao (1899), a second lieutenant in the army who was also writing at this time and was long acquainted with the area, appears to have perceived this distinction. After a journey to Pecixe, he described two tumbas that greeted him as "bundles of wood wrapped in a red cloth, where the soul of god is found, say the natives" [emphasis added] and whose principal function was to identify witches. It is probable that these are dissociated phenomena since there is no evidence that the soul oracle had become obsolete in the area. Today, among the peoples of the Cacheu region, the kasará litter and soul oracle are considered to be entirely different agents with distinct powers and realms of activity, albeit with similar forms.
Regardless of this possible confusion over the origin of the divinatory litter, its adoption into the movement had the desired appeal. Accounts at that time (Cunha, 1899c) describe rituals in which two to three thousand people participated, following the kasarã litter in processions thirty-people-wide and continuing at a frenzied pace for days and nights without rest or nourishment. In this weakened and suggestible state, male, female, and even child participants touched by the litter voluntarily confessed to being witches and surrendered themselves to being beaten to death by canes or stabbed with swords (Cunha, 1899c).

The Governor considered the movement to be a potential threat to public order. For security reasons, he recommended that the military commander prohibit the exit of foreign inhabitants from the city, and prepared to send a gun boat to Bissau in defense (Cunha, 1899a). Eventually, the Governor occupied the village of Intim, as he had intended to do for some time, and claimed that "since the flag was raised, on the 19th [of March], no more people have been killed in Intim and since the 21st in Antula and the rest of the territory" (Cunha, 1899c).

Even after this Portuguese victory however, the governor thought it necessary to establish a religious mission in the area in order to ensure that there would be no further resurgence of indigenous religious movements (Cunha 1899c). This decision was to a large extent responsible for the
increased initiative to improve Christian religious training and mission education that followed shortly afterwards (see Henrique, 1899; Cunha, 1900).

Despite the movement's threat to public order, even the Portuguese administration had to recognize some of its positive effects. By 1899, the god's message of peace, work, and social harmony and its prohibition against the spilling of blood had had a widespread effect. The governor was forced to admit that the preachers had been successful for "today from Barella [Varela] to Safim, through all the territory of Felupe, Papel, Manjaco, Buramo, the heathens walk unarmed, greeting each other placing a knee on the ground as a sign of respect" (Cunha, 1899c).

How can a movement preach and effect peace while encouraging the widespread slaying of others? Clearly the assassinations which occurred as a result of kasaré divination were much more valid than the Portuguese authorities realized. The object was not merely to acquire power and exploit the credulity of others (Cunha, 1899c), but to bring about peace by the institutionalized killing of witches, who were the overt cause of mistrust and dissension and thought to be the covert cause of infertility, illness, hunger, and death. What had begun as a syncretic Islamo-spiritist prophetic movement was quickly transformed into a predominantly spiritist witchfinding cult; the only things eventually retained from Islam were the possibility of direct messages
from God, but a non-anthropomorphic one, and by way of a
divinatory litter rather than the Koran.

The dramatic deaths among the Guinean population
hindered the Portuguese administration from understanding
the reasons for the movement's appeal. As a consequence,
Portuguese and indigenous perceptions of the movement's
effect contrasted drastically. The Portuguese saw the
movement as a fanatical threat to public order, while the
local population perceived it as primarily beneficial. In
his 1899 report to the Governor, second lieutenant Falcao
illustrates this difference in perception. He writes:

"[When I] advised the Manjaco [of Pecixe] to leave
this barbarous custom, they responded that the
tumba, in their land, had killed no one. But later
I learned from the businessmen that it was reported
to have killed two old women. How many more people
have already perished, without anyone knowing!"
(Falcao, 1899).

In the areas where it was adopted, kasarâ for the most
part cross-cut gender, age, and ethnic divisions. Among its
adherents however, women were described as the most diligent
and active killers, since they suspected that the witches
had caused the death of their children or parents (Cunha,
1899c). The predominant role of women in kasarâ has
continued to the present. It is usually women who organize
collective pilgrimages to the kasarâ center in Caboi,
because they consider themselves responsible for defending
their villages against "problems of the earth".
A congregation's acceptance of kasará meant overlaying the traditional moral order with an alternative system of justice, one which could denounce spontaneously any member of the society, including the elite. It is not surprising then that at the beginning, some rulers were skeptical about this new source of power. Papel chiefs of Biombo and Safim went so far as to warn the military commander of Bissau not to trust the good intentions of the god and to close the gateways (Cunha, 1899a).

In addition to the suspicion of it by traditional power holders in the societies which adopted kasará, the movement also appears to have had certain natural ethnic limits. The same elements which appealed to the majority of Felupe, Manjaco, Mankanya, and Papel, were unable to attract the Balanta. While the former peoples accepted the deaths brought by the god as proof of witchcraft and the power of kasará to purge their homes of evil, the Balanta may have considered the instant death of witches to be too sudden, and preferred a more prolonged deliberation such as their poison ordeal (Roche, 1976: 49-51; Mark, 1985: 89-90). Whatever the explanation, kasará did not have the same compelling appeal for the Balanta as it did for the other peoples of that area. Even now, among the ethnic groups that request kasará for the first time, the hesitancy of any individual to welcome the innovation is of course immediate-
ly taken as proof of his or her being a witch and attributed to fear of discovery (Caboi Interview 47, 1987).

Problems Threatening Kasará's Continuity

Along with its demographic limits, kasará, like other revitalization movements, suffered from several inherent trends which threatened its survival. The first problem was opposition by the Portuguese administration for whom kasará constituted a threat to public order. This problem was resolved almost immediately after the initial witch-finding campaign that occurred with the introduction of kasará. Although the governor believed that it was the occupation of Intim that quelled the witch hunts (Cunha, 1899c), kasará continued to kill witches, but in a much less direct and conspicuous fashion. The congregations could ask the tumba to kill the witch responsible for a problem, rather than request that it identify the witch so that they could then kill him or her themselves. In this way, the person suspected of witchcraft was identified only after death, with the interrogation of the soul oracle which diagnosed kasará as the cause. Thereafter, murders inspired by kasará and "committed" by humans rarely came to the Portuguese attention, while kasará continued to rid the villages of witches.

A second problem which threatened kasará was the difficulty in maintaining its revitalizing cleansing
functions over an extended period of time. For the societ-
ties that adopted it, kasará promised to eliminate witches
and all the evils that they could bring. Although in-
dividuals could contract spirits to seek revenge against
witches once their identities were known, witches were also
believed to be capable of foreseeing the spirits’ actions
and protect themselves with clairvoyant powers (Caió
Interview 23, 1987). Elders of Caió (Caió Interview 33,
1987) recall that when Boté kasará was first introduced,
followers completely abandoned their public spirit shrines.
It is unclear whether this action was due to a kasará
doctrine which demanded exclusivity, or to the belief by
followers that the omnipotence of kasará made public spirit
shrines obsolete. Whatever the reasons, people employed the
more powerful kasará, rather than the spirits, to resolve
their problems.

However, after the initial introduction of kasará and
mass extermination of witches, villagers undoubtedly
discovered that their problems of illness, infertility,
poverty, and death continued to exist. For this reason,
shortly after its introduction, clients realized the
limitations of kasará for achieving individual ambitions and
resumed consultation of the spirits they had abandoned (Caió
Interview 33, 1987). The lack of written accounts of the
period following its introduction make it difficult to know
in what other ways the societies responded to this second
phase of *kasarā*. Given that *kasarā* continues to hold sway over many of the areas where it was originally introduced suggests that in their interpretation of continued misfortune, adherents never doubted *kasarā*'s effectiveness, albeit in a more restricted sphere of activity. Rather than challenge *kasarā*'s competence, question the existence of witches, or speculate that society's evils might have other causes, adherents of *kasarā* probably decided that some witches were craftier than others, and that these could try and occasionally succeed at evading *kasarā*'s punishment. This interpretation supported the necessity for a continued presence of *kasarā* in the communities, which only after regular relentless purges could eliminate witchcraft altogether.

**The Institutionalization of Kasarā**

**The Creation of Satellite Shrines**

The solution then, was to create satellite *kasarā* shrines dispersed among satellite congregations, with the function of solving daily problems, particularly those involving witch identification and elimination. Small villages and neighborhoods established satellite *kasarā* shrines that were to serve congregations within their boundaries. The litters were covered with cloth in a color peculiar to each congregation (Binsbergen, 1984: 38; Jong, 1987: 232). The shelters which contained the oracular

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litter were built near the numerically larger settlement of each neighborhood, regardless of lineage affiliation. In many areas, the satellite kasará shrine and the cleared area adjoining it also became known as the tumba and became the focal point of community or congregation festivities, including wrestling matches, and agricultural and age grade rituals.

Once every five to ten years, these congregations would perform a special kasará ritual with the assistance of cult leaders in Boté in order to rid their ranks of the most dangerous witches that the weaker local kasará were unable to apprehend (see Chapter VII).

Relations between Kasará and Spiritism

The establishment of satellite shrines and priests (ámánya kasará, Mjc.) was part of an overall trend towards routinization which characterizes many revitalization movements. Over the decades, the annual rituals at the kasará shrine followed by thanksgiving sacrifices came to resemble the making and paying of spirit contracts. While ensuring its continuity, the routinization of the movement through the establishment of resident priests, and regular local access to divine pronouncements, brought kasará much closer to the form of spiritism which the inhabitants had originally practiced. Both spirit shrines and kasará could be consulted for daily problem-solving, and had local human
representatives. Both could help resolve human problems, and should according to proper etiquette be paid or thanked for their services.

Despite the gradual convergence of kasará and spiritism, kasará never superseded the role of spirits and spirits never eliminated the need for kasará. Several important differences remained between these two forms of religious organization. Kasará continued to be a much more direct link to the high god, because it bypassed the fallible public and private spirits and their intermediaries. Since it received direction from the high god, it was thought that kasará could not be tempted or lured by promises of large offerings to harm people unjustly. Witches or people wishing ill towards ordinary people did not make contracts there for fear that the high god would punish them. Moreover, although kasará often resolved individual problems, its principal concern was with the elimination of witchcraft and the resolution of "problems of the earth" in the interest of the entire neighborhood or village, while spirits performed diverse functions but principally for the benefit of the contracting individual or subgroup. Finally and most strikingly, kasará managed to preserve an element of the spontaneous divinely-inspired catharsis that was its original appeal through the periodic rituals staged with the guidance of Boté leaders. This last characteristic, which is unusual in routinized revitalization movements, is
particularly noteworthy because it helps explain kasará’s continued attraction (see Chapter VII).

The immediacy of these occasional witch-hunting rituals had all the vitality of the extermination campaigns of the early days of kasará. In this unusual, routinized revitalization movement, satellite shrines effected the regular assassination of witches secretly and indirectly, while the occasional major kasará ritual provided the personal cathartic experience of seeing witches being captured and punished without the mitigating presence of politically controversial deaths.

Significance for Cosmological Convergence

The example of kasará suggests that the category of "clairvoyant" in the Cacheu Regional cosmology converged with that of Djola "prophets" facilitating the acceptance of innovations introduced in this domain. Once included within the paradigm, new categories such as this one can become more or less central to the cosmology depending on different needs at different times. The new category usually does not supplant the other elements of the cosmology, although it may modify the relationships between them.

