A PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPLICATION OF DREAM INTERPRETATION

AMONG RURAL AND URBAN NGUNI PEOPLE

Thesis

Submitted in Fulfilment of the

requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of Rhodes University

by

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December 1983

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Professor Dreyer Kruger for his ongoing encouragement and support during the years I have been engaged in research in the area of transcultural psychology. I have enjoyed his stimulating approach to the subject and I am grateful both for his interest over an extended period and for his close supervision during the completion of the study.

I wish to express my appreciation to Professor Gerhard Schutte for his sensitivity and advice, particularly in the planning and final completion stages of the study.

I am also indebted to Dr. Vera Bührmann for many good experiences and insights during joint field trips, and I am especially grateful to Dr. Philip Greenway for acting as a mentor during the difficult writing up period. I would like to thank, too, all my friends and colleagues who, by their personal interest (and tolerance), have helped me to sustain my own enthusiasm over the years.

My wife, Deborah, and my family I thank for their encouragement, patience and practical assistance during the course of the study.

I am grateful to the Human Sciences Research Council for their financial assistance.

I am especially indebted to Joseph Gqomfa who not only acted as an able and sensitive interpreter but elaborated upon Xhosa terms and drew up the glossary.

Finally, I would like the thesis to be a tribute to all the participants who shared their understanding and wisdom in their approach to dreams. I would like to acknowledge Mongezi Thiso and Robert Nchobodi in

particular for contributing to the dialogue which forms the basis of the thesis. I often shared with the participants the aspirations that "our study" would serve as a useful record in a changing society and reflect a unique contribution to the articulation of a Nguni psychology. I hope that it is at least partially successful in achieving this goal.

ABSTRACT

Psychologists investigating dreams in non-Western cultures have

generally not considered the meanings of dreams within the unique

meaning-structure of the person in his or her societal context.

The majority of dream studies in African societies are no exception.

Researchers approaching dreams within rural Xhosa and Zulu speaking

societies have either adopted an anthropological or a psychodynamic

orientation. The latter approach particularly imposes a Western

perspective in the interpretation of dream material. There have

been no comparable studies of dream interpretation among urban

blacks participating in the African Independent Church Movement.

The present study focuses on the rural Xhosa speaking people and the

urban black population who speak one of the Nguni languages and

identify with the African Independent Church Movement. The study is

concerned with understanding the meanings of dreams within the

cultural context in which they occur. The specific aims of the study

are:

1. To explicate the indigenous system of dream interpretation as
   revealed by acknowledged dream experts.
2. To examine the commonalities and the differences between the
   interpretation of dreams in two groups, drawn from a rural and
   urban setting respectively.
3. To elaborate upon the life-world of the participants by the
   interpretations gained from the above investigation.

One hundred dreams and interpretations are collected from two

categories of participants referred to as the Rural Group and the

Urban Group. The Rural Group is made up of amagqira [traditional

healers] and their clients, while the Urban Group consists of

prophets and members of the African Independent Churches. Each

group includes acknowledged dream experts.

A phenomenological methodology is adopted in explicating the data.

The methodological precedure involves a number of rigorous stages of

explication whereby the original data is reduced to Constituent Profiles

leading to the construction of a Thematic Index File. By searching and

reflecting upon the data, interpretative themes are identified. These

themes are explicated to provide a rigorous description of the

interpretative-reality of each group.

Themes explicated within the Rural Group are: the physiognomy of the

dreamer's life-world as revealed by ithongo, the interpretation of

ithongo as revealed through action, the dream relationship as an

anticipatory mode-of-existence, iphupha as disclosing a vulnerable

mode-of-being, human bodiliness as revealed in dream interpretations and

the legitimation of the interpretative-reality within the life-world.

Themes explicated within the Urban Group are: the physiognomy of the

dreamer's life-world revealed in their dream-existence, the

interpretative-reality revealed through the enaction of dreams, tension

between the newer Christian-based cosomology and the traditional

cultural-based cosmology, a moral imperative, prophetic perception and

human bodiliness, as revealed in dream interpretations and the

legitimation of the interpretative-reality within the life-world.

The essence of the interpretative-reality of both groups is very

similar and is expressed in the notion of relatedness to a cosmic

mode-of-being. The cosmic mode-of-being includes a numinous

dimension which is expressed through divine presence in the form

of ancestors, Holy Spirit or God. These notions cannot be appre-

hended by theoretical constructs alone but may be grasped and given

form in meaning-disclosing intuitions which are expressed in the life-

world in terms of bodiliness, revelatory knowledge, action and healing.

Some differences between the two groups are evident and reveal some

conflict between the monotheistic Christian cosmology and the traditional

cosmology. Unique aspects of the interpetative-reality of the Urban Group

are expressed in terms of difficulties in the urban social environment and

the notion of a moral imperative.

It is observed that cultural self-expression based upon traditional ideas

continues to play a significant role in the urban environment. The

apparent conflict revealed between the respective cosmologies underlies

an integration of traditional meanings with Christian concepts. This

finding is consistent with the literature suggesting that the African

Independent Church is a syncretic movement. The life-world is based

upon the immediate and vivid experience of the numinous as revealed

in the dream phenomenon.

The participants' approach to dreams is not based upon an explicit

theory, but upon an immediate and pathic understanding of the dream

phenomenon. The understanding is based upon the interpreter's con-

crete understanding of the life-world, which includes the possibility

of cosmic integration and continuity between the personal and trans-

personal realms of being. The approach is characterized as an

expression of man's primordial attunement with the cosmos. The

approach of the participants to dreams may not be consistent with

a Western rational orientation, but nevertheless, it is a valid

approach. The validity is based upon the immediate life-world of

experience which is intelligible, coherent, and above all, it is

meaning-giving in revealing life-possibility within the context of

human existence.

PREFACE

AIMS AND OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The importance of dreams in African society is well documented
(Hunter 1936, Sundkler 1961, Hammond-Tooke 1962, Bergland 1976).
The majority of dream studies in African cultures (including those
in Nguni speaking societies) have either adopted an anthropological
standpoint focusing upon the social function of dreams (Charsley
1973) or a psychoanalytical or analytical orientation (Lee 1969a,
Bührmann 1978). The latter approach has imposed a Western perspective
in its interpretation of indigenous dream material. Generally,
researchers investigating dreams in non-Western cultures have not
considered the meanings of dreams from within the unique meaning-
structure of the person in his or her societal context (Fabian 1966).

The present study aims to understand the meaning of dreams within
the cultural context in which they occur. The cultural context,
broadly defined, includes two groups: a Rural Group and an Urban
Group. The Rural Group consists entirely of Xhosa speaking people
who participate in a more traditional agrarian society. The Urban
Group includes both Xhosa and Zulu speaking people who live in an
urban environment and participate in the African Independent Church
Movement. The specific aims of the study are:

1. To explicate the indigenous system of dream interpretation as
    revealed by acknowledged dream experts.

2. To examine the commonalities and the differences between the interpretation of dreams in two groups, drawn from a rural and urban setting respectively.

3. To elaborate upon the life-world of the participants as explicated by the interpretations gained from the above investigation.

The rationale for drawing a distinction between the Rural and Urban Groups is that, within the parameters of the study, they represent two seemingly different contexts. The Rural Group is representative of a relatively traditional Xhosa agrarian environment. The participants who comprised the group, were either Xhosa speaking amagqira (traditional healers) or their clients. The Urban Group was drawn from two city environments and participated actively in the African Independent Church Movement, in which the prophet is acknowledged as a healer and dream expert. While recognizing that traditional and African Independent Church practices occur in both environments, the distinction between the groups makes it possible to explicate similarities and differences in their respective interpretative-reality. These factors might be related to cultural and environmental changes.

The study is concerned with the meaning of dream interpretations within a broadly defined cultural context. The research is based upon the assumption that dreams and their interpretation necessarily assume significance within the shared world-view or cosmology of the dreamer and dream expert or healer, who contributes towards the

dreamer's understanding of his or her dream. An implication of this assumption is that the Nguni* cosmology does not necessarily conform to any Western framework and thus the indigenous system of dream interpretation cannot be meaningfully understood within any pre-constituted Western system of dream interpretation. This study is critical of those approaches that prejudice the subject matter by imposing a preconstituted system. Phenomenology provides an alternative approach.

The first three chapters of the thesis introduce different aspects of the study. The purpose of the first chapter on the phenomenological approach to research, is to develop and articulate the philosophical assumptions and basic methodological propositions underlying the present study. I argue that in pursuing these aims the most appropriate research method available is to be found in phenomeno-logical psychology. Phenomenology emphasizes that in order to understand a phenomenon for what it is, and this includes dream interpretation within a non-Western cultural context, we must bracket our presuppositions and scientific prejudices and approach the field of study in as open a manner as possible.

In the second chapter, I review some relevant literature relating to dream interpretation from a Western and non-Western perspective. The review includes a discussion of the psychoanalytic theory of dream

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* It should be noted that the term "Nguni" is a linguistic category used to classify a family of languages including Xhosa and Zulu. It is sometimes used as an abstract term in the present study to encompass Xhosa and Zulu speaking people or notions.

interpretation by Sigmund Freud, the analytical theory of Carl Jung and the phenomenological perspective as developed by Medard Boss. I then review some ethnography relating to dreams in non-Western cultures and particularly in Xhosa and Zulu speaking societies.

In contrast to Chapter Two, which focuses on models derived from a Western epistemology, Chapter Three describes the cultural background of the two groups studied and emphasizes features of the Nguni cosmology and respective healing systems derived from a vernacular epistemology. This chapter provides a context for explicating the interpretative-reality of the Xhosa and Zulu speaking people within which dreams assume significance in the life-world.

Chapter Four describes the research design and methodology adopted in the study. The focus is on developing a phenomenological methodology appropriate to the aims of the research.

The fifth and sixth chapters refer to the results and conclusions of the study respectively. Chapter Five provides some examples of the raw data and the Constituent Profiles. This is followed by the explication of the interpretative themes of the Rural and Urban Group. A Synthesis of each Extended Description is then presented.

The concluding chapter (Chapter Six) provides an overview of the life-world of the participants as revealed in the interpretation of dreams and expands upon some notions introduced in the results. I then provide a comparative analysis of the interpetative-reality of

the Urban and Rural Group. I discuss and contrast the approach

to dreams as explicated with the contemporary Western approaches

outlined earlier in the study. Finally, I discuss the validity of

the indigenous approach and offer some suggestions for further

research.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH TO RESEARCH

1.1 TWO APPROACHES TO SCIENCE

The present chapter is concerned with developing basic methodological

principles concerning psychology construed as a human science and

responsive to the research questions posed by the study. I will argue

that a distinction should be drawn between two ways of viewing

science, i.e., the absolutist and relativist position. The absolutist

view, which is often characterized by the Cartesian-Newtonian paradigm,

regards scientific propositions as direct reflections of the universe.

The relativist view points to the idea that paradigms are epistemologi-

cally based and that scientific theories and facts are the result of

human activity.

I support the relativist position by drawing upon the work of Kuhn,

which indicates that scientific paradigms are evolutionary, and I

suggest that science is a human activity. This leads me to illustrate

that the natural sciences are, in fact, founded on an epistemology

based upon Cartesian dualism. I point to the limitations of the

natural scientific position for psychology and suggest that

phenomenology provides an alternative epistemology. By tracing the

historical development of phenomenology, from Husserl and Heidegger

to the development of contemporary phenomenological psychology, I

provide a basis for a phenomenologically based methodology which I
believe best meets the requirements of this study.

As stated above, there are at least two ways of viewing science as a
system of knowledge. The absolutist view treats scientific propo-
sitions as direct reflections of the universe. Facts and laws are
regarded as a direct derivation of the truth in the universe, and
thus science becomes an absolute and certain source of knowledge.
This position holds that the scientific method is considered to be
impartial and that, correctly applied, it ensures objective findings.
The absolutist view of science treats the scientific method as the
ultimate authority for knowledge.

The relativist position holds that scientific theories cannot and
do not occupy any privileged epistemological status. No one belief
system is superior to another for there are no absolute criteria to
make comparisons (Meehan and Wood 1975).

The relativist view leads to the proposition that there are various
or alternative paradigms which underly our approach to knowledge.
Science can thus be construed as a human activity which does not
occupy a privileged epistemological status. Science is the result of
tacit negotiations within human communities and scientific theories
and facts are the result of human activities and are meaningful within
a theoretical paradigm (Polanyi 1969, Kuhn 1970, Feyerabend 1972, Meehan
and Wood 1975, Shotter 1975).

In discussing the Cartesian world-view, Shotter (1975) draws a
distinction between the material world and concepts such as 'atoms'
and 'molecules'. He asks us to question the basis of the natural
world:

> "For we must remember that the doing of physics
> is itself a human activity, and its concepts and
> its findings emerge from and return to their
> source in what people do in the world. And that
> when we talk about [our] atoms and molecules
> moving according to natural laws, we are talking
> about what we mean by the expressions 'atoms'
> 'molecules' and 'natural laws'" (ibid., 80).

Physicists themselves began to question the classical conception of
the 'absolutist' position a long time ago (Capra 1976). Koch (1974)
points to the fact that since 1937, Carnap and other positivists have
liberalized their meaning criteria out of all recognition, yet little
of this has penetrated into psychology, which still draws sustenance
and security from a theory or definition of science which its
originators have largely abandoned.

It should be clear from the above statements that my position is
that reality cannot be represented by an absolute construct, but is
historical and dialectical in the sense that it is subject to various
evolving and changing perspectives or paradigms. A paradigm is based
upon an epistemology, which consists of a fundamental set of
assumptions concerning the nature of existence and, in turn, influences
the methodological approach adopted by the researcher.

This has been well illustrated by Kuhn (1970) in his argument that science does not develop in a linear or evolutionary fashion, but consists of a history of revolutions and discontinuities, each scientific epoch being dominated by particular paradigms or models. What is defined as 'science' at any one time is determined by the prevailing paradigm and what a scientific community as a whole chooses to accept as science. In this sense, the definition of science and of reality that prevails at a particular point in time, is the result of tacit negotiation between scientists and the community at large.

This proposition is illustrated by the history of science which is characterized by change, as exemplified by: the breakdown of the Ptolemic Earth-centred astronomy and the emergence of the Copernican sun-centred astronomy; the disenchantment of the Phlogiston theory of combustion; and with the breakdown in the late 19th century of Newton's theory of absolute space and the subsequent emergence of Einstein's theory of relativity early this century (Kuhn 1970).

The primary assumption underlying a particular paradigm must necessarily deal with basic epistemological issues concerning the nature of reality and meaning. As has been argued above, reality is not intrinsic to our perception of the world, but is defined by our assumptions and relations concerning the world. Furthermore, meaning is not arbitrary, but devolves from our conception of the universe,

or put differently, it reflects our experience of reality itself. This statement, however, implies a separation of the reality of our world from our experience of that reality. I will argue that this separation is a function of the prevailing scientific ethos. An alternative position is to see meaning and reality as being intrinsically related to the extent that reality is the result of a fundamentally meaningful relationship with our universe.

1.2 THE NATURAL SCIENCE PARADIGM

Having presented an argument that science, as a human activity, is based upon paradigms, which are themselves founded upon a set of assumptions, I shall now trace the development and implications of the present dominant social construction of reality, known as the Newtonian-Cartesian paradigm. I will examine the historical development of the natural science paradigm by referring to Descartes and Newton, and then discuss the implications of the paradigm for psychology. This in turn leads to a critique of psychology conceived as a natural science. I will discuss an alternative paradigm, based upon phenomenology in the section following.

1.2.1 Origin of the Natural Science Paradigm

For the past three centuries, the natural sciences, basing themselves upon Cartesian dualism, have flourished to the point where their

particular construction of reality is no longer recognized in Western culture as construction but is largely identified as being synonymous with reality. Dualism evolved from Descartes' famous dictum: _Cogito, ergo sum_ (I think, therefore I am). I should like to trace briefly the underlying philosophical argument and implications of this proposition which has exerted immense influence on our culture and on the development of the scientific ethos.

Descartes (1596-1650) was particularly discontented that scholastic philosophy had degenerated into inauthentic thinking and introspection. He was concerned to arrive at a philosophical basis for incontrovertible truth and certainty and proposed a philosophical argument, based upon his well-known proposition stated above. In summary, his argument was that by applying methodic doubt to his quest for truth and certainty, he was directed first to the indubitable certainty of the _cogito_. This in turn caused him to be beyond doubt that I who think, _am_ something.

The consequence of the _cogito_'s primacy and his criterion for truth and certainty, led him to distinguish man as _res cogitans_, a thinking substance. Man then, according to Descartes, consisted of two substances that were separate and independent of each other. That is, the reality of things was split into a human side or mind, located inside as _cogito_ and an inhuman side, or matter, as the outside (_res extensa_). The human body is therefore nothing but a spatially moving quantity, a machine, and the object of mechanics. This view led to the development of scientism, or materialism in which an objective reality became divorced

from the subject and thus the legitimate field of study for science.

In spite of the many innate philosophical difficulties in Cartesianism, the implications of Descartes' epistemology became increasingly influential in both philosophy and the emergent natural sciences, with matter becoming the proper area of study for the scientific enterprise. Descartes' belief, as outlined in his Discourse on Method (1955) was that it was indeed possible to translate all that was unknown (except man's rational soul) into the realm of indisputable common knowledge via the unity of mathematics and thus arrive at a unified view of the cosmos. The world out there was already in existence and uncertainty was considered to be a reflection of human ignorance.

The method of the natural sciences can, in part, be traced back to Descartes, but it was Newton who added the experimental method, asserting that one should proceed from data obtained in experiments to theories, rather than beginning with theories. Newton (1672) wrote:

> "The best and safest method of philosophizing seems to
> be, first, to inquire diligently into the properties
> of things and to establish these properties by experiments
> and to proceed later to hypotheses for the explanation of
> things themselves. For hypothesis ought only to be
> applied in the explanation of properties of things, and
> not made use of in determining them" (Newton 1672, cited
> by Shotter 1975: 76).

The scientific task of the modern natural sciences was thus laid down for the following three and a half centuries as being the study of the

matter of the universe in terms of its measurable properties (i.e.,

spatial extent and motion); a study which would uncover "God's

established laws".

In terms of results, the natural-scientific paradigm based on

Descartes' res extensa was tremendously successful in the natural

sciences. This success might be partially explained by the appropriate-

ness of the methodology to the problems studied, i.e., physical

phenomena were studied by referring to procedures that were themselves

physical (Thinnes 1977). It was probably this success which influenced

psychology to adopt the same paradigm, and apply it to the study of

psychology.

1.2.2 Psychology Adopts the Natural Scientific Paradigm

The natural scientific view of reality, in its more restricted sense,

regarded the universe as an assembly of separate material particles

and discrete objects interacting with each other in three dimensional

space and linear time according to a set of rigid and unchangeable

laws. The assumptions for psychology construed within the above

paradigm were that nature is governed by laws, these laws regulate all

entities in nature as causes, and natural causes determine psychological

events (Colaizzi 1978). The effect of this paradigm on psychology was

the belief by psychologists that by adopting the methods of science,

psychology, too, could exist as an autonomous discipline with a

monopoly on "the facts" as to man's essential psychological nature.
Scientific psychology asserted that the true facts about human nature
could only be established by objective experimentation and other
associated techniques, and took the task upon itself to establish how
people, like mechanisms, actually "work" (Shotter 1975: 71).

Giorgi (1971: 7) lists the major characteristics of the natural
scientific methodology as follows: it was empirical, in that controlled
observations and the manipulation of variables was emphasized; it was
positivistic, with an emphasis upon observable data and the exclusion
of other data; it was reductionistic, in that the phenomenon was
identified with its operational definition; it was quantitative, in
that data which could be measured became the only proper area for
study; it was deterministic, in that all phenomena were assumed to have
linear causes; and it was predictive, so that experiments were aimed at
getting facts that would yield laws that would enable prediction. The
methodological procedure was based upon experiments that were, in
principle, repeatable and the observer was required to be independent
of the phenomena being studied.

I now briefly refer to two consequences of the natural scientific
ethos; the emergence of experimental psychology and behaviourism
based upon Descartes' _res extensa_ and the original psychoanalytic
theory based upon Descartes' _res cognitans_.

Wundt (1832-1920), who is considered as the father of experimental

psychology, founded the first psychology laboratory in 1879. He argued for the establishment of a separate science of psychology which would use the methods of experimental physiology as developed by Helmholz, Weber and Fechner, in the study of sensory processes and perception. I cannot do Wundt justice in so brief an introduction, so suffice it to say that his influence was reflected by his successors who believed that psychology should yield laws that would enable prediction of behaviour (Woodworth 1931).

The result of applying the natural scientific paradigm to psychology is evidenced in the work of the behavioural psychologists who emphasize that psychology needs to be a science of behaviour (Watson 1924, Hull 1943, Skinner 1953). An example of this approach is evidenced in Hull's Principles of Behaviour (Hull 1943) which is based on the assumption that:

> "All behaviour, individual and social, moral and
> immoral, nominal and psychopathic, is generated
> from the same primary laws" (ibid: V).

The experimental method, is fundamentally concerned with prediction and control, not understanding. The emphasis on control is evidenced by the work of Skinner (1953), who is a contemporary exponent of psychology as a science of behaviour. Skinner argues that the application of the scientific method implies that man is not free, but is responsive to scientific laws:

"The free inner man who is held responsible for the behaviour of the external biological organism is only a pre-scientific substitute for the kinds of causes which are discovered in the course of a scientific analysis. All these alternative causes lie outside the individual" (ibid: 447).

Furthermore, Skinner extends the concept of prediction and control expressed in the principles of behaviour. He argues that these same principles should be applied in the construction of a new culture to be designed by experts, and thus provide a technology of behavioural control (Skinner 1973).

Freud (1856-1939) who was also a captive of the prevailing empiricistic-positivist orientation of his time, developed a psychoanalytic theory within the confines of Descartes' res cognitans. He proposed an intra-psychic view of man in which he postulated the existence of an unconscious, which was subject to the principle of psychic determinism, and the reductionistic principle, which held that at least in principle, all human reality could be resolved into physiology and physical processes.

Both these developments in psychology attempted to remain faithful to the Zeitgeist of the seventeenth century Newtonian-Cartesian paradigm as a criterion for their scientific validity and thus psychology became dominated by behaviourism on the one hand and psychoanalytic theory on the other.

I now wish to return to the broader issue regarding the appropriateness of psychology having adopted the natural scientific paradigm. A number of psychologists have argued that as a scientific project psychology has failed, as evidenced by the fact that after one hundred years as an independent science, it is still without a paradigm (Kruger 1981a). As a consequence, psychology as presently constituted is considered to be socially irrelevant (Strumpfer 1981). Perhaps the most cogent criticism of the value of the natural-scientific paradigm for psychology comes from Sigmund Koch (1959). He believes that psychology, as an empirical study of man, has been misconceived, and has resulted in a proliferation of pseudo-knowledge. He suggests that the idolatory of science in our age has insured that this "phony knowledge" be taken seriously. He concludes that:

> "The entire 100 year course of 'scientific' psychology
> can now be seen to be a succession of changing
> doctrines about what to emulate in the natural
> sciences ... each such strategic doctrine was
> entertained not as conditional upon its cognitive
> fruits but functioned rather as a security fetish
> bringing assurance to the psychologist and hopefully
> to the world, that he was a scientist" (ibid: 66).

This leads to a discussion of the inadequacies of psychology conceived as a natural science.

1.3 CRITIQUE OF THE NATURAL SCIENTIFIC PARADIGM FOR PSYCHOLOGY

The deficiencies of the natural science paradigm, as a basis for psychology have been eloquently stated by a significant number of psychologists and philosophers of science (Lovejoy 1955, Koch 1974, Giorgi 1975, Shotter 1975, Colaizzi 1978). I do not wish to simply restate those criticisms, but will list those limitations which are of particular pertinence to the field of transcultural psychology so as to provide a context for the following section, in which I propose a phenomenologically based methodology.

(a) One of the assumptions of a natural scientific psychology is that a phenomenon must be observable, it must be measurable and it must be such that it is possible for more than one observer to agree on its existence and characteristics. However, the individual's experiential world is private and experienced by him alone - it is not observable and cannot be quantified and observed by another. Psychology limited by the above assumption, is thus limited in what it can study, and cannot even attempt to account for a vast array of human experience (Giorgi 1971, Koch 1974, Valle and King 1978).

(b) Based upon a causal and reductionistic view of the world, the natural scientific method poses particular kinds of questions and predetermines one's findings. In the area of transcultural psychology, the method distorts other realities because it views them only through the lenses of its own system. The unavoidability of this distortion

becomes important when conclusions and generalizations are made in psychology which naively assume a neutrality of method. The method precludes telling us anything about the phenomenon as it reveals itself to the experiencing subject in all its concreteness and particularity (Meehan and Wood 1975, Kruger 1979).

(c) The natural scientific assumption of material determinism dictates that no matter how one may conceive of psychology, if one attempts to conduct one's activity as a natural scientist, one always ends up by searching for the mechanisms behind appearances and contributing to the quest to control behaviour (cf. Skinner 1972). The experimental method is concerned with prediction and control and contributes towards a dehumanizing and alienating perspective of human nature (Koch 1974, Shotter 1975, Johnson 1975).

(d) The implications of the subject/object dichotomy is to be found in our language, in which there is the implicit assumption that the world is divided into two classes, but as has been pointed out by Mahrer (1978):

> "it is not nature which is divided into these two classes; it is our language system which bifurcates nature ... our language divides the world into subject and predicate, objects and their attributes, quantities and their operations, actors and actions, things and relations between things" (ibid: 26).

The implication in transcultural research is that the very language

of psychology is potentially determinative in the manner in which the phenomena is construed.

(e) Descartes' position led to the formulation of materialistic monism, which in turn, resulted in the subject/object split. The implications of the dichotomy are far-reaching and go beyond the mind/matter discontinuity so far discussed, to incorporate self/other, reason/ emotion, knowledge/life, pathic/gnostic, individual/context and individual/nature discontinuities, which are characteristics of the thought of the natural attitude and of scientific or objective modes of thought. The subject/object split has resulted in the conception of consciousness being regarded as epiphenomena of matter. The individual/context schism is particularly significant in transcultural psychology, with the implication that the person and his social field are necessarily viewed as being discontinuous (Strauss 1966, Minuchin and Fishman 1979).

(f) An implication of the natural scientific method and the dualism on which it is based, is the distancing between theory and experience and the accompanying demeaning of experience.

During the course of science, the quantification and conceptualization of objects acquired scientific validity over experience of events. Since conceptual quantification is validated as an event of knowledge contributing to theory, and experience was doubted and distrusted as unreliable and naive, experience has become dispossessed in favour of

scientifically valid theory. The result has been the demeaning of experience. The implication in Western society has been evident in the demythologizing of religion and in transcultural research; indigenous belief systems are construed in often pejorative terms as being primitive or as mere superstition (Colaizzi 1978).

(g) Man's image of himself is affected by the prevailing scientific ethos, with the result that the person's actions are seen to be caused directly by the environment and indirectly by his genes (Skinner) or by his unconscious (Freud). Quite different practical consequences and social policies ensue from grounding actions in beliefs appropriate to the conduct of a natural science as opposed to a view which grounds actions in a belief in ourselves. Human nature cannot be discovered and described in terms of 'objective properties' (Koch 1974, Shotter 1975).

(h) Reductionism, which is a feature of the natural scientific approach, does not take cognizance of emergent phenomena, such as culture. This is particularly relevant to the field of transcultural psychology which cannot be characterized in terms of objective properties like all the other things in nature (Shotter 1975).

(i) The natural scientific method, and a psychology based upon such a method, runs the risk of confusing method with Being. With the mathematical interpretation of the world, the method of idealization becomes confused with being itself. One forgets the immediately

experienced life-world and also the sense-bestowing act of ideating itself. In pointing this out, Husserl (1977) tried not to attack scientific research, but to caution against the danger of not going back to the life-world and making explicit the forgetfulness hidden behind scientific unquestioningness, and thus neglecting to bring thought back into predicative experience as a presupposition of objectivism (Husserl 1977). This criticism is discussed further in the following section on the development of phenomenology.

Following on from the above critique, I should now like to return to one of my original propositions, i.e., that science is a human activity which is both evolutionary and dialectical. Scientific activity needs to be understood within a historical context and, like other human achievements, it can be changed:

> "Since science is the result of human inventiveness,
> it can be changed, modified or transformed by man,
> without a great catastrophe occurring. Only those
> who are forgetful of man's own role in the constitution
> of science can be shocked by such changes" (Giorgi 1975: 335).