Thus, the cosmological paradigm of the Cacheu Region appears to be transformed most often through an accretionary process: new supernatural agents and secular institutions are constantly introduced through contact with neighboring
groups. If a new cosmological category or agent proves viable for a set of people, it may become more central and complex in its interrelations with former elements. In turn, shared cosmological elements facilitate the potential acceptance of religious innovations.

**The Role of Diviners**

In addition to cosmological convergence that is the product of longstanding historical proximity between geographically contiguous and socially similar ethnic groups, some ritual specialists have the ability to make their clients perceive similarities between seemingly dissimilar paradigms. Diviners are among the most important agents responsible for establishing parallels between the cosmological paradigms of different ethnic groups in Guinea-Bissau. Unlike the custodians and intermediaries of spirit shrines who are associated with territorially-fixed spirits, diviners of all religious backgrounds are mobile and may practice the profession wherever they choose. This is also true of spiritist diviners who can remove the more important divination horns from their permanent shrines in order to provide consultations to large numbers of clients living in distant areas. Abounding in both rural and urban areas, diviners are crucial to the extension of the spiritist mode of thought and of establishing links between spiritism, Islam, Christianity, and other traditional religions.
Diviners can be found among all of the major religious traditions of Guinea-Bissau. Spiritist djambakús (Kr.) (bapéne, Mjc. or ulaaq, Gu.) and balubéru act as institutionalized mediums with spirits and ancestors; among their vast range of techniques, hand divination (kamóbo kadijin, Mjc.; alsamón. Kr.) and talking in tongues are among the most common. Islamic marabouts or móru, learned decoders of Allah’s written word, use scattered cowrie shells, Arabic writing, and pendulums swinging over the Koran to interpret events. Christian diviners have altars containing hundreds of saint statues and divine God’s intentions by touching small metal saint replicas, while others read cards that have been elaborately preserved. Despite this variety of techniques, diviners from all religious backgrounds attract a multi-ethnic clientele in their own rights.

Clients tend to conflate diviners of all ethnic and religious backgrounds into a single category of problem-solving specialists. All diviners help their clients to understand their problems better: to reinterpret familiar facts, to reconsider evident factors that have been overlooked, and to discover other, external and previously unidentified influences and explanations (Crowley, 1987: 119). Diviner usually works for a small fee and, if requested, may also prescribe preventative measures to be taken to avoid predicted misfortunes or resolve current predicaments.
When confronted with serious problems, clients may consult several diviners in succession. If each diviner identifies a different cause, a despairing client may purchase all of the recommended remedies and perform all of the rituals necessary to eliminate the problem. If after all of this the illness or misfortune persists, a client may continue to seek an obscure key cause that has eluded even the most renowned diviners. Inconsistencies between the interpretations of different diviners and inaccuracies in their assessments of the causes of misfortune are usually attributed to a diviner’s lack of clairvoyant gifts, inadequate training, or charlatanism. Because of their common functions, diviners are consulted more on the basis of availability, reputation, and efficacy than on shared religious affiliation or ethnic origin.

Although most diviners are, technically, specialists representing distinct religious faiths, they tend to identify common causes and prescribe similar solutions to their client’s misfortunes. Islamic and Christian diviners acknowledge and address not only the orthodox supernatural forces of their own religions (e.g. Allah, God and Saints), but also the role of spirits, witches, and other agents that belong more centrally to spiritist cosmologies.

A single diviner of any faith may advise a client to light a candle and say a prayer in the Catholic church, give specific alms or gifts (simóla, Kr.) to Islamic holy men to
avoid a misfortune, pay a contract or make an offerings at an ancestor or spirit shrine, see a healing specialist to remove the mystical bullets shot \((fáquia, Kr.; ságua, Kr.)\) by envious Mankanya enemies, or wash with, wear, or drink a "medicine" for protection against a móru's sorcery \((corté, Kr.)\). Thus, during a consultation, a diviner frequently attributes the causes of misfortune to agents that are not traditional to that client's background. By identifying elements from each of these cosmological paradigms as the causes or solutions to misfortune, diviners reinforce the work of other ritual specialists and diviners, and thereby contribute to the gradual blending of the cosmological beliefs of the diverse peoples of Guinea-Bissau.

The convergence of cosmological paradigms is most evident in urban areas, where residents live in close proximity with clients and diviners of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. For clients, however, the acceptance of new spirits, oracles, and other cosmological agents is a gradual process. Only when several different diviners identify the same unfamiliar cause or solution to a problem, do clients take these forces seriously and accept the new category as part of their cosmologies. Diviners must be sensitive to the differences in the symbolic referents of their diverse clients as they introduce new agents into local cosmologies while reinforcing the existence and efficacy of some of the preexisting elements. The cos-
mological parallels that diviners draw between different paradigms are first adopted by individual clients and later by other members of an ethnic group as they become increasingly viable for understanding the complexity of human experience.

**Convergence in Theories of Change and Conversion**

Categories of different cosmological paradigms may converge at several different points simultaneously. The Islamized Fula, for example, maintain spirit shrines (djìné, F.) with special custodians (nduré, F.) who are not obligated to follow Islamic prohibitions against alcohol consumption. These djìné are perceived as rough equivalents to Cacheu public spirits and are approached in much the same way. The similarity facilitates an understanding and acceptance of Cacheu spirits as potential problem-solvers for the Fula. Other cosmological categories overlap minimally, making the equivalents evident, but the institutions less accessible. An example of this is Mamadu (F.), a Koranic school tablet covered with Arabic writing that is carried on the shoulders of two people to identify thieves within a village. Although the form is somewhat different, this institution has obvious parallels with kasarah divinatory litters, not only in the belief that it is a viable medium for communicating the responses of Allah (the equivalent of the High God), but also in the way it is used.
Cosmological categories can also converge with secular institutions. As Chapter VIII has shown, a spiritist healer is equivalent to a hospital for clients seeking cures for their illnesses. Similarly, spiritists view courts of law as working similarly to some public spirits and the choice of these institutions depends on each client’s view of which is most likely to solve the dispute, most efficiently in his or her favor.

The convergence between cosmological paradigms sheds light on processes of religious innovation. When two cosmological categories are perceived as equivalent, innovations introduced from the equivalent category are more easily accepted.

Conversion

The convergence of cosmological paradigms also illuminates processes of conversion. Horton argues that conversion can only occur when accompanied by changes in socio-historical contexts. In Africa, the shift from micro- to macro-relations, he holds, is conducive to a shift in belief from local spirits to the high god. Cosmological convergence shows that conversion is not a uni-directional, uniform, and all-encompassing process. Rather it can occur on many different planes (categories) and in many different directions simultaneously. As Barth writes,

there is an undeniable sharing of a wider stock of ideas than those embodied in the rites of one’s own
community, and a potential whereby cultural materials can be, and clearly sometimes are, passed on to other communities and adopted or transformed by them (Barth, 1987: 9).

This wider stock of shared ideas makes tendencies towards the adoption of institutions in some areas and from some ethnic groups more probable than others. Different categories may be emphasized at different times without ruling out the viability of other categories, at least in the short run.

This model of "conversion" as cosmological convergence is particularly valid in religions that have no clearly defined rules of membership, such as spiritism. A comparison of spiritism with the other world religions of Guinea-Bissau illuminates the distinctiveness of the spiritist cosmology and explains its appeal.

At first view the connections between Islam, Christianity, and spiritism seem obscure. Unlike the world religions which have centralized organizations and determine membership by acceptance of a common codified creed, spiritism tends to be decentralized and has no notion of common membership. There is no coherent set of teachings by a group of historical or mythical prophets and no well-defined orthodox doctrine by which all adherents must abide.

However, spiritism, Islam and Christianity do share a number of similar features. In their orthodox forms, all three prescribe rules that must be followed to achieve instrumental ends. The world religions prescribe rules (the
orthodox doctrines of the faith, such as the ten commandments, the five pillars) to achieve instrumental ends (e.g. salvation). Spiritism helps secure instrumental ends (e.g. health, fertility, prosperity) if the rules (e.g. payment of the spirit contract) are followed. For all three religions this exchange of spiritual services in return for the observance of religious rules constitutes the basis of the ritual contract.

Nonetheless, the sequences of exchange are different for spiritism and the world religions. Spiritism is a this-worldly religion in which the services are delivered first and payment follows. In Islam and Christianity, both other-worldly in orientation, the concessions (e.g. modifying one's life to follow the rules of the faith) must be made first and only afterwards are the services (e.g. salvation) provided.

This chronology of exchange has far-reaching implications for the structure of religious communities. Rules often serve to define membership in a religion, while excluding from the community others who choose not to observe them. The preconditions that must be met to acquire the state and services promised in Islam and Christianity are what defines the community from the outset, particularly since the major service, eternal life, is only provided after death. Thus, by definition, a Catholic who wishes to attain salvation follows a different set of rules and makes
a different set of concessions than does a Moslem. A member of one religion cannot be a member of another since the requirements and benefits are specific to each. Spiritism on the other hand, tends to be inclusive by nature; it functions to solve practical problems and the only rule of observance, in exchange for this service, is to make the promised payment punctually once the problem has been resolved. Since the spirit contract is a voluntaristic agreement, the fact that one contract is not fulfilled does not place in question the existence of spirits, but rather implies that one spirit simply refused to accept the contract.

An examination of the heterodox beliefs and practices of Islamic and Christian peoples in Guinea-Bissau reveal other parallels among the three faiths. Several scholars (Lewis, 1986: 96; Eickelman, 1977) have noted the importance of considering "the implicit ideology of religion as locally practiced and understood" and not merely the formal ideological tenets of the social elite (Eikelman, 1977: 5). When including non-orthodox members, world religions resemble spiritism in their incorporation of a myriad of smaller belief systems unified by a common act or set of beliefs.

Muslims, Christians, and spiritists in Guinea-Bissau occupy similar economic and socio-historical conditions. As residents of one of the poorest countries in the world,
where average per capita income is 170 US$ per year, and average life expectancy is 39 years (World Bank, 1988), it is not surprising that most Muslims, Christians, and spiritists alike orient beliefs and ritual behavior around the acquisition of basic, this-worldly objectives. The spiritist preoccupation with problem-resolution resembles the ritual strategies of many Christians and Muslims in Guinea-Bissau, and the focus of pre-modern Christianity on miracle working.

Spiritism’s practical character is suited to Guinea-Bissau’s historical context and largely responsible for its immediate appeal in the region. Spirit contracts promise to resolve the most common and urgent problems, such as illness, sterility, drought, plagues, and social conflict in the form of disputes. They offer an opportunity to improve a supplicant’s personal or financial condition, in essence, to control fate. Should these socially and geographically distant peoples doubt a spirit’s powers, they risk nothing by requesting its services since payment is made only after the contract has been fulfilled. The factor which unites adherents of spiritism is the common belief in the way spirits may be contracted and the role they play in human life. This belief is virtually universal in folk religions all over the world. Identification with Mama Djombo is based on the pragmatic ends it serves rather than adherence to a common doctrine.
The emphasis on this-worldly problem-solving also helps to explain spiritism's appeal to members of the world religions of Guinea-Bissau and neighboring countries. No formal "conversion" or professed rejection of one, and acceptance of another religious affiliation is necessary for pilgrims to utilize the resources of spiritism. Rather, the focus on the resolution of specific, worldly problems in spiritism complements the functions of other religious (diviners) and secular (courts, hospitals) problem-solving institutions.

Furthermore, the simplicity of spirit contracts facilitates the accessibility of spiritist institutions to members of other religious backgrounds. The simple notion of exchange, which is at the heart of the spirit contract, is a central one to all peoples of the Upper Guinea Coast. The spirit contract is easily accessible to the general public since the payment is more or less whatever each client chooses it to be. The failure to observe the basic rule of spiritism, does not bar a client from access to other shrines, although it may place him or her in a cosmological state of danger and induce illness, madness, or death. While providing easily accessible, pragmatic, wide-ranging solutions to most problems that afflict humankind, spirit contracts also permanently alter the way clients perceive the causes and relations between future events that affect their lives.
Thus, people become spiritists by being involved in a single spirit contract, that links them to the spiritist mode of thought and system of causality. Because of the complexity of explanations for misfortune, a single contract can involve an individual in a web of relations to spirits and their intermediaries that can go far beyond the range of the single request and contract. Although no overarching inclusive institutions impart a single religious and cultural identity to the inhabitants of a spirit region, and only during occasional pilgrimages do members of the spirit region engage in sporadic interaction with intermediaries of the spirit shrine, spiritists are united by the common belief that a contract made in an isolated, critical ritual at an important spirit shrine may resolve specified problems. They share a common view of causality and of the process of misfortune and a common understanding of what a spirit contract involves and how it works. Every time a misfortune occurs, all people affected who have made spirit contracts must review their social and spiritual relations, and renew their various sets of spiritual contacts to fulfill ritual obligations. This common mode of thought ties the pilgrims of a spirit shrine into a single ritual field and moral community in its largest sense.
CONCLUSION

Spirit shrines have helped to formulate and reformulate social organization throughout the Cacheu Region. The internal organization of spirit provinces has influenced a spirit’s external relations and vice versa. Because many of the most important spirit provinces began as asylums for outcasts, their most important function continues to be the protective one. The ritual process at the shrine is inclusive, providing a method for incorporating the socially marginal, people whom the cosmological order has not favored, and people who because of crimes are no longer protected by the social contract. The spirits offer resources for the disadvantaged, solutions to the troubled, and if necessary, permanent sanctuary and incorporation into the host community for the persecuted and dispossessed. These factors have afforded the spirit shrines of the Cacheu region a ritually-charged character with extraordinary appeal.
1. Numerous Pantufa shrines, for example, are located along the road to Mansoa where migrants from Pantufa once lived before being ousted by the Balanta. Although the shrines are now abandoned, they maintain the name "Pantufa" and facilitate the mapping of migration routes throughout the country. Ussai Pantufa is also the public spirit of the residential patrilineage of Kahâm in Caboi since the founder of this lineage originally fled from the spirit province of Pantufa.

2. After the contract, all victories which occurred near Caboi were attributed to Mama Djombo's protective power. One such triumph occurred in 1971. In an attempt to mislead colonial troops into thinking that they had joined the Portuguese, forest inhabitants raised a Portuguese flag and invited two Portuguese commanders and the military governor, Spinola himself, to attend a ceremony celebrating their victory (Interview: Baticam, 1988). During the ceremony, guerrilla forces staged a surprise attack in which all of the Portuguese and Commandos Africanos present were killed. Although this campaign resulted in a momentous victory for nationalist troops, it had a bizarre twist: at the last minute Commander Spinola was unable to attend the ceremony. If before there had been any doubt, many spiritists were thereafter convinced that Spinola was a clairvoyant or witch who declined the invitation because he had foreseen the defeat.

3. An interesting story describes how the spirit's name was applied to the musical group "Super Mama Djombo". Following the advice of a Creole member who had heard of the famous spirit, the band took the name and soon became popular, producing several records. Shortly afterwards, the band member who had suggested the name left the group on a scholarship to study in the Soviet Union. After some time, he became gravely ill and eventually fell into a coma. The Soviet doctors claimed that nothing could be done for him, so he was flown back to Guinea-Bissau to die.

   His mother consulted diviners to understand the reason for his illness and found that it was because her son had not sought Mama Djombo's permission to take its name for the band and that the former band member would have to perform a sacrifice at Mama Djombo's shrine in Caboi to request the spirit's pardon. After the ritual, the man remained in Caboi for several months to undergo treatment from a Baboi healer who specializes in mental illness and eventually returned to Bissau "completely cured" (Bissau Interviews 9-10, 1986).
4. The different impact of Mande and Creole traders on the autochthonous coastal peoples is also seen in the contrasts between socio-religious and economic organization of peoples to the north and south of the Casamance River (Personal Communication: Klei, 1988).

5. A partial list of villages who made pilgrimages to Kabrousse includes Gendem, Atank, Poilao de Leao, Nhataba, Grimol, N’gonde, Campada, Nema, Campam Pecau, Pubos (Putabe), Bahinga, Sagol, Sindina, Bahondade, Susana. Numerous other from along the border are also said to have gone (Caboi Interview 45, 1988).

6. In the teachings of this prophetess, the seventh day of rest corresponds with Sunday, while in the teachings of Alinsitoue and most other Djola prophetesses, the day of rest was Wednesday (Personal Communication: Klei, 1988).

7. The digging of wells is also a common feature of prophetic movements in the Casamance (Personal Communication: Klei, 1988).

8. The wave of prophetism and revitalization movements that occurred among the Felupe, Manjaco, Mankanya and Papel at the turn of the century appear to have been taking place among the Balanta simultaneously. A surge in witchcraft accusations which afflicted the Balanta in the Casamance in the early 1900’s is associated with the French repression that accompanied effective occupation (Roche, 1976: 49-51; Mark, 1985: 89-90).

9. Perhaps one of the reasons for spiritism’s this-worldly emphasis is the separation of the worlds of God, Spirits and Humans. Because humans do not go to God’s world after death, spirits and God cannot promise eternal life even if they wanted to.
CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

The study of spirit shrines in the Cacheu Region of Guinea-Bissau analyzes the relationship between religion, history and social organization in a multi-ethnic setting. A number of conclusions can be drawn from this analysis.

First, religious beliefs can not be excluded from the analysis of historical processes. As a result of peoples fleeing slave incursions, proselytism, and other forms of persecution, the Cacheu Region became characterized as a social frontier. The highly segmentary social structure and considerable individual mobility facilitated the integration of frontiersmen into the societies of the Region. The spirit shrines and related institutions that developed over time were reinforced by the incorporation of outsiders into the frontier societies.

For firstcomers and newcomers alike, spirit shrines were linked to social groups of varying dimensions, marking lineages, residential compounds, and occupational associations. At their broadest extent, spirit shrines became the sites of province initiation helping to define ethnic identities with relation to territories. In this way, province initiation spirits defined entire spirit provinces, the broadest range of corporate action for the inhabitants of a collection of villages intermeshed by the offices and rituals of male initiation. Many of these spirit provinces
corresponded to traditional chiefdoms. Even when political
structures deteriorate, the spirit province endures and
continues to define the territory and identity of its
inhabitants. It is from these provinces that ethnic
identities of the Cacheu Region are derived.

Secondly, the thesis demonstrates how the spirit
contract has served as the principal idiom for relations
between humans and the supernatural as well as between
members of different social categories. Because every
social group of the Cacheu Region has a corresponding spirit
shrine, contracts with the spirits, particularly oath-taking
and vengeance contracts, establish codes for intra- and
intergroup behavior. In this way, spirits and their shrines
form the basis of the social contract for it is at these
shrines that members establish rules of appropriate be-

behavior.

Thirdly, shrines that are integrally linked to the
functioning of particular spirit provinces can simultaneous-
ly serve a broader public that spans several ethnic groups
and countries. Statistical analyses employed in the thesis
refute assumptions that traditional religious institutions
such as these can only operate within a small-scale com-
munity and a single bounded ethnic group. Their non-
ancestral nature and their association with wider ter-
ritories rather than social sub-groups are major factors in
the multi-ethnic appeal of initiation spirits.
Fourthly, it is the simplicity of the spirit contract that allows shrines to function in so many ways for such diverse clientele. Through contracts, spirits can be coopted for the benefit of the client. There is no uniform "justice" or universally-accepted concept of "right" or "wrong". Rather, justice is ego-centered and situationally determined. Events and relationships are believed to be governed by an individual or group’s ability to mobilize spirits. Those who have inordinate success in achieving their ambitions are classified as clairvoyants, with an innate power to see spirits that grants them an advantage over other people. The interpretation given to these occurrences necessarily depends upon the individual’s perspective. The mobilization of spiritual forces through the use of contracts is the major explanation provided for personal and major historical events.

Spirit contracts make the shrines of the Cacheu Region easily accessible to outsiders. The only requirement is to sacrifice in payment once the request has been granted. This ritual obligation is simple and easily understandable to all the peoples of this part of the Upper Guinea Coast. However, a single instrumental and seemingly innocuous contract links clients into a broader mode of thought by permanently altering the way they perceive causality and misfortune. Through their inclusive and impartial approach to resolving the practical concerns of humankind, spirits in
a sense enmesh all their clients in the spiritist mode of thought.

Furthermore, the spirit shrines of the Cacheu Region are part of a larger regional process. The spirits that are peripheral to particular social groups and cosmologies can not only determine unseen relations between individuals in these areas, but can also direct the actions that they take, such as adjudication, conflict resolution, and asylum. Subjects of an ambiguous justice system, "guilty victims" and "innocent transgressors" seek in these peripheral spirit provinces an alternative to social pressures within the groups where the crimes or persecution occurred. They may be consulted occasionally to resolve smaller personal problems, or may become the sanctuary for refugees when these problems become irresolvable. Even healing centers, on a smaller scale may function in this capacity to integrate social marginals, the "sick" temporarily, until they are healed, or permanently when they are incurable and can no longer fulfill their normal roles outside of a therapeutic community designed especially for them. The location of many of these spirit shrines in areas of lower population density eliminates some of the economic and social pressures in the villages of origin that may have contributed to the original plight.

Thus, the provinces surrounding important initiation spirits are transformed into host communities. The com-
munities provide invaluable spiritual access to the diverse short-term pilgrims who seek the spirit's services and to longer term refugees who seek the spirit's protection. Historically, the longer term guests became priestly lineages in some provinces; in others entire provinces were composed of outcasts and a new social structure emerged around them. In return, guests provide the host community with labor, alcohol, and sacrificial meat as contributions to the local economy.

As people of surrounding areas have progressively converted to Islam, the Cacheu Region has become an increasingly important heartland of spiritism and symbolically-charged alternative to centralized religious and political systems in the Upper Guinea Coast. The spirit shrines of the Cacheu Region have helped to define social identities, create and transform social groups, and provide a common idiom for understanding personal and historical relations of power and events. Spirits and spiritism are part of a dynamic process of social change and social incorporation.

When Guinea-Bissau was rated as one of the ten least developed countries of the world, one of its important natural resources was not considered: the spirit shrines of the Cacheu Region. Not only do the multi-ethnic spirit shrines in this coastal enclave attract important consumer goods such as livestock and alcohol into the country, but also perform a service in providing solace and hope to
thousands of people along the Upper Guinea Coast of West Africa.
APPENDIX I: THE SACRED CHIEFS OF CABOI

This appendix provides a list of the sacred chiefs of Caboi and illustrates the pattern of rotation between the noble five lineages (Caboi Interview 48, 1986). Baboi attribute discrepancies in the rotation sequence to rulers who have been forgotten (indicated as "?") or to the occasional suspension of rotation rules. Asterisks indicate incumbents whose names are associated with oral traditions, summarized below, that explain aspects of the chieftainship and its decline.