In the following section, I propose an epistemological basis for a human science conceived to uncover and explicate the meaning that constitutes human existence.

1.4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

Having outlined the deficiencies of a natural scientific-based psychology, I am all too aware of the difficulties which might arise in advocating an alternative framework. I am thus not in favour of seeing phenomenology being juxtaposed against a natural-scientific based psychology, per se, but I suggest that what is needed is an approach which is useful and responsive to the questions posed by the present study. I shall thus be contending that phenomenology goes some way towards providing psychology with a radical epistemology and the opportunity to place experimental research in a conceptual framework which is not based upon prior theoretical constructs, but upon the meaningful relation of the person to his or her world of lived experience and behaviour.

In developing the above assertion, I would like to provide a foundation for phenomenology by tracing its history and philosophical development in some detail, and secondly, further to my own commitment to the idea that science is a human activity, to point out that it is as well to avoid the idealization of the phenomenological position. What is at stake is the relative usefulness of the approach presented in terms of the research problem being addressed. I shall premise my exposition by presenting some of the features of phenomenology, and then trace the philosophical development of phenomenology.

1.4.1 Definition of Phenomenology

Firstly, how is phenomenology defined: Merleau-Ponty responds to the

question in this way:

> "What is phenomenology? It may seem strange that
> this question has still to be asked half a century
> after the first works of Husserl. The fact remains
> that it has by no means been answered" (Merleau-Ponty,
> cited by Koch 1974: 36).

The point being made is that there is no generally accepted philosophical

discipline or doctrine called phenomenology. Nevertheless, it is

possible to identify some common features characterizing phenomenological

enquiries, which are: (a) a critical effort to make a complete break

from traditional philosophical approaches which represent faulty

reductionisms; (b) an anti-metaphysical anti-speculative attitude;

(c) an attempt at liberation from the dogmas of positive sciences and

scientific explanations of reality; (d) an attempt to return to the

primordial experience, to be unravelled as lived reality; and

(e) bracketing of the general thesis of the natural world, with all

its biases, distortions and concealments, in order that phenomenological

analysis may disclose the primordial reality.

Within contemporary science, Luckmann (1978) has expressed the view that

phenomenology has contributed:

> "not merely a new 'system' but a 'new' philosophy,
> based on a radical shift in perspective and the
> establishment of a rigorous method of philosophical
> investigation ... the new perspective illuminated the
> human world and the method was applied successfully
> to the detailed description of concrete human
> experiences" (ibid: 7).

Luckman thus draws attention to some of the leading features of contemporary phenomenology, i.e., that it represents a radical shift in perspective, that it involves a method of investigation which is to be distinguished from the natural sciences, and that it relates to the description of concrete human experiences.

In summary, phenomenology, as Husserl used the term, referred to a way of doing philosophy - by using the phenomenological method. I shall include a discussion of his ideas in some detail in the following section.

1.4.2 The Historical Context of Phenomenology in Philosophy

Phenomenology represented, in some ways, a reaction against a particular ethos, represented by the positivists. I will refer initially to this context, in outlining some ideas put forward by a predecessor of Husserl, before tracing the development of Husserl's own ideas. The reason is not only to add clarity but to again emphasize the historical evolvement of those ideas which will be seen to continue right up to the work of contemporary writers in this field.

It will be recalled that Wundt had established psychology as an experimental science in 1879 and furthermore that the _Zeitgeist_ of Europe was being dominated by such figures as Charles Darwin (1809-1882), Galileo (1564-1642), Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911) and the logical positivists. It was Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) who first proposed the idea of a human science, rigorous in its own terms, and which would distinguish between _Verstehen_ and _Erklären_, i.e., an understanding and an explaining science. This approach, stressing subjective understanding, advocated an empathic identification with the values and meanings examined in a social context. An acceptance of inner experience, as reflecting the facts of consciousness, was to be regarded as a basis for a _Verstehende_ or understanding psychology and thus provided the impetus for a hermeneutically-based psychology which would be further developed by members of the phenomenological movement.

1.5   EDMUND HUSSERL

Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) was the most original and influential member of the phenomenological movement, and set out to establish philosophy as a "rigorous science" by means of the phenomenological method. With similar intentions to Descartes, he sought to provide a foundation for human knowledge based upon indubitable and objective truths. However, his mode of attaining his goal was very different from that of Descartes. Husserl believed that philosophy should become an _a priori_ autonomous science, to be called phenomenology, and entrusted with providing a basis for all other science.

I shall be discussing Husserl's derivation of the term phenomenology, before discussing the development of his concepts of: intentionality, his theory of reductions, transcendental subjectivity, and his later contribution of his theory of the Lebenswelt. Each of these concerns are of relevance to the present study.

The term phenomenology, from the word "phenomenon" needs to be clarified. "Phenomenon" is a technical philosophical term which different philosophers have used in very different senses. Husserl's usage of the term needs to be differentiated from its common reference, where it has come to mean the "contents" of consciousness, somehow impressed by the "external" world:

> "Husserl adopted the Greek usage signifying 'that which displays itself'. It is something which presents or 'exhibits' itself to the experient" (Welch 1939: 9).

By adopting the usage as "that which displays itself", and later referred to as "immediate experience", he does not restrict himself to the simple, uninterpreted data of sensory experience, but refers to any object which is a phenomenon if looked at or considered in a particular way. These might include physical objects, thoughts, numbers, feelings and even metaphors. Phenomenon, as derivative of the term phenomenology, needs to be understood in its original meaning as well as in its broadest context.

1.5.1 Intentionality

Phenomenology, unlike positivism, refused to conceive the world as an assembly of preconstituted facts separate from the subject, but as a correlate of consciousness. This concept is expressed in Husserl's fundamental thesis of intentionality which holds that all consciousness is consciousness of something. In other words, any act of consciousness intends its correlate in the world.

Husserl's concept of 'intentionality' was influenced by the thinking of the philosopher and psychologist, Brentano. Brentano, in his Psychology from an Empirical Standpoint (1973) drew attention to the concept of the "act of consciousness". He held that all mental life was activity and that psychology was the study of acts or the experience of acts which are psychical and which 'intend' or are directed toward material or physical objects. Experience was thus understood as being intentional in character, and consciousness was construed as always pointing to objects. Brentano distinguished between different classes of consciousness in the following terms:

> "the different classes of consciousness such as
> judgement, feeling, will, are to be distinguished
> by their intentional direction, i.e., by the way in
> which something becomes an object for them"
> (Brentano 1874, cited by Welch 1939: 39).

Following Brentano's conception of "consciousness being intentional", Husserl held that all mental acts are intentional and furthermore, for

consciousness to be intentional, it must point to something which was not consciousness itself. He believed that merely to say that consciousness is "of something" is not sufficient since to be conscious of something means to be "intentionally related to something" (Welch 1939: 39). Moreover, to be intentionally related meant much more than a mere "psychological connection" with material or physical objects but was concerned:

> "with experiences in their pure essentiality with
> pure essences, and with that which the essence
> 'a priori' in unconditioned necessity, embraces"
> (Welch 1939)

Examples of intentionality are that any perceptual act of consciousness intends a perceived object in the world. Emotions reveal the same intentional structure, in that one is sad _that_, angry _with_, etc. Consciousness, conceived as intentionality, is essentially directed towards the world.

1.5.2 Theory of Reductions

One of the difficulties of the above idea as recognized by Husserl was that the doctrine of intentionality did not entail the existence of the truth of the intentional object and therefore, all mental acts were, in principle, fallible. This led him to formulate his theory of reductions. Husserl's theory of reductions, which he also called an eidetic reduction, was concerned with finding the essences or ideal meanings of the various acts and manifestations of consciousness.

The theory of reductions was a methodological process for doing phenomenology, which entailed suspending all beliefs about the phenomena in question (based upon common sense or scientific grounds) in order to concentrate on and comprehend that which cannot be suspended or reduced any further. This process involved a transition from an ordinary, straightforward natural attitude toward the world and the objects in it to a reflective or transcendental attitude as a means of arriving at the essence of the phenomena. Husserl termed this process the transcendental-phenomenological reduction.

The reduction embraced the "bracketing" of presuppositions which required that one suspend or put into abeyance one's preconceptions and presuppositions derived from the natural attitude. In order to bracket one's presuppositions, it was necessary to first make them explicit and "lay out" those assumptions to oneself. However, upon laying them out, more assumptions emerge at the level of reflective awareness which in turn need to be bracketed, and so there is the emergence and subsequent realization of still other assumptions. As one quite literally reduces the world from the natural attitude to the transcendental attitude, Husserl stated that it was possible, and indeed, a requisite, to become aware of a world of pure phenomena, which he termed the purely phenomenal realm.

One method of bracketing existence proposed by Husserl was that of free imaginative variation of an arbitrarily chosen example in order to clarify the essential features of an object. During the process of

reflective thinking, the person enquiring into the nature of the object is encouraged to vary examples freely in imagination, to reflect about the criteria implicit in his ability to recognize examples of the given sort of object, and to then put into words the criteria that were previously merely implicit in his relation to the object. This description of bracketing existence accords with Husserl's description of the reflective enterprise, which is to bring to light what was previously anonymous or latent in our performances (Leistungen).

In the reduction, one does not deny the natural world but suspends or brackets one's natural scientific belief that the world is independent of each individual, and so the "natural attitude" becomes phenomenal in nature, i.e., a world-for-consciousness. The concept of intentionality is thus extended towards consciousness as intentional turning-toward or directing-its-attention-to the eidetic content of otherwise merely sensory objects. Husserl posited that during this process it is possible to distinguish noema which are contents of consciousness (Bewusstsein-sinhalt) from noesis which is "being-in-consciousness" (Bewusstsein) and the intuitive activity of the Ego results in the "reception" of meaning. The meaning, thus captured, becomes the structure and feature of all significant experience.

1.5.3 Transcendental Subjectivity

Husserl argued, particularly in his later philosophy, that phenomenology was not only meant to be descriptive of consciousness and its acts, but

that phenomenology was also transcendental in that the world appre-
hended as human and meaningful was to be understood as constituted
by consciousness. This led him to develop his concept of transcendental
subjectivity which is based on the transcendental-reduction and the
change from the natural attitude to the transcendental attitude. He
referred to the latter attitude as the phenomenological epoché. He
contended that once we perform the transcendental reduction, we discover
the "transcendental ego" or "pure consciousness". Everything that
exists is an object for pure consciousness. Phenomenology was thus
characterized as the exploration and description of a realm of being
which was previously unsuspected but which was regarded as the absolute
foundation of the experienced world. The realm being referred to by
Husserl was not accessible to empirical observation but only to
phenomenological reduction and to what he termed eidetic intuition.
This led him to hold some rather extreme views on the transcendental
ego, which he regarded as an individual entity, distinct from the self.
These doctrines which tended towards a neo-Cartesian position, caused a
considerable stir among members of the phenomenological movement, many
of whom regarded them as regrettable lapses into metaphysics, and away
from descriptive phenomenology (Thinnes 1977).

Husserl (1965) later sought to extend his ideas regarding transcendental
subjectivity to the establishment of a specifically transcendental
psychology. Such an enterprise would form the basis for an a priori
psychology, which would seek to establish whatever is necessary to

the psychic as such, without which psyche and psychic life is utterly

inconceivable and contrary to sense (Husserl 1965). A basic

characteristic of this psychology would be its aim to establish the

essential universalities and necessities without which psychological

being and living were considered to be inconceivable. Only subse-

quently, would it proceed to the explanation of psychological facts

and to theory. He emphasized the necessity to return to the pre-

scientific experiential world, and to the experience in which it is

given:

> "As scientific themes, nature and mind do not exist
> beforehand; rather, they are formed only within a
> theoretical interest and in the theoretical work
> directed by it, upon the underlying stratum of a
> natural, pre-scientific experience (Erfahrung).
> Here they appear in an originally intuitable inter-
> mingling and togetherness; it is necessary to begin
> with this concretely intuitive unity of the pre-
> scientific experiential world and then to elucidate
> what theoretical interests and directions of thought
> it predelineates, as well as how nature and mind can
> become unitary universal themes, always inseparably
> related to each other, in it" (ibid: 40).

The source of the a priori nature of the psychology would be based

upon the intuition or description of essences which "can be won only

by inner seeing and analysis of the seen". Such a science of

psychology would result in a "science of the most universal forms

and law of mental facts in contrast to the sciences of the individual

concretions in historical actuality" (Husserl 1965: 39).

1.5.4   The Lebenswelt

During Husserl's last period, he formulated what was perhaps his most

significant achievement for psychology, which was his theory of the

Lebenswelt or life-world (Husserl 1970).   The notion of the Lebenswelt

referred to the world as encountered and lived in everyday life, given

in direct and immediate experience independent of scientific inter-

pretations.   I shall discuss this theory in some detail.

Husserl no longer argued that the transcendental ego had any absolute

status, but stated that it was 'correlative' to the world.   Secondly,

phenomenology was no longer concerned with the description of a

separate realm of being but rather the reflection on the description

of intersubjective communal experience.   A third major change in his

conception of phenomenology was that it was no longer concerned with

the foundations of scientific knowledge by reflecting about scientific

knowledge.   Instead, Husserl distinguished between the world as known

to science and the world in which we live, i.e., the Lebenswelt.   The

study of the lived-world and our experience of it now became the

primary task of phenomenology.

Husserl drew attention to three features of the life-world:

(a)   The world of everyday experience is extended in space and time.

Space and time constitute a comprehensive frame in which all the

existents of our experience can be related in spatial and temporal

terms with one another. Furthermore, things exhibit spatial forms as physiognomy. The physiognomic aspect does not denote a determinate figure but a generic type of spatial configuration, which allows some variation and deviation.

(b) The life-world exhibits various regularities, as evidenced, for example, by the cycle of day and night altering with the change of the seasons. Things, according to Husserl, have their habits of behaviour. It is not from science that we learn, for instance, that stones, when lifted and released, fall down, but it is a matter of everyday experience in the life-world. Familiarity with such regularities is of paramount importance for our existence and the practical conduct of our lives.

(c) Things in the life-world present themselves in a certain relativity with respect to the experiencing subjects, e.g. a number of persons in a room all perceive the same objects, but each person may perceive the objects from their own point of observation. It is through intersubjective agreement, brought about in a number of ways, that we find ourselves living in one and the same life-world, with respect to the social group, however small or large (Gurwitsch 1978).

The crisis of European Sciences to which Husserl addressed himself, was to be found in the objectivism which characterized the natural sciences. Objectivity, he argued, was not only understood by the community at large as well as by the scientific community as

corresponding to reality, but was understood as being synonymous

with reality, i.e., it is reality. In other words, to the uncritical

observer, there is no differentiation between the objective world

(of atoms and particles etc.) and the life-world (Husserl 1970).

Thinnes (1977) discusses the implications of Husserl's position in

the following terms:

> "The crisis of Western man is a direct consequence of
> the development of European objective science, since,
> by implicitly assuming that scientific reality is the
> only source of facts, the subject loses every possi-
> bility of placing himself in every-day life.
> Scientific facts are theoretical constructs which
> cannot be grasped in immediate experience; they are
> 'ideal entities' which are only available to the
> subject in an indirect fashion" (ibid: 123).

Husserl's argument was that science, by its very own internal coherence

and its formal rigour as a closed system, was seen to be engaged in a

kind of ceaseless self-verifying evolution. He was concerned that the

mathematization of nature would result in the real praxis dealing with

immediate life possibilities being replaced by an ideal praxis at the

level of pure thinking. The result of science (and objectivism)

transcending the Lebenswelt in this manner would be that the Lebenswelt

would also be concealed without being noticed (Kockelmans 1966,

Thinnes 1977).

Consequently, the only way to address the crises and reinstate the

"referenceless subject" into the realm of immediate experience of the

life-world was to return to the pre-scientific foundation of the
objective sciences, which were to be found in the very structure of
the life-world. This is well expressed in his slogan, Zu den Sachen!
which literally translates To the things!, where things must be taken
in the widest possible sense to embrace all possible kinds of objects.
The polemical import of Zu den Sachen expresses his opposition to
reductionism, to phenomenalism, psychological atomism and the
scientism of the positivists.

1.5.5 Implications of Husserl's position

The implications of Husserl's position are significant for psychology
for the following reasons: (a) If psychology is to be based upon human
or primary experience, it needs to be reconceived in terms which would
differ fundamentally from the assumptions underlying the natural sciences.
(b) The dualist-based epistemology of the natural sciences is undermined
by Husserl's epistemology which defines consciousness in terms of
intentionality and the life-world of experience is reinstated as being
fundamental. (c) The value of Husserl's approach is that descriptive
statements concerning human conscious experience are meaningful, not
because other statements are true, but because they describe phenomena
correctly. Husserl thus provided a radical reorientation and some
useful guiding principles, though in my opinion, his theory of
transcendental subjectivity is not to be taken literally.

1.6 MARTIN HEIDEGGER

Husserl's phenomenology of consciousness prepared the way for a new

philosophy of science, but it did not necessarily provide for a new

readily available scientific psychology (Thinnes 1977). It was left

to his student, Martin Heidegger, to address and articulate a response

to the central philosophical question: What is being? to further prepare

the foundation for phenomenological psychology. I shall now address

myself to Heidegger's contribution which has been significant in the

development of phenomenology, as evidenced in the works of Boss, whom

I discuss in a separate section, and some contemporary phenomenological

psychologists who have been influenced by Heidegger including Colaizzi

(1978) and Kruger (1979) among others.

Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) was not particularly concerned with the

intentional acts performed in the familiarity of the Lebenswelt, but he

was interested in the epistemological basis provided by Husserl as a

means of addressing the nature of "being". He believed that this

central ontological issue had been undermined by the materialism, the

spiritualism and the more recent dualism which had dominated European

thought over the centuries and that "being" had become a philosophically

meaningless word.

>   "Basically, all ontology, no matter how rich and
>   firmly compacted a system of categories is has at
>   its disposal, remains blind and perverted from its
>   own innermost aim, if it has not first adequately
>   clarified the meaning of Being and conceived this
>   clarification as its fundamental task" (Heidegger 1962: 31).

In conceiving Being, he recognized that it was not possible to gain a better understanding of Being by reflecting only about the world in so far as it was familiar, but that he would be required to turn his attention to recreating a language in which Being would be the central concept.

In the following sections, I will discuss the ontological priority accorded to (a) the question of Being, (b) the analysis of _Dasein_, and (c) Being-in-the-world as a basic state of _Dasein_. I shall follow the custom of using hyphenated words, as used in the translation of his work, to emphasize the totality of the concepts which he used to overcome the built-in dualistic tendencies in language.

1.6.1   The Question of Being

Heidegger (1962) maintained that Being can only be reached from the experience that we ourselves are, that is, the only be-ing that can supply us with this correct starting point regarding the meaning of being is that being which can question itself - man.

> "Thus to work out the question of Being adequately, we
> must make an entity - the inquirer - transparent in
> his own Being.... This entity which each of us is
> himself and which includes inquiring as one of the
> possibilities of its Being, we shall denote by the
> term _Dasein_" (ibid: 27).

Thus it is only through an analysis of human existence - or _Dasein_ - that we can arrive at an understanding of the being of Being.

1.6.2 Dasein

Dasein literally means "being" (sein) "there) (da). "Being-there" is used by Heidegger to refer to the kind of Being that belongs to persons. Analysis of Dasein designates the realm of lumination which is the fundamental characteristic of human experience.

In establishing the ontological priority of the question of Being, Heidegger (1962) states:

> "Dasein is an entity which does not just occur among
> other entities. Rather it is ontically distinguished
> by the fact that, in its very Being, that Being is an
> issue for it.... Understanding of Being is itself a
> definite characteristic of Dasein's Being. Dasein is
> ontically distinctive in that it is ontological"
> (ibid: 32).

Being necessarily has an understanding of Being. It cannot be defined by its relation to another as Dasein is purely an expression of its Being. The kind of being towards which Dasein necessarily harmonizes, is called existence. What is special in human existence, is that man's mode-of-being consists in the fact that man, in order to realize himself, has to place himself as it were, outside himself, he has to "ex-sist". Only man can do this because only man can question his own being. This mode of existence is termed being-in-the-world.

1.6.3 Being-in-the-world

In an original and essential way man is oriented to the world and so every manifestation of being-man is a mode of being actively related to the world. Man is neither inert matter nor pure interiority - he "ex-sists" and as such, he is open to the world. Human subjectivity is not a locked-in "I", but manifests itself primarily as a "being with" and a "being-open-to". Man and the world cannot possibly be conceived separately.

Man is aboriginally a being-in and to-the-world and in his dialogue with the world, he makes the meaning of things appear in the sense of lumination. Human subjectivity is originally and in essence an intentional and self-transcendent being. Only through his familiarity with the world does man realize himself. It is only through his familiarity with the world that man becomes familiar with himself. Heidegger summarizes his position by stating, "The 'essence' of Dasein lies in its existence" (Heidegger 1962: 67).

In distinguishing man from other beings, Heidegger notes that man is the only one who has a relationship to himself. But every relationship to itself presupposes, essentially, a relationship to the world to define it. Being-man is being-in-the world. Thus it is not possible to think of any real mode of being-man which would not be a mode of being-in-the-world. The expression Man exists means that man's being is a being-conscious-in-the-world, a being-open-to-the-world, a

dwelling in the world and a being-familiar-with-the-world (Heidegger

1962, Luijpen 1966).

Boss (1963) discusses Heidegger's concept of Being-ness as a fundamental

feature of human existence in the sense that Being-ness is:

> "not an attribute or a property which man has, but
> that man is this primary awareness of Being-ness, that
> he is in the world essentially and primarily as such.
> Man, then, is a light which luminates whatever par-
> ticular being comes into the realm of its rays. It is
> of his essence to disclose things and living beings in
> their meaning and content" (ibid: 37).

Man is thus essentially an understanding, seeing and luminative being

and in contrast to things, is "capable of going both physically and

spiritually blind" (ibid: 38).

In the above section, I have discussed Heidegger's explication of

being in which man can only be conceived of as man-in-the-world. I

have not discussed the major dimensions of his ontology concerning

the primary temporality and historicity of man's world, which are

not essential, in distinguishing between his contribution to a

hermeneutic phenomenology which should be distinguished from Husserl's

phenomenology of consciousness. This distinction, made quite explicit

by Heidegger himself, is relevant to the present study, which is

concerned with that aspect of existence made meaningful through dream-

existence.

1.6.4 Implications of Heidegger's Position

Heidegger's explication of existence entails an understanding of consciousness – not as an entity closed in upon itself (which was the danger of Husserl's position), but as necessarily engaged in the act of revealing the meaning of being. Human existence is constituted as aboriginally meaningful.

The implications of Heidegger's views for the development of a hermeneutic phenomenology is that he overcomes dualism by conceiving existence as the primitive fact, the original datum that gives and founds meaning. He achieves this by insisting that firstly, the mode of being called existence cannot be reduced to something else that is more fundamental and, secondly, it is primary in the sense that it is the foundation of everything which can ever have meaning and value for persons. Existence needs to be seen as a totality in which man as being is the ground of all other being-ness. This does not mean that man is the creator of all that is, but implies that all manifestations of human existence and all meaning which the world has for man is to be understood and founded in the light of this idea of existence (Luijpen 1966).

1.7 PSYCHOLOGY AND PHENOMENOLOGY

The argument thus far has been to outline aspects of and indicate the inadequacies of the natural scientific paradigm, and to provide an overview of phenomenology by examining the contributions of Husserl and Heidegger in particular. The remainder of this chapter will outline the significance of phenomenology for the actual practice of phenomeno-logical psychology. I shall do this in two stages. I will first discuss the task of psychology construed as a human science and secondly, will draw upon the work of Amedeo Giorgi, amongst others, in outlining a contemporary practice of phenomenology.

1.7.1 Redefining Psychology

The task of psychology conceived as a human science needs to be concerned with understanding human existence within the contextual reality of the lived-world. Such a psychology needs to undercut the whole positivist perspective by conceiving its field of study as the person within his or her world (the later Husserl) and in relation to the world (Heidegger). The image of man within such a psychology needs to be redefined, not in terms of the demeaning concepts underlying a natural scientific paradigm, but in terms of those characteristics which confer upon man his unique human attributes.

I should like to present a spectrum of ideas drawn from phenomenologists, namely Strauss (1966), Boss (1977) and Kruger (1979), concerning the

task of psychology, before addressing the problem of formulating

an appropriate paradigm for psychology (Giorgi 1975b, Kruger 1981,

Greenway 1982). Strauss (1966) notes that the first task of the

psychologist is to explore the depth and wealth of human experience

by returning:

> "back to the origins, to discover the problems hidden
> in the familiar, to decipher the unwritten constitution
> of everyday life" (ibid: XI).

Kruger (1979) proposes that psychology be defined as:

> "an intersubjective, communicative science, systemat-
> ically studying the structures of human existence by
> explicating lived (historical) experience" (ibid: 183).

Furthermore, he stresses that the phenomenological approach to

psychology is not a closed system and therefore no human experience

is disqualified, as:

> "The door to the spiritual and transpersonal is kept
> firmly open. Phenomenological psychology is already
> a transpersonal psychology in the sense that the world
> is not restricted to tangibilities and mere facts but
> can only be conceptualized as a system of infinite
> possibilities and meanings. Explicating our under-
> standing of an individual existence may take us to the
> edges of the vast cosmic backdrop of human life" (ibid: 191).

As existence always implies being-in-the-world, people are in dialogue

with-the-world. Where the life-world is usually of a pre-reflective

nature, the task of the psychology is the careful description of the life-world, through disciplined reflection with the purpose of arriving at an understanding of the phenomena - not in terms of cause-effect relationships, but as they are experienced in the life-world.

Boss (1977) reiterates the above orientation in his emphasis that the phenomenological approach:

"strives to avoid exclusively 'logical' conclusions and to adhere instead to factually observable things aiming to penetrate their significance and contexts with ever greater refinement and precision, until the very essence of them is fully recognized" (ibid: 3).

The question of formulating an appropriate paradigm for psychology, or even the idea of the usefulness of any paradigm in meeting the above goals has been the topic of a number of symposia and some very divergent views have been presented (Wann 1964, Koch 1974, Giorgi 1974, Kruger 1981, Greenway 1982, Taft 1982).

Giorgi emphasizes the scientific nature of psychology as a human science, but where the criteria for psychology being a science are redefined. In terms of his proposed redefinition, the primary concern of the researcher is to discover how the phenomenon of man appears in the world, and then to try to determine ways of studying him that will yield systematic, rigorous and intersubjective knowledge (Giorgi 1975b).

Kruger (1981), noting that psychology is without a paradigm, is more tentative in his proposals. He notes the success of the early pioneers of phenomenology, who were able to articulate various aspects of the structure of human existence and which was founded upon their own primary experience. However, they did not outline a systematic methodology by which the task of psychology could be approached systematically. He concludes that a phenomenological or hermeneutic psychology may be able to generate an alternative paradigm based upon philosophical anthropology.

Finally, Greenway (1982), in discussing the methodological implications of phenomenological assumptions in psychology, contends that a new methodology, in searching for ways to portray the world of experience, will need to work out a new set of general formal hermeneutic principles unaligned with any specific psychological approach. He furthermore believes that this approach to research is more likely to resemble an art than a science.

It is apparent that there is some agreement, within a sector of the psychological community, as to the nature of the task of psychology. However, there is a considerable diversity as to what kind of methodology will be most appropriate to the task of psychology and even whether such a psychology will resemble a science or an art. My view is that the phenomena need to be primary and that the methodology should be determined by the task presented. I will develop some phenomenologically based methodological propositions in the following section.

1.7.2 Contemporary Practice of Phenomenology

While phenomenology has provided a radical epistemology, and an attitude toward phenomena, it has not yet developed a single methodology which can be compared with the organization characteristic of the natural sciences. However, a number of investigators have explored ways of translating a phenomenological perspective into a scientifically valid methodology which is congruent with the phenomenological approach and in dialogue with the subject matter. The approach emphasizes the importance of apprehending the essence of a phenomenon in terms of its meaning or structure in such a way that the phenomenon is not distorted for the sake of the researcher's own preconceptions or theoretical bias and at the same time, to yield systematic, rigorous and inter-subjective knowledge (van Kaam 1966, Giorgi 1975, Thinnés 1977).

A leading contemporary exponent of phenomenological methodology is Amedeo Giorgi. I shall draw attention to some of the leading features of his approach, as they pertain to the present study (Giorgi 1971, 1975).

Giorgi (1975b) describes the methodology of phenomenology as involving the processes of intuition, description, reflection and explicitation. The method is represented by a movement from naive everyday language to a psychological language, or second-order expression, mediated by reflection. He asserts that the real methodology begins after the completion of an open-ended description. Once this is completed, the

researcher must reflect upon his descriptions, interrogate them and come up with key findings that will comprehend the situation of his subjects in a psychologically significant way (Giorgi 1975b).