Table 1: Chief List

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Praise Name of Chief</th>
<th>Residential Lineage of Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mandjon Peénd (Pisin Kaboi)</td>
<td>Katunku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I've been greater than you for a long time&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mankila (Kayá Pisi)</td>
<td>Belimbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Mankila, he is going to be chief&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Sakan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kafili</td>
<td>Bondinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndatchimbo (Manká Pisin Dawatinduko)</td>
<td>Bassand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I am the chief, give me things&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Katunku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Léhema (Pisin Mambó Marël)</td>
<td>Belimbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I have concentrated all things in the chiefship&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mankaronde (Pisin Kaboi Mankáréndé)</td>
<td>Sakan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I will have it [the chiefship] for you&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ndapankar (Manténda Pisin Ndapánka)</td>
<td>Bondinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I was born to rule; you know that I have it [the chiefship] already&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Oral Traditions Relating to the Chief List

Léhena is described as the last willing chief of Caboi who assumed office around the mid- to late 1800’s. He established a settlement near the royal court of Katunku along with his sons and brothers from Belimbo. Continued wars with Manjaco of Churo led Léhena to flee to Gendem and then Batch where he eventually died. Following Léhena’s funeral in Caboi, his family refused to return to Belimbo and thus established the settlement of Moné near the royal court. Because of their common genealogical origin, the residential lineages of Moné and Belimbo may not intermarry. The establishment of Moné also became the basis for a rule forbidding the chief’s family, with the exception of his first wife, from joining him at the chiefly residence.

Baboi claim that the chiefship declined because of successive wars with the Manjaco of Churo which resulted in the flight of large sectors of the population and the destruction and abandonment of the wealth needed to perform the associated rituals. Some residential lineages, such as Bondinga, lost the right to claim the chiefship when Ndapánkar’s family neglected to perform the appropriate chiefly funeral after his death (see Chapter III). Other
candidates for the office simply refused to return to Caboi after they had migrated, even though the spirit of the chiefship (*djenyô fanám fangôb*, Gu.) had divinely selected them to rule (e.g. Unkabo of Bassand). Indeed, the last ruler of Caboi, Kambandinta, was a migrant in Gendem who unwittingly showed the signs of chieftainship during a brief visit in Caboi and was prevented from leaving until he assumed office.

The very last incumbent that the spirit selected was Ulaatch of Moné whose family was too poor to perform the ritual of accession (*bafugu*, Gu.), probably around the time of the bovine plague of 1891. Ulaatch is said to have shown the signs of the chieftainship for his entire life, turning everything he touched to the color of blood until he became ill and died.
APPENDIX II: BABOI POPULATION STATISTICS IN CABOI
AND MIGRANT COMMUNITIES

These figures are based on a census conducted in March 1987 which included the entire Baboi ethnic group. The census was organized around units of consumption or hearths, rather than residence. The establishment of an independent hearth marks the formation of a new residential minimal lineage and a permanent settlement of migrants. Temporary migrants, in contrast, depend upon supplies of rice from the permanent hearths of their residential lineage of origin.

The approximate population of permanent residents in the four villages of Caboi is 347. Combined with the neighboring Baboi settlements of Bahrum, Kayil, Fanho and Bitchil, often considered part of Caboi in ritual events, the total population of Baboi living near Caboi is 434.

The following table provides a breakdown of the total population of Baboi males and females by residence in 1987:

Table 1: Total Baboi Population by Residence (1987)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Subtotal</th>
<th>Perm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bissele</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaham</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belimbo</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biniha</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>347 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrum*</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayil*</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanho*</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30 (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baxil</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitchil*</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19 (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cacheu</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pok</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canchungo</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelundo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sao Domingos</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nema*</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atank*</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suzana</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nhataba*</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poilao de Leao*</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayinga</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayatot*</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akintcha*</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gendem*</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pubwos*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campada*</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grimo</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basiral*</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bissau</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bissoram</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mores</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bafata</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cacine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buba</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bubaque</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casamance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulofai*</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banganga</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakar</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

607 597 1204

(+ 1 Male unidentified place)

Summary
347 in spirit province
935 in core zone (including pubwos) (588)
979 in intermediate zone (44)
1196 in spirit region
1204 total

* Permanent Migrant Communities containing independent Baboi hearths. (All other residences outside of Caboi are considered to be temporary, with hearths dependent upon parent hearths in permanent communities).

Baboi residential lineages which are spatially contiguous in Caboi tend to reproduce these settlement patterns
in migrant communities. Table 2 provides the population figures for residential lineages in Caboi and permanent migrant communities. The vertical axis represents Baboi residential lineages, the horizontal axis represents the major settlements derived from Table 1 (column Perm.). Note the clustering of members of contiguous residential lineages in migrant settlements.

Table 2: Distribution of Population of Baboi Residential Lineages in Caboi and Permanent Migrant Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Res. Lineage</th>
<th>Permanent Settlements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Bissele</td>
<td>26 17 25 6 19 7 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katunku</td>
<td>50 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mone</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilidi</td>
<td>0 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bofor</td>
<td>20 19 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bondinga</td>
<td>41 18 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchob</td>
<td>11 27 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wombar</td>
<td>33 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kafambo</td>
<td>31 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunkel</td>
<td>0 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassand</td>
<td>0 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belimbo</td>
<td>32 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapok</td>
<td>30 11 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandenu</td>
<td>12 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakan</td>
<td>15 18 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S (Moris)</td>
<td>18 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S (Morel)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SafuBiniha</td>
<td>19 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>347 9 29 30 19 25 60 11 100 27 55 70 5 67 16 29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Members of each residential lineage tend to migrate to the same or to nearby locations. The major destinations for migrants of each residential lineage are summarized in Table 3 as follows:
Table 3: Destinations of Baboi Migrants by Residential Lineage

**Village: Bissele**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential Lineage</th>
<th>Destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safu Bissele</td>
<td>Bitchil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katunku</td>
<td>Batch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mone</td>
<td>Batch (then all moved to Akintcha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bofor</td>
<td>Akintcha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilidi*</td>
<td>Akintcha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Village: Kaham**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential Lineage</th>
<th>Destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bondinga</td>
<td>Gendem (S. Bigene)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grimo (S. Bigene)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pubwos (S. Domingos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchob</td>
<td>Gendem (S. Bigene)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wombar</td>
<td>Kayatot (S. Bigene)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaham Kafambo</td>
<td>Gendem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaham Kunkuhl</td>
<td>Kayatot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Village: Belimbo/Bassand**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential Lineage</th>
<th>Destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bassand*</td>
<td>Poilao de Leao (S. Domingos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belimbo</td>
<td>Poilao de Leao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Village: Biniha**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential Lineage</th>
<th>Destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safu Biniha</td>
<td>Campada (then all moved to Nema)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakan</td>
<td>Nema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandenu</td>
<td>Atank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapok</td>
<td>Poilao de Leao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* All members of the residential lineage emigrated, abandoning property in Caboi. In 1986-7, representatives were found exclusively in migrant communities and, except for women who had married into other lineages, none resided in Caboi.

Table 4 focuses on the total number of Baboi migrants in each permanent settlement outside of Caboi, duplicated from Table 1 (column Perm.).
Table 4: Baboi Population by Permanent Migrant Settlement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahrum</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayil</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanho</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitchil</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nema</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atank</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nhataba</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poilao de Leao</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayatot</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akintcha</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gendem</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pubwos</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campada</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basiral</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulofai</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>277</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These villages may be grouped in terms of their significance as sites for Baboi settlement as follows:

Table 5: Population Size of Major Permanent Migrant Settlements

(excludes individual migrants who have not established independent permanent hearths)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Baboi Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Under 20</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nhataba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitchil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pubwos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basiral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Table 1: Chief List

The following list compares accounts by a Portuguese district officer (Meireles: 1948) and Adju Lera (Caió Interview 33: 1987) and provides information about the offices, reigns, and offspring of chiefs and chiefmakers of Caió. In the table, "AK" signifies Adju Kor or "Chief of Caió", "N" stands for nélómët, the "chiefmaker", "P" is for "father", and "S" stands for "son".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meireles</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Adju Lera</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kabáku</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dëtchënki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kagukunatu</td>
<td></td>
<td>S=Sokón</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F=king</td>
<td></td>
<td>N=Sokón</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassarel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaçóbra</td>
<td></td>
<td>? (Popantr, Kor di Batau)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S=Dëmakaritch.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N=Sokón</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6kankanpá</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6káláját</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanpelund</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rainmaker, becomes fish)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanpyint</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egêj</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nasín Nafásel?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S=Bërampín</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N=Sokón</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Timeframe</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungil</td>
<td>circa 1889</td>
<td>a man from Pelundo; Bøløpimbuts (Popantr, Batau); Bølapimbut (Batau; Popantr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dafärka</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Described in governor report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bärétine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajéçine</td>
<td>1876?</td>
<td>Badjasín (Pintchir, Batau); N=Dam@karitch (Bajdán)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanjan Mantánya</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Nanja Mantenha (Popantr, Batau); N=Børampín</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco Mango</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Francisco Manga S=Quintino Manga N=Lis Kor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Francisco Manga (Bitchilom/Bøtch-åg; Popantr) prison (1962-d. 1966)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Substitute=Wol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Sapateiro</td>
<td></td>
<td>Antonio Kanyaséle Sapateiro (Dikântem/Kor Tubebi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following Baió tradition of origin is a translation and summary of one collected by a Portuguese district officer of Caió (Meireles, 1948: 625-30):

Many years ago, a ruler of Bassarel gave the territories of Cajegute and Caió to his second and third sons. The third son, named Kabáku Kaçukunatu, settled with his large following in a place called Pedot [mampatás, Kr.; Spordias mombin] located close to the sea in front of the island of Santa Catarina in the Chiefdom of Caió. Slave raids led by Pecixe Islanders forced Kabaku Kaçukunatu to move with his followers to what is now the ward of Utia Melique in Batau.

Kabáku Kaçukunatu made himself chief, but remained subordinate to his father who was the ruler of Bassarel and the "king of kings". To this day, the chiefs of Caió, Cajegute and the Island of Jeta must pay tribute as vassals to the King in Bassarel in order to acquire their positions.

After a several years, the sons of Kabáku Kaçukunatu became adolescents and began to steal small household utensils and livestock. The disputes gradually escalated. To avoid serious conflicts, the Chief decided to move with some of his followers some 6 kilometers from his former home to what is now the royal court in Belabate. This relocation forced his sons to walk a considerable distance to visit him, a necessary task since Manjacos maintain that a good walk quiets quarrels, provokes fatigue, and inspires reflection.

Meireles (1948: 625) notes that at various times in the history of Caió two or more chiefs each with his own constituency ruled simultaneously within the same court at Belabat. Meireles argues that this co-rulership was an
innovation in the political system since each chief would now have distinct territories if the political system had always supported two or more simultaneous chiefs. Oral histories (Caió Interview 33, 1987) mark the termination of the reign by multiple chiefs following the rule of the three chiefs: Ungíl (Bësësen Kalópisim Dafímpré), Nasín Nafásel (White Chief), and Bëlapímbut (Maká pasíím Bëlëpímbuts) (see Table 1). One of these, Bëlapímbut, is renowned for having said "wait for me until I die. I will be old, wait for me", the expression from which his name is derived. As he had predicted, Bëlapímbut survived the other two chiefs, proving the spirits’ support for his position. Since him, there have been only single chiefs ruling Caió at any given time.

It is possible that this problem was resolved by the current system in which the chiefship rotates between the four maximal lineages of the aristocratic matriclan, Basáisen, each candidate taking his turn until death. The residential lineages that make up the four maximal lineages of Basáisen are grouped roughly as follows:

1. **Barála Tubébi:** Barála, Badjámbal, Bintchëmpil (Tubèbi), Pintchim Brem (Belabat);
2. **Usént Blei:** Blei (Caiomete), Bidjám (Belabat/Batau), Kor Dikantém (Dikantém), Popantr (Batau);
3. **Kor Batau:** Bêtchág (Bidjág), Kandómpole (Dikantem);
4. **Kor di Tubébi:** Popantr (Tumambo), Bikankl (Dikantem), Pradj (Popantr).
The chiefs of Caió may have rotated among these four maximal lineages more or less as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dëtchunki</th>
<th>Djon Bupák/ Nanja Mantenha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nasín Nafásel</td>
<td>Manga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(Bëlapimbut)?</td>
<td>Kayásele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ungil</td>
<td>Caropínim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(Bëlapimbut)?</td>
<td>Paulino Gomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Badjésim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX IV: WARDS OF PANTUFA

The following table shows the marked decline in Pantufa’s population indicated by the reduction in residences over the last 70 years. The Ward column refers to entire neighborhoods which consisted of dozens of houses in the 1920's.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward Name</th>
<th>No. of Houses c. 1920</th>
<th>No. of Houses c. 1950</th>
<th>No. of Houses c. 1975</th>
<th>No. of Houses 1987</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bétáhasi</td>
<td>2 houses</td>
<td>1 house</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamumét</td>
<td>6 houses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pétáb</td>
<td>5 houses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karünstal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utiá Bwé</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 houses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwób</td>
<td>7 houses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utiá Pantúfa</td>
<td>4 houses</td>
<td>2 houses</td>
<td>1 house</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nankuck</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pëlóm</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dënt</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandútcha</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Patrilineages of Pantufa
Bapáfa (of current chief)
Bantángaba (of former chief, Këganta)
Bassia (of traditional chiefs)
Bawén
Bamelé
Batáb
Bayánga
Bamua
Batcháki
Bangábo
Badjassí
## APPENDIX V: CLANS AND RESIDENTIAL LINEAGES OF CAIO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Residential Lineage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basâsen</td>
<td>Blei (Caiomete)                      Dikantem (Kor)                   Bidjám (Belabat)                    Popántr (Batau)                      Bîchib@m (Blei, Caiomete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kor Tebebi (Tebebi)                          Popántr (Tumambo)                Brem (Pitchín Brem, Belabat)         Bîkânkî (Dikantem)                         Pradîj (Popántr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kor Batau (Batau)                        Bîchâg (Batau)                     Kandîmmpole (Dikantem)               Popántr (Popántr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barâla (Tebebi)                           Badjâmbal (Caiomete)              Bîntchîmpil (Tebebi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basô</td>
<td>Bîlôi (Kéchêm', Caiomete)                 Kor Kéchêm' (Caiomete)             Bîlûti (Casegiûta, Caiomete)         Bîlîgèr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kapôl (Caiomete)                          Pênâna                           Bîlôi (Kéchêm', Caiomete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nêchêm'pîl                                Kaléle (Batau)                   Bum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pînya (Batau)                             Bêûk (Batau)                      Pêsîl (Temambo)                        Kasélint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pêsîl (Temambo)                           PônkÎn'du                          Binyângai                           Bêkânkl (Tebebi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kasélint                                  PônkÎn'du                          Binyângai                           Bêkânkl (Tebebi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PônkÎn'du                                 Binyângai                           Bêkânkl (Tebebi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bôr (Dikantem)                            Pîntchîntche (Batau)              Pîntchîr (Batau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basó (cont.)</td>
<td>Kabás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gibeng’gér</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Katin’k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bandongit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Buam, Cajegute)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bitchilom (Batáu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Betchip, Cajegute)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayíg</td>
<td>Casegiúta (Caiomete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pisé’pél (Bissoi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bélói (Casegiúta)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kabén (Belabat)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Béng’félí (Caiomete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Piyól (Bissoi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bubór (Batau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bé’kébédj (Caiomete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pérúta (Belabat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nukób (Batau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pululob (Dikantem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bandéi (Tebebi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Petchim Préotch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kandján (Tebebi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basétu</td>
<td>Bidjám (Batau)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pélém’bér (Batau)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pérém’ (Belabat)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bassái (Temambo)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kadjél (Belabat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaléle (Caiomete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kasén (Tebebi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bépák (Batau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prum (Batau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basáfim</td>
<td>Pendink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mdjen’kèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kor Bissoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Knu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barála (Caiomete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tchintchir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tcheráwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Baféi

Kor Temambo
Pértá (Caionete)
Ungünt (Tebebi)

Batát

Bunkündjil (Tebebi)
APPENDIX VI: RESIDENTIAL LINEAGES OF CABOI
(Origins, Order of Settlement, Movements of Residences, Land Grants, and Distribution of Political and Ritual Functions)

In the following table, an "x" in the "Mama Djombo" column signifies that the residential lineage provides priests to the initiation spirit. An "x" in the "Fanam Fangob" column means that the residential lineage historically furnished chiefs, while an "(x)" indicates that the residential lineage was established when a chief's family refused to return to its residence of origin. The "Order Settled" column depicts firstcomers and guests of each village. Residential lineages that divided and settled in other villages, and the land grants that these and other immigrants received are provided in the "Residence Movement" column. Lineages that have completed migrated and no longer exist in Caboi are marked by an asterisk "*".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Lineage</th>
<th>Mama Djombo</th>
<th>Fanam Fangob</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Order Settled</th>
<th>Residence Movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bissele</td>
<td>Safu</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Baboi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>to Tchob</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bissele</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baboi, slave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Katunku</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Baboi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mone</td>
<td></td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>Baboi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>from Bilimbo, Bofor land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bofor</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Baboi, Cassanga</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>From Bassand, Katunku land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilidi*</td>
<td></td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>Baboi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Lineage</td>
<td>Mama Djom-Djombo</td>
<td>Fanam Fangoob</td>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>Order Settled</td>
<td>Residence Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaham</td>
<td>Bondinga</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Baboi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tchob</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Baboi, slave</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>from Safu Bissele, Bondinga land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wombar</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Mjc. of Penumer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kafambo land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaham:</td>
<td>Kafambo</td>
<td>Pantufa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bassand land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kunkel*</td>
<td>Pantufa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kafambo land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilimbo</td>
<td>Bilimbo</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Baboi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>to Mone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bassand*</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Baboi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>to Gilidi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bassand*</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Baboi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biniha</td>
<td>Sapok</td>
<td>Mjc. Churo</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sandeno land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sandeno</td>
<td>Baboi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sakan:</td>
<td>Baboi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sasaf</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Baboi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sadijege</td>
<td>Baboi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safu</td>
<td>Biniha</td>
<td>Baboi, Cassanga</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX VII: THE AGE SETS OF CAIO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age set</th>
<th>Approx. Year of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Santí</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bêlés</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kantchól</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantína</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamião (truck)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upós (well?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uséra (silk)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karéta (bicycle)</td>
<td>1930, teenagers in 1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulíndjêr</td>
<td>1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pênkára (beating)</td>
<td>1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanivétu (jackknife)</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siziâna (Susanâ)</td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambiadôr (walker)</td>
<td>1945, forced labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perigo (danger)</td>
<td>1948, Quintino Mangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central (central elect.)</td>
<td>1952, Djorsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udjúgan (players)</td>
<td>1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commando (commanders)</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fusileiro (gunmen)</td>
<td>1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aparcarista (parachutists)</td>
<td>1965, left tumba 1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polícia (police)</td>
<td>1970, enter tumba 1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baixa Força</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX VIII: CABOI AND CAIO KIN TERMINOLOGY

The following tables provide partial lists of kin terminology employed in Caboi and Caió. Please note the reference to "right" relating to witchcraft in the terms for MB (Mother’s Brother) and ZS (Sister’s Son).

Table 1: Caboi Kin Terminology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin Relationship</th>
<th>Guboi Kin Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M, FZD, FFZDD</td>
<td>Aiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mother)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F, FB, FZS, FBSS (Ego=M), FFBS, FFBD/S, FMZS</td>
<td>Waba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(father)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/S, BD/S, MBD/S, FBSD/S</td>
<td>Wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(child: son/daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z/B, MZD/S, FBD/S, FFBSS, FFZSD/S, MMBS (E=F), FSDD (E=M), FMZSD/S</td>
<td>Ufira if younger than Ego;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sibling, parallel cousin) (FZDD/S, infrequent)</td>
<td>Uleufa if older than Ego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FZ, FFBD</td>
<td>Mbíngi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>Mbényi, Mbényi Angob@se @ (&quot;uncle with the red eyes&quot;, &quot;uncle who has rights to me&quot;), Mbényi Abiním (&quot;uncle of my mother&quot;, &quot;uncle who suckled one breast with my mother&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(extended to MM’s cowife’s S, to MMFS, and to M’s half brother).</td>
<td>Mbényi Asuq@ Arabu (&quot;uncle from the outside&quot;). A member of the same uterine kin group (abá) as Ego, but not considered a full Mbényi because if he is a witch he has the right to kill Ego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMZS/D, MFBS/D, FMFBS/D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MZ, FMZD</td>
<td>Rná, Aiva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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FBSS

DD/S, SD/S, BDD/S, BSD/S, ZDD/S, ZSD/S, MZDD/S, MBDD
(includes all of Ego’s grandchildren and Ego’s siblings’ grandchildren)

ZD/S, FBDD/S

MM/F, FF, FFB/Z, FFZD/S, FMZ

MMM/F, MFF

FFP/M

FFZDD, MMBSS

fictive kin, a member of Ego’s fictive kin pair (gēhāna, Gu.) of the same generation as Ego

fictive kin, a member of Ego’s mother’s patrilineage of the same generation as Ego

Mbíngiria if Ego is female

Umariria

Uzbekena, Uzembuna tokádo ("my nephew himself" for ZD/S only)

Mama

Mama Mamiens

Mamaubā

no kin term (marriageable)

Aokupāp¹ (Mjc., "child of my father")

Aokeñín¹ (Mjc. Churo, "child of my mother")

1 These terms have been adopted through frequent contact and intermarriage with Manjaco of Churo. They refer to all fictive kin, even to women of different ethnic groups who have married Baboi and been adopted by other lineages.

Table 2: Caió Kin Terminology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin Relationship</th>
<th>Guboi Kin Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MB (younger)</td>
<td>manukul natānji (Mjc. &quot;my MB who inherits me&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FB (younger)</td>
<td>manukul na mákal nínji (Mjc. &quot;my FB who inherits me&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX IX: INTERPRETATIONS OF DREAMS, OMENS, AND SACRED LAWS

TABLE 1: Interpretations of Dreams

Caió:

If one dreams:
1. of many people (some of whom have died) coming to get the dreamer: a spirit has sent ancestors to take the dreamer to the world of the dead (to kill him or her). (To prevent this from happening, the dreamer must sacrifice at the shrine of the spirit that sent the ancestors and request it not to kill him or her).