The process of intuition, description and reflection are all part of the same process of explicitation. Explicitation is defined by Giorgi as a "process of making explicit or thematizing the locus of any given phenomenon within its horizon" (ibid: 1971: 21). The process of explicitation involves description through disciplined reflection. Reflection needs to be distinguished from speculation, and remain within the confines of the given, thoughtfully penetrating it and coming up with a deeper understanding of the phenomena (Giorgi 1975b). The aim of the process of explicitation is to explicate the structure and meaning of the phenomena being studied.

I discuss the relationship between explicitation and structure in a little more detail, as they point to the different requirements of a phenomenological psychology, as opposed to a natural scientific-based psychology. Explicitation yields significant information about the meaning of a phenomenon, by way of disclosing the pheomenon's multiple reference to its horizon (Giorgi 1971: 22). The structure of the phenomenon may be arrived at, not through the repetition of identical themes, but by essential themes which might be identified through varying manifestations:

"To demand that the essential theme of a phenomenon
and its manifestation be constant is an unnecessary
reduction that not only does violence to the phenom-
enon, but also prohibits a correct understanding of it
because the various ways it manifests itself also sheds
light on its essential nature" (ibid: 24).

The relationship between structure and essential meaning is well

expressed by Valle and King's (1978) analogy, that:

"The perceived phenomenon is analogous to a mineral
crystal which appears to have many different sizes
and shapes depending on the intensity, and colour of
the light which strikes its surfaces. Only after
these different reflections and varied appearances
on repeated occasions does the constant, unchanging
crystalline structure become known to us" (ibid: 15).

I have emphasized this point, as it has special relevance to the

present study.

Giorgi makes the point that a scientific psychology requires that its

methodology is accountable. However, he broadens the concept of

accountability on the basis that the philosophical assumptions of a

phenomenological psychology are very different from the positivist

and empirical philosophy underlying the traditional approaches of

psychology and thus the criteria for validity and accountability need

to be responsive to a phenomenological epistemology:

"Its ontological presuppositions concerning man are
different and therefore its criteria for rigor also
differ. The presupposition that really matters
maintains that fidelity to the way any phenomenon
appears must be the beginning of all science. That

is why a human scientific psychology must begin
descriptively and try systematically to deepen the
original description in the rigorous way" (Giorgi 1971: 34).

Giorgi believes that the primordial criterion of science is to be
initially faithful to the phenomenon as it appears. Drawing from two
different sources, (Giorgi 1975a, 1975b) he presents four aspects to
be considered in meeting the requirement that the methodology be
accountable. (a) The approach of the research should include the
characteristic of receptivity. Receptivity refers to the imperative
to stand back and give the phenomena time to emerge so that its
intrinsic constituents can be discovered. (b) The approach of the
research should include fidelity. Fidelity refers to the need to
describe the phenomenon precisely as it presents itself to the
researcher. (c) The methodology should be rigorous, where rigor
refers to the demand that the intentions of the researcher are in
harmony with the demands of the phenomenon as it appears in the
situation. (d) The findings should be appreciated in terms of
transituational consistency of meaning, which refers to the appreciation
that meaning can be valid for a single study but not necessarily
generalizable as formulated. I discuss the implications of these
propositions for this study in Chapter Four.

1.8 SUMMARY: THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH TO RESEARCH

This chapter is concerned with developing a philosophical basis for
the present research. The arguments presented are underpinned by
the proposition that there are two approaches to science: the
''absolutist' and the 'relativist' position. The natural scientific
paradigm in particular is seen to adopt an idealized position. I put
forward the view that science is a human activity, bounded by context
and historicity, and assume the relativist position. From this, I
suggest that phenomenology provides psychology with a more useful
paradigm which allows psychology the possibility of explicating the
fundamental features of human existence as they reveal themselves
within the context of lived-existence.

The natural scientific paradigm tends to be absolutist, but in fact,
is seen to be based upon assumptions originally articulated by
Descartes. Descartes' dualism provided the foundational concepts for
the physical sciences, which were then taken over by psychology, as
psychologists attempted to emulate the natural sciences by adopting
its methodology. However, the natural scientific paradigm is inap-
propriate for psychology. This is evidenced by the traditional natural
scientific conception of its field of study as well as in its
methodology. Criticisms of this approach include that the reality
being studied is distorted by the natural scientific methodology, the
language of the natural sciences and the inherent demeaning of
experience. The plea is made that psychology return to the life-world

and the predicative experience which constitutes reality.

I propose that a radical change can be effected by reconceiving
psychology as a human science. Phenomenology provides a radical
epistemology which is not based upon prior theoretical constructs,
but emphasizes the primordially meaningful relation of the person
in his or her world of lived-experience.

Phenomenology is not a theory but an attitude towards doing philosophy
exemplified by the phenomenological method. The philosophical under-
pinnings of phenomenology are evidenced in the development of some of
its central concepts as explicated first by Husserl, in his phenomen-
ology of consciousness, and then developed by Heidegger in his
hermeneutic philosophy. Husserlian concepts which are of particular
significance are his theory of intentionality, theory of reductions,
transcendental subjectivity and his theory of the Lebenswelt.
Heidegger drew out the metaphysical implications of Husserl's Lebens-
welt for psychology in his exposition of Being. He maintained that an
understanding of Being as the ground of knowledge, can only be derived
by understanding the experience that we ourselves are. An understanding
of Being is to be found in an explication of Dasein as it manifests
as being-in-the-world. The implications of Heidegger's position is
that human existence cannot be divided or reduced to something else,
as characterized in the traditional natural scientific approach, but
that human existence is fundamentally meaningful.

I address the issue of phenomenological psychology. Psychology, basing itself within a phenomenological paradigm, recognizes the pre-reflective nature of human experience as being in dialogue with-the-world. By integrating some of the concepts developed by the phenomenologists, psychology might be redefined in such a way that it is able to deal with the unitary connection of man-in-the-world in an original sense, by returning to person's natural pre-scientific experience.

In the final section, I discuss the contemporary practice of phenomenological psychology, by drawing attention to some of the leading features of the methodology developed by Amedeo Giorgi. The methodology is characterized by the processes of intuition, description, reflection and explicitation. Sources of validity and accountability are redefined in terms of receptivity, fidelity, rigor and transituational consistency of meaning. The implications of the approach are that the methodology should not predetermine the results and should not violate experience and meaning. Phenomenological psychology emphasizes the necessity of adhering to and penetrating the phenomenon in a manner which will contribute to a coherent understanding of human existence. The methodological principles outlined in the present chapter are developed further in Chapter Four on methodology and research design and so provides a basis for the present study.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PROBLEM OF DREAM INTERPRETATION

2.1   INTRODUCTION

Dreaming is a universal human experience and has been recognized as

being significant by cultures vastly remote from each other in time

and place. These have included the Indigenous healers in Southern

Africa, the Shamans of Malaysia, India and North America, the

traditions of biblical, Koranic and classical philosophy, as well as

Western psychology and experimental science.

Historically, the problem of dream interpretation can be traced back,

within recorded history, to almost 2000 B.C. Dreams or "visions of

the night" were considered in the Near East during ancient times as

emanating from supernatural powers. Great importance was attached to

their contents and interpretation as evidenced by the compilation of

"dream books" in Mesopotamia and in Egypt. Frightful and nightmarish

dreams experienced by ordinary people were ascribed to the machinations

of sorcerers and evil spirits while the dreams experienced by kings

or priests were conceived to be a vehicle by which the Gods made their

intentions known (Jayne 1962). Within the Judeo-Christian tradition,

dreams were regarded in the Bible as being significant. It was

recorded in the Old Testament that dreams were one of the legitimate

channels by which God revealed his will to chosen individuals, such

as kings and prophets. His assistance was sought in the interpretation

of such dreams. The words, חלום , "dream", and חזון

referring to "vision", as in night vision, are sometimes mentioned

together in the Bible. It is interesting to note that the roots of

both mean "to see" (Buttrick 1962).

The problem of dream interpretation has confronted humankind through

the millennium. The problems referred to might be reformulated in

terms of three questions: What is the dream? What is the meaning

of the dream? How do we come to understand the meaning of the dream?

In this chapter, I discuss the responses to these questions within

contemporary Western psychology. I then review the transcultural

literature relating to dreams in Nguni society and evaluate the

research cited from a phenomenological perspective.

2.2   CONTEMPORARY WESTERN PERSPECTIVES TO DREAM INTERPRETATION

The development of epistemologies, as discussed in the first chapter,

has been significant in shaping our approach to the problems of

understanding dreams. Contemporary perspectives may be broadly

divided between those approaches which are primarily concerned with the

meaning of dreams, as evidenced in the formulations of Freud, Jung

and Boss, and theories concerned with the neurobiology of dream-

state sleep. In view of some recent attempts to understand dreams by

transposing physiology to psychology it is well to distinguish

between the two approaches at the outset (Hobson and McCarley 1977,

Crick and Mitchison 1983). Sleep research has provided us with theories regarding the physiological concomitants of the experience of sleep (Aserinsky and Kleitman 1953, Dement 1960). However, theories concerned with a neurophysiological process are logically unable to contribute towards our knowledge of the meaning of dreams as a human experience (Labruzza 1978). The present study is concerned with the psychological meaning of dreams and will not review theories concerned with the neurobiology of the dream process.

Theories concerning the meaning of dreams in Western psychology have been influenced by their respective epistemological bases. This is well exemplified in Sigmund Freud's theory which was firmly based within the natural scientific framework. Carl Jung's formulation was less constrained by the natural scientific conception of reality and, in many ways, challenged the prevailing positivist ethos which so influenced Freud. The phenomenological approach to dreams, which has been well articulated by Medard Boss, is seen as being based upon an alternative epistemological position which was particularly influenced by Heidegger.

In reviewing the approach of each of these three theorists to the problem of dream interpretation, I discuss the theoretical basis underlying their theory of dream interpretation and their theory of the dream process and dream interpretation. In each instance, I also refer to the implications of their approach for transcultural research.

2.3   SIGMUND FREUD

The psychoanalytical theory of dream interpretation is rooted in

Sigmund Freud's very significant contribution, The Interpretation of

Dreams which was first published in 1900 and is often considered to

be one of the great scientific works of this century. Freud's

contribution to an understanding of dreams is really one aspect of

his broader theory of personality. His theory was clearly influenced

by the prevailing positivistic philosophy of his day, in which

"science" was concerned with a rational understanding of the "objective"

world. The aims were to provide "laws of nature" which would have

predictive (heuristic) value. In the present section, I shall

provide a brief overview of Freud's theory regarding the structure

of the psyche, his concept of the unconscious and symbolism, before

reviewing his dream theory which has been so influential in the social

sciences.

2.3.1   Structure of the psyche

Freud's basic premise was to postulate the existence of an unconscious

self, which existed in relation to the conscious self. This

formulation came to be known as the topographic view. His theory,

by postulating that a mental event might be either unconscious,

preconscious or conscious, drew attention to the fact that the

unconscious has a profound effect on conscious processes. The

historical significance of this postulate cannot be overemphasized.

The psyche was thus divided between a conscious level and an unconscious
level, which together, constituted the "object" of psychoanalytic
theory. By postulating that the unconscious aspects of self consist
of contents and drives, which are never in themselves conscious,
but which influence the conscious aspects of the personality, he was
able to introduce the principle of unconscious determinism and of
reductionism, i.e., conscious behaviours could be reduced to unconscious
impulses and particular laws could be established which would
explain the functioning of the psyche. Examples of such explanatory
concepts included his formulation of the oedipus complex and his
general theory of repression.

2.3.2   The unconscious

Freud proposed that the unconscious included a dynamic body of wishes
which are repressed and which then press for discharge. These wishes
stem from instinctual needs, often of an early infantile sexual
nature, but may also develop far beyond them. It is only when such
wishes are discharged, in one form or another, whether in fantasies
and dreams or in overt active behaviour or in the development of
neurotic symptoms of one kind or another, that the unconscious becomes
known. Otherwise it acts completely beyond the awareness of the
observer.

2.3.3 Symbolism

Freud (1976) regarded the symbol as an indirect representation of unconscious ideation which was expressed in dreams as well as in "folklore, myths, legends, linguistic idioms, proverbial wisdom and current jokes..." (ibid: 468). Symbols are thus a representation of the repressed contents of the unconscious and are an integral part of the process of distortion and disguise which takes place during the formation of a dream. The choice of the symbol usually comes from the subject in the form of unconscious material and reinforces the purpose of censorship and disguise.

Freud is interested in fixed meaning or constant interpretation of dream symbols. There is a fixed relation between the repressed unconscious and the symbol in question. It is with regard to the fixed meaning of symbols that the question of sexual symbolization emerges. An example of sexual symbolization is his reference to the idea that "all weapons and tools are used as symbols for the male organ" (ibid: 473). According to Freud, the majority of dreams of adults deal with sexual material and give expression to erotic wishes. Freud's reference to symbolic substitution is only a supplement to dream interpretation and does not replace free association in the interpretation of dreams.

In order to interpret the symbols, the psychoanalyst must rely on his own resources and knowledge. Freud implies that he arrives at the meaning of certain symbols through the sciences of etymology and semantics. The symbolic relation expressed in the dream symbols is often genetic in the sense that "things that are symbolically connected to-day were probably united in prehistoric times by conceptual and linguistic identity" (ibid: 468). The symbolic relation thus appeared to be a relic and a mark of former identity.

2.3.4 The nature of dreams

Freud (1976) contended that the meaning of every dream was "the fulfillment of a wish" (ibid: 214) and that dream processes, far from being arbitrary or even bizarre, have their psychical origin within the individual's mental processes. Furthermore, dreams are legitimate and potentially comprehensible. They can therefore, like any other mental process, be traced back to their origin. By working on dreams and arriving at the dream thoughts (or latent content) he postulated that one finds that they are logical and integral parts of the subject's mental life.

The recalled dream might make reference to recent conscious activity but is founded upon the instinctual needs and repressed wishes

inherent in the deeper layers of the unconscious. These latent aspects

of the unconscious cannot be expressed directly in the dream as they

would be overly disturbing·in their effect, and are therefore

censored so as to maintain sleep. The latent content of the dream

therefore undergoes changes and expresses itself in the manifest

content of the dream in a distorted manner. Furthermore, the dream

manifests not only the history of the particular individual, but

in some instances, also the phylogenetic prehistory of the human

species. `An example would be the expression of the universal oedipus

complex theme.

2.3.5   The dream-work

Freud argues that the decreased ego control of sleep leads to the rise

of strong unconscious wishes motivated towards fulfillment. These

wishes derive essentially from repressed childhood memories and

experiences. These latent dream-thoughts or wishes are often

precipitated by the recent events of the day, but owing to the

presence of the censor, they may not be immediately satisfied and

first need to be distorted and disguised through the process of the

·dream-work.

The dream-work is initiated by the residues of the previous day's

activities stirring up an unconscious wish. The unconscious wish,

which has previously been suppressed, now arises and gains fresh

life by being reinforced from the unconscious. The wish attempts

to force its way along the path taken by thought processes through

the preconscious, but comes up against the censorship. It then

submits to the influence of the censorship and takes on the

distortion by way of the transference of the wish onto recent

material. Thus far, it is a thought which has been intensified by

transference and distorted in its expression by censorship. Its

further progress is stilted by the sleeping state of the preconscious.

The dream process consequently enters into a regressive path which

is available to it because of the very nature of the sleep state.

During its regressive path, the dream process acquires the

attributes of representability and draws attention to itself in

being noticed by consciousness. The latent contents of the dream are

thus transformed into the manifest content. The manifest content is

therefore a substitute for something else that is unknown to the

dreamer.

The need for distortion arises from the principle of censorship

which functions in the dream-state to preserve sleep. The major

means of distortion are condensation, displacement and

representation. In order to arrive at the latent dream thoughts, one

has to move through these various processes of the dream work. Freud

describes the process of dream formation and distortion in the following

excerpt:

> "We may therefore suppose that dreams are given their shape
> in individual human beings by the operation of two psychical
> forces (or we may describe them as currents or systems); and
> that one of these forces constructs the wish which is
> expressed by the dream, while the other exercises a censorship
> upon this dream-wish and, by the use of that censorship,
> forcibly brings about a distortion in the expression of the
> wish" (ibid: 1976: 225).

The manifest content of the dream is this a compromise formation,
or a disguised attempt at wish-fulfillment. He defines the wish
element as an unconscious impulse which must be of infantile origin
in order to instigate a dream. The infantile impulse, through the
process of distortion previously referred to, disguises the dream
content in order to meet the demands of the censor and which he
later referred to as "ego defence mechanisms". The dream or more
precisely, the manifest content of the dream is a compromise formation
or disguised attempt at wish-fulfillment.

2.3.6   Dream interpretation

Freud's method of interpreting dreams is of a different conceptual
order to his theory of dream formation. His method of interpretation
is based upon reversing the process underlying dream formation,
i.e., to reformulate the manifest content of the dream back into the
latent thoughts which gave rise to the dream in the first place.
The main task of the psychoanalyst is therefore to help the patient
move back from the manifest elements to the latent thoughts.

The starting point for Freud's interpretation of a given dream is
to focus on the specific elements of the dream rather than on the
dream as a whole. The process of interpreting the dream involved
the use of free association. The principles of free association
is that of abandoning all the voluntary and purposive ideas that

normally dominate other conscious thoughts and taking note of all
the involuntary and random thoughts which occur. Free association
thus allowed access to unconscious material. What was previously
unconscious is thus rendered as conscious. This led to Freud's
famous dictum: "The interpretation of dreams is the royal road to
a knowledge of the unconscious activities of the mind" (ibid: 1976: 769).

Freud's view of man is essentially reductionistic, in that he
reduces human experience to an intra-psychic view, in which man
is motivated by an unconscious element. However, he does not
completely deny access to the unconscious, but in fact, he postulated
that dreams allowed for a greater awareness of the unconscious realm
of the self. Dreams are essentially a process of wish-fulfillment to
satisfy motives which have been precipitated by events of the day
and which derive from unconscious motivations. The motivation is
sexual and derives from the regression to the infantile stage of
development. Dream interpretation is a hermeneutic process which
attempts to reveal that which is known and meaningful to the
dreamer and restate it in a more intelligible manner.

2.3.7   Implications for transcultural research

The impact of Freud's ideas on the social sciences has been quite
profound. Not only did he propose a model which fitted in with the
prevailing natural scientific view of reality, but he was able to
argue quite convincingly that his propositions had universal

applicability across societies and cultures.

In terms of his own interest in cultural values, he first published his Totem and Taboo in 1913, in which he postulated that society originated from the need of the tribal horde, who had overcome the father, to establish a social structure in order to protect the members from one another. He emphasized the similarities between the magical rituals of so-called primitive people and the repetition-compulsion and primary-process thinking of neurotics and psychotics (Freud 1955).

Although Freud never ventured outside the confines of his own Western culture, he drew upon the writings of Tylor and Fraser, among others, in his analysis of ritual. He argued that the totem animal which is killed during a sacrifice, is in reality a substitute for the father. His analysis was compatible with the observation that the forbidden killing is at the same time a festive occasion, as well as the expression of an ambivalent attitude suggestive of the emotional attitude towards the father. This attitude persisted even after the animal lost its sacred character and became a simple offering to the deity, as shown in those rituals in which God himself could be seen killing the animal which was sacred to him and was in fact often himself. According to Freud, this was evidence of the most extreme denial of that original patricide that was the basis for the beginning of society and of the sense of guilt.

In spite of the fact that Freudian generalizations about humanity

at large had their genesis in a rather select and narrow sample of

central Europeans, his ideas were taken up by a number of psycho-

analytically-minded anthroplogists who were inclined to look at

cultures with the conceptual tools of the clinician. Freud's theory

provided a useful basis from which could be derived a universal

explanatory theory of human behaviour. Perhaps the best known work

in this regard was by Malinowski (1947).

A number of psychoanalytically-minded anthropologists and psychologists

have explored such issues as the relationship between culture and

dreams (Devereaux 1951, Stewart 1951, Lee 1969a, Wallace 1958) while

others have attempted to analyse the "universal" symbolism of dreams

in non-Western societies (Roheim 1945, Lincoln 1935). Examples of

the psychoanalytic approach to dreams in a non-Western society is

provided by Devereaux (1951) and Lee (1969a). Devereaux used a

psychoanalytic orientation in his work with a "Wolf" Indian during

therapeutic counselling. He considered the manifest content of dreams

to be important in itself, and concluded that the dreams themselves

are a major psychic defence encouraged within the culture for purposes

of ego defence and ego gratification and contributing to psychic

equilibrium. I discuss Lee's study of Zulu dreams in some

detail in the review of interpretative studies of dreams.

Psychoanalytic studies of non-Western cultures have been criticised,

on the basis that the psychodynamic concepts employed have been

derived from a different level of analysis and are essentially

inapplicable to the examination of social forces. Furthermore,

because of the complexity of the issues and the limitations imposed

by field conditions, most of the studies have shown a tendency towards

theoretical speculation. The data collected have invariably been of

a different order of magnitude from the theories expounded, making

the relationships that have been proposed less than fully meaningful

(Kiev 1972).

The value of Freud's contribution to transcultural research must

be based upon whether or not one accepts his basic hypothesis.

If one accepts his basic premise and view of man as being universal,

he provides a framework which might be seen as being acceptable across

cultures. However, if one adopts a phenomenological perspective,

as I do, there are at least two major problems. These refer to the

applicability of his theory to non-Western cultures, and to his

particular model of man. In addressing cultural phenomena, the

psychoanalytic framework is seen as a filter through which one

views the culture, and like all filters, it distorts the reality

system being studied.

2.4   CARL JUNG

While Freud regarded the dream itself as a distorted form of mental
activity through which he could approach the patient's neurosis, Jung
saw the dream as a normal, spontaneous and creative expression of the
unconscious. While Jung accepted certain basic principles of Freud's
theory, he rejected his notions of reductionism and the disguise theory
completely. His views of symbols were different and he believed that
Freud over-emphasized the wish-fulfillment and sexual aspects of the
unconscious. His own theory was to be prospective and based upon the idea
that psychic functioning and dreams are essentially characterized by
finality. By finality, he referred to the psychological striving for a goal.
In the following overview, I develop some of his key concepts which
pertain particularly to his theory of dream interpretation. I discuss
his view of the psyche, his theory of the archetypes, the process of
individuation, symbolism and his theory of synchronicity, before
reviewing his dream theory.

2.4.1   Structure of the psyche

For Jung, the psyche is the totality of conscious and unconscious
psychic processes. The psyche is differentiated into the ego and the
unconscious. The ego refers to the complex of ideas which constitutes
the centre of one's field of consciousness and appears to possess a
high degree of continuity and identity. The unconscious is

differentiated into the personal layer, the personal unconscious

and a deeper layer, which Jung termed the collective unconscious.

He postulated that the collective unconscious contained a universal

sub-stratum of psychic-organs which he called the archetypes.

2.4.2   Theory of the archetypes

Jung (1958) distinguished between the personal and collective unconscious

and pointed to the significance of the archetypes as follows:

> "Whereas the contents of the personal unconscious are
> acquired during the individual's lifetime, the contents
> of the collective unconscious are invariably archetypes
> that were present from the beginning...The archetypes
> most clearly characterized from the empirical point of
> view are those which have the most frequent and the most
> disturbing influence on the ego. These are the shadow,
> the anima and the animus" (ibid: 6).

The shadow refers to those darker aspects of the personality which the

individual is usually unwilling to recognize, while the anima and animus

refer to the feminine aspect present in man and the masculine aspect

present in women respectively. The archetypes often express themselves

as primordial images and are themselves expressions of a transcendental,

irreducible force referred to by Jung as the "archetype-as-such." The

archetype-as-such functions to regulate and order goal-directing psychic

processes. Jung compares it to the axial system of a crystal which

predetermines the formation of the crystal without itself having a

particular form (Purchase 1981).

The archetypal images have a numinous quality. The term, numinous, is derived from Rudolf Otto's term, numinosum, which is used to refer to the inexpressible, mysterious, terrifying, directly experienced and pertaining to the divinity. The relationship between the archetype and the individual is a felt one, being both affective and experiential. A numinous experience, by its very nature, cannot be defined, but it can be described as possessing a specific energy and as having an effective pull on the subject (Otto 1980). Jung described such experiences in terms of their "gripping emotionality" and as being "grand, beautiful, dangerous or helpful" (Hoy 1983: 19).

The relation between the archetypes and numinosity is well expressed by Hoy (1983) who comments that:

> "Archetypes are not merely images; in fact they
> are not images at all, but are typical ways of
> human experiences which are made known empir-
> ically through an image. And along with the
> image comes an affective content, the numinous
> aspect of the image, which makes the archetype
> real for the individual by giving it a gripping,
> a driving, fascinating urgency" (ibid: 24).

The archetypes are of central importance in the process of individuation.

2.4.3   The process of individuation

Jung postulated the existence of a primary drive towards individuation, designed to bring the person in tune with the unconscious. That is, the self strives towards individuation by incorporating the collective unconscious into the personal and conscious ego. In this way, the characteristics of the collective unconscious become available as conscious components of the ego.

Dreams are of particular significance in this process, as it is through dreams and thereby dream symbols, that the primitive and spiritual forces within the unconscious psyche are expressed. It is by integrating the contents and psychic energy or libido associated with the unconscious layers of the psyche into consciousness, that the person is able to undergo change and self-realization. It is postulated by Jung that in the living out of a symbol with a proper conscious attitude, the individual gains a true grasp of numinosity in the individuation process.

"Individuation means becoming a single, homogeneous being, and, in so far as 'in-dividuality' embraces our innermost, last, and incomparable uniqueness, it also implies becoming one's own self. We could therefore translate individuation as 'coming to selfhood' or 'self-realisation'" (ibid: 1952: 171).

Individuation can therefore be expressed as the individual consciously

following the path that only she or he is destined to follow.

2.4.4   Symbolism

Jung draws a distinction between a sign and a symbol. A sign is an image which denotes the object to which it is attached or which it represents and this can be rationally explained. The symbol is an image which may or may not be familiar to the subject and points to a meaning which is beyond the obvious meaning. According to Jung, the symbol has a wider unconscious meaning which can never be fully explained. He stresses that symbols do not have a fixed and generalized meaning as the exact meaning can depend on the context of the symbol and cannot be separated from the individual. As soon as the meaning of the symbol is fully explained, the symbol becomes a sign.

Jung distinguishes between natural and cultural symbols and the impressive and expressive dimensions of symbols. Natural symbols are derived from the unconscious and are variations of a particular archetype, which can be traced to its archaic roots. Cultural symbols are the more expressive or eternal truths and are most typically religious symbols. The expressive dimension refers to the symbol as an expression from the unconscious of the psychic state while the impressive dimension refers to the capacity of the symbol to bring about change in the psychic condition of the dreamer.

2.4.5 Theory of synchronicity

Jung's study of "meaningful coincidences" led him to forumulate, in

conjunction with the noted physicist, W. Pauli, his theory of synchronicity.

This was perhaps his most radical departure from the determinism

which characterized the scientific theorizing of his contemporaries.

His theory was based on his observation that it was possible for two

or more events, which occurred at a given moment in time, and which

were apparently not causally related, to nevertheless be meaningfully

connected. Examples of synchronistic phenomena are premonitions, dreams

or identical thoughts occuring at the same time at different places.

These seemingly amazing coincidences of acausal parallelism suggested

a connection between a psychic and physical state or event. He was thus

led to the idea that mind and matter, instinct and spirit, are

connected. This resulted in the view that man, as a conscious-unconscious

whole, has the potential to transcend individual limitations by

awakening universal and transcendental forces. The theory thus points

to the transpersonal dimensions of human existence.

2.4.6 The nature of dreams

Dreams lie at the core of Jung's theory of personality and psycho-

therapy. The dream is construed as a reflection of the inner reality

of the person and, for this reason, plays an important part in the

exploration of the unconscious. He described the dream itself in the

following terms:

> "The dream is a little hidden door in the innermost and
> most secret recesses of the psyche, opening into that
> cosmic night which was psyche long before there was any
> ego consciousness, and which will remain psyche no matter
> how far our ego consciousness may extend..."(Jung 1967: 413).

His concept of finality is evident in his belief that dreams are seen

to have an intentional characteristic, that is, they are purposive.

Because of this prospective aspect of dreams, they can act as warnings

and predictions of the future and not simply the fulfillment of wishes.