2. of visiting a diviner: the dreamer will have to make a sacrifice.

Caboi1:

If one dreams:
1. of eating red mangos before mangos are in season, a lineage member will die.

2. of picking red (ripe) mangos that disappear once they have been picked: a misfortune will befall a lineage member.

3. that a mango that is red (ripe) in a tree turns green (unripe) when it falls: a personal misfortune unrelated to the family will befall the dreamer.

4. of eating an ankole (Kr., a palm fruit resembling a coconut) before they are in season: a misfortune will befall a lineage member.

5. of eating an old ankole: a misfortune will befall someone from outside of the lineage.

6. of eating oranges: the dreamer will become ill or misfortune will befall a lineage member.

7. of eating a banana: the dreamer will become ill or misfortune will befall a lineage member.

8. of eating fish: something bad will happen (obscure meaning). (But if one dreams that someone else is eating fish: the meaning is positive because the dreamer did not eat it).

9. of eating meat: that the dreamer has arrived in the witches’ hut (akóbu, Gu.)
10. of eating palm oil stew: a misfortune will befall a lineage member.

11. of someone else eating palm oil stew: a personal misfortune unrelated to the family will befall the dreamer.

12. of eating a meal without knowing who prepared it: the dreamer will become ill.

13. of drinking red wine or cane alcohol: the dreamer will definitely become ill.

14. of drinking palm wine: the dreamer will encounter good fortune.

15. of fighting with a black cow: a witch is pursuing the dreamer.

16. of catching rotten fish in a river: there will be a misfortune (a cadaver).

17. of buying red clothes: there will be a misfortune (a dead person).

18. of swimming in any body of water (a river, the sea, a lake, etc.): the dreamer will encounter good fortune or luck.

19. of going fishing and only catching small swamp fish (teinha, Kr.) in the net: good fortune.

20. of arriving in a city where the dreamer has never been before or has only heard of: the dreamer has arrived in the world of the dead.

21. of someone giving the dreamer money in the form of coins: someone envies or hates the dreamer and wishes to do him or her harm (dianfá, Kr.).

22. of a party in which everyone is laughing: everyone will cry (a misfortune will occur).

23. of a dead person: the next day will be a good one.

24. that the dreamer’s house burnt down: the dreamer’s house will burn down in a few days. (To prevent this misfortune, the dreamer must set the house on fire and put it out again with water immediately afterwards, after he or she awakes).
25. that something bad has happened to a friend (e.g. the friend has been shot in the head): danger will befall the friend. (To avoid this, the dreamer must tie a cord or piece of red cloth around the friend's wrist immediately after awakening).

26. of riding a bicycle: that the dreamer will have sexual relations or marry. (If the dreamer is already courting someone, a marriage with that person will ensue without fail).

27. of something white: good fortune.

28. of something red: misfortune.

If a pregnant woman dreams repeatedly:
1. of a lynx or lion: she will give birth to a boy.
2. of a frog, chameleon or boa constrictor: she will give birth to a girl.

If a member of the grave diggers association dreams:
1. of digging out a sweet potato, cassava or yam: he will soon dig a grave for a dead person. (If a young boy has this dream, it means that later he will become a member of the grave diggers association.)

**TABLE 2: Interpretations of Omens**

Caié:

If one sees:
1. a dead chameleon or dead pheasant: the observer or one of his or her parent's will die.

2. an ulín (Mjc., an insect resembling a cricket) approaching or in flight: the observer will have to perform a ritual.

3. a soft-shelled swamp crab (cákri, Kr.) in the village: a ritual will take place.

4. termites (ugudj, Mjc.) in the ancestor stake (petchap, Mjc.; firkidja, Kr.): a ritual involving a libation will occur.

Some public spirits (e.g. Ussai Pétíbi) are thought to send signs to identify "witches" they have killed for clients in response to vengeance contracts. A client who discovers
any of the following omens near a corpse may consider the deceased to have been a witch killed by a spirit: a dead monkey, a lizard, a pheasant, a squirrel, a cameleon, termites, awik (Mjc., a rare black insect that resembles an ant), or a snake lying across the corpse.

TABLE 3: Sacred Laws of Mama Djombo

Caboi:

The following acts are considered to be dangerous (uwale, Gu.; malgos, Kr., "sacred", "bitter") and should be avoided except under special circumstances:

1. to stab a knife (djópo, Gu.) into a container of food or drink. This act is said to resemble one procedure employed in innocence oaths sworn at spirit shrines, in which each suspect swears his or her innocence, stabs a knife into the sacrificial beverage (consisting of palm wine and pigs blood in a calabash), and then drinks. If one is guilty, the oath allegedly induces death as is supposedly the case when this symbolic act is repeated outside of a sacred context.

2. to sit on top of a type of rock which is used to sharpen cutlasses (gázáza, Gu.) and in divination. (The reasons for this prohibition is now generally forgotten and the practice is falling into disuse).

3. to eat from the cooking pot. Historically, people refused to marry those who had committed the act because it was said to bring ill fortune to marital relations. (The rule is rarely observed today).

4. to begin to eat a meal with one's hands and then change to using a spoon.

5. to continue to use a spoon that one has been eating with after it has slipped and fallen. Rather than wash the utensil, the diner must get another spoon before continuing to eat.

6. for a woman to walk past a group of seated people with a pot in her hand. Committing this act is said to place the seated people in a state of danger. A woman carrying a pot
must stop and set the pot down amidst the seated people, then pick it up again before she can pass.

7. to visit a friend and refuse to sit down when a seat is offered. This act is said to make the young people living in the host's house unable to find spouses. (The rule has fallen into disuse).

8. to whistle (awüsina, Gu.) while walking at night. This act is said to alert envious witches hidden along the path to the whistler's approach making him or her easy prey.

9. to have sexual relations in the 'bed of the father of either the woman or the man.

10. to have sexual relations with a married woman in her husband's bed. This act is said to kill the husband if he is not informed.

11. to reveal the secrets of simindé (Gu., male province initiation) to non-initiates. Those who tell the secrets are said to die.

12. for a partially or fully initiated male (who has passed either the first (simini, Gu.) or second stage (simindé, Gu.) of province initiation) to eat rice mixed with millet, sorghum, or maize.

13. for a circumcised male to eat burnt rice (that comes from the bottom of the pan) (také, Gu.; queimado, Kr.). (This is a belief held by both Manjacc and Baboi).

14. for an uncircumcised male to eat chicken or duck eggs (gëni, Gu.).

15. for a man or woman to sit on top of a plow. "A plow is like a person: one works with it until one is tired, therefore one should not sit on it while resting".

16. to aim a gun at someone in jest. This rule is said to have been established after an incident in which a boy aimed an unloaded gun at his friend, jokingly said "I will kill you", and pulled the trigger, causing the gun to fire and kill the friend. The gun was said to have been loaded secretly by witches (diähái, Gu.). Any person who is killed in jest by either a knife or a gun is said to have been "eaten at night" (ahóhe ungugénde, Gu.; matado ku feitiço, Kr.).

17. to sleep with a cutlass in bed (instead of beneath the bed). This rule is said to have been established after a
man who had been dreaming of fighting with someone killed his wife with a cutlass he slept with.

18. to eat fruit or the meat of a dead animal that is found in the sacred grounds of Mama Djombo. This act is said to cause death.

19. for a pregnant woman to eat baobab fruit (cabaceira, Kr.). This act is believed to cause the infant's skin to become white and fluffy like the fruit and to peel off.
APPENDIX X: PRIESTS AND DIVINERS OF CAIO

The following table provides a list of the libation pourers (*batúl ussai, Mjc.*) and their clan or residential lineages of origin for each of the province initiation spirit shrines of the spirit province of Caió:

**TABLE 1: Batúl Ussai of Caió**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spirit</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Clan/Lineage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bakassa</td>
<td>Adju Tche, NU</td>
<td>Batat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kalesabút, NU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pereira Belomat</td>
<td>Bayig (<em>Bésépéni, Bissoi, Kor Casegiuta</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adju Tubebi</td>
<td>Basásen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pingínur</td>
<td>Adju Pingínur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(none)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dekarán</td>
<td>Mdjên’kên, Belabat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karúku</td>
<td>Bidjâm, Batau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>António Lubu</td>
<td>Bupák, Batau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petíbi</td>
<td>Adju Barala*</td>
<td>Basafim (<em>Barala Caiomete</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balélé</td>
<td>Adju Kalétch*</td>
<td>Basafim (<em>Casegiuta, Caiomete?</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabén</td>
<td>Adju Kabén*</td>
<td>Bayig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katúr</td>
<td>Adju Kaléle*</td>
<td>Baso (<em>Pitcheála</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adju Pinya*</td>
<td>Baso (<em>Pinya, Batau</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belák Ntchêm*pil</td>
<td>Adju Ntchêm<em>pil</em></td>
<td>Baso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandóka</td>
<td>Adju Dikántem*</td>
<td>Basásen (<em>Dikántem</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* privilege as libator inherited with political headmanship

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The following table provides a representative list of the diviners (*bapéne, Mjc.*) of Caió, the sub-divisions of the *bapéne* society to which they belong, the officers, and their residences in the spirit province:

**TABLE 2: Bapene of Caió**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-div.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Békassa</td>
<td><em>1</em> João Bico Dameri</td>
<td>Bitchilom, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eratu</td>
<td>Kapol, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amison Prom</td>
<td>Prom, Batau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Domingo Ubónborom</td>
<td>Barala Tubébi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>2</em> Alfredo Ogkubaratché</td>
<td>Tumámbo, Tumámbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bukabwalá</td>
<td>Ketchém’, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joaozinho Paták</td>
<td>Ketchém’, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adju Piyól</td>
<td>Ketchém’, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Batista</td>
<td>Ketchém’, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Juze Shefe</td>
<td>Betchág, Batau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alfredo Ukalotch</td>
<td>Betchág, Batau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undiga</td>
<td>Piyól, Bisoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pubúl</td>
<td>*Vitor Nanyukób</td>
<td>Nukóp, Batau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kekémánd@</td>
<td>Bisór, Batau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cos Dikasi</td>
<td>Kalele, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undas Ukalútché</td>
<td>Bitchibam, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sampanha</td>
<td>Dakar (Barahal, Caiomete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mtósinho</td>
<td>Barála, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patron Urik</td>
<td>Casegiuta, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basinti Ung’kél</td>
<td>Pitchim Fretch, Tumambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seqim</td>
<td>Dikántem, Dikántem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carlos Gomes</td>
<td>Kabén, Belabat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pekíntu</td>
<td><em>2</em> Ungár</td>
<td>Barala, Tubébi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adju Tubébi</td>
<td>Tubébi, Tubébi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bukopis</td>
<td>Békékél, Tubébi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lotoró</td>
<td>Ketchém’, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>³Armando da Silva</td>
<td>Betchimbak, Blei, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²Juzé Devén?</td>
<td>Bépák, Bényángai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasíndan</td>
<td><em>2</em> Ungár</td>
<td>Barala, Tubébi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adju Tubébi</td>
<td>Tubébi, Tubébi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bukopis</td>
<td>Békékél, Tubébi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lotoró</td>
<td>Ketchém’, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>³Armando da Silva</td>
<td>Betchimbak, Blei, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²Juzé Devén?</td>
<td>Bépák, Bényángai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantángkalo</td>
<td><em>Nadjén’kén</em></td>
<td>Mdjén’kén, Belabat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alfonso Kumegete</td>
<td>Badjambal, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diéris Daló</td>
<td>Badjambal, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guaranápa</td>
<td>Lera, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karíbi</td>
<td>Lera, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gueres Bupók</td>
<td>Bupók, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aramí Du</td>
<td>Bétk’, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gashtón</td>
<td>Bétk’, Caiomete</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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There are an additional ten bapéne who reside and work in Caió, but belong to diviner societies in the provinces Cajegute and Calequisse. Diviners from other spirit provinces must perform a ritual before they can practice in Caió. The province of Cajegute has a separate bapéne society with its own head and hierarchy. To my knowledge, bapéne of Cajegute never meet formally with those of Caió.

Key to Offices in the Bapéne Society:
1 nali bapéne (chief of major branch)
2 namún (distributes ritual food)
3 nadjám bukó (cooks the medicine)
4 nadján bapéne (executes orders of nali bapéne)
* head of sub-division
EXPLANATION OF PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The major languages employed during the course of field work were Manjaco, Guboi, Kriolu, and Portuguese. Additional terms from other languages, such as Djola, Mankanya, Papel, Fula, Mandinga, were used occasionally. In keeping with local pronunciation and the majority of historical and national documents, I have for the most part adopted Portuguese orthography, rather than English, French, or Kriolu. In a few cases, however, letters have been substituted to facilitate the correct pronunciation by English readers. The most common are the following:

- "y" replaces "h" pronounced "y" as in "yes"
- "ê" or â for schwa pronounced "o" in "mother"
- "ng" pronounced "ng" as in "gong"
- "dj" pronounced "j" in "jump"
- "tch" pronounced "ch" as in "chuck"
- "c" and "k" pronounced "k" as in "make"
- "x" pronounced "sh" as in "shame"

With the exception of Portuguese words in which the accent marks represent correct orthography, in words of African and Kriolu origin the accents mark the stressed syllable. Thus, the word "Suín" would be pronounced "su-ee-n'" as in "susan" and "green", with the stress on the second syllable. For stressed syllables containing characters which have no accent mark in this font, an apostrophe has been substituted, directly following the syllable to be stressed (e.g. bêtchêk' pronounced "bu-chúk" with the "u" sound as in "but"). Words which appear commonly in Portuguese
documents, such as names for ethnic groups, do not show stressed syllables in this text.

To facilitate comparisons with relevant literature, I use ethnonyms which are most common in historical documents throughout the thesis. The only exceptions concern ethnic groups, such as the Baboi, Baiô, and Pantufa, which are the focus of this study and have, thus far, received little documentation.
### LIST OF FOREIGN TERMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abu</td>
<td>Guboi, uterine kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abú ngárse</td>
<td>Guboi, lineage fission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjú kor</td>
<td>Manjaco, Chief of Caió (&quot;chief of the court&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjú gibén</td>
<td>Manjaco, &quot;chief of the palm tree&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjú</td>
<td>Manjaco, chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adóngo gifgal</td>
<td>Guboi, kasará shrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afáti akúna</td>
<td>Guboi, protection contract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahúne mantchúta</td>
<td>Guboi, breech births, a ritually-marked category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aímun</td>
<td>Manjaco, sacred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ákakótch</td>
<td>Guboi, to use witchcraft against persons outside one's own kin group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akáli bəhál mam@l mam@l@</td>
<td>Guboi, death by witchcraft induced through envy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akiribo</td>
<td>Guboi, fresh-water pool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akob</td>
<td>Guboi, the nocturnal meeting place of witches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alma</td>
<td>Portuguese and Kriolu, soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alsamón</td>
<td>Kriolu, a divination technique using the hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amáma djigênál</td>
<td>Guboi, &quot;owner of guests&quot;, host of pilgrims to spirit shrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amánya</td>
<td>Manjaco, Bayot, Guboi, initiation priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anédja, djaneda</td>
<td>Manjaco, trance or possession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anímboko</td>
<td>Manjaco, mother, also symbolic &quot;mother&quot; of female age set</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apétch kakútch</td>
<td>Manjaco, Boté kasará ritual to punish witches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apírna irabá</td>
<td>Guboi, uterine kin of the mother’s generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apírna</td>
<td>Guboi, uterine kin of the ascending generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assimilados</td>
<td>Portuguese, assimilated Africans or mixed race, persons with franchise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atcház aguzúp</td>
<td>Guboi, oath of innocence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atchí</td>
<td>Guboi, knotted branch used for symbolic protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awíyu</td>
<td>Guboi, reincarnation of the soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayá kalók kaból</td>
<td>Manjaco, ritual fine paid by descendants of witches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayá malába ussai</td>
<td>Manjaco, to seek protection at a spirit shrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayím píkél</td>
<td>Manjaco, clairvoyant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bédjágëtë</td>
<td>Guboi, vengeance spirit contract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bekáp</td>
<td>Manjaco, soul oracle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>békássa</td>
<td>Manjaco, healing spirit shrine, gazelle horns used in initiation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bëntchágra</td>
<td>Manjaco, Baió age set ritual marking change of age grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bésás</td>
<td>Manjaco, divination technique using sticks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babokumét</td>
<td>Manjaco, residential patrilineages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badjida</td>
<td>Guboi, female age grade: maidens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bafúgu</td>
<td>Guboi, ritual of chiefly accession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagám</td>
<td>Manjaco, &quot;founders of the territory&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagúitchi</td>
<td>Kriolu, sorrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bakalám</td>
<td>Manjaco, witch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balámba galábel</td>
<td>Guboi, female age grade: women with children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamóba aríni/anéze</td>
<td>Guboi, trance or possession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banéu</td>
<td>Manjaco, communal age grade houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bantoy</td>
<td>Manjaco, elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banút</td>
<td>Guboi, ritual of removal of infant from spirit’s protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banyam buzíngi</td>
<td>Guboi, leprosy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barafula</td>
<td>traditional West African country cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baré</td>
<td>Guboi, female initiation ritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barkafón</td>
<td>Kriolu, diviner’s sack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baráka de tchifre</td>
<td>Kriolu, kasará shrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bassé</td>
<td>Guboi, soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>betchiga</td>
<td>Guboi, slave raids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Translation/Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bekáp</td>
<td>Manjaco, bed, divinatory litter used in kasará</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belabate</td>
<td>Manjaco, name of royal court of Caió</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bení</td>
<td>Manjaco (Calequisse), central clearing near a kasará shrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biaba dín</td>
<td>Guboi, rain-seeking ritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidjag bayób</td>
<td>Guboi, ritual fine paid by descendants of witches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidjéga kasará</td>
<td>Manjaco, kasará ritual to punish witches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigíli bëhàngér</td>
<td>Guboi, fleeing vengeful spirit contracts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bikil</td>
<td>Manjaco, broom regalia of chiefs and initiation priests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bissilao</td>
<td>Kriolu, African mahogany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitbaré</td>
<td>Guboi, member of slit-gong or drummers association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bizímpali</td>
<td>Guboi, corpse receptacle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolanha</td>
<td>Kriolu, rice paddy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bombbolom</td>
<td>Kriolu, slit-gong drums used in communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bóta sorte</td>
<td>Kriolu, divination (generic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bëtchék'</td>
<td>Manjaco, blacksmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bré Bapéne</td>
<td>Manjaco, diviners’ forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bukoitch</td>
<td>Manjaco, “problems of the earth”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulom</td>
<td>Upper Guinea Coast, lowland swamplands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capitao-mor</td>
<td>Portuguese, captain-major, colonial administrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chefes de posto</td>
<td>Portuguese, colonial administrators of native districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cipai</td>
<td>widely used term for native police in Portuguese African colonies, refers to the CPI (Corpo de Policia Indigena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circunscrições</td>
<td>Portuguese, native districts under Portuguese colonial administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coeyi</td>
<td>Diola, priest-king shrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comarca</td>
<td>Portuguese, jural administrative unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comité de estado</td>
<td>Portuguese, local-level state committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concelho</td>
<td>Portuguese, administrative district containing requisite number of &quot;civilized&quot; electors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēhīndi</td>
<td>Guboi, smallpox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defúntu</td>
<td>Kriolu, ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>degredados</td>
<td>Portuguese, criminals exiled to Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deputado</td>
<td>Portuguese, deputies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>déus</td>
<td>Kriolu and Portuguese, high god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djē'he</td>
<td>Guboi, blacksmiths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djēhe</td>
<td>Guboi, witch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
djēhāna  Guboi, ancestor

djēsû ngabômbolem  Guboi, member of slit-gong or drummers association

djabō  Guboi, nursing mothers with infants living at spirit shrine for protection

djagatû  Kriolu, garden egg (Solanacea esp.)

djambakûs/ baloberu  Kriolu, diviners or healers

djelâbr  Guboi, elders

djenû  Guboi, public spirit

djenû fanâm fangób  Guboi, chiefly spirit

djerika  Guboi, guardian or beneficent clairvoyant

djesèri satông  Guboi, makers of soul oracles

djibélen  Guboi, shield used by senior women to transmit request from the ancestors during funerals