Jung does not ask why the person had the dream but rather what is

the dream's purpose? The answer is dependent on the type of dream

or dream series presented.

2.4.7 Types of dreams

Jung (1974) emphasized different types of dreams, including compensatory

dreams, prospective dreams, telepathic-dreams and 'big' dreams.

His major emphasis however was on the compensatory nature of dreams:

> "Compensation,...as the term implies, means balancing and
> comparing different data or points of view so as to produce
> an adjustment or a rectification" (ibid: 73-74).

The notion of compensation and the polarity between the conscious

and the unconscious is at the core of Jung's theory. The function of

compensatory dreams is therefore to provide a self-regulating

and self-healing restorative function to the individual. The dream

draws attention to the one sidedness of the conscious position of the

dreamer by providing the dreamer with accurate information about his

or her own attitudes in the form of images, actions and emotions.

The dream also provides a basis for the process of individuation and

thus the evolution of consciousness.

Jung, drawing attention to the purposive role of dreams, distinguished

between the prospective function of dreams and their compensatory

function described above. The prospective function is:

> "an anticipation in the unconscious of future conscious
> achievements, something like a preliminary exercise or
> sketch, or a plan roughed out in advance. Its symbolic
> content sometimes outlines the solution of a conflict"
> (ibid: 41).

The prospective function is based upon the dream's recourse to the

fusion of subliminal elements drawn from very subtle perceptions,

thoughts and feelings and not registered in consciousness or upon

subliminal memory traces no longer directly available to consciousness.

Jung (1974) recognizes the occurrence of telepathic dreams. He observes

that most telepathic dreams have occurred in response to a powerfully

affective event, such as a death. Some dreams draw attention to

something unimportant, or unrelated to the person such as the face

of an unknown person or the arrival of an unknown letter, which is then "justified" by future events. He labels this occurrence as a telepathic phenomenon which is not attributable to chance:

"but merely something which we cannot get at with our present knowledge. Thus even questionable telepathic contents possess a reality character that mocks all expectations of probability. Although I would not presume to a theoretical opinion on these matters, I nevertheless consider it right to recognize and emphasise their reality (ibid: 49).

Jung recognizes that not all dreams are of equal importance and draws attention to the fact that "even primitives" distinguished between "little" and "big" dreams. He suggests that they might be referred to as significant and insignificant dreams:

"Looked at more closely, little dreams are the nightly fragments of fantasy coming from the subjective and personal sphere, and their meaning is limited to the affairs of everyday...Significant dreams on the other hand, are often remembered for a life-time, and not infrequently prove to be the richest jewel in the treasure-house of the psychic experience" (ibid: 76).

While many dreams have their origin in the personal unconscious, he relates the origin of the "big" or "meaningful" dreams to the deeper levels of the collective unconscious. They are regarded as "archetypal products" which are not concerned with personal experiences, but with general ideas concerned with intrinsic meaning (ibid: 77). The meaning of the dream is revealed in its interpretation.

2.4.8   Dream interpretation

Jung dispenses with the technique of free association as he is not
interested in discovering the aetiological determinants of the dream.
The manifest dream is the dream itself and contains the whole meaning
of the dream. He is therefore interested in the intentions as expressed
in the form and content of the immediate dream. There are no assumptions
about the dream, except that it makes sense.

The interpretation of dreams involves a dialectical process between
the analyst and patient, which in turn, facilitates an interaction
between the conscious and unconscious aspects of the psyche. The
technique used by Jung is known as amplification. It involves a
broadening of the dream elements, a description of the object of the
dream and arriving at the meaning of the particular symbol to the
dreamer. The important factor in dream interpretation is not the
satisfaction of the theoretical considerations of the analyst, but
the patient's understanding. The interpretation must not be merely
an intellectualized meaning but must be felt by the dreamer as
being valid (Jung 1974).

Jung distinguishes between personal and collective dreams. He
maintains that, in order to explain symbols, it is vital to learn
whether the representations are related to purely personal experience
or arise from a general store of unconscious knowledge. It is therefore

essential to have a knowledge of mythological parallels of symbols. Furthermore, the individual dreamer can only be understood against his cultural and historical background which is today found in mythology. Mythology is therefore an important source for understanding symbols which derive from the collective and archaic nature of man.

Jung maintained that technology has alienated modern man from his instinctual roots and as a result, there is a continual need in man to restore the balance by integrating these more primitive components of the psyche. These components are expressed through the production of symbols which are the media of communication between the consicous and unconscious which includes archetypes and their manifestations. Archetypes arise in order to deal with the sufferings and anxieties of humankind and often arise in connection with the needs and imbalances of the individual psyche. He articulates the relation between the psyche and nature in the following excerpt:

> "The evolutionary stratification of the psyche is more
> clearly discernible in the dream than in the conscious
> mind. In the dream, the psyche speaks in images, and gives
> expression to instincts, which derive from the most primitive
> levels of nature. Therefore, through the assimiliation of
> unconscious contents, the momentary life of consciousness
> can once more be brought into harmony with the law of nature
> from which it all too easily departs, and the patient can be
> led back to the natural law of his own being" (ibid:1961:351).

2.4.9   Implications for transcultural research

Jung had a special interest in "primitive peoples" and during the course of his life, he travelled widely and made contact with a number of these people. He recorded that during these times, he was impressed by the emergence of symbols which corresponded exactly with alchemical, religious and primitive symbols with which he was familiar. The appearance of the same symbols in all cultures proved, for Jung, the existence of the collective unconscious and the archetypes. His interest in the relation between the collective unconscious and "primitive man" is expressed in his observations that:

> "Primitive tribal lore is concerned with archetypes that
> have been modified in a special way. They are no longer
> contents of the unconscious, but have already been changed
> into conscious formulae taught according to tradition,
> generally in the form of esoteric teaching" (Jung 1974: 4).

His understanding of so-called "primitive man" led him to elaborate upon the archetypes and to explore the relation between the archetypes and mythology. Jung, in his analytic theory, thus laid the foundation for the development of a "universal" depth-psychology and the systematic study of the cultural universes of non-Western peoples. Examples of Jung's influence are to be found in the fields of anthropology (Turner 1967), in comparative religion and mythology (Eliade 1968) and in the direct study of dreams among the Nguni

by Bührmann (1979) and Bührmann and Gqomfa (1982) which I shall

discuss further in a later section.

Both Freud and Jung, in different ways, emphasized the importance

of the unconscious and symbols in dealing with the problem of dream

interpretation. These assumptions result in two difficulties for

transcultural research. The first is based on the premise that even

if one does accept the concept of the unconscious and of symbols,

the problems of interpreting symbols are enormous. The prejudices

of the interpreter must, in varying degrees, be taken into account.

Symbols may thus acquire secondary, accidental and transitory meanings

resulting from the character of the interpreter, influenced either

unconsciously by the power of the symbol or consciously by his own

Weltanschauung. One example of this kind of prejudiced interpretation

can be seen in the Freudians who claim to unveil the universal sexuality

of a whole range of objects. Such interpretations are bound to result

in distortions of the "true meaning" of symbols.

Secondly, it should be recognized that both theories, to varying

degrees, reflect the dualist dichotomy betwen the conscious and

the unconscious, between the symbol and the "thing" symbolized.

From a phenomenological perspective, the dualism referred to above,

introduces a degree of bias in approaching phenomena in non-Western

contexts to the extent to which it predetermines the phenomena being

investigated. In this respect, both theories reflect the natural

scientific world-view. The alternative is to shift one's epistemological

basis and to view the phenomena as being meaningful in themselves.

2.5   MEDARD BOSS

Medard Boss has presented a Daseinsanalytic view of man, in which he

breaks away from the views of Freud and Jung. His approach is based

upon the epistemological foundations of phenomenology, particularly

as developed by Heidegger. As the epistemological basis of phenomenology

has already been discussed extensively in the first chapter, I shall

present a critique from a phenomenological perspective of some of the

concepts presented in Freud and Jung's model of dream interpretation

as a basis for outlining the Daseinsanalytic approach to dreams. I

then outline the phenomenological understanding of waking and

dreaming existence, before discussing the phenomenological approach

to dreams.

2.5.1   Phenomenological critique of psychodynamic theories

Boss (1979) is critical of a natural scientific view which sees human

existence as an object in space to be investigated as a series of

calculable causal relationships. A brief overview of his criticisms

of Freud are that; he fell victim to the natural scientific view, as

illustrated in his providing a psychic organ, the psyche, in parallel

with the body; providing the unconscious in parallel with the central

nervous system; and providing psychic material to match chemophysical

processes. In his view, psychoanalytic and analytic psychology consists

of an obfuscation of unprovable suppositions for which there is no

evidence.

Boss emphasizes that the essence of a human being is to be found

within Dasein or as "being-there". There are no psychic agencies, no

archetypes, no ego or any hidden life. There is only an 'I' which

signifies being-in-the-world to the extent that anyone has made its

potentialities their own. The phenomena of the world 'shine forth'

and the human Dasein or being-there is open to receive them. In

describing such phenomena, we need to construct extremely strict,

careful and subtle descriptions and expositions of the essential aspects

and features of the phenomena itself (Boss 1963).

It is worth noting that the approach adopted by Boss was predicated by

some early critiques of Freudian theory (Gutheil 1951, Serog 1953).

These studies were critical of both the psychoanalytic and the analytic

approach on the grounds that dream interpretation cannot be done by any

theory, irrespective of the theory. It can only be done by approaching

the individual dream as a single phenomenon (Gutheil 1951). In a

paper, aptly entitled "The dream, its phenomenology, its theory and

its interpretation", Serog (1964) argued that dream interpretation

cannot be done by any theory and emphasized the need to start from

the dream phenomenon itself. He wrote:

> "The present attitude toward the dream is based mainly
> on Freud's dream concept. This concept is but the
> application of Freud's psychoanalytic theory to the dream;
> it does not start from the dream itself, it's character
> and its phenomena, its neglects dream phenomena which do not
> fit into the theory" (ibid: 47).

Serog proposed that dream interpretation should be an understanding

art rather than an explaining science, based upon emotional empathy.

Accordingly, dream interpretation should:

> "convey something of the organic totality, the convincing
> reality and the impressive simplicity which the dream
> itself has, and which the genuine work of art irradiates.
> To understand a dream we should approach it with the same
> mental faculties which created it, we should, as it were
> re-create it" (ibid: 57).

This view is reiterated by Boss (1977) who is particularly critical of

Freud's "reductive" methods and Jung's "amplification" methods, as

they avoided the "wealth of significance inherent in dream entities

themselves" (ibid: 143). His objection to such an approach is that they

"saw in dreams something else, something merely assumed to exist

behind the phenomenon, some mental construct" (Boss 1958: 9).

They therefore imposed meaning upon the dream so that it conformed to

a particular theoretical formulation.

Boss stresses the continuity of dreaming and waking by emphasizing that dreams are always in relationship to waking and do not have a separate historical continuity of their own:

> "it is not the etiology or motive behind a specific dream entity that is important, but grasping the nature of the phenomenon itself" (ibid: 153).

The phenomenological approach rejects such concepts as the unconscious, censorship, the wish-fulfillment hypothesis, archetypes and the interpretation of symbols as illogical and unnecessary constructs (Serog 1957, Boss 1977). Serog's specific criticism of the unconscious is that it is an anthropomorphic idea which purportedly acts and behaves in the dream like a human being. Serog states that:

> "whether we believe in mythic demons who govern the dream or in a mystic unconscious which reigns in the dream, any personification is incompatible with our rational thinking" (ibid: 1957: 3).

On purely rational grounds, the possibility of censoring, as ascribed to the unconscious, would involve controlling and selecting. However, these are functions of co-ordinated intentional thinking which are necessarily suspended in the dream.

2.5.2 Waking and dreaming

Boss (1977) holds that human Dasein is essentially indivisible.

The essential modes of human existence, whether dreaming or waking,

include the characteristics of primordial spatiality, temporality,

attunement or mood, historicity, mortality and bodyhood. While

recognizing that waking and dreaming are different, they are "equally

autochthonous conditions or states of one and the same human

existence" (ibid: 185). As such they belong together in a "unique,

human Da-sein and selfhood that endures uninterruptedly lifelong..."

(ibid). Waking and dreaming therefore always belong together,

expressing one individual human existence. Existence, constituted

by both these existential modes, reveals itself as "an 'ecstatic'

opening up of that clearance which we call world" (ibid: 185).

He proposes that there is a crucial distinction between the waking

and dreaming existential modes, in terms of the "realm of perceptive

openness and freedom opened up and maintained by the dreamer's

existence in the two states" (ibid: 197). While it may be said that the

person's dreaming existence is less open than waking existence, it is

often during the dreaming existence that the person is exposed to unfamiliar

significances "for the first time ever" (ibid: 214). During this time the

person relates to sensually perceptible presences of the present, to things

of the present or past and to what still has to come to be present from

the future. Such presences include materially visible things, sensually

visible bodies of human beings, animals and plants. The beings of

the dream mode confront the dreamer in their immediate sensual

visibility. The significance constituting the individual's dream world addresses the person predominantly from "external" beings. The self-observation of a slowly awakening dreamer provides convincing evidence of the ways in which a dreamer's existence as perceiving and responsive world-openness has been diminished and restricted in relation to the realm of understanding constituting the waking mode. In waking, the person is able to dwell from moment to moment:

> "relatively free in the totality of the time - space
> field of the understanding openness of that worldly
> realm as which we ek-sist', that we hold or bear
> open and free" (ibid: 98).

The waking and dreaming modes predicate our understanding of the dream itself within the waking mode.

2.5.3   The nature of dreams

From a phenomenological perspective, the dream cannot be understood as a facade nor does it derive from any deep psychic layer or unconscious. The sensory presence of the dream points to the "personal existential traits, whose significances are analagous to the perceived significances..." within the open realm of human existence (Boss 1977: 211). The need for "dream interpretation" is referred to by Boss as simply perceiving the significance of that which displays itself in the encounter characterizing dream-existence.

2.5.4 Dream explication

Boss does not talk of interpretation but refers to the process of explication. The task in approaching the dream, is to:

> "apprehend as faithfully as possible what is actually there and to bare, with subtle accuracy, the internal and external articulations of the phenomenal world" (Stern in Boss, 1977: ix).

The explicator thus requires the ability to see, clearly and accurately, what is presented. Within the context of the "phenomenological vision", most dreams will reveal very directly the dreamer's existential condition. Boss illustrates by numerous clinical case studies that the "interpreters" close adherence to the dream phenomena will confront the dreamer, often with alarming clarity and impact, with the unacknowledged truth of his existential predicament.

The process of explication involves:

> "opening and revealing meanings and frames of reference that belong directly to concrete elements of the dreaming world, or to the way the dreamer conducts himself toward these elements. Such 'explication' requires that the awakened dreamer give an increasingly refined account of the dream sequence, but this should be elicited only by letting the subject supplement his first sketchy remarks with more detailed statements. The goal is to put together as clear as possible a waking vision of what actually has been perceived in dreaming" (Boss 1977: 32).

Boss (1977) notes that every dream reveals two fundamental

principles. The first is to recognize to what phenomena the

person's <u>Dasein</u> is open to during his dreaming-existence, and how

they affect him. The second is to be aware of the person's response

to what was revealed to him and to note how he conducts himself toward

these phenomena. That is, whether the person is able to:

> "recognize features of his own existence which are
> identical in essence with the traits of the phenomena
> which he could perceive in his dreaming state only
> outside himself, from 'external' objects, animals, or
> fellow beings?" (ibid: 27).

As each dream reveals something of the person's experience of space,

time, historicity and bodiliness, it reveals existential possibilities

which may not be as clear in waking-existence. The dream thus reveals

the "meaning of as yet unrealized, behavioural possibilities within his

own existence" (ibid: 214).

His approach might be clarified by providing an example from his

writing, of the presence of a dog in a dream. He postulates that

the possibility of a dog in dreaming or waking existence communicates

with us most expressively, confronting us with diversity in expression,

character and domesticity. Within the dream context, Boss describes

the presence of a dog as allowing us to:

> "recognize that, at least during the dreaming,
> something about the nature of a dog is affecting
> the dreamer deeply. The dogs mere presence shows
> that the dreamer's existence is open enough to admit
> the phenomenon, 'dog' into the world-realm of his
> dreaming perception. But we can also discover
> something else important. The dreamer can let us
> know how he, a perceptive being, responds to what
> he has perceived, how he relates himself to the
> dog...happily...with indifference...or...in terror"
> (ibid: 23-24).

While Boss refutes the significance of symbols on the basis that it

is unnecessary to look behind the dream to find meaning, he shows

instead how the structures within the dream are inherently meaningful.

He is thus able to draw attention in waking life to a possibility in

life not yet actualised (Gendlin 1977).

From a phenomenological point of view, man is being-in-the-world.

Understanding dreams is to understand dream-existence and needs to

be understood in terms of the person's total Dasein. Neither the

dream nor man can be reduced to anything other than presence to a

meaningful world.

2.5.5   Implications for transcultural research

The phenomenological approach to dreams has not had the same direct

impetus for transcultural research as the previous theories. This

might be largely due to the fact that phenomenology does not provide

us with a readily available theory as such, but with an epistemology and an attitude toward phenomena. The very idea of a phenomenological theory would contradict its own underlying epistemological basis.

Phenomenology, which it should be remembered is a twentieth century development, has had a marked influence in the development of methodologies in the social sciences generally and in anthropology in particular. Alfred Schutz (1962) has contributed to our understanding of realities in the social sciences. A large number of anthropologists who do not necessarily see themselves as phenomenologists, would nevertheless argue that any good monograph needs to be descriptive and to stay close to the data itself.

Phenomenology has been influential in the development of ethnomethodology which, as a "school" within anthropolgy, seeks to learn about phenomena in their own right (Garfinkel 1967). Ethnomethodology in particular has been directly influenced by the hermeneutics of Heidegger. Ethnomethodologists reject any theory which distances the researcher from the phenomena being investigated but rather seek "to enter other realities in which they might experience the assembly of world views" (Meehan and Wood 1975: 201).

In the foregoing sections I present three contemporary

Western approaches to the problem of dream interpretation

Within the context of each approach, I provide a theoretical

basis and answers to three questions; namely, what is the dream,

what is the meaning or significance of the dream and how do we come

to understand the meaning of the dream? In the form of a summary,

Freud's theory might be seen as moving from the dream backwards,

towards the early events which gave rise to the dream. His theory is

thus causal and reductionistic. Jung's formulation moved from the

dream forward, seeking to understand the significance of the dream for

the person within the ongoing process of individuation. Boss regarded

the dream as being inherently meaningful, and as revealing the

existential possibilities of human existence. His approach is critical

of those approaches which look behind the dream phenomena, seeking

instead the wealth of significance within the dream itself. Each

of the approaches outlined reflect an epistemological basis and

carry particular implications for transcultural research. It is

indicated that phenomenology is critical of any approach which

predetermines the phenomena being investigated and that both the

psychoanalytic and analytic theories are party to this criticism.

In the following section, I address the problem of dream

interpretation in a non-Western culture and illustrate some of the

limitations of descriptive and interpretative studies of dreams

among the Nguni.

2.6   TRANSCULTURAL DREAM STUDIES

There are literally hundreds of references to dreams spread
throughout the literature on non-Western societies. The very large
majority of such studies are ethnographic and provide descriptive
accounts of dreams in those societies (Lincoln 1935, Eggan 1949,
Bourguignon 1972). Some research has also been undertaken, which has
focussed on the psychoanalytic interpretation of dreams derived
from memebers of the particular society (Devereaux, 1951, D'Andrade,
1961). I refer briefly to two examples which draw attention to
the approaches and limitations of studies in the area, before
focusing specifically on dreams within Xhosa and Zulu speaking societies.

Perhaps the best known and currently most controversial dream
ethnography is Kilton Stewart's (1969) work among the Senoi in Malaysia.
He described the Senoi as living a collective life centred around a
complex dream psychology that served to integrate the community,
promote emotional maturity and interpersonal relations. In their
understanding of dreams, it is believed that all people with the aid
of others can master and utilize all the beings and forces found in
the dream universe. The dreams of children are routinely analysed in
the family and the dreams of older men and older children are
analysed in council. Senoi adolescents are initiated into manhood
by specially trained dream teachers. These teachers employ dreams,
original dances, poems and music in their selection of group leaders.

Stewart's work has since been criticized as reflecting his own rather romantic notions and has not been substantiated by later research (Stimson 1983). Current debate on the authenticity of his work raises an important question in this area: Is the researcher describing his own ideas or notions of dream interpretation or is he providing an accurate explication of an indigenous interpretative system? I believe that this question can be responded to by providing an accountable methodology in approaching the area of study.

Wallace (1958) studied the dream theory of a group of North American Indians, known as the Iroquois Indians. Their theory of dreams has attracted much interest, probably because of the apparent analogy with Freud's psychoanalytic theory. The Iroquois reportedly recognize the dream as the language of the soul and the means by which it expressed its desires. In a similar vein to Freud, they reportedly believed not only that the dream was a wish fulfilment, but that the dream often disguised those wishes in its own language. It was therefore considered necessary to interpret and to act symbolically upon dreams within a ceremonial context. This served to maintain stability and to prevent evil in the community.

Wallace describes the ceremonial dream process as follows:

"The annual festival at Midwinter not merely permitted
but required the guessing and fulfillment of the dreams
of the whole community. There were probably several
dozen special feasts, dances, or rites which might be
called for at any time during the year by a sick dreamer:
the andacwander rite, requiring sexual intercourse
between partners who were not husband and wife, the ahgiwe
ceremony, to relieve someone from persistent and
troubling dreams about a dead relative or friend; the dream-
guessing rite, in which the dreamer collected many gifts
from unsuccessful guessers; the Striking Stick Dance and
the Ghost Dance, and many other feasts, dances and even
games" (Wallace cited by Kiev 1972: 135).

The goals and methodologies involved in the study of dreams in non-

Western societies vary enormously. However, Wallace draws attention

to a theme which runs consistently through the literature, which is

that dreams serve a distinctly therapeutic function within the community.

A similar theme is implicit in much of the literature referring to

dreams among the Xhosa and Zulu speaking people.

In the following sections, I focus specifically on dreams within Xhosa

and Zulu speaking societies. The principle criticism of the studies

from a phenomenological perspective, is that they reveal very little

about the meaning structure within which dreams assume their

meaningfulness. Furthermore, the interpretative studies actually

impose their particular framework upon the phenomenon being studied.

With these qualifications, I review some descriptive studies which refer

to dreams in a traditional Xhosa context, dreams in the African

Independent Church Movement and some psychological studies of dreams

of Xhosa and Zulu speaking people, which have been interpretative in

their orientation.

2.6.1   Descriptive studies of dreams in traditional Nguni society

One of the earliest references to the importance attached to dreams

is provided by Hewat (1906). In an early ethnographic study of the

Xhosa-speaking people, he describes the relationship of a healer

(referred to as an Isanuse) with the "spirits"* in the following terms:

> "An 'Isanuse' (a diviner of secrets)...gets an
> inspiration or has a dream in which he is called
> to visit a river, near a deep and quiet pool, alone.
> He is said to be called by the spirit...of the river,
> or the "Ingwenya' or alligator, with a view to his
> destruction. He is, however, protected by his guardian
> spirits, 'Izinyanya'. While he is at the river he is
> instructed by the 'Ihili', a sort of fairy who also
> guards his interests. He begins to see visions, and is
> supposed to have some intercourse with spirits"
> (ibid: 39).

His description thus draws attention to the connection between the

dream and the person's relations with the "spirit".

In the studies following, dreams are most often associated with

thwasa. It is initially experienced as some kind of "affliction"

and requires that the person,"called" by the ancestors, undergo a

period of treatment-training which may last for a number of years,

before qualifying as a healer. The literal meaning of the term

thwasa is "to reappear or to be reborn" (Schweitzer 1977).

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*The terms spirits, shades and ancestors are used in the literature
 to refer to the living-dead, or the term I shall use, ancestors.

Monica Hunter (1936) in her early ethnographic study of the Pondo drew attention to the importance of dreams in the process of thwasa. She describes the relationship between the healer (Igqira) and the initiate both confessing dreams at particular rituals involving feasting and a particular dance peculiar to the thwasa ceremony. She observed that the dance and confession was sustained for as long as people would clap for the initiates and so raise the "emotional atmosphere" in the hut in which it was performed. The confession consisted of thanking the audience for their presence, relating dreams and thanking the ancestors (amathongo) for the recovery from the illness or indicating the way to recovery. A "qualified" Igqira participating in the occasion might even instruct the initiate to reveal his or her dream experience and animal familiars (izulu), so that the initiate would get better. She thus emphasizes the importance of revealing one's dreams in the healing process.

Hunter (1936) draws attention to one particular use of dreams in healing during which the ancestors advise the initiate on the use of medicinal plants:

> "A novice dreams of a plant in a certain place,
> and 'sees' that she is to use it for a certain
> disease. Next day she goes to the place to dig
> it up and to try it" (ibid: 320).

She thus describes the practical usefulness of dreams and draws attention to the fact that the novice follows up her dreams.

Laubscher (1937) was the first psychiatrist to involve himself in a
systematic study of the Xhosa speaking people. He undertook his study
from a Western scientific view point and has been criticized for
imposing his mode of psychopathology onto the group studied
(Schweitzer 1976). He does, however, draw attention to the
significance of dreams in the process of thwasa and described it
as a condition marked by limb pains, nausea, loss of appetite,
hallucinations, excitability and elaborate dreams. He draws
attention to the importance of dreams in the treatment of this
condition which culminates in an initiation ceremony in which the
patient's dreams are symbolically interpreted as communications from
the guiding ancestral spirits.

Hoernle (1956) in a more recent monograph, described the symptoms
of thwasa and again drew attention to the importance of particular
dreams during which "spirits" communicate with the individual giving
him "no peace". The thwasa individual is described as wandering
around the country-side, living for long stretches of time by himself.
On his return he might be seized by fits which could recur
periodically. She noted that such individuals groan constantly
and appear to endure a great deal of mental and physical suffering
during this period.

Berglund (1976) confirmed the above patterns in a recently completed
study of thought-patterns and symbolism among Zulu speaking people.

Following an extensive study, he stated that the importance of

dreams in Zulu culture cannot be overstressed. He noted that:

"Without dreams true and uninterrupted living is not possible.

There is cause for anxiety when people do not dream" (ibid: 98).

As is well documented in many of the enthnographies on the Nguni,

dreams are important in the "calling" of a person to be a diviner.

Berglund confirms that this is also prevalent among his Zulu speaking

informants; in that: "Dreams are a very important instrument through

which the shades call their servants" (ibid: 136). A characteristic

of dreams among his informants were that they were both frightening

and obscure. He provides an example of "the typical fearful and hazy

dreams", reported by a diviner:

> "I dreamt of snakes that were very great,
> eating up all the cattle of my father. The snakes
> were everywhere, even entering me. I do not know
> why, but suddenly I found that I was vomiting snakes.
> I said, 'This thing is fearful!' That is what I said.
> Then the people started asking certain things.
> Suddenly I dreamt of a certain mountain, but not seeing
> it clearly. They asked me which one it was but I
> could not say it, only seeing dimly. But on the
> mountain were certain animals. They had eight
> legs. I said, 'Perhaps it is the cows of white
> men with great udders'. But then again they were
> kicking. So it was not udders, but legs. I found
> myself just confused. That is what fearful dreams
> I dreamt' (ibid: 136-137).

Berglund describes that the person, in wanting to find an acceptable

solution to the dreams, might visit a diviner who will "diagnose

the cause of the dreams" (ibid: 137). The diviner might then

indicate that the dream is from the shades indicating their

"calling" that the dreamer undergo training to be a diviner.

Berglund's research thus points to the similarities between the

Xhosa -speaking informants cited earlier and his Zulu speaking

informants who both stress the importance attributed to dreams.

2.6.2 Descriptive studies of dreams in the African Independent Church

Movement

Thus far, I have focussed exclusively on ethnographic references to

dreams within the traditional cultural context of the Xhosa and Zulu

speaking people. In the present section, I draw a distinction, for

the purposes of this study, between the traditional cultural context and

the African Independent Church (AIC) Movement which is predominantly urban

based. I review descriptive studies by Sundkler (1961), Becken (1975) and

West (1975) which pertain specifically to the role of dreams in the

African Independent Church Movement. In the following chapter, which

deals with the cultural background of each group, I discuss the Movement

in its broader context.

The role of dreams within the African Independent Church Movement has

been emphasized by a number of studies. The best known study of the

AIC is undoubtedly by Sundkler (1961, 1976), who has been responsible

for a major monograph on the movement. I include his contribution in

this descriptive section even though he draws an implicit

distinction between latent and manifest dream content, which

suggests a vaguely defined psychoanalytic theory. He explicitly

restricts his focus on dreams to what he regards as the "manifest

level" and suggests that a psychological interpretation of the

"latent content" be undertaken so as to gain a more penetrating

understanding of their members.