djizéng  Guboi, funeral

djizéng batchútchur  Guboi, delayed funeral

djon gâgu  Kriolu, soul oracle

djûósîn namîr  Guboi, grave diggers

djili  Guboi, secret society of unweaned orphans

fanâm fangób  Guboi, sacred chiefship

farims  Mandinka provincial governors
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>feitor</td>
<td>Portuguese, colonial administrator of Portuguese colonial trading agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feitorias</td>
<td>Portuguese, colonial trading posts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feréru</td>
<td>Kriolu, blacksmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fetiséru</td>
<td>Kriolu, witch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filhos da terra,</td>
<td>Portuguese, Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese free settlers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fínka firkídja</td>
<td>Kriolu, commemorative wakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firkídja</td>
<td>Kriolu, ancestor shrines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gëhana</td>
<td>Guboi, lineage pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gësíng</td>
<td>Guboi, initiation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galámba galích</td>
<td>Guboi, female age grade: betrothed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gambúa</td>
<td>Kriolu, fish weir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garandi di terra</td>
<td>Kriolu, traditional elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibés banéu</td>
<td>Guboi, appointed wife of chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gidi</td>
<td>Guboi, small cannon used in rituals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gifígal ulaag</td>
<td>Guboi, divination horns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gris gris</td>
<td>Islamic amulets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grumetes</td>
<td>Upper Guinea Coast, African servants in Luso-African coastal trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guzúp akós</td>
<td>Guboi, ritual to eliminate collective problems of the earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gwoz itáku</strong></td>
<td>Guboi, ancestor shrines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hospede</strong></td>
<td>Kriolu and Portuguese, guest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>i roga no iran</strong></td>
<td>Kriolu, &quot;to seek protection at the spirit shrine&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ikandá</strong></td>
<td>Manjaco, maximal lineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>indígenas</strong></td>
<td>Portuguese, Africans subject to colonial administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>iran</strong></td>
<td>Kriolu, a public spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>iran ségu</strong></td>
<td>Kriolu, the python spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>itáku</strong></td>
<td>Guboi, residential patrilineages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bapéne</strong></td>
<td>Manjaco, diviners or healers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jagra</strong></td>
<td>Kriolu, traditional African nobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>juramento</strong></td>
<td>Kriolu, oath of innocence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kabás</strong></td>
<td>Kriolu, maximal lineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kaból nalí bêtchêk'</strong></td>
<td>Manjaco, accession ritual of chief of blacksmith's association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kafák</strong></td>
<td>Manjaco, harvest ritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kaitch</strong></td>
<td>Manjaco, matriclan</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>kakânda</strong></td>
<td>Manjaco, maximal lineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kalómpo pisáp</strong></td>
<td>Manjaco, commemorative wake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kaminaí</strong></td>
<td>Manjaco, diviner's sack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kambatxe</strong></td>
<td>Manjaco, male initiation ritual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manjaco, divination technique using the hand</th>
<th>Kamóbo kadjín</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mande, fearsome masked figures in initiation rituals</td>
<td>Kankurán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjaco, secret association of unweaned orphans</td>
<td>Kanyó kabámbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjaco, ritual cleansing of twins</td>
<td>Kanyó mtánto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjaco, ritual purification after a house fire</td>
<td>Kanyó burúr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjaco, divination using a pot</td>
<td>Kapáfà pitchúkèr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjaco, divination using a calabash</td>
<td>Kapáfà pènkánda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjaco, kasará shrine</td>
<td>Karon petíng/ karon pesíng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjaco, knife</td>
<td>Kaséran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kriolu, living dead</td>
<td>Kasísa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kriolu, grave diggers</td>
<td>Kobadúr di semitéiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djola, fearsome masked figures in initiation rituals</td>
<td>Kumpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guboi, &quot;problems of the earth&quot;</td>
<td>Kuní akós</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kriolu, fleeing vengeful spirit contracts</td>
<td>Kúri iran ségu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kriolu, ritual cleansing of twins</td>
<td>Labásim de gémiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese Jews</td>
<td>Ladinos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kriolu, saltwater pools</td>
<td>LalaS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese, Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese itinerant merchants</td>
<td>Lançados,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
malgós  Kriolu, sacred, dangerous, bitter
mándji  Kriolu, vengeance spirit contract
mandjoandade  Kriolu, age set
mamantadores  Kriolu, nursing mothers with children who reside at a spirit shrine for protection
maradúr di djon gágu  Kriolu, makers of soul oracle
mestiço  Portuguese, a person of mixed race
mnómpenêmpe  Guboi, the living dead
mtchak  Manjaco, lineages
mtchak  Manjaco, chunk of iron used in chiefly succession ritual
mufanésa  Kriolu, ritual state of danger
nélómêt  Manjaco, chiefmaker
nêpêr  Manjaco, the living dead
nadjám blek  Manjaco, auxiliary of the forest (ritual office of Caió province secret society)
nadjám bukó  Manjaco, officer in Baió diviners society who prepares medicines
nadján  Manjaco, officers in diviners society who executes orders, guardian of chief of Caió
nadján kor  Manjaco assistant of the chiefly court

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nagák</td>
<td>Manjaco eldest son of Baió chiefmaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nalí bëchëk’</td>
<td>Manjaco, chief of blacksmiths association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nalí batí</td>
<td>Manjaco, high god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nalúgum</td>
<td>Manjaco, ghosts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namáka</td>
<td>Manjaco, first wife in polygamous household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namún</td>
<td>Manjaco, officers responsible for distributing food during rituals of diviners secret society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nandjângurum</td>
<td>Manjaco and Guboi, a nature spirit that protects game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napéne</td>
<td>Manjaco, diviner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natchó</td>
<td>Manjaco, guest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natúl ussái</td>
<td>Manjaco, libation pourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyabítché</td>
<td>Guboi, ritual cleansing of twins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oeyi</td>
<td>Diola, priest-king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ouvidor</td>
<td>Portuguese, justice of the peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëníní</td>
<td>Manjaco, uterine kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pësini</td>
<td>Manjaco, patrilineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëntim pidjib</td>
<td>Manjaco, divining horn made of human bones used to capture ghosts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pësúng</td>
<td>Manjaco, pilgrimage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëtíbi</td>
<td>Manjaco, axes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paga mangidura</td>
<td>Kriolu, ritual fine for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
compensation paid at spirit shrine

Kriolu, forest swidden or upland rice field

Manjaco, slave

Krioulo, clairvoyant

Manjaco, vengeance spirit contract

Manjaco, divination horns

Manjaco, ancestor shrine

Guboi, a nature spirit associated with wealth

Manjaco, divine selection of chief (red chiefship)

Manjaco, a nature spirit associated with wealth

Kriolu, kapok tree

Portuguese, colonial urban centers

Manjaco, oath of innocence

Manjaco, individual shrine to diviner’s spirit

Manjaco, central clearing near a kasará shrine

Manjaco, subdivision of Baió diviner’s society specialising in use of roots

Manjaco, land of the ancestors
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>puwitchir</th>
<th>Manjaco, a nature spirit associated with wealth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>regulos</td>
<td>Portuguese, colonially-recognized native chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reis</td>
<td>Portuguese, currency unit prior to 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saidu bádju</td>
<td>Guboi, sacred dance of initiation priests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakúfa</td>
<td>Guboi, diviner’s sack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapétch</td>
<td>Guboi, broom regalia used by chiefs and initiation priests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satúngu</td>
<td>Guboi, soul oracle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simini/simindé</td>
<td>Guboi, male initiation rituals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorti</td>
<td>Kriolu, state of favor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangomao</td>
<td>word of Temne origin used in Upper Guinea Coast to refer to outcasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tara</td>
<td>Kriolu, raphia palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taselé</td>
<td>Guboi, governors of age grades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tchon</td>
<td>Kriolu, land or territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tchur</td>
<td>Kriolu, funeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokadúr</td>
<td>Kriolu, member of slit-gong drummers association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumba</td>
<td>Kriolu, the central clearing near a kasará shrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubé bándara</td>
<td>Guboi, guardians of chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubèl</td>
<td>Manjaco, leather shield used in rituals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udjûnpor</td>
<td>Manjaco, python nature spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugênál</td>
<td>Guboi, guest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugégëtë</td>
<td>Guboi, spirit medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uhás</td>
<td>Mankanya, soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukarôtch</td>
<td>Manjaco, sacred huts containing ancestor shrines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukût</td>
<td>Manjaco, suspended horn used in divination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulaag</td>
<td>Guboi, diviner or healer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulégende</td>
<td>Guboi, clairvoyant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulûgum</td>
<td>Manjaco, soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulûk</td>
<td>Manjaco, knotted branch used for symbolic protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umufanesa</td>
<td>Guboi, state of ritual danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unam safú</td>
<td>Guboi, high god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unambaré</td>
<td>Guboi, female initiation priestess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ûndiga</td>
<td>Manjaco, male guards of age sets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udjûnpor</td>
<td>Guboi, python nature spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undógo</td>
<td>Manjaco, wooden cooking stick used in Baió rituals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urán</td>
<td>Manjaco, Baió age set</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uratchandála</td>
<td>Guboi, translator for pilgrims of Mama Djombo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usák</td>
<td>Manjaco, spirit province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usói</td>
<td>Manjaco, rattle used in chiefly succession ritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usort</td>
<td>Guboi, state of grace or favor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ussai</td>
<td>Manjaco, public spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ussai amógal</td>
<td>Manjaco, a spirit-induced possession illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utúriyanga</td>
<td>Guboi, land of the ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uwále</td>
<td>Guboi, sacred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uzúku djenyú</td>
<td>Guboi, libation pourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walikán atchugé ábu</td>
<td>Guboi, &quot;females as nursery of the matri-lineage&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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X (illegible signature of Secretario Interino do Governo) 1899

ORAL SOURCES

List of Persons Interviewed in Text

Carlos Gomes (Kabén Belabats)

Adju B@loi
Adju Lera
Adju Bum, Marcel Gomes
Adju Blei (Undiga
    Adju Kadjan)
Adju Piyoł -
Albino Mendi B@loi
Alfonso Gomes Kumegete
Batchambal
Alfonso Napeio Gomes
Alfred Ogkúbaratch Tumambo
Alfredo Moreira
Alfredo (Djursi) Kapil
Aliriu Ribeiro
Alkai Mané
Almeira Ktchêm
Alvaro Baticâm
Amalia Wombar
Amigus Pereira
Anna Mendi
Anna Bico Mendi B@loi
Antonio and Damérical Dameri
B@kassa
Antonio Soares
Aquilino Gomes Wombar
Armando da Silva Blei
Augusto Francisco Manga
Azevera Gomes Sakan
Badjol Kaham (Belimbo)
Benilda Maximo
Bernál Damiéri Bitchilom
Bi da Gama
Bonifácio
Bonifacio Mangu
Braima Kafambo Kaham
Carlos Rui da Costa Ribeiro
Carloita Mendi
Clara
Cos Dikasi Bíchilom
Diana Líma Handem
Djoanateta da Silva
Djon Dakolar, Bicente Potar
Safú Bissele
Djon Bico Damiéri B@kassa
Djon Bico Baban
Djon Mendi B@loi
Elena
Erberto Wol Gomes
Felix da Gama
Fernando Natchó
Formosa Gomes Wombar
Francisco Matchêm'ke
Furel Safú Bissele
Ganga Wombar
Gregorio Gomes Wombar
Guères
Guiné Gomes, Alfonso
Kabonunkaran
Inez
João Manga
Juze Chefe
Kétêp’ Damiéri
Karíbi
Lisa Umbogóm
Lizette Borja
Lotoró Ktchêm
Luis Rolis
Luís Undiga Adju Kaletch
Malóku Mendi

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Mamadu Katunku
Mamadu Wombar
Mandjonca Gomes Wombar
Mankany Djadju Gilidi
(Katunku)
Margarita Gomes
Maria Kafambo
Marta Gomes (Sakan di Morel)
Martinho Nagak Badjámbal
Morisiu Sakan Kampada
Nadjámbal
Nagack and Djon Mendi
Ndanti Belimbo (Sakan)
Ndjomb Ndanti (Sakan)
Necas Mengo
Nyataba Belimbo
Nyodé Mansini Mané
Patron Urik
Paulino Gomes, Adju Kor
Pedro da Silva Betchip
Pinto Bofor Jandi
Quinta Mendi
Quintino Manga
Raimundo da Costa
Sabado Djó
Samba Lamine Mané
Sang Gomes, Adju Ketchem
Sargente Bissele
Serafim Gomes Wombar
Sidi and Mondu Wombar
Silvia Borja
Simon Napeio
Tati Napili Mendes Belimbo
Tunu
Uko
Undiga Umbogom
Undefab Sapok
Utaf Belimbo
Uetcheta Formosa da Silva
Bondinga
Valentim da Costa
Veronica Gomes
Wol Gomes
Zezinha
Zinha Vaz
Drummers Association of Kaham
(Formosa Gomes Wombar, Mana
da Silva Bondinga, Uetcheta da
Silva Bondinga, Mandjonca
Gomes Wombar, Samba da Silva
Bondinga, Fode da Silva
Bondinga, Quintino Tchob,
Vincente Jandi Bofor,
Vincente da Silva Bondinga)

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