Sundkler (1961) records that Zionist dream activities are characterized

by stereotyped symbolism and interpretation which are often regarded

as a means of revelation. He reports that the most important

dream symbols included a river or a pool, people standing near a

stream, baptism in a stream and a luminous figure or group of people

(ibid: 270). He describes the stereotypical nature of dreams and

their interpretation as representing a group-integrating force of

surprising strength.

Becken (1975), in a largely impressionistic study of "holistic healing"

in the AIC, refers tangentially to dreams:

> "Even the subconscious spheres of man are included
> into the healing process, as for example when the
> healer explains the dreams related to him and educates
> his flock to control their dream life. There are
> many records of healings which happened while a
> sleeping person digested the words of the healer in
> his dream, thereby gearing his entire existence
> towards a new purpose" (ibid: 239).

While Becken's study may not be regarded as being purely descriptive, it communicates the importance of dreams in the healing process in the AIC movement.

West (1975) undertook an anthropological study of the African Independent Churches in Soweto and Johannesburg. In this study he recognized that an important characteristic of the AIC movement was its ability to re-integrate worship practices with a healing function. Dream interpretation was seen to play a central role in the case histories of the prophets who were responsible for healing in the movement. He touches on the significance of dreams in the following description of prophets:

> "The prophets whom I interviewed...all showed a common background. They were people who had usually had a long history of illness which could not be cured by Western means. Eventually they had been taken to a prophet who was able to help them. After their cure they became apprenticed to the prophet, and underwent·certain rituals, including purification by vomiting and bathing in a river. They made offerings, usually to their shades, asking them to assist them in their work. Training usually takes some time and involves regular offerings, purification and interpretation of dreams " (ibid: 184).

West relates dreams to the healing function of the prophet, in his comments that the prophet is able to offer a meaningful interpretation to his patient for his presenting problem. Furthermore, he is able to provide a ready-made caring and supportive community for the individual.

He provides the following example of the training of a prophet,

in which he again draws attention to the importance of dreams:

> "Before reaching her present position as an
> influential prophet, Mrs. A. N. had to undergo a
> long and expensive period of training with another
> prophet. This involved offerings of animals at
> various intervals, purification by immersion in a
> river and through use of emetics, as well as
> observation of her trainer at work with patients
> and sessions of dream analysis...Mrs. A. N. believes
> that her power to predict, divine and heal comes from
> God through certain guiding shades...Much of Mrs. A. N.'s
> work is aided by dreams and visions" (ibid: 101-102).

The above descriptive account again emphasizes the significance of

dreams within the AIC movement but fails to reveal the complexity

of the interpretative-reality of the informants. This does not

detract from the value of his study but simply indicates a difference

between an anthropological approach and the phenomenological approach

advocated in this study.

2.6.3 <u>Interpretative studies of dreams within a Xhosa and Zulu
        cultural context</u>

Very few studies have addressed the psychological significance of

dream interpretation among the Xhosa and Zulu speaking people. Those

studies which have attempted to understand indigenous dreams have

adopted a psychoanalytic perspective (Lee 1969a) or an analytic perspective

(Bührmann 1978, and Bührmann and Gqomfa 1982). I review each of these

contributions in turn.

Lee (1969a) undertook a fairly extensive study of dreams among the Zulu speaking people. He was interested in the Freudian interpretation of dream symbols and wished to examine Freud's wish fulfillment hypothesis in a non-Western cultural context. He included a sample of 600 subjects, and recorded the "manifest" dream content of 120 women subjects in some detail. He quantified the dreams according to their content and analyzed them statistically together with other data. His analysis showed not only the influence of wish-fulfillment on Zulu dreams, but also the effect of unresolved conflict on symbol formation as it occurs in dreams. I shall discuss his findings in greater detail and indicate the manner in which he derived his results.

The predominant symbols in dreams reportedly dreamt by women included flooded rivers, water, snakes and tokoloshe. He looked briefly at local interpretations, and stated that flooded river and water dreams would be interpreted as meaning that the person will give birth to a baby. Lee noted that this was an orthodox Freudian interpretation of the river symbol, which links the ideas of water and childbirth.

He then examined the wish-fulfillment hypothesis specifically. Of "twenty-one subjects" who dreamt constantly of a baby, thirteen volunteered that they would most like to have a baby or children. Of "ninety-seven subjects" who volunteered other dreams, only eighteen expressed a desire for a baby or children. He found that the difference was significant at the one per cent level of confidence (ibid: 319).

Lee explored a number of symbols in a similar way. For instance, he looked at snake and tokoloshe dreams which he saw as being "frankly sexual in character" and which was supported by an informant who described the presence of a snake in a dream as indicating that there is a "man that you fear". This is again seen as a parallel with Freud who saw snakes as the "most important symbols of the male organ" (ibid: 322). In support of this statement, he presents the interesting finding that married women tended to dream of snakes and tokoloshe more frequently when their husbands were home on holiday. He relates this fact to the evidence that the sexual difficulties and frustrations of married women are increased by the physical presence of their husbands. This, in turn, results in an increase in anxiety and the symbol formation in the dreams. However, he did indicate that some women seemed to have "an affection for their particular tokoloshe", but tended to displace it onto someone else (ibid: 323).

Lee concluded his study by noting that the dream content of women was largely circumscribed by cultural prohibitions from the last century; local interpretations of symbols coincided with orthodox psychoanalytic interpretations; the Freudian hypothesis of the dream as a wish-fulfillment was partially confirmed; and symbol formation in dreams may be dependent upon a state of conflict. He concludes that the unconscious minds of individuals appear to be a "very stable repository of the past, and a valuable source of ethnographic material" (ibid: 327).

Lee's very extensive research on Zulu dream content raises some
interesting theoretical and methodological issues. Within the
constraints imposed by a psychoanalytic approach, his research
would seem to support the Freudian hypothesis. The causal
relationship between his initial assumptions and his conclusions
must be regarded as being tenuous, particularly when he discusses
the parallel between psychoanalytic interpretations and local
interpretations which appear to be based upon a few comments rather
than in-depth exploration of indigenous dream interpretations.

I shall now review two studies which are each based upon an in-
depth analysis of one person's dreams. Bührmann (1978)
whose background is in analytical psychology, has undertaken a
wide ranging and extensive study of the symbolic aspects of healing
among the Xhosa speaking people. Furthermore, Bührmann and Gqomfa
(1982) have approached the field of study in an extremely sensitive
manner, which might have been facilitated by the fact that Gqomfa is
a Xhosa speaking person.

Bührmann bases her analysis of Xhosa dreams on the analytical assertion
that dreams are manifestations of unconscious processes. She draws
attention to the importance of dreams for the Xhosa, noting
that they are regarded as communications from the ancestors. To ignore
such dreams may result in serious illness or catastrophe of some kind.
The diviner reportedly regards dreams as communications from the
ancestors which can be understood and interpreted:

"The authenticity and the meaning is never
questioned, and the injunctions must be
obeyed. The effects of ignoring these
messages would result in the displeasure and
even anger of the ancestors who could then
cause misfortune, illness and even madness"
(ibid: 1981: 106).

Dreams are regarded as being invested with wisdom and esoteric knowledge.

They are treasured and treated with respect and have to be understood

and acted upon (Bürhmann 1979).

Bührmann has presented two studies in which she has analyzed the

dreams of an informant and compared her own analysis with the comments

of an Igqira (diviner). In the first study, she presents and

interprets a series of dreams by a thwasa initiate. Basing her

analysis on the dream series, she draws attention to the dreamer

encountering the unconscious, as evidenced in the symbols of the river

and river people. She observes that the archetypal significance of

the dream is integrated in a process of self-realization. She then

compares her own analysis to the comments by an Igqira. She observes

that while his approach and opinions reflect some rigidity of cultural

rituals and beliefs, she has observed over the years that:

"he goes by an immediacy of experience in response
to dreams or other psychic materials at the time it
is presented to him by the patient. His umbilini
tells him at the time what the meaning is, what the
ancestors want, and what he must say...His attitude
to dreams, dream content and the dreamer is one of
respect and to them the term 'respect' has deep
meaning. It can perhaps be described as 'reverance',
'respectful awe' and an 'attitude of non-violation'.

This attitude is shared by the community
as a whole if they are still culturally
linked and still have roots in tradition"
(ibid: 117).

Bührmann (1981) extends her work on dreams by examining the intlombe

which is a healing ceremony involving a specific form of dance by

healers and their initiates. It is also a time when dreams might be

talked about. She equates the intlombe on a symbolic level, with

the mandala, which is a symbol of individuation and of the self:

"The intlombe is an instance of intrapsychic events being
given visible, dynamic and external form...Mandalas are
spontaneous psychic phenomena, which usually arise in
states of disorientation, dissociation and confusion.
This state is usually the result of an invasion of
incomprehensible contents from the unconscious. The
mandala is an effort at control and ordering... The
primary aim of the intlombe seems to be to create order
and to constellate the self. In the Western psyche it is
a spontaneous attempt at self healing. In the Xhosa culture
it is a purposely used technique to re-establish communication
with the ancestors to restore the disturbed balance and in
that way to promote healing... The intlombe can be seen
as a confrontation with the unconscious especially its
archetypal contents, experiencing and integrating some of
it" (ibid: 190).

In a further study on dreams Bührmann and Gqomfa (1982) analyzed a

healing ceremony during which two dreams were shared and discussed.

During the course of the ceremony, they reportedly observed the

transformation of the person as she shared her dreams, memories and

anxieties with the "sympathetic multitudes", both living and deceased.

Their observations of the dream telling process and ceremony was that:

> "it had the spiritual and numinous quality of the
> hieros gamos...and from the comments it was clear
> that it was intensely human and personal. It was
> as though they had been in touch with the gods,
> the suprapersonal, their archetypal unconscious,
> and had acquired some of its libido - something new
> had been born" (ibid: 48).

The authors examined the dreams presented in terms of the symbolism contained in the dreams and also noted the <u>Igqira's</u> association to the dreams. I should like to draw attention to their comparative understanding of the dream phenomena by way of two excerpts. The following comments refer to a dream within which the dreamer was faced with the death of her husband, who is also an <u>Igqira</u>. The comments are taken out of context, but nevertheless provide some understanding of their respective interpretations.

An excerpt by the <u>Igqira</u>, in response to the dream, was that the dreamer: "was told to keep this place because the owner is dead. She was told that the status of the place must not be lost...that is what the dream tells her to do " (ibid: 50).

From their analytic perspective, the author's analysis of the dream included the statement that:

> "If the dream is approached as an intrapsychic
> drama, it becomes more meaningful. The <u>Igqira</u> is
> then seen as the contrasexual part of her psyche,
> the Igqira within herself. The old worn-out and
> failing and impotent part of her psyche had to die
> and had to be buried...A part of her psychic
> apparatus must be sacrificed and replaced by a more
> potent function " (ibid: 52-53).

The authors then compare their own interpretation with the
"association" of the Igqira. Their observations of the Igqira's
approach are as follows:

> "Their approach on the whole is concrete and applicable
> to the real external situation but it often reveals
> deeper meanings which they express symbolically. For
> example: 'It is very important to dream about the home.
> It means the place is yours, and you must keep it in
> tact and not let it be spoilt by other things.' This
> can be seen as an awareness of the home as a symbol of
> the self which must be kept intact, and that it must be
> allowed to perform its role inside one's own psyche
> without interference from outside.
> Dreams are fragments of reality to them, and they relate
> to archetypes in the form of ancestors as though they
> have external objective reality. There are thus no
> barriers between external and internal reality. Instead
> of analysing dreams in the Western way, they relate to
> the dream images, carry these around with them, getting
> to know them, sharing them with others (except in certain
> specific circumstances)... This seems to be largely the
> Xhosa way of relating to dreams. Gradually integration
> occurs to some extent into the conscious mind, but to a
> large extent it takes place unconsciously" (ibid: 51).

The above excerpts illustrate the use of a particular framework in
approaching dreams from a non-Western cultural context. Bührmann
and Gqomfa express their understanding of the Nguni dream reality
within a Jungian framework. Difficulties arise, however, over the
extent to which the framework reflects its underlying epistemology,
which in the above instance, is not necessarily congruent with the
phenomena being described. That is, the approach being adopted
reflects the subject/object and conscious/unconscious dichotomy, and
also an encapsulated view of man.

2.7   EVALUATION OF TRANSCULTURAL DREAM STUDIES

In the introduction of the chapter, I reformulate the problem of dream interpretation in terms of three questions; what is the dream, what is the meaning of the dream and how do we come to understand the meaning of the dream? Within Western psychology, the response to each of these questions is determined by the particular approach adopted in interpreting dreams. Within a transcultural perspective, the above review addresses the first two questions for the Xhosa and Zulu speaking people, but does not elucidate how the participants understand the meaning of dreams, except in a very global way. I believe that this is the result of two inherent limitations of the studies cited.

The difficulty with the descriptive studies cited might be clarified by drawing an analogy with Western culture. A person coming into a Western setting and recording the dreams of Western persons may end up with a lot of information regarding the content of such dreams, and even some information as to the value we place on dreams. However, the person will still know very little about the interpretive systems which have evolved within Western psychology. By the same token, the descriptive examples cited provide us with fairly extensive documentation confirming the importance of dreams to the participants, and also tell us something about how dreams influence the person's life. However, they do not tell us very much about the manner in which dreams are construed as being meaningful within the indigenous cosmology. That is, they do not contribute towards our understanding of the relation between dream, their interpretation and the world-view of metaphysics of the rural Xhosa speaking and the urban black people.

This might be illustrated by referring to Berglund's (1976) study in which he attempted to stay within the confines of Zulu thought-patterns. In his study, he referred to an informant seeking a solution to a dream and he recorded that the informant might visit a diviner who would then "diagnose the cause of the dreams" (ibid: 137). However, one might question whether the diagnostician is so concerned with the "cause" of the dream, or with the meaning or significance of the dream within the context of the dreamer's existence.

Secondly, the interpretative studies reviewed above are constrained by their particular psychoanalytic or analytic orientation. The interpretation of symbolism might well be meaningful from a Freudian or Jungian perspective, but they do not contribute towards an understanding of the life-world from the perspective of the participant. If the ideas expressed do not make sense to the participant, it can be argued that we are too far removed from the reality being explicated.

The phenomenological approach rejects such concepts as the unconscious, censorship, the wish-fulfillment hypothesis, archetypes and the "home ... must be kept intact ..." would be considered to be inherently meaningful. The living environment needs to be understood in terms of its unique attributes and should not be replaced as being an intrapsychic "symbol of the self". Bührmann and Gqomfa's distinctions between a conscious mind and an unconscious mind and between external and internal reality would need to be construed as being unnecessary abstractions and impositions which reflect their own theoretical framework.

The phenomenological approach to the problem of dream interpretation within a transcultural setting needs to maintain fidelity to the subject matter. In approaching the meaning of the dream, it is absolutely essential to understand the interpretation of the dream as provided by the participant within his unique cultural context. It is only by appreciating the fundamental reality of the dream and the interpretation of the dream that the underlying Nguni meaning structures are disclosed. Existence, as human <u>dasein</u> is a common matrix of both waking and dreaming, which together constitute the clearance which we call "world".

Each approach to the problem of dream interpretation has attempted to understand the reality of the dream phenomena in its own way. It has been suggested that each human society puts its own value on the dream and its function. When the material world of Descartes' res <u>extensa</u> is seen as ultimately real, the dream is reduced to either fantasy or physiology. When the non-material or cosmic is considered to be of primary importance, the dream is highly valued as a meaningful experience. Phenomenology, by cutting below the subject/ object dualism of Descartes, stresses the continuity of conscious awareness uniting dream life and waking life.

CHAPTER THREE

CULTURAL BACKGROUND

3.1   INTRODUCTION

In the first chapter, I argue for the adoption of a phenomenological perspective in addressing issues in transcultural psychology. This position is based on the premise that in order to understand man, we need to understand him within the structure of his world. In the second chapter, I address the problems of dream interpretation and argue that concepts drawn from psychoanalytic or analytic theory and based upon a Western mode, are inappropriate. I emphasize the advantages of a phenomenological orientation in addressing the meaning of dream interpretation within the indigenous cultural context of the participants.

This chapter focuses on issues relating to the cultural context of the participants. The treatment of these issues is bound to be sketchy, since the topic being discussed is far from homogeneous. This is particularly pertinent in discussing the position of the urban black in South Africa. The description following is based upon published sources as well as my own field work and provides a broad overview of contemporary social and political contingencies affecting South African society in general and the rural and urban black population in particular. I then define the term, Nguni, and describe the participant groups. This is followed by a discussion of the indigenous cosmology and healing systems.

While each of these topics are treated separately, they need to be viewed as being interdependent and as contributing to the cultural background of the participants who took part in this study.

3.2   A CONTEMPORARY SOCIO-POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

The social and political reality of life in South Africa is complex and is made more formidable by the co-existence of different ideologies, as well as the process of industrialization and urbanization. My discussion of the issues involved in understanding the social and political reality of South Africa is necessarily restricted to a brief overview of the political system, and to pointing out some of the factors which are of special relevance to the informant groups who participated in the study.

3.2.1   The political system

The racial ideology propagated by the South African government is popularly identified as separate development or apartheid. It is all pervasive within the urban areas and the ramifications of that ideology are immediately present in the rural areas. The effect of the ideology is that the white group maintains political, economic and social privilege with the black groups effectively being disenfranchised. I shall discuss the basic pattern of South African society in more detail before turning to the particular issues which result from this pattern.

Government policy, and hence the pattern of South African society,

is embodied in the concept of pluralism, which is based upon the

idea that South Africa is composed of different nations or peoples

at different levels of development, thus necessitating various forms

of differentiation in the society. The argument for pluralism tends

to emphasize cultural differences between the various ethnic groups

and the right of different cultures to be protected from influences

which would otherwise weaken and disrupt them. This view asserts

that divisions and inequalities between groups in South Africa are

rooted in differences in culture. The idea that these differences

also refer to differences in the levels of development acts as a

rationalization for the socio-economic and political divisions that

constitute apartheid.

The government's policies are aimed at maintaining and strengthening

the existing divisions in society. While the government has recently

been given a mandate to change the constitution and incorporate

Coloured and Indian people into the political system, the government

continues to decree the greatest possible separation between whites

and blacks in areas such as political, social and residential activity.

However, the different segments of the society overlap in the economy

in the sphere of basic public services. Seventy per cent of the

country's labour force is black and the overwhelming dependence of

the economy on black labour will remain a feature of the society.

Within the government policies, this reality is explained by viewing

black workers mainly as guest labourers who are in the white areas

for the purposes of work. This view has been challenged in recent

times and there is an ongoing re-evaluation of the role of the
urban blacks.

Cultural, social and political separation is maintained in a manner
which discourages blacks from coming to assume the right to share in
the material privileges enjoyed by the dominant group. The aims of
the dominant group include permanent control over the major proportion
of the territory, leaving 13% of the land for the development of
independent homelands. The white area, which is essentially a
common area, includes virtually all developed areas, cities and towns
and embraces all major segments of the economy. The policy is
legitimated by its proponents and supporters by the provision of
separate political institutions for the different tribal groups centred
in and restricted to the so-called independent homelands referred to
above.

3.2.2   Rural areas

I should like to briefly focus on one such homeland, the Ciskei,
which includes the Keiskamma Hoek area*.

Under the South African government's policy of establishing independent
territories for different groups, the Ciskei was declared independent

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*The Rural Group was drawn from informants living in the Keiskamma
 Hoek area of the Ciskei.

in 1981. It has a de facto population of 660,000 people, with 1,433,000 Ciskeians' living outside the territory (Daniel 1980). The rural community has been severely strained by the resettlement of surplus people from the towns and the scattered homesteads have been replaced by compact villages as part of rural betterment schemes (Mayer 1980: 49).

The political structure and development of the Ciskei has been fraught with difficulties. While the Ciskei has gained constitutional autonomy under the leadership of Chief Lennox Sebe, it lacks an adequate economic and tax base. As Charton (1981) has pointed out, its constitutional autonomy is completely negated by financial dependence on South Africa. Further problems arise from the fact that it has not and, in all likelihood, will not be recognized by the international community. While its nationals have been allowed to retain South African nationality, the right of domicile in South Africa is not secured, resulting in an ongoing process of re-settlement and impoverishment under present conditions.

The economic constraints on life in the Ciskei are significant. The per capita gross national income in 1976 was R262, of which R170 was earned outside the Ciskei by migrant workers. According to the Quail Commission, 309,000 of its nationals live in the urban areas and 357,000 of its population is rurally based. Within the industrial sphere, there is employment for 4,000 people. Poverty is endemic in the rural and urban areas, with only 15% of the land being suitable for cultivation. Some strategies for rural development have been

implemented. It has been argued that these capital intensive schemes will benefit a small group of relatively wealthy farmers and will not assist the broad mass of people living off the land in the rural areas. The above factors, and particularly the inability of the Ciskei to feed its own population, has resulted in there being considerable pressure for its population to seek work in white South Africa (Schneier 1982).

Manona (1981) undertook a study of social life and the effects of migration in a rural village, Burnshill, which is in the Keiskamma Hoek area. He noted the stress and social consequences produced by the migrant labour system which forces husbands and wives to live apart for the greater part of their married lives, with children seldom being able to live with both parents. He records that 68% of married men left their wives and families to work in the urban areas. This has resulted in considerable stress and an escalation in marital instability. Furthermore, wives are increasingly more dependent on working husbands than they were in the context of the traditional Xhosa family which consisted of a large unit of supportive relatives. Manona thus draws attention to the contemporary breakdown of marriage and family life, the lack of self-reliance in the villages, and a decline in agricultural production in the rural areas.

3.2.3 Urban centres

The majority of blacks live in urban residential areas known variously

as locations or townships. These are satellite complexes which are

dependent on the white city area for their existence. While many

people live in family accommodation, there are many thousands who are

on the waiting list for family housing. Another group of urban blacks

live a wifeless existence in urban hostels, and a third group live

in the backyards of suburbia (Manganyi 1973).

An example of a black urban area is provided by Soweto*, on the outskirts

of Johannesburg. Soweto officially comprises twenty-one townships

covering some seventy square kilometres. Unofficial estimates of the

population of Soweto vary from 750,000 to one million (West 1975).

The city is administered by a system of Bantu Affairs Boards.

Until recently, Soweto was completely without essential services such

as running water and electricity. West (1975) describes the Soweto

resident as being:

> " poor and voiceless'. He lives insecurely in a large and
> uniform complex of townships with row after row of uniform
> houses with inadequate facilities. Schools are overcrowded
> and he is likely to have difficulty in educating his children
> He lives in an area where crime is rife, and where a variety
> of complex laws and regulations affect him directly, although
> he has no say in them" (ibid: 15).

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*Part of the Urban Group was compromised of Soweto residents.

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3.2.4   An analysis of South African society

The basic pattern of South African society is that of a colonial

society which has become well established and formalized in the laws

of an independent sovereign state. The fundamental theme of the society

is the economic interest and political power of the dominant white

group. However, the notion of culture as justification for continuing

economic inequality has been seriously challenged by a number of

writers. It has been pointed out that if we examine the relative

positions of urban blacks and whites, urban black communities

exhibit markedly similar characteristics to urban communities of

equal socio-economic status in other countries (Pauw 1963, Wilson

and Mafeje 1968). Furthermore, there is evidence in all South African

cities of widespread and pervasive cultural change towards the Western

pattern among urban blacks. This is not to deny that there are

differences in the life styles of urban blacks and whites. These

differences are, however, to an ever increasing extent, associated

with socio-economic status rather than with historical difference in

culture. For the English-speaking whites and to an increasing extent,

for Afrikaans-speaking whites as well, the culture is very broadly

similar to the urban middle class culture which is typical in almost

all Western technological societies today. Its distinguishing feature

in South Africa is the relative affluence of the whites and the

disparity between black and white in social, economic and political

terms (Randall 1971, Kruger 1979).

An examination of socio-political factors and cultural change is particularly relevant to this study, in that they influence the individual's existential identity (structure of existence). Manganyi (1973) pointed out that this area of study has been severely neglected by white South Africans. The obvious limitation imposed by the topic itself within South Africa is that the white experience is so existentially distant from the black experience that white researchers have to abstract to a very unhealthy extent in order to move beyond the level of mere analysis and interpretation. While Manganyi believes that such studies need to be undertaken by a future generation of black scholars, he does make the observation that in the life experience of the African, there is hardly any situation in which his sense of self-esteem is nourished. He refers to the fact that within the South African context, the man's wife and children may have been forced by conditions beyond his control: "to lose the modicum of respect which they may have had for him as an effective, self-steering agent in his psychosocial environment" (ibid:11). He describes the result as a subjective experience of feeling emasculated.

South African society might be analyzed in terms of a class struggle, where the lines of economic conflict are overlaid by racial divisions. The term class is used in this context to denote the sharp distinction in privilege and authority, and the possession or exclusion from economic resources. Whites might not view themselves consciously as a common class identity, but in fact, they might be seen as a ruling class. Such a view would regard blacks as constituting a large labour reserve with limited bargaining rights and the independent homelands acting

as labour resources. This view would be supported by analyzing the political and economic disparities existing within South African society. The crucial question which remains is: What is the likely outcome for all South Africans?

Schlemmer (1971) put forward the argument twelve years ago, that the greatest hope for peaceful change in South Africa lies in the possibility of there being opportunities in the not too distant future for blacks to exert constructive pressure on whites and within white controlled institutions. He believed that the latent potential for ultimate violence can only be dissipated by institutionalized and regulated conflict during which blacks can press for specific rights and improvements in their circumstances. I believe his argument is equally valid today, and that perhaps some limited headway has been made in the areas of education and in the granting of black trade union rights. South Africa's future cannot be safeguarded by consititutional change which deny the legitimacy of black grievances or by using repressive measures indefinitely. Accordingly, Schlemmer argues that organized and regulated bargaining between blacks and whites will provide the greatest guarantee for reasonable stability in South Africa in the long term.

3.3   THE NGUNI

The term Nguni is described by Wilson (1969) as referring to a group of people who share a common language group and are able to understand one another's speech. Language variations do occur which have traditionally resulted in a number of merging dialects which could, however, be understood by the members of the larger group. Two of the more distinct dialects as recorded by early missionaries in the nineteenth centure were Xhosa, as spoken on the Eastern Cape frontier and including the Keiskamma Valley, and Zulu, as spoken north of the Tugela River. These dialects have tended to stabilize into two forms, Xhosa and Zulu. I shall refer to the Nguni as an abstract concept to denote the Xhosa and Zulu speaking people. However, my preference will be towards the terms Xhosa and Zulu speaking peoples, which is a more precise term, in referring to specific groups of people.

The Nguni speaking people traditionally inhabited the south-eastern coastal region of Southern Africa, i.e., the area between the Drakensberg mountains and the sea and from the Fish River to Swaziland. The Nguni speaking people can be distinguished in terms of language and traditional customs from the Tsonga to the north-east and the Sotho to the north. Historically, there were also distinct differences between the Nguni speaking people and both the Khoikhoi and the San people who occupied the area to the south-west of the speakers. The language of the Nguni speakers and some of the traditional customs bear evidence of the Khoikhoi influence on traditional culture (Wilson 1969).

In the rural areas, the Nguni have traditionally lived in individual homesteads spread over the countryside. The homesteads are characterized

by clay-walled rondavels and, introduced more recently, rectangular
houses, the doors of which usually face the gate of the cattle-kraal
(byre). The Xhosa and Zulu speaking people have traditionally been
herders and cultivators but with the process of Westernization, the
system of migrant labour and education a large proportion of the population
now live in villages and urban areas or travel to areas where employment
is available (Hammond-Tooke 1975, Mayer 1980).

Pauw (1975) described the indigenous culture of the Nguni as being
largely homogeneous, with only minor variations in customs and beliefs.
He drew attention, however, to what he described as "conspicuous
contrasts" between the conservative pagan Xhosa speaking people who
are called Red people and the School people who had been exposed
to schools and had associated with churches. The latter group were
described as having accepted many more elements of Western culture
than the Reds:

> "The latter (School people) have positively associated
> themselves with Christianity and Western civilization,
> whereas the Red people very cautiously accept only
> such Western cultural elements as are unavoidable or
> obviously necessary in the light of changes forced on
> them by circumstances beyond their control" (ibid: 4).

The Reds reputedly derived their name from their practice of covering
their bodies with red ochre. This dichotomy has been popular in the
literature and it is interesting to note that for over a century,

it was expected that the Red way of life would ultimately give way to the School way of life. However, it has recently been pointed out by Mayer (1980) that this has not happened. In fact, while both folk-cultures are disintegrating under the influence of urban secularism, consumerism and the popular ideologies of industrialism, the Red folk-culture is surviving more successfully. He further observes that the School folk-culture would be difficult to isolate as a living way of life, all of which must be seen as reflecting the rapid and dynamic change in cultural beliefs and values taking place and reflected in the informant groups (Mayer 1980).

Historically, the Xhosa speaking people first encountered missionaries in the early eighteen hundreds. The missionaries, who had been nurtured in the values and beliefs of Western Christianity, considered the traditional Xhosa ancestor cult to be incompatible with the gospel. In their teachings they assumed that Xhosa Christians should renounce their faith in the ancestors and the rituals it involved. The missionaries thus tried to replace the traditional system with their own view of the universe. The result of the early missionary influence and the later process of urbanization is difficult to ascertain and at least two alternative views have been put forward.

The first position asserts that with the process of Westernization and urbanization, blacks have largely given up traditional beliefs and practices. Soul (1974) in a comparative study of rural and urban

attitudes towards amagqira, noted that many traditional practices, such
as the role of the Igqira, are frowned upon, at least on an overt level,
by blacks who have been influenced by missionary schools and Westerniza-
tion. These influences generally denigrate the aforementioned practices
of the "witchdoctor" as being "superstition" and anti-Christian. In
supporting this view, he wrote that the more the African becomes urbanized,
the more he becomes Westernized, and frees himself from the "shackles"
of traditional life.

An alternative perspective has recently been presented by Mayer (1980).
Having undertaken fieldwork in Soweto during 1975-6 he reports that
traditional practices are becoming more widespread and more open
and that there is a return to cultural self expression within Black
townships. He interprets this development as reflecting a desire to
resist white domination at the point of the most sacred and private
domain. He also believes that by incorporating elements of an indigenous
African ideology, people rid themselves of feelings of cultural inferiority.
Recognizing the influence of the missionaries and the extent to which
traditional notions have been consistently invalidated by the dominant
culture, particularly in the urban areas, the question is posed whether
such differences will be reflected in the system of dream interpretation
as evidenced within a rural and urban group respectively. If there are
differences, the nature of the differences might be explored with a
view to revealing changes in the life-world of the two groups.

3.3.1 Participant Groups

The two informant groups who participated in the study are identified as the Rural Group and the Urban Group. There is considerable literature on the meaning and process of urbanization and the term is used in various ways by different sociologists and anthropologists. Mayer (1961) describes the condition of urbanization as referring not just to the length of time a person spends in an urban area, but to the quality of life that is lived in town. In referring to urbanized people, he refers to people who have their main roots in a town and express personal values and attitudes which would be confirmed in "'urban' modes of behaviour" (ibid: 6).

For the purposes of this study, the distinction between the Rural and Urban Group will refer to informants who, on the one hand, were members of a rural community and made use of the traditional healer (Igqira), or, on the other were part of an urban society and identified with the African Independent Church Movement. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that there is a single clear cut distinction between the two groups in terms of their cultural background. In terms of Pauw's (1975) distinction between School people and Red people previously cited, both the Rural and the Urban Group would meet the criteria of being School people in that they have all, to varying degrees, incorporated some of the values of the dominant Western culture. I shall discuss the specific characteristics of the informant groups in the following chapter on methodology.

It was previously noted that the terms participant and informant are used interchangeably, to denote the idea of; taking a part in discussion, the sharing of ideas, as well as the imparting of knowledge.

3.3.2 The World-view

Human experience occurs and assumes meaning within a context which is
shaped by an implicit world-view or cosmology. Whereas there is a
long history of written philosophical reflection on Western man's
cosmology and also on an Eastern cosmology as reflected in Eastern
religions, there is little explication of an African cosmology. The
very idea of abstract reflection might well indicate part of the Western
intellectual enterprise. However, the absence of an articulated
cosmology does not mean that the participants do not have an indigenous
world-view. It simply means that the literary history of Africa is
different and that we have to look more closely at what has been written
on the subject and describe the cosmology in terms of the evidence
available at the present time. I shall do this by outlining some
indigenous cultural beliefs and by referring to some Western and African
writers. I shall then discuss the idea of an African ontology, the concept
of causality and the nature of knowledge within an African context. Some
of the ideas presented will refer to indigenous African beliefs in a
rather general way and others will refer more specifically to the
Xhosa speaking people.

Traditional Xhosa cultural beliefs incorporate a Supreme Being, uQamatha,
responsible for the creation of the world. But ancestors are of much
greater significance in the person's daily affairs than uQamatha. The
ancestors can communicate with their descendants and influence their
lives. They might express their approval of, or their dissatisfaction
with, their descendant's conduct by exerting a positive or negative

influence on their welfare. The ancestors communicate with the living by means of dreams, visions, omens and synchronistic events. Misfortune and illness might be attributed to forces associated with witchcraft and sorcery. The healer or Igqira usually assumes the role of mediator between the individual or clan and the ancestors.

It is generally recognized that Tempels (1969) provided us with the first systematic explication of an African ontology. In Bantu Philosophy, first published in 1945, he recognized that he was presenting an "hypothesis, a first attempt at the systematic development of what Bantu Philosophy is" (ibid: 40). His basic thesis is the concept that "vital force" is inseparable from the definition of being within an African cosomology. He outlines a hierarchy of forces, above which is God, Spirit and Creator:

> "It is he who has force, power in himself. He gives
> existence, power of survival and of increase to
> other forces" (ibid: 61).

In this hierarchical chain of forces, the present human generation living on earth is the centre of all humanity, which includes the world of the dead. The dead also live, but theirs is a diminished life with reduced vital energy. The dead have, however, acquired a deeper knowledge of life and of force, which they use to strengthen the life of man on earth:

> "True knowledge, human wisdom then, will equally be
> metaphysical: it will be the intelligence of forces,
> of their hierarchy, their cohesion and their interaction"(ibid:73).

Bantu ontology is opposed to concepts which divide man into body and

soul, as well as to the European concept of the individuated self.

Accordingly, the African rejects the notion of the individual as:

> "a force existing by itself and apart from its
> ontological relationships with other living beings
> and from its connection with animals or inanimate
> forces around it.... No, he feels and knows himself
> to be a vital force, at this very time to be in
> intimate and personal relationship with other forces
> acting above him and below him in a hierarchy of
> forces" (ibid: 103).

Kruger (1979) makes a similar observation that the sense of a demarcated

self setting itself off against the world as a separate entity is

an essentially Western construct which contrasts with the world-view

of the Nguni speaking people in which man is involved in an ongoing

interdependent relation with his world and fellow beings.

The concept of a "Bantu ontology" as articulated by Tempels, has been

restated and expanded upon by a number of writers, including

Manganyi (1973) and Ngubane (1977) in Southern African, as well as

by Senghor (1956) and Sitas (1975). Manganyi (1973) has argued that

in any analysis and understanding of existence, it is necessary to

appreciate the existential situation of the person in totality.

He believes that this might be achieved by outlining an African ontology

which refers to the individual's analysis and understanding of existence.

In approaching this task, he emphasizes that the relationship amongst

interdependent vital forces (life forces), elders, ancestors and

God need to be fully appreciated in each individual situation. This

view is reiterated by Ngubane (1977) who shows how Zulu ideas and beliefs about health and disease presuppose a conception of human nature and the human life cycle as part of a totality that can best be designated as the cosmos.

Senghor (1966) expresses a similar view of African ontology, in describing the reality of African existence in the following terms:

> "This reality is being and it is life force. For
> the African, matter in the sense the Europeans understand
> it, is only a system of signs which translates the single
> reality of the Universe: being, which is spirit, which is
> life force. Thus, the whole universe appears as an
> infinitely small, and at the same time an infinitely large,
> network of life forces which emanate from God and end in
> God, who is the source of all life forces. It is he who
> vitalises and devitalises all other beings, all the other
> life forces" (ibid: 4).

The concept of causality within the indigenous cosmology has aroused considerable interest, which might well reflect our own Western natural scientific orientation. Within the traditional world-view, all occurrences, and in particular misfortune and illness, are invariably attributed to an agency or event that is external to the person affected. Causality in a mechanistic sense is therefore unacceptable, but causality in a teleological framework is more meaningful. The appropriate question is not one that asks <u>what</u> was the cause of an event but one which asks <u>why</u> the event occurred. The concept of chance plays no part within such a context. Misfortune and illness could be due to the work of sorcerers and witches. Those events may also be attributed to jealousy and envy in the community, or may be

associated with the ancestors who have withdrawn their benevolent

support and left their descendant vulnerable to witchcraft (Kruger

1974, Hammond-Tooke 1975). These ideas have been further elaborated

upon by Ngubane (1977) who shows that the structure of belief cannot

simply be reduced to, and understood in terms of, sorcery and related

beliefs, but needs to be viewed within the broader context of the

family system as a whole.

Knowledge within indigenous African thought cannot be construed within

a Western epistemology, which concerns itself with criteriology.

There is little concern to categorize and understand the forces

referred to above for the purposes of being able to control them and

use them for personal advantage (Ruch 1975). Rather, knowledge tends

to be an intuitive understanding of, and participation in, life.

The relevance of this distinction is corroborated by Senghor (1956),

who expresses in vivid terms that while the West possesses the wisdom

of the intellect, Africans possess the wisdom of intuitive faculties.

He comments that what intuition may lack in order:

> "it gains in a more vital contact with the real and
> what it lacks in conceptual rigidity, it gains in
> that flexibility which is proper to the direct
> contact with the wealth of particular being. What
> the African seeks is less a form of knowledge than
> integral experience in which a feeling subject and
> an object intimately felt are linked in the indis-
> soluble embrace of a dance of love" (ibid: 51-65).

The above descriptions of the indigenous world-view of the African
have stressed the wholeness and interdependence of existence. The
basic tenets of man's experience within the African context are based
upon the related concepts of participation and life force with man
representing a central position within a kind of great chain of vital
responses. Knowledge and wisdom are seen as immediate expressions of
the intimacy and immediate experience characterizing the person's
life-world.

3.4   INDIGENOUS HEALING SYSTEMS

Indigenous healing systems simply refers to the ways in which people care
for themselves, a distinctive feature of which is the significance each
system attaches to dreams. In 'the following sections, I refer to the
traditional healing practices of the Xhosa as embodied in the work of
the Igqira, and then to the African Independent Church (hereafter
referred to as AIC) Movement and the healing process within the movement.
Many of the descriptions used are based upon my field work as it
provides the most accurate description of the context of the informants
who participated in the study. It will be noted that dreams play a
significant role in both the systems.

3.5   THE TRADITIONAL HEALING SYSTEM

The indigenous healing system has been well described in a number
of studies (Kruger 1974, 1977, 1979; Ngubane 1977, Schweitzer 1977, 1980,

Bührmann 1978, 1979, 1981, Bührmann and Gqomfa 1982). In this section
I shall focus on the role of the healer or _Igqira_ among the Xhosa-speaking
people who is also the acknowledged expert in the area of dream
interpretation within the cultural context. Kruger (1977) describes
his role fairly specifically as including that of a mediator, a seer,
an inquisitor and healer. Hammond-Tooke (1975) defines his role rather
more abstractly as that of a mediator between nature and culture. In
my experience, his role might be more immediately perceived as that of
mediator between the afflicted person or situation of conflict or
disharmony and the ancestors, with the aim of restoring harmony and
balance.

I described previously, in discussing the indigenous world-view, that
affliction does not occur by chance but might be the result of
intervention by agencies such as witchcraft and sorcery, or by
the ancestors withdrawing their support. The latter are regarded
as benevolent and encompass a morality not based upon conditioned
norms but upon an intuitive sense of the underlying forces which
pervade all of life. Witchcraft and sorcery, which are construed as
evil and "dirty", denote the negative attitudes, jealousies and
envy that might result in some degree of human anguish for the afflicted
person. In diagnosing an illness, the _Igqira_ will point to the agency
responsible for the condition and will also refer to an event in the
visible or palpable world which caused such an agency to intervene.
It should already be apparent that illness is experienced as a
tangible conflict in a world of vital forces. The emphasis in healing
is thus to mediate within a situation with the aim of restoring
harmony in those areas which have been disturbed.

3.5.1 Being "called" to be a healer

The Igqira does not choose his or her role but is "called" to the vocation by the ancestors. The "calling" is revealed to the person through an affliction known as thwasa. This state is marked by dreams, visions, confusion and illnesses of various kinds. It is said that failure to obey the "call" and resisting the will of the ancestors leads to persons "losing their senses" and becoming insane (Schweitzer 1978). The idea of being "called" to be a healer is similar to the "calling" of the Shaman (Kiev 1972).

Thwasa may present as a period of disintegration in which the person experiences communications, usually in the form of dreams, visions and other signs and instructions from the ancestors. The communications are not always clear and often the person is too confused to understand his dreams. The family consults an Igqira who may confirm the family's suspicions and names the illness. The disintegration in thwasa can appear so extreme that psychiatrists often misdiagnose it as a psychotic illness. An informant who is now a qualified Igqira described the state thus:

> "I became sick. At first my leg became painful and I nearly
> became mad. I was dreaming a lot and I didn't want to work.
> In one dream it was said to me that if I wanted to get well
> I must slaughter a beast for the ancestor. I did this but
> I refused to go and be cured and that is how this leg trouble
> started. I always wanted to be alone and was aggressive with
> people who came near to me. I was taken to an Igqira. He said
> to my kin that I was suffering from a Xhosa disease, the
> thwasa. It was said in a further dream that I will not be
> cured unless I go to an Igqira. At long last I gave in to
> the demands of the ancestors and went to an Igqira to be
> cured. After I was again told by the Igqira that I was
> suffering from thwasa and once I admitted this, I became
> normal."

The training experience accompanying the thwasa experience invariably involves a lengthy apprenticeship and a number of rituals before the final initiation as a healer.

3.5.2   Approaching the healer

The usual procedure for a person struck by misfortune or suffering from an illness, is to approach an Igqira (healer). The person in need will always be accompanied by the members of his family. The Igqira has no prior knowledge of the problem, and one informant actually reported that if the Igqira knew what the problem was, he would not be able to divine effectively. The consultation usually occurs out of doors or in a special hut. In a vitalized manner and accompanied by intermittent rhythmical hand-clapping, the Igqira first invokes the help of the ancestors, requesting that the ancestors make their wishes known. The healer enters into a state of altered consciousness and starts making diagnostic statements. The visiting party may agree or disagree with these statements (hypotheses) and ask for more specific information.

The essential elements covered by the session are that the afflicted person is pointed out, the reason for the visit ascertained and the meaning of the affliction described. The Igqira explains his or her capacity to divine in terms of an ability to communicate with the ancestors during the process of divination. He or she is thus seen to be an intermediary between the living and the ancestors. One Igqira

described this seemingly extra-sensory ability as follows:

> " I know it this way: nobody tells me in my ears but I
> know it in my blood. This is the 'disease' of the Igqira
> which is in me".

Asked to describe this disease he replied:

> "This type of disease, the thwasa disease, is a gift one
> receives from one's ancestors, one's grandfathers, whom
> one does not know but from which one has inherited one's
> 'surname'".

In discussing the Igqira's ability to know within himself what is wrong with the other person, Kruger (1977) has pointed to the contrast between Western man and the African in terms of their concept of the self. Western man conceives of himself as a demarcated self in which the "I as a person" is set off from an objective world as a separate entity. The African and, in this case, the Xhosa participate in a shared common world in which people are accessible to one another. As "man is always in a meaning-giving and meaning-disclosing relationship with the world" (ibid: 9), the Igqira is able to perceive spontaneously the world of his patient. Such un-reasoned perception would not be experienced as meaningless among the Xhosa, but on the contrary, would be validated and enhanced by his world-view.

At the end of the diagnostic session the findings are discussed and
the problem is defined and named. Depending upon the Igqira's
findings and the diagnosis, the advice given and the subsequent
proceedings may vary significantly. In some instances a visit to a
herbalist may be recommended. The herbalist will then prescribe the
necessary medicines required to treat the patient or to remedy the
situation. In other cases the performance of a particular ritual is
prescribed. The use of dreams, milieu therapy and particular dancing
and singing may all be involved in this process.

3.5.3   Medicines

The most comprehensive study of the use of herbs or medicines, was
undertaken by Ngubane (1977). She looked particularly at the beliefs
and practices relating to health and disease among Zulu-speaking
people and drew attention to the symbolic meaning of medicines. In
analyzing the sequence of black, red and white medicines used in any
course of treatment, she attributed the black medicine as purging
the internal evil that has caused the malady. The patient then goes
onto the red medicine as an intermediate step and ends with a white
medicine as an emetic which acts as a physical and spiritual cleaning
agent which restores purity and balance.

3.5.4   Dreams

Dreams are regularly accorded respect as signifying communication

between the ancestors and the individual. During the process of

thwasa for instance, important dreams are told to the Igqira

who may then indicate what should be done by the person presenting

the dream. An Igqira once told me that "dreams play a very great part

with the thwasa because it is through the dreams that one is capable

of contacting the ancestors. If you don't dream, you won't be able

to say what is going on or not".

However, the use of dreams is not restricted to the treatment-training

process associated with thwasa. Any dream with which the individual

is struggling may be taken to an Igqira. I shall be discussing dreams

extensively in the results section.

3.5.5   Ritual dancing and singing

A significant aspect of healing is illustrated in the regular dancing

and singing so evident during the training of amagqira (healers)

and at all ceremonial rituals. In this section, I shall refer to

particular songs that have a unique origin. During the period of

thwasa it is reported that each person receives a song, usually

through a dream, which is then known as "their" song. Singing and

dancing to the song is said to have therapeutic qualities in relieving

suffering and in energizing the individual. Such songs are usually

sung at an intlombe (dance for healers and initiates).

The members of the intlombe dance in a circle inside a round-house, often accompanied by the beat of a drum. The audience sit around the sides, clap and accompany the dancers in their songs. Each song is interspersed with a brief statment by one of the participants. These statements might be likened to prayers. My experience is that they usually relate to the occasion on which they occur, or to the individual's communion with the ancestors.

Bührmann (1981) has analyzed the process of the intlombe and describes it as "an instance of intrapsychic events being given visible dynamic and external form" (ibid: 196). She draws a parallel between this process and the acting-out of a mandala where:

> "The mandala is an effort at control and ordering...
> The primary aim of the intlombe seems to be to create
> order and to constellate the self" (ibid: 196).

Within the total existential situation of the person, each of the above modalities can be seen as representing an emotive and active experience of participation. They each contribute towards the resolution of conflict and disharmony, and contribute towards integration on a personal, community and cosmic level. I believe each of these processes deserves closer examination.

Much of the early research on indigenous healing was descriptive, and tended to disqualify and invalidate the indigenous system in terms of a Western scientific model (Laubscher 1937, Hammond-Tooke 1975). It is only more recently that research has begun to explore the indigenous healing system as a valid process which requires to be understood rather than judged from a Western perspective. I believe that the studies referred to above have contributed towards a re-evaluation of the role of the indigenous healer and emphasized the need to understand the complexity and subtlety involved in structuring individual existence within an indigenous context.

3.6 THE AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCH MOVEMENT

Before discussing healing within the AIC movement, I should like to briefly trace its development in Southern Africa. The AIC movement represents a breakaway from traditional Christian practices first introduced by Wesleyan missionaries. Missionary activity among the Xhosa speaking people began before 1820, but it was not until the 1830's after the arrival of the 1820 British settlers, that their influence became prominent. The first signs of the African Independent Movement in the form of Ethiopianism became manifest with the founding of the Ethiopian church in the Transvaal in 1892. The first independent church to appear among the Xhosa was founded in 1882 by the Rev. Nehemiah.

More recently, and particularly during the decade 1951-60, we have
witnessed the growth of the Zionist movement as well as the emergence
of a number of new urban mass movements and of prayer movements
centred on charismatic leaders. Pauw (1975), drawing upon the work
of Sundkler as well as his own field work, distinguishes three major
types of independent churches; Ethiopian, Sabbatarian Baptist and
Zionists. There is also the relatively new phenomenon of prayer-
movements. I shall restrict myself to discussing the Zionists.

The theological perspectives of all these different groups are characterized
as being syncretistic and are recorded in the excellent descriptions
provided by Sundkler (1961, 1976) and Pauw (1975). I should like
to distinguish the Zionist from the Ethiopian churches.

Sundkler (1961) describes the Ethiopians historically, as having
seceded from White Mission Churches chiefly on racial grounds.
They may have then split off further on issues relating to status and
power. Their church organization and Bible interpretations are based
upon the Protestant Mission Churches, although these patterns have
necessarily been modified.

The Zionists acquired their name in referring to themselves as
ama-Ziyoni or Zionists. They have their roots historically, in

Zion City, Illinois, U.S.A. Ideologically, they claim to emanate from
the Mount of Zion in Jerusalem. The term is also used in its wider
sense to refer to churches "which emphasize the guidance of uMoya,
the Spirit and healing as central concerns" (ibid: 68). The informants
in the present study would generally be considered to fall into
the Zionist type church movement.

Pauw (1975) describes Xhosa Zionism as having much the same features
as found among the Zulu Zion churches. There is an emphasis on
baptism by immersion. Furthermore, the Spirit is associated with
dreams, visions and healing and there is the same syncretization of
baptism with traditional purification and of prophesizing with
traditional divining, and they allow for the ancestors to act as a
source of revelation. This view is consistent with Schutte's (1974)
observations that church members in an urban African church incorporated
a dual religious orientation in which traditional "beliefs in powerful
spiritual beings and church members' understanding of the Christian
idea of the Holy Spirit merge in their concept of Spirit (moya)"
(ibid: 116). The Spirit is construed as a generic notion and incorporates
Christ, the angels and the ancestors.

The AIC movement represents a formulation of traditional beliefs
within a syncratic belief structure and has resulted in a
reintegration of worshipping and healing (West 1975). The colourful

services which are not limited to any particular ethnic group, are always accompanied by rhythmic songs, incantations and a particular form of dancing. The dancing takes place in a circle and resembles the traditional healing dance practised by the Xhosa. Services take place indoors or outdoors and are often seen in parks in the urban areas.

According to the 1960 census reports, 21 per cent of the black population in South Africa belonged to independent churches. It was estimated that there were 3000 African Independent Churches (AIC) with a membership of approximately four million people in South Africa in 1960. The greatest concentration of independent churches is found in the urban complexes round the cities of Johannesburg and Pretoria. There are over 900 such churches within Soweto itself (West 1975).

Having provided a background of the AIC movement, I will now address the issue of healing.

3.6.1 Healing

The AIC movement is seen to be playing an increasingly important therapeutic role, particularly in the urban areas. Becken (1975) has described healing within the AIC as being responsive to newly emerging types of "diseases", not as commonly understood within a

medical model, but as reflected in unemployment, unhappy relationships

with employers, separation of families, susceptibility to traffic

accidents and other problems of modern settings such as mines,

factories, townships and the business life of the cities.

Sundkler (1976) describes the movement as a refuge of health and

wholeness in a world of disintegration, danger and disease:

> "Healing is the need of their fellow-man, and this they
> all attempt to provide. With this, they give to uprooted
> and lonely men and women the warm fellowship and loving
> concern - not seldom by way of tactile expression -
> which they are seeking (ibid: 307).

3.6.2   Becoming a healer

The prophet assumes responsibility for healing within "the church".

However, the congregation as a whole is intimately involved in the healing

process. The prophets all show a common background. They report

that they were themselves ill, often for extended periods, and that

Western doctors were unable to help them. They were then taken to an

Independent Church and were cured by the attendant prophet and informed

that they possessed the spirit "to prophet" for other people.

After they were "cured", they become apprenticed to a practising

prophet and underwent a number of rituals. Water plays a

significant role in their training and many of the rituals include

immersion in a river. Their training continues over an extended

period and may include the sacrifice of a goat, during which the

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novice will ask his ancestors for their assistance. The use of emetics and dream interpretation are an important part of his training which culminates in a ceremony, during which the person is initiated as a prophet.

3.6.3 Diagnosis and treatment

I shall describe the diagnostic procedure employed in an African Independent Church by providing an example from my field work. A patient, with whom I was familiar, was taken to a prophet. The patient's behaviour was withdrawn and suggested, in Western psychiatric terms, a psychotic condition. Prior to the diagnosis, a few candles were lit and the patient given a glass containing water. He held this between his hands and then returned it to the prophet. The prophet then held the glass in various positions during the diagnostic session. He appeared to enter into a trance-like state, avoiding all eye-contact with the patient. He initiated the session with the words:

> "I am asking the angels to help me. As I look into the glass.
> I'm asking all the angels...Gabriel and Mikael to help me
> as I go through this water."

He then indicated that there was poison in the patient's stomach which was caused by someone having "made dirty things". He continued:

"All this which was mixed up for you are things which
would cause you to not stay at home, but to become a wild
man, to wander very far and to die in the veld [open
country] far away from your family.

All these things were made in your home. There was an event
which was supposed to be discussed among the family. That
was the cause of a quarrel.

There is somebody who is a grandmother who died a long time
ago. She is the person who is helping you. She is preventing
difficulties for you."

The above diagnosis is interesting from a Western perspective in that

the idea of the patient being "mad", becoming "wild" and asocially

wandering away from his home are symptomatic of certain psychotic

conditions. The family system is also involved in the discussion of

"poison' , and one could expect that the session might lead to a

change in the family structure whereby communication would be improved.

The prophet is also assuring the patient in saying that he has the

support of his grandmother. He then prescribes a healing ceremony

(immersion in the river), which would focus attention on the

patient and integrate him into the congregation of the church.

Furthermore, he communicates in a language which is directly relevant

to the patient in terms of their shared world-view.

Views on sickness and healing are elaborated upon in the following

excerpts from a conversation with a prophet:

> "When a person has been sick for a long time, and the
> doctors and the amagqira have been unable to help, he
> might be advised by a person who had the same sickness
> and who was helped by the Zionists [AIC] to come to us.
>
> A person coming to our church does not tell us what
> kind of sickness he has. The spirit will
> tell us what kind of sickness he has. After the
> spirit has told us what is wrong, we can heal the
> person".

I then inquired about specific treatment techniques. He specified

that he used a medicine (iziwasho), coloured cords, bathing, sacrifice,

specially shaped sticks and dreams. The technique used depended on

the person's problem and on what he is told by the spirit.

Lee (1969b), in discussing the AIC movement, observed that "despite

all the Christian trappings and symbols involved, what we have here

is essentially the old divination cult in a new form" (ibid: 152).

This observation might apply equally well to my own observations

presented above. Becken's (1975) description would support this view,

in his observation that healing within the AIC:

> "can be defined as a salutary change of life orientation
> which involves the whole person, restoring the equilibrium
> of all aspects of human life under the divine impact of
> grace" (ibid: 239).

There has been no systematic research to date on the efficacy of

indigenous healing with the AIC. By observing the growth and attraction

of the movement for its members, it is evident that the prophets

accord respect to their methods and are successful in meeting the needs

of many of their congregants in a responsible manner.

3.7   SUMMARY

The chapter focuses on the cultural background of the participants by

describing five discrete, but ·interrelated topics. These are: the

contemporary social and political context of South Africa as it affects

the black population;   the Nguni as a language and cultural group;

an overview of the characteristics of the informant groups;   the trad-

itional cosmology. ~~~ - ` · ‾   ion of indigenous

healing systems. The latter description includes a discussion of the

Independent Church Movement.

In discussing the socio-political reality of life in South Africa,

I focus on the political system, the rural and urban centres and

an analysis of the society. The political system, referred to as

pluralism or, more popularly, as apartheid, is based upon various

forms of differentiation which has the effect of maintaining political,

social and economic privilege for the white group. The effects

of this policy are profound for the black population living in

the urban and rural areas. The rural areas bear the brunt of rural

resettlement programmes. Poverty is rife and the social effects are

significant. The system of migrant labour together with overcrowding results in a breakdown of family life, diminished self-reliance within villages and a decline in agricultural production. Social maladies are equally pervasive within the urban centres with blacks having no say in the complex laws and regulations which affect their lives in the urban centres. The notion of cultural differences as a justification for continuing political and economic inequality is challenged. The urban middle class is seen as moving more and more to a common culture typical of Western technological societies. Its distinguished feature in South Africa is the disparity between black and white in social, economic and political terms which might be analyzed in terms of a class struggle, in which the lines of class are overlaid by racial divisions.

The inherent conflict and disequilibrium lends itself to questioning the future stability of the society. This question is addressed in terms of the need for organized and regulated bargaining between blacks and whites with a view to redressing the balance within the society.

The Nguni are a group of people who share a common language group and who have traditionally inhabited the south-eastern coastal region of Southern Africa. A popular contrast has been drawn between the Red and School people, who have identified themselves with tradition or with schools and Christianity respectively. It is pointed out that the black population is

undergoing rapid change and being profoundly influenced by the process
of urbanization and a shift in cultural beliefs and values, which is
reflected in the two informant groups referred to as the Rural and
Urban Group. They are defined, for the purposes of this study, as
being members of a rural community who make use of the "traditional
healer" (Igqira), or being part of an urban society and identifying
with the AIC Movement, respectively. Both groups would be identified
as School people.

A description of the indigenous world-view is provided by outlining some
cultural beliefs and by reference to a number of studies which refer
to an African ontology, the concept of causality and the nature of
knowledge within an African context. The ideas of vitality and an
interconnected hierarchy of forces is considered in understanding the
wholeness of Nguni existence. Knowledge cannot be construed within
a Western epistemology but needs to be based upon intimacy and
immediate experience and understood in terms of an intuitive under-
standing of life. The basic tenets of man's experience is expressed
in terms of the related concepts of participation and life force
which manifest with man representing a central position within a kind
of great chain of vital responses.

In describing the indigenous healing systems, I refer mainly to the
traditional practices of the Xhosa speaking Igqira (healer) and

to the development and healing practices of the AIC Movement. In

describing the traditional healing system, I draw upon the work of

a number of more recent studies which have attempted to understand

the processes as being meaningful within the cultural context. The

role of the Igqira is described in terms of his mediatory sig-

nificance between the individual or family and the ancestors. He

is "called" to his vocation by the ancestors. Dreams play a

significant role during this treatment-training period.

In describing the process of approaching a healer, reference is made

to the Xhosa concept of self as a meaning-giving and meaning-

disclosing relationship. This is particularly evident in the

process of divination. Healing might involve the use of medicines,

dreams and rituals which include dancing and singing. All of these

factors together with milieu therapy contribute towards restoring

harmony and equilibrium on a personal, community and a cosmic

level.

The AIC Movement can be traced back to the early eighteen hundreds.

Two main developments were the Ethiopian and the Zionist type

churches. Within the Zionist churches, there is a syncretic belief

structure, which has resulted in a reintegration of worship and

healing. The Spirit is associated with dreams and the ancestors

might act as a source of revelation. The movement is described as

a refuge of health and wholeness in a world of disintegration,

danger and disease. Disease might refer to interpersonal, social or even ideological concerns. I provide a description of a diagnostic session, based on field work and conclude that in spite of all the Christian trappings, the movement is essentially related to the traditional healing practices previously described.

The two types of healing practices described reflect the historical development of belief structures as well as the inevitable process of urbanization. However, dreams and dream interpretation continue to play a significant part in both traditional practices and in the AIC. All these factors, including the indigenous world-view, socio-political factors and indigenous healing institutions contribute in various ways, to the structure of the individual's cultural context.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the methodological assumptions underlying the

study and describes the way in which the phenomenological principles

outlined in Chapter One are applied to the study of dream interpretat-

ions within an indigenous context. The chapter is divided into three

sections. In the first section, I enlarge upon the methodological

issues involved in the practice of phenomenological psychology and

refer to some of the differences between phenomenological and psychologi-

cal experimental research to indicate that the methodology described

is necessarily different from the methodology in traditional experi-

mental theses. In the second section, I focus on the design of the

study and the practical aspects of the field work. This includes a

description of the participant groups and the information gathered.

In the third section, I outline the methodological procedures

followed in the explication of the data. The section is presented

in sufficient detail to allow all the steps to be retraced, and if

necessary, to be repeated by other researchers who share a

phenomenological perspective.

4.2 METHODOLOGY

As outlined in the first chapter, phenomenology, as an epistemology,
is characterized by: its emphasis upon the immediacy of phenomena
in concrete experience, its understanding of consciousness in terms
of intentionality, the primacy of the life-world, its philosophical
method of reductions as a means of arriving at a pre-suppositionless
description of phenomena and its concern with the meaning of man-as-
existence. The epistemological foundations of phenomenological
psychology are different from a natural scientifically based
psychology and thus the concerns, the approach of the researcher,
and the methodology, necessarily reflect the underlying phenomeno-
logical attitude. Phenomenological psychology has not yielded a
methodology which can be compared to the methodology in the natural
sciences, but it has influenced researchers to reconceive the
task of psychology and to develop alternative methodologies. One
such alternative approach has led to the method of explicitation,
which incorporates a rigorous process of description and reflection
thus arriving at the essential meaning of the phenomenon being studied.

4.2.1 Methodological propositions

The phenomenological approach is incorporated in the following
methodological propositions:

     (a) The methodology should be appropriate to the aims of the

study in that it should engage with the subject matter
and be consistent with it;

(b) the description of the phenomenon needs to remain true to
the meaning and experience of the participants in
irreducible life-world terms;

(c) the method needs to explicate the essential or invariant
structure of the phenomenon while maintaining a sense of
the unique nature of the data;   and

(d) the methodological procedure should be made explicit
(Todres 1978).

These propositions will guide the application of the phenomenological
method outlined in Section 4.4.

4.2.2   Contrasting the natural scientific and the phenomenological
approach to research

The distinctive features and the contrast between the natural scientific
and the phenomenological approach to research has been addressed in a
number of studies (Giorgi 1971, 1975a, Husserl 1977, Kruger 1979).
I do not wish to restate those comparisons or the inadequacies of
the natural scientific approach to research in psychology, which has
already been covered in Chapter One. Instead, I shall draw attention
to those methodological comparisons which have special relevance to
the procedures adopted in this study.

Perhaps the most significant contrast between the natural scientific
and the phenomenological approach to research is inherent in their
respective epistemological foundations. The natural scientific
paradigm characterized by dualism, material determinism and reduc-
tionism, assumes an "objective world" independent of the subject. It
considers the world to be an essentially preconstituted field of
objects or pure facts which await explication. An implication of
this approach is the assumption that the epistemological validity of
the data is independent of the process through which it is studied
and understood. The large body of cross-cultural studies in psychology
has been characterized by its use of an experimental methodology,
based upon the above assumptions, and concerned with the control of
variables or the testing of particular hypotheses which are considered
to be independent of the researcher (Price-Williams 1969).

In contra-distinction to this approach, the phenomenological approach
may be defined as the study of phenomena as experienced by man.
Phenomenology involves the problematic character of the very avail-
ability of the world for analysis. The constitution of the world by
acts of interpretation is seen to apply equally to researcher and
participant or researcher and co-researcher (Colaizzi 1978). The
phenomenological perspective does not prejudge the validity of
experiences. Hence Xhosa or Zulu concepts, which might not be
consonant with Western natural scientific conceptions, are not negated,
but on the contrary, impel the researcher to understand and explicate the

phenomena exactly as they reveal themselves to the experiencing person in all their concreteness and particularity. Phenomenology stresses an attitude of open-ness to whatever is significant for the proper understanding of a phenomenon. The researcher is required to concentrate upon the phenomenon as it presents itself to him and not to precipitate judgement of it or see it through any specific framework based purely upon previous research or theory.

The experimental scientific approach and a phenomenological approach differ in the manner in which they relate to their respective presuppositions and preconceptions that have guided the formulation of their respective methodologies. Within a phenomenological framework the researcher utilises his own as well as others' experience of the researched in order to bring to increasingly sharp clarity his own operative, personally evolving, elucidated preconception of the particular field of study. A derivation of this approach is its access to meaning, which the phenomenologist considers to be the essence of phenomena. Meaning is derived from the data of experience, which is not considered as epiphenomenal and, therefore, not something to be reduced to physical or physiological processes. By explicating meaning, the significance and relevance of an experience becomes intelligible.

Phenomenology, particularly as articulated by Heidegger, advocates a

hermeneutic approach which is concerned with the explication of meaning.
In the study of human activity or expression, hermeneutics requires
a circular process, necessitating a constant movement between parts
and whole in which there is no absolute ending point. To understand
a particular action requires an understanding of the context within
which it takes place, and to understand the context requires an
understanding of the particular actions. Hermeneutics demonstrates
that understanding cannot be pursued in the absence of context
or of an interpretative framework. The explication of human
affairs must always take into account the fact that meaning is socially
and historically bounded, both for the researcher and the researched.
A hermeneutic approach is therefore employed to achieve an interpretative
understanding of human activity, and this interpretation is expressed
in the language of the situation rather than in a "neutral scientific
language". The explicitation of protocols in this study should
therefore be concerned with the meaning of the data from the participant
perspective, and the dialectic between the approach, method and content
should be maintained (Giorgi 1975a, Colaizzi 1978, Stones 1979).

The issue of objectivity does not arise in phenomenology in the same
way as in an empirical science, as the subject/object dichotomy is
not a presupposition. Fisher (1971) discusses the quest for objectivity
within phenomenology in terms of inter-subjectivity and notes that the
research and researched are dialectically and reciprocally linked.

He redefines objèctivity in terms of inter-subjectivity and proposes
that when the researcher-researched dialectic can be shared and
repeated, the researcher discovers a sense of objectivity that is
humanely realisable and scientifically meaningful.

4.2.3   The application of the phenomenological methodology

In the first chapter, I draw attention to the leading features of the
phenomenological methodology developed by Giorgi and elaborate upon
the process of explicitation by describing the processes of intuition,
description and reflection. I should like to elaborate upon this
process further as it applies to the present study.

Giorgi (1975) argues that the "real methodology" begins after the
initial open-ended description of the phenomenon. It requires that
the researcher reflect upon his descriptions, interrogate them and
arrive at findings that comprehend the situation of his subjects in
a psychologically significant way. Colaizzi (1978), drawing upon the
work of Heidegger, describes this process as thinking meditatively
in seeking to understand the meaning of the phenomenon. Reflection
(which should not be confused with speculation), needs to stay within
the confines of the given, thoughtfully penetrating it and arriving
at a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Following this approach
the phenomenological method is a movement from naive everyday language
to another type of language, or "second-order expression" mediated
by reflection (Giorgi: 1975b).

Psychology, from a phenomenological perspective, is construed as a human science and is required to approach its field of study as a dialogue between participants. The design and implementation of this study therefore needed to be responsive to the research question, which was concerned with the meaning of dreams in an indigenous context. Furthermore, the research required working with participants who would be willing to articulate their experiences and the meanings attributed to dreams in an open manner. To avoid misunderstanding or deception which is so often inherent in traditional research, I made the aims of the study explicit. I also shared aspects of my background with participants as well as my interest in dreams. I needed to impart my own respect for the data presented in a manner which would be consistent with cultural expectations, so as not to alienate participants. At times, I would enquire further about the emerging meanings when I felt that I had not grasped them, but at the same time, allowing the participants to proceed in a manner and at a pace which reflected their own concern with the data presented and to articulate what they felt to be relevant.

4.2.4 Limitations of the phenomenological methodology

I now draw attention to two inherent limitations of the phenomenological methodology and to some potential difficulties.

The first concerns the ideal of a presuppositionless description. The phenomenological attitude requires that we bracket our knowledge about the phenomenon we are encountering and arrive at a direct description of the phenomenon as it presents itself to us. Of course, the notion of being completely presuppositionless is an ideal; as Giorgi (1975) pointed out, a completely presuppositionless description is not possible. However, it is possible to strive towards the ideal, by making one's own presuppositions clear. Once this happens the perspective from which the person is making his descriptions is revealed as well as the horizontal context, and these serve as the limits within which the description holds (Giorgi 1975b).

The presuppositions concerning the epistemological approach underlying this study have already been discussed and further theoretical assumptions, or presuppositions, are outlined in the introduction of the following chapter. However, Colaizzi (1978) points out that the uncovering of personal and unexamined presuppositions proceeds implicitly within a structure of "dialogal trust" between the researcher and co researchers". The approach to the research is therefore of fundamental importance.

A second limitation of a phenomenological methodology is the recognition that complete explication, in the sense of leaving nothing out, is neither feasible nor possible, in the sense that one

can never exhaust the investigated phenomenon. Following from

Heidegger's conception of Being, which is one of always coming into

Being, research is also seen as a component of <u>Dasein</u> and as always

in the process of becoming:

> "In terms of research practice, this implies that
> the point at which the co-researchers decide to
> terminate the explicitation ... is indefinite,
> being conditioned by the often extraneous inten-
> tions and almost arbitrary inclinations of the
> co-researchers. As indefinite, there are no
> external or pre-established criteria for deter-
> mining when to terminate the approach phase.
> At most, it must be admitted that this point is
> a sense, a certain 'empty but distinct' feeling
> of being satisfied that the approach phase is
> adequate in the face of simultaneously experi-
> encing the tension of its not really being complete
> or final" (Colaizzi: 1978: 70).

As has already been pointed out, the dialogue between the researcher

and informants (or co-researchers) is of fundamental importance. A

number of potential difficulties emerged and needed to be recognized

during the study. A unique aspect of the study involved appreciating

that the area of knowledge being explored was regarded particularly

sensitively by the informants. In some respects, their sensitivity

might have been heightened by my being a member of a different

cultural group which is not usually associated with recognizing and

legitimizing the reality system being investigated. The research

questions thus needed to be approached cautiously and over an

extended period of time.

As English was not the informants' native language I used an
interpreter for recording the dreams and interpretations. The
interpreter also needed to show extreme sensitivity and to enjoy
the trust of informants. An emphasis was placed upon translating
the data presented in terms of its meaning, and maintaining the
original mode of expression as far as possible. Translations do,
however, add to potential difficulties resulting from imprecision
of expression. Other areas of difficulty that needed to be
anticipated and avoided as far as possible were those resulting
from an incompleteness of data from a single informant, imperfect
descriptions, variable skill in expression and the natural
reserve of informants. Some of these problems were confronted
and partially overcome, by making use of a variety of informants.
This greatly enhanced the possibility of establishing underlying
constants or themes in the many forms of expression characterizing
the dialogue between the dreamer, the interpreter of the dream
and the researcher.

4.3 METHOD

4.3.1 Design

PARTICIPANT GROUPS

	Rural Group	Urban Group
Data Dream Content	50	50
Data Dream Interpretations	50	50

Figure 1: Sample of dreams and dream interpretations

4.3.2 Participant Groups

It was previously noted that the rationale for drawing a distinction between the Rural and Urban Groups is that they are seen to represent two seemingly different categories. In reviewing the literature in the second chapter, it was evident that the psychological studies cited referred entirely to the practices of the Igqira. There have been

no comparable studies of the African Independent Church. Furthermore, there were differences of opinion regarding present trends accompanying urbanization and the effects of this process on traditional practices and beliefs (Soul 1974, Mayer 1980). These factors are seen as contributing to the rationale for distinguishing between the two groups. A comparative approach offers the opportunity to explore and articulate the commonalities and differences between the two groups as expressed within their respective interpretative-reality and revealed in their life-world.

The first group was drawn from a rural population that identified with a relatively more tradition-bound belief-structure and made use of a healing system characterized by the central role of the Igqira or diviner/healer. This group is referred to as the Rural Group. The group was drawn from the Alice-King Williamstown-Keiskamma Hoek triangle and consisted entirely of Xhosa speaking persons.

The second group was drawn from an urban population which identified with the African Independent Church Movement characterized by the role of the prophet or minister in the church. This group is referred to as the Urban Group, the members of which lived in the urban centres of Soweto, Johannesburg and Grahamstown. The group included both Xhosa speaking and Zulu speaking persons.

4.3.3 Composition of Informant Groups

Participants were either healers themselves reporting significant dreams in their lives, or clients seeking assistance from healers. Within the Rural Group, a total of 13 informants (8 male and 5 female) provided a total of 50 dreams and dream interpretations. The Urban Group comprised 13 male informants who provided 50 dreams and dream interpretations. There was an overall total of 26 informants, 100 dreams and 100 interpretations.

4.3.4 Initial contact with the Rural Group

My first formal encounter in the field of transcultural psychology began in 1974, when I made contact with a particularly eminent Igqira (healer or diviner), Mongezi Thiso, living in the Kieskamma Hoek area of the Ciskei. At that time, I was completing a small scale research project in the area of indigenous healing (Schweitzer 1977). Over a period of time, I came to enjoy a good relationship with him and his wife, who was also an Igqira. They became my principal participants. Through my contact with Thiso, and while accompanying him in attending various healing ceremonies and rituals, I was introduced to other healers. Being seen to have been accepted by Thiso contributed immeasurably to my access to other amagqira and their clientele. I met the patients or initiates of these amagqira and over the years maintained regular contact with them. I also met and maintained contact with a few amagqira who were not known to Thiso, so as to gain an alternative perspective which

would be free of his influence. I continued to carry out field

work in the Ciskei up until 1980.

During these regular visits, I was accompanied by a research assistant

who acted as an interpreter. Where possible, I would stay with the

participants for a few days at a time which enabled me to have

leisurely discussions with the healers and their clients and to

observe their practices in an ongoing manner. I undertook

approximately 30 field trips of about 10 days each during the

5-year period.

A factor contributing to the success in establishing the quality

of rapport, which I believe was achieved, was their apparent

perception of my suffering from an "illness" and thus "being called"

to by the "ancestors". This was expressed by Thiso as:

> " You are like us because you are also a person of
> 'illness', but your 'illness' is not like ours. Your
> 'illness' is in the book, so that you study. You
> are ordained in your minds. Our 'illness' is not in
> the book. We are ordained in our blood. You use your
> minds for treating patients, we use blood for treating
> patients. You can see a person who is studying for
> knowledge because he has got ukugula [sickness]
> because his things get closer. It is clear that your
> ancestors are driving you towards this side of
> 'illness'. Some people cannot cope with the work we
> do. They get tired and stop working. If the ancestors
> are driving you towards Isipho [a gift] which may be
> divination, then you will not tire, you will go on till
> you are a diviner. Even if it is a struggle, you will
> go on because you are not under yourself, but under the
> ancestors."

The result was that many informants believed that I, too, needed

to understand dreams and the significance attributed to them. Some informants even took it upon themselves to "teach" me about dreams by way of their own experience and example. They were also interested in my attitudes and, in this sense, much of the fieldwork involved mutual disclosure.

There was a tangible change in attitudes over the years during which the fieldwork was undertaken. While the rapport established during my initial contacts with the group remained good, the local communities increasingly expressed reservations about whites doing research. The change in attitudes may have been related to the events in 1976 during which the local young people expressed strong negative feelings towards the status quo.

4.3.5 Initial Contact with the Urban Group

Up until 1977, I had focused entirely upon indigenous healing in the rural areas. It was evident that the African Independent Church (AIC) Movement was also involved in healing and fulfilled an important role in people's lives in the urban areas. I pursued several avenues to establish contact with members of this movement, usually through intermediaries who were aware of my interest in the area and had contact with members of the African Independent Church Movement. Martin West, who had completed an extensive study of the AIC in Soweto gave me the names and addresses of some important informants in Soweto. Felicity Edwards who was involved in researching theological

aspects of the AIC introduced me to a singularly important informant in the Grahamstown area who then introduced me to two prophets in the same area.

Because of the political constraints imposed by permits and curfews in the urban areas, contact had to be maintained by visits during the day time except on particular occasions when I obtained special permits to attend evening services. I maintained concurrent contact with several informants in Soweto, usually over weekends and in Grahamstown during field trips over the period of 1977-1980. In all instances, a considerable amount of time was spent in attending and participating in the church healing services before focusing on the topic of dreams within the Movement.

I explained my interest in dreams and dream interpretations in terms of my own profession and the importance which I attribute to dreams. Furthermore, I expressed the desire that through our conversations, I wished to understand the way in which they interpret and record their views for future generations. My attitude was to acknowledge and validate the knowledge being shared by the participants in the study.

There is far more overt tension and possibly distrust in the urban centres. This was expressed during my contact with the Movement in the following incident. I was invited to attend an all-night Eucharist service in a Johannesburg suburb. I arrived at around midnight. I was seen by a white person in the vicinity who considered

this to be incongruent in the South African situation and contacted

the security police. They arrived soon afterwards and insisted that

the participants in the "Church" were discussing communism and that

it was illegal for me to attend, as I was white, and my attending the

"Church" would imply that the service was multi-racial which they

considered would be illegal. I am drawing attention to this event

because it throws some light onto the broader issues and tensions

which exist in the urban centres and which must influence the practices

to be described in this study.

Finally, I should like to draw attention to a difficulty experienced

in my contact with this group. While I was able to develop rapport with

male participants, it was extremely difficult to develop similar rapport

with female participants. When female respondents did discuss dreams,

their reports were cursory. Furthermore, the prophets with whom I had

contact, referred to the dreams of their male clients but did not refer

to the dreams of women. I am not sure of the reasons for this dif-

ference, but can only speculate that my contacts with female

participants was too brief and I was not able to establish the same

kind of relationship as I had with the Rural Group. Also, my being

white and a young member of the opposite sex might have contributed

to interpersonal distrust.

4.3.6 Collecting the Data

As stated previously, the sensitive nature of the investigation required that the data be collected only after suitable rapport had been established with potential informants and when there was sufficient trust to allow for the meaningful exploration of the data provided by them. Before collecting the data, I made my aims as a researcher explicit, and expressed my interest in the field of dream interpretation. This was particularly important in the early stages of the investigation, as the initial contacts were instrumental in establishing broader credibility among the informants. The importance of developing a trusting relationship between informants and myself cannot be over-emphasized.

The data was gained from audio-taped, or transcribed, semi-structured interviews and included dreams and interpretation of the dream material, as reported by clients and the acknowledged dream experts, i.e., amagqira and prophets. Patients and healers were asked to comment on the significance of their particular dreams. Healers in both groups were requested to expand upon the significance of their clients' dreams. Furthermore, I had many more general discussions with the informants about the origin and therapeutic significance of dreams.

4.4 EXPLICATION OF THE DATA

Two sources have been particularly important in the development of the scientific phase of the explication. The first has been the reductive principles established at Dusquesne University (Giorgi 1970, 1975a, Stevich 1971, Colaizzi 1978), and which have been influential in a number of studies undertaken at Rhodes University (Parker 1977, Eppel 1978, Todres 1978, Stones 1979). The second contribution has been the research by Richards (1982) on principles for computer-aided thematic analysis of qualitative data. While computer facilities were not used in the study, the system of data indexing by means of Referents and the searching technique allowed me to incorporate a larger volume of material than would otherwise have been possible in a qualitative study.

The phenomenological methodology used to explicate the data was divided into six identifiable and separate stages. This entailed reducing the original data by a series of specific steps to form Constituent Profiles of the dreams and the dream interpretations. The Constituent Profiles were then used as bases in the construction of a Thematic Index File which could be usefully searched in different ways and so allow the data to be treated in the nomothetic mode. Themes which appeared to emerge from the data could thus be easily accessed using a referent system built into the construction on the Thematic Index File. Each of these steps are carefully described in the following section and are outlined in the diagrammatic representation at the end of the

chapter. The procedure is demonstrated in an example showing all the levels of explication in Appendix A. A consistent cross-referencing system was used throughout the explication which allows any statement in the Extended Description to be traced back to the Constituent Profiles in Appendix B.

The reported dream content as well as the dream interpretation is included in all the stages of the explication. The dream and the interpretation are reduced in exactly the same way in the first four stages of the reduction. However, in the final two stages (stage 5 and 6), the focus is necessarily on explicating the interpretative-reality of each group. As the dream content naturally forms a dialogue with the interpretation, it will be referred to, but only in so far as it contributes towards an understanding of the system of dream interpretation. In other words, the study is not concerned with explicating the dreams as such, but with the interpretation of dream data for the Urban and Rural Group. The procedure is demonstrated in an example in Appendix A showing all the levels of explication.

4.4.1 Stage One: An Intuitive Holistic Grasp of the Data

The raw data was derived from one or more interviews and covered a dream or series of dreams and an authoritative interpretation of the dream or dream series. The raw data was read and often repeatedly, to gain an intuitive and holistic grasp of the reported dream and the

meanings ascribed to the dream within its original context. Precon-
ceptions and judgements were bracketed as far as possible so that the
data was allowed to "speak for itself". This process was a pre-
requisite to the following stages in the explication, during which
the data was delineated and increasingly pared down to form
Constituent Profiles incorporating a finite number of natural meaning
units. This process formed the basis for a rigorous system of
explication.

4.4.2 Stage Two: Constructing a Constituent Profile

The Constituent Profile was essentially a summary of the original
data and the material expressed by each informant. Three steps
were involved in constructing the Constituent Profile from the raw
data.

(a) Delineation of Natural Meaning Units (NMU's)

Maintaining the original mode of expressing the raw data was
demarcated into a number of discrete and separate Natural Meaning
Units (hereafter referred to as NMU's). A NMU was defined as a
segment of the original protocol which was "self definable and self
delimiting in the expression of a single, recognized aspect of S's
(the subject's) experience," (Cloonan 1971, cited by Kruger 1979: 128).
The demarcation criteria defining a NMU were that: it occurred
implicitly as the subject explicated the dream content or the

interpretation of the dream; it conveyed a single intentional meaning or quality; it expressed a quality that was different from the NMU immediately preceding it or following on from it; and it delineated a new quality in terms of descriptive, associational or affective data.

In instances where there was uncertainty about where a NMU ended and where a new NMU began, the demarcation criterion was to pose the question: "Is the intentional meaning within the context of the data qualitatively different from the meaning in the previous NMU?" An answer in the affirmative indicated a new NMU.

Each NMU was delineated by means of a slash and denoted by a number. NMU's were not related to the area of study were bracketed indicating that they would not be incorporated in the following levels of explication. The delineation of NMU's anticipated the following step.

(b) Reducing NUM's to Central Themes

Each NMU was reduced to a Central Theme (hereafter referred to as CT) by expressing the intention conveyed by each NMU as concisely and accurately as possible. Furthermore, the mode of expression of the CT strove to be clear within a Western framework without distorting the essential meaning conveyed by the NMU. As far as possible, the original mode of expression was maintained.

(c) Eliminating redundant CT's and reconstituting the CT's to form a

Constituent Profile

Any CT which was either repetitive and conveyed an intention or

meaning already listed in the segment of which it was a part, or

was clearly not relevant to the research topic, was considered

redundant. Redundant CT's were bracketed and excluded from the

following phase of the reduction. Sometimes it was necessary to

re-order CT's to provide improved sequencing and greater coherence

to the data.

The remaining CT's were considered tentatively to be non-repetitive

and relevant descriptive statements concerning the subject being

investigated. These CT's were then combined into a non-repetitive

relevant description and termed the Constituent Profile.

4.4.3 Stage Three: Constructing a Thematic Index File from the
      Constituent Profiles

(a) Delineation of the Constituent Profile

Each Constituent Profile was again delineated into meaning units as

was done in the previous stage. The division into meaning units within

the context of the Constituent Profile allowed precise cross-

referencing of the data in the following phase of the explication.

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(b)   Identifying Referents within the Constituent Profile

Referents* were single words such as: "ancestor", "spirit", "respect"
or "river" which emerged from the data as reflecting important
descriptive constructs or events. As far as possible, the Referent
retained the original mode of expression. A Referent is similar to
a theme but it is often closer to the original data than is a theme,
which usually refers to an abstraction which would then include a
number of Referents. While there was a temptation to employ Central
Themes and to cluster Central Themes together as has been done with
some success in previous phenomenological studies (Todres 1978, Eppel
1978, Stones 1979), the present system of Referents was preferred on
the grounds that they emerged directly from the text and were seen to
be immediate and that they imposed fewer constraints on the data than
themes. For example, "river" and "forest", as two Referents, emerge
directly from the text, while if they were to be grouped under a
theme, e.g., "nature", one would be dealing with an inclusive
abstraction from Western thinking which might be very different from
the contextual meaning of "forest" and "river" for the Xhosa-speaking
people. Furthermore, employing Referents facilitated the process of
searching and interrogating the data in useful ways which would not
otherwise be possible.

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* The term Referents is abbreviated to Ref. in Appendix B.

(c)   Constructing a Thematic File using a sorter card index system

Each delineated Constituent Profile was then attached to a separate
sorter card. A sorter card allows material to be placed upon it. The
card incorporates a system of 102 indexed holes round the periphery.
By punching the space between the holes and the perimeter, it is
possible to create a simple retrieval system. This system has several
advantages. By punching the cards according to the indexed Referents
which refer to the text of the Constituent Profile, it was possible
to immediately locate and retrieve specific data. It was also possible
to undertake specific types of searches, which will be further discussed
in the following stage. The sorter cards were colour indexed into
four categories to distinguish between dreams and interpretations in
the Rural and the Urban Groups. Each card was then indexed to indicate
the participant and the dream or dream interpretation number. Finally,
but most importantly, the card was indexed for each Referent contained
within the Constituent Profile. The system of indexing and cross-
referencing the data is explained further in Section 4.4.7.

Figure 2: Example of a Sorter Card containing a Constituent Profile indexed according to Referents.

The aim of this procedure was to construct a thematic file of the material which could be usefully manipulated to give immediate access to particular data within the Constituent Profile. It cannot be over-emphasized that the focus of the study remains on explicating the data itself and not on the Referents or index.

This stage of the explication resulted in the Constituent Profiles being indexed according to Referents and coded using the sorter card system. The Constituent Profiles were thus amenable to different types of searching and interrogation. This stage also allowed the

data to be looked at collectively, i.e., to shift from an idiographic
to a nomothetic perspective.

4.4.4 Stage Four: Searching the Thematic Index File

This was a crucial stage, during which the Constituent Profiles were
treated in a nomothetic mode and searched in order to discover their
Interpretative Themes. These themes, in turn, provided the basic
matrix for the Extended Descriptions. What follows is an outline of
the different ways in which the data incorporated within the Thematic
Index File could be searched.

It was possible to use the Thematic Index File as a flat index and to
simply cite all the Referents denoted by a particular Referent by a
number of informants. For example, one could simply retrieve all
references to, say, "Animal-wild" or, by combining two or three
Referents, retrieve the thematic data relating to the broader class
of animal and explicate all references to all animals within the data.

The overlap search provided an alternative method for searching the
data and was particularly useful. It allowed me to look at all the
data indexed under two or more specified Referents and identify associa-
tions or distinctive features. For example, by overlapping "Animal"
with "Ancestors" within dream interpretation data, it was possible to
gain immediate access to those Meaning Units which were indexed
according to the Referents, "Ancestor" and "Animal" within the

interpretation data. This meant it was possible to explore whether
there was a meaningful relationship between "Animal" and "Ancestors"
in the dream interpretations of a number of participants. In other
words, I was able to juxtapose meaning units denoted by particular
Referents and reflect upon the associations revealed through this
process. Furthermore, the converse step was equally possible; by
looking at which Referents coincide most frequently, I was able to
investigate whether the associations indicated natural relationships
within the data. The above procedures made it feasible to explore
and reflect upon the meaning of relationships between ideas and
constructs which emerged for any number of informants, within the
context of the thematic data.

The following step was to arrive at the Interpretative Themes. I was
already very familiar with the data as a whole and began the interro-
gation by retrieving data denoted by single Referents. I then
completed overlap searches. By becoming increasingly familiar with
the data in this way and by approaching it with an attitude of
receptivity for whatever was given and reflecting upon the data,
particular constellations of associations revealed themselves as being
coherent and were very often inter-subjective, that is, they would be
expressed by a number of informants in various ways. These constella-
tions referred to ideas or actions which, in their unique ways,
revealed the meaning of dreams within the life-world of the informants.
These thematic constellations were then referred to as Interpretative
Themes and provided the basic matrix for the following stage of
explication.

4.4.5 Stage Five: Arriving at the Extended Descriptions

While Stage Five is distinguished from the previous four stages, it was really the extension of the process of reduction described above and, in practice, could not be separated from the other four stages.

The object of this phase was to arrive at an Extended Description of the Interpretative Themes in each of the groups and thus provide a rigorous explication of the interpretative-reality of the participants. It was based upon the previous stage in which Interpretative Themes were identified, as well as upon a radical reflection on the data as a whole. Once an Interpretative Theme was identified, it was possible to refer to the Referents which were incorporated by the theme and to immediately access the relevant thematic data. Each theme was then rigorously explicated by referring to examples from the data which expressed the thematic constituents of the them. Again, it was important to approach the data and the examples in a receptive manner, devoid of preconceptions as far as was possible, and to carefully describe the inherent meaning of the interpretative-reality as it presented itself in various ways. I attempted to refrain from employing Western concepts but to focus upon what was actually given within the data. Dream content was referred to in so far as it provided a context to the Interpretative Themes being explicated. The Extended Description was carefully referenced so that the data could be traced back to the Constituent Profiles contained in Appendix B.

4.4.6 Stage Six: Synthesis of the Extended Descriptions

The final stage was to arrive at a Synthesis of the Extended Description
for each of the two groups. The synthesis is essentially a summary of
the Extended Description and aimed to present a description of the main
themes constituting the interpretative-reality which was explicated
within the Extended Description in a succinct and coherent manner.

4.4.7 Cross-referencing the Data

A single system for cross-referencing the data was used throughout the
study. One important attribute of the system was that it conveyed
information about the data. Another was that ia allowed all references
to the data to be traced back to the Constituent Profiles. The system
is based upon each cross-reference containing four or more characters,
i.e., a letter, two or more numerals and a point or an asterisk between
the letter and the first numeral. Examples of cross-referencing are
H.2.4 or S*3.2. A point between the letter and the first numeral as
in the first example refers to the data being Dream Content, whereas an
asterisk between the letter and first numeral as indicated in the
second example, refers to the data being a Dream Interpretation. The
first numeral refers to the dream or dream interpretation number and
the second numeral or numerals refers to the meaning unit or units
within the Constituent Profiles.

An example is provided by the cross-reference H.2.4 which refers to:
participant H, H followed by a point rather than an asterisk refers to

the data being a dream, the first numeral, 2, refers to dream two, and 4 refers to meaning unit four. By referring to the Constituent Profiles in Appendix B, H.2.4 is seen to refer to the meaning unit: "My elder brother stood up and said this work has got no blood". A second example is the cross-reference V*1.1-2. This refers to informant V, the asterisk refers to the material being a dream interpretation, the first numeral, 1, refers to dream interpretation one and 1-3 refers to meaning units, one to three. They may be accessed and referred to in the Constituent Profiles in Appendix B.

STAGES   STEPS   PROCEDURES

ORIGINAL DATA

Dreams and Interpretations

1 Gain an intuitive holistic grasp of data obtained from interviews.
2 Data treated in the idiographic mode.

CONSTITUENT PROFILE

Natural Meaning Units

Central Themes

1 Delineate original data into natural meaning units.
2 Extract central theme from each natural meaning unit.
3 Eliminate redundant central themes.
4 Reconstitute central themes into a coherent succinct profile of the original data, to provide the Constituent Profile.

THEMATIC INDEX FILE

Delineation of Constituent Profile

Identify Referents

Construct Thematic File

1 Repeat steps 1 and 2 above i.e., delineate Constituent Profile into meaning units.
2 Identify and record emergent Referents within meaning units.
3 Place Constituent Profile on sorter card.
4 Index sorter card according to informant and Referents.

SEARCHING THE FILE

Searching the Data

Interactive

Identify Interpretative Themes

1 Data is combined in accordance with the research design and treated in the nomothetic mode.
2 Using the Referents, interrogate the data in useful ways including overlap searches.
3 Look at clusters of data.
4 Identify interpretative themes within the data.

EXTENDED DESCRIPTION

Explicate Interpretative Themes

1 Interrogate the data according to interpretative themes, identified above.
2 Rigorously describe the interpretative themes of each group.

SYNTHESIS OF EXTENDED DESCRIPTION

Summarize Extended Description

1 Present the main themes contained in the Extended Description in a succinct and coherent manner.

Diagram 1: Representation of the stages in the phenomenological reduction of the data.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The results represent a phenomenological reduction of the original
data to arrive at a rigorous description of an aspect of the life-
world of the Xhosa and Zulu speaking people, as revealed through the
interpretation of their dream-existence by acknowledged dream experts.
In this chapter, I present some examples of the original data from
each group, maintaining the original mode of expression. I follow
this with examples of the Constituent Profiles, derived from the
original data. The Constituent Profiles form the basis for the
following section, that is, the Extended Descriptions of the dream
interpretations of the Rural and Urban Group respectively. A
Synthesis of the Extended Description of each group's interpretative-
reality as revealed by the foregoing explication follows. The
interpretative-reality is seen as constituting a significant aspect of
the participants' life-world.

In approaching the data, the following principles have guided my
explication:

(a) The assumption that each of the groups studied live within an
     intersubjective life-world based upon an implicit shared cosmology.

(b)   Following from the above, the assumption that each group has a
      coherent system of knowledge. The coherency of this knowledge
      might only become explicit after the completion of an Extended
      Description of the life-world of the Nguni speaking people. Thus,
      all the examples presented in the Extended Description need to be
      considered as being interconnected. In other words, each example
      might be viewed as a mosaic in a larger picture.

(c)   The structure of the explication should reflect the natural or
      implicit structure of the phenomenon being studied.

(d)   The explication of the interpretative-reality should reflect the
      participants' thought patterns. While this should be done within
      the limitations of the English language and the need to communicate
      notions in a way which is intelligible to Western persons, an
      attempt needs to be made to stay within the confines of those thought
      patterns, as reflected in the data. In other words, the language
      used needs to be shorn of conceptual prejudices and Western cosmo-
      logical assumptions as far as possible.

(e)   The fact that the system of knowledge being explicated is not
      necessarily consonant with a Western world-view should not affect
      the validity of the world-view being explicated.

Two points from the Chapter on Methodology should be reiterated.

Firstly, the explication presented is incomplete in the sense that

it is limited to a number of themes. (A complete explication in

the sense of explicating every aspect of every interpretation is

neither feasible nor possible). Secondly, in the explication of a

particular theme, a limited number of examples are presented.

Reference is made to other examples corroborating the material

presented and they may be referred to in Appendix B.

5.2   ORIGINAL DATA

In this section I present examples of the original data upon which

the study is based in their original mode of expression. In the

background preceding each dream and interpretation, some biographical

information regarding the informant's status is included, i.e., in

the Rural Group, whether the informant is a healer, an initiate or a

client attending a healer, and in the Urban Group, whether the informant

is a prophet or congregant. The approximate age of the person is also

included as well as a statement relating to the context of the dream

and the interpretation. Generally, each example illustrates one or

more unique aspect of the data which will be further elaborated upon

in the Extended Descriptions.

5.2.1   Examples of Original Data from the Rural Group

The first four examples presented are from four different informants and

the dreams cited are regarded as ithongo, i.e., dreams of importance

attributed to ancestors communicating with the dreamer.

Example One

Background

The participant is a well-known and highly esteemed Igqira in the
Keiskamma Hoek area. He is in his 60's and has been practicing for
more than 20 years. He relates and interprets his own dream, which
he said, occurred in 1958 at the beginning of his period of thwasa
(being "called" to be a healer).

Dream

"When I started to get thwasa [sick], I dreamt that I was on that
mountain there (pointing), on top of the mountain and I was lying next
to a bush and something came and licked me here... on my cheek. I
dreamt that I was very stunned at first. I did not know what it was.
My mother came to me in the dream and told me that I should go and
slaughter an ox for the animals because that thing which licked me
on my cheek was an animal. She said that after I had slaughtered the
ox; my people should build a private house [grass hut as for an initiate]
for me."

Interpretation

"This thing appeared as if someone was giving a report to me, although
it was in a dream. It was given to me as a report. The house was built
for me like the house of an umkhwetha, [built with grass] upon the

prescription I got from my mother and, after I left that house, I
became an Igqira. The house is the same as I dreamt. This house is still
being used for storing herbs and medicines."

Example two

Background

The participant was a middle-aged woman who had qualified and had been
practicing as an Igqira for approximately ten years. Much of her work
involved conducting rituals. I was with her on one such occasion, at
a ritual, when she related the following dream and interpretation.
A ssecond Igqira then commented on the dream.

Dream

"Last night, I dreamt that a frog was entering the hut in which I was
sleeping. There were people in the hut. I asked them where the frog
was going, as I was afraid when it came in... but when it came right
into the hut, I woke up. But when I woke up, I was not afraid."

Interpretation

"Since I had gone to ququla ['call in'] the ancestors at that place,
I felt that the frog mela [represents] the ancestors whom I was
working on. I saw and understood what this dream meant for me.
To me, as I saw it, this dream meant that the ancestors

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agree with what I am doing, and that the ceremony (which I would be
conducting) would be successful. When I woke up, I felt in my <u>umbilini</u>
that there was nothing wrong and I felt that the ceremony was going
to be successful." Question: "But what made you think the frog
represented the ancestors?" Answer: "It is because the frog is a
messenger from the river." Question: "So the river can communicate
with people?" Answer: "Yes." Interjection and interpretation by an
attendant <u>Igqira</u>: "Even you cannot live without the water of the
river. We use the water of the river for drinking, but also in the
river there are houses and even clan names like Sukwini and Dlamini
... that is why there is communication between people and the river.

"When she [the dreamer] woke up, and she did not feel afraid, it is
because the ancestors were telling her that she should not be afraid.
It was her ancestors and the ancestors of the place where she was
sleeping who made her not to feel afraid when she woke up. I imme-
diately saw that it was a very important dream. It is not an easy thing
to dream about an ancestor. Not everybody dreams about ancestors and
anybody who ever does dream about ancestors is lucky. After she had had
this dream, she should not relate it to the people in the hut where she
was conducting the ceremony, because the frog saw that the ceremony was
successful, as did the people who went to the river. She could not have
known the people in the hut without being told who they were by the
ancestors, because they are people who belong to that family. There

is   nothing bad in that. She could not tell this dream to anybody
because it is a family dream. It concerned the family at which the
ceremony was to be held. The family would not have liked their
affairs, ...   things that concern their clan name, to be told
amongst other people. Yes, in this case I mean the frog."

Example three

Background

The following dreams and interpretations of a female participant were
recorded over a three year period and are presented as a series. They
cover different stages in her life. The informant had, many years
previously, been thwasa and had qualified as an Igqira. She reported
however, that due to social and family pressure, she had given up her
work as an Igqira and participated in the running of a family store
near her home. This continued for some years before she again became
ill. The first few dreams recalled (1960 onwards) occurred during
the period of her illness. The dreams lead to her performing certain
rituals and assuming her role as an Igqira once again.

Dream one (1964)

I dreamt being in the river and I saw a hut in the river. There was
singing and clapping of hands in the hut but I didn't see the people
in the hut. As they were singing, they were using a khandiyeza
[special song] Mkhandeleni iyeza lo mutana uyangula, [Make medicine for

this child she is ill], Yombela mama [Clap hands mother]. When they

stopped singing, they said 'We are giving you this song. This is your

song'. I only heard, I didn't see anyone - only the hut".

Interpretation

"This is my khandiyeza [special song].

Dream two

"One day I was going home. Just before I reached home, I had to cross

a rivulet (s   ̵̵̵̵̵̵   ̵̵rived at the rivulet, I saw

a deep place (pool) in the river, yet there is no deep place in that

rivulet. As I was about to cross that rivulet I heard someone calling

me. When I looked back, I saw it was an old man. He said: 'Look on

your right-hand side'. There I saw a young man and he was holding a

pure white goat in his hand. It was tied with an ox cord. As I stood,

the young man was coming towards the depth. He went into the depth with

this goat. I was surprised in my dream to see a person going into the

depth. The old man screamed and said: 'Go quickly and roll that big

stone'. When I lifted my eyes, I saw a big stone. I went to that stone

quickly and I rolled the stone. The stone rolled easily to the depth,

[deep pool]. I stood on the edge of the depth with that stone, and

I saw the young man lying together with the goat in the depth.

The water was clear. As I was standing there the old man behind

me spoke again. He said: 'Now, this vision which we are showing you

of the young man with the goat in the water - we are showing you that

the goat is requested from you by the people of the Great Place'.

I woke up there."

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Interpretation

"I as a person who is a diviner, a diviner of a river, this _ithongo_
was from the Great Place. Sometimes those people appear in an _ithongo_
and they ask something and I take that thing. If you are moving away
from home you don't move as you usually do. There are many things
which are to happen on the way. They are working your blood. This big
stone was something like this. The 'just' [essence] of the whole dream
is that I should see [what] the goat required of me. I went home and
made that goat."

Dream three

"I dreamt of a multitude of people coming towards me. I went out of the
hut to meet this multitude. They were making a lot of noise and singing
and clapping and there were a lot of dogs barking. When the people
were near to the hut in which I was, I heard a voice. The voice said:
'The people you are now looking at are bringing the _izilo_ of this home,
so you should look and be certain of its identity. It is the thing you
are   w it but it puzzled me, because the top half was
a fish and the lower half was a human being. I could see that the head
was a fish's head. Still, in the dream, when I had seen this animal,
it turned away together with the multitude ...."

Interpretation

"When I started conducting the cerem   r the dream], I asked the
people whether they know their _izilo_ or not. They said that they didn't

know. I explained that I had seen it, but its name had not been given to me. I explained what it looked like. According to Xhosa custom, each homestead has its own izilo, and they are all different. That was just one dream with the ancestors talking to me. There are many more. If you are a diviner, and you have to heal at a certain homestead, you've got to be sure to know what the particular izilo of that homestead is. You have got to make the members of the homestead aware of their particular izilo so if it is an animal that cannot be eaten by those people... it should be respected."

Dream four

"I dreamt of my father. My father came in a dream and said that I should give him beer."

Interpretation

"After the dream, I brewed beer and sent people to fetch the money and they returned with the money. They [the brother-in-law] did not know I was brewing beer. Without any doubt, this dream has brought me good fortune in my life. I brewed beer, and even now, if I am in any kind of trouble, and I see my father in a dream, I will be able to get myself out of trouble or solve any problem. Everybody is happy now. Besides my getting the money, there are a lot of things which were put right by this beer. Things got right after I saw my father in the dream and I felt a lot healthier."

Dream five

"I dreamt that I was passing a particular house, here in the location.
As I was passing the house I saw a hut that I am building for herbs.
I wondered why the hut was there, and I was told in the dream that

there is a girl in that hut and that the girl was fukamile [ceremony].
I was told to go and look at her and to be sure who she was. I really
made sure she was there. I saw her."

Interpretation

"When I woke up, I went to that girl's house and told her people that
the girl is sick. I had seen her undergoing the fukamile ceremony.
When I dreamt this dream, this girl had nothing wrong with her.
She was fine. When I went to her people, they asked me what this
girl was suffering from. I said that I did not know but I saw her
fukamile. They never fukamila'ed her. After a long time after my
dream, she started getting sick in her head. Now, at the present time,
that girl is not right in her head. Even in this location, I have
dreams and then I go and tell somebody about it."

Example four

Background

The dreamer was a young woman in her late 20's undergoing thwasa
and one of a school of initiates training under a male Igqira.

She was willing to share important dreams (ithongo) only after the

Igqira gave his consent. She was at first unwilling to speak about her

dreams and awaited her Igqira's remarks, before commenting herself.

Dream

"It appears as if I wore white clothes and my whole body, from head

to toes, was covered by white beads. I had a black [Igqira] stick

in my hand. It was as if I was walking towards the river. When I

was near the water, I felt as if something was attracting me into

the water. I went into the water and I felt as if I was purified.

It was as if I was holding onto something and I felt as if I was going

up and down, into and out of the water - but I was holding onto this

thing. At first I was scared but I felt all right in the water. It was

nice in the water. After I got out of the water, I heard as if I

was called. When I went out of the river, there were a lot of people,

who were also in white clothes. There I saw my 'father', [indicating

to the Igqira] and he said: 'Come my child, today you are an Igqira'

I was surprised because I had never seen this 'father' and I was seeing

him for the first time. And I woke up."

Interpretation

"This ithongo indicated her sickness into the Igqira'ship. And she was

cured and the Igqira'ship emerged (bavela). And I cured her so that

she could talk to the ancestors of her home. They do speak to her and

she vumisa's. Now she is only waiting to be taken home. She is now

a complete Igqira. I have made all the customs for her. The thongo
came from her home."

Interpretation of dream by dreamer

"Why I dreamt this is because once at my home, there was an Igqira
in my family. My aunt died when she was never godusa'ed . After I
had this dream, I agreed to become an Igqira, and I was
phehle'telaed [worked up]."

Further comment by her Igqira

"She has taken her aunt's place".

In the following examples the dreams were regarded as being
iphupha [or ordinary dreams], and were therefore not attributed to
the ancestors.

Example five

Background

The informant was a forty year old, single female thwasa initiate.
She had completed standard six and had been an initiate since 1972.
She related her dream which was then interpreted by the Igqira under
whom she was training.

Dream

"I dreamt of a big snake coming to me, and this snake was luminous.
I was near water as it was coming. I was afraid of it and went
to a place where there were many people. When I got to these
people, I forgot that I was afraid of a snake and I felt very
happy among the people. It appeared as if we were attending a ceremony
and that we were all very happy dancing - then I woke up."

Interpretation

"She was being shown that here was a mamlambo [snake familiar]. Now
she saw the mamlambo and after that, she danced. This means that whatever
she saw, was going away, because it did not belong there. The fact that
she was not afraid any longer, means that she was at home - where she
belonged. There is nothing she must do because it is not a good dream,
the luminous snake is bad. We do not say this is an ithongo, because
ithongo is something good, we say it is an iphupha. This dream comes
from within us, not from the ancestors. The snake ffrom the ancestors
does not come glowing. If it was from the ancestors, she wouldn't
have been afraid."

Example six

Background

The following dream was related by an elderly male Igqira. As he

notes, the dream occurred many years prior to his becoming a _Igqira._

Dream

"When I was sick, I dreamt of a tikoloshe and he wanted to fight with me, and pressed me down, and I wanted to cry. Then when I woke up, I saw nothing."

Interpretation

"I had countless such dreams, for about five years before I became an Igqira. It is a bad dream because it makes you nervous. That is why it is bad. The reason is that the tikoloshe [dwarf-like witch familiar] is not known to the people."

5.2.2   Examples of Original Data from the Urban Group

Each of the following seven examples were interpreted by acknowledged dream experts associated with the African Independent Church Movement.

Example one

Background

The informant was a middle-aged Xhosa man and a prophet in the church.

He reported that he had the following dream in 1961. It is significant
in that the dream reportedly led to him joining the church. His
intepretation suggests that the ancestors (izinyanya) are also
incorporated in the church. Religious themes are present in the dream.

Dream

"I was walking a long distance across the veld and saw a big house
in the veld. As I got to the big house, I saw it had seven gates.
When I got to the first gate, the gate opened by itself. All the
gates opened in the same way ... the second, third, fourth, fifth and
sixth, and at last, the door opened by itself. I entered the big
house and went straight in. I saw nice green grass inside the house.
I just stood next to the green grass. In Xhosa, we say isibingelelo
[altar] - I saw an altar. Now, there was smoke in this house ... not
black smoke. I was just looking at the isibingelo [altar], and I
saw people running in a circle. A voice came to me saying, 'Did you
see these people?' I said, 'Yes'. The voice said, 'This is the
Zionist Church. I want you to enter this church and follow it.'
I woke up. The same dream re-occurred the following night.'

Interpretation

"You know, I remember when King Solomon built the house for God, and
in that way, I think that God wants to show me this church of the
Zionists. And God wants me to enter this church. When I saw that big

house I thought about the house which Solomon built for God.
And I was thinking that God wants to join my spirit and imimoya yabantu
abakolwayo [the spirit of the dead people]. I know that the people
who believe in the Spirit of Christ or God are not dead, they
are just asleep. The spirits of these people are not dead, they are
the izinyanya of the church."

Example two

Background

The 25 year old informant reported joining the "New Christian Holy
Apostolic Church in Zion" in 1975, in response to being ill. He
described his illness as "I was sick, my head was getting mad. I
was thinking 'half' and behaved 'funny'. I was told that I hit
people and removed my clothes. After that, I was taken to the Church,
they treated me and after that I became allright." The following
dream reportedly led to him attending Church.

Dream

"I saw a very big garden with green green grass. I saw the Christians
were singing and running in a circle on that grass. They sang:
Sisebusweni bakho baba nkosi yethu ['We are in front of your face, God
our Father']. Those people were running around and I was in the
distance coming towards them and I joined them in their singing
until my voice was loud and my mother woke me up."

Interpretation

"My mother asked me why I was making a noise. I said I was singing
with a lot of people on the big green grass. She asked: 'Who are those
people?' I replied that they were church people. She asked me how the
people were dressed? I told her that they were men and women, they
wore long white dresses and had big blue crosses on their backs. The
women wore big doeks on their heads. The men had izikhali [sticks of
the churches] with crosses and flags. Those people were singing and when
I approached them, they retreated a little and they were speaking
a lot of languages which I couldn't understand. My mother said:
'I think that is a spirit of God, that the prophets are going to tell
you what you saw in the dream'. After a few days, she took me to the
Apostolic Church. When they pray for me, they said the Spirit of God
had told them that I was going to be a preacher."

Example Three

Background

The informant was a 32 year old prophet and preacher in the "Christian
Catholic Zion Church." He described the events preceeding the dream
as follows: "an old woman, she was very sick, came to see me to help.
It was Saturday and I told her to come on Sunday when we had the
church. I prayed on Saturday night and...went to sleep. I had an
imbono [vision].

Dream

"I see that old woman standing in the middle of the house and it was
full of church people and there were fourteen candles. They were in
a circle and the woman was in the middle of the circle. A voice came
and told me we must put hands on this old woman, and after that,
you must take water and the big bath and pour the water in the big
bath and lay hands on the old woman. And I woke up."

Interpretation

"I took this dream like this, if somebody wants a thing from Jesus,
Jesus can help them. It was Jesus who helped her through me. The
fourteen candles are the angels of the church. And they mean the
holy spirit power (mandla) to take out the creatures from the woman.
These creatures were making this woman to be mad."

Example four

Background

The respondent was one of my principal urban informants. He had joined
his church in the 1950's and was a prophet and reverend when I first
met him. He subsequently became the Archbishop of his church. The
informant was a man of contrasts: in the daytime, he worked as a
gardener at a school in Grahamstown, and at night, his personality

seemed to "light up", as he led his church in prayer and healing.
A series of his dreams is presented as they reflect significant
events in his life dating from the time of his joining the church
in the 1950s. Themes in the dreams and interpretations illuminate
some of the conflicts that are expressed between traditional
cultural values and the values of the church.

In about 1950, which was "the time of the Jubilee" and prior to his
joining the church, the informant had the following dream.

Dream one

"I was with my brother. We were looking for bees in the forest.
A big dog chased my brother and me in the forest. We were running
towards my home. My brother pushed me forward out of the way of the
dog but I fell down. The dog ᵥcaught me by my right leg but instead
of biting me it smelt my foot. My foot was very sore and I was crying
when I woke up".

Interpretation

"I told the dream to my parents. My father said the dog is _izinyanya_.
If it was a cruel dog it would bite me but it was smelling me. It
was giving me good fortune and the right leg is also fortunate.
My brother was correct to push me forward because the good fortune

was for me. As I'm becoming an old man I can now see what my father
was meaning. My brothers are now the members of the church. I am
their leader. The forest was the word spoken by Isiah in the Bible
which says that the feet of preachers are <u>bantle</u> [good]. The dog
was telling me that I was going to be something among my brothers."

The informant described having had the following two dreams soon after
joining the church in the 1950s.

Dream two

"There were two mountains. I was climbing the mountain on the left.
On the mountain on the right I saw people with drums and singing.
I wanted to go to them but I had to climb down a cliff to get there.
As I tried to climb down the cliff I saw a blue and white van and a
farmer holding a gun. I ran back up the mountain. I was running up
this mountain but it was difficult and I was sliding backwards. I
was crying as I was sliding backwards down the mountain."

Interpretation

"The leader of the church told me that the mountain is the church.
Going down the mountain means that you are leaving the church and the
man on the cliff with the gun was showing you not to cross the cliff
and leave the church. That man was an angel. The minister said that

this dream is the same dream as Balaam reference numbers 22-24. He

was riding an ass. The ass did not want to go forward but in front of

him was an angel with a sword asking him not to go forward. The drums

and singing on the other mountain is the evil spirit which wanted me

to leave the church. The evil spirit knows I like those things and

wants me to leave the church. But God is one mountain not two

mountains, one."

Dream three

"We were in a church. There was a snake in one of the corners of the

church. All the people ran out and I tried to follow them but the

snake chased me. I tried to run faster between the other people so

that the snake could chase each of the others and leave me but the

snake always ran after me. As I was running I found that I stayed

in one spot. The snake caught up to me. I fought the snake and killed

it. I found that my arms were bleeding."

Interpretation

"The leader of the church said that a snake in a dream can mean two

things. There's the snake which was in Genesis which was a holy

snake. There was another snake which was the stick of Moses. That

was a holy snake. There was a snake which tried to bite Moses' snake.

He said that the snake which was in the corner of the church was an

evil snake which was hiding in the church. As I was the leader, it came

straight to me and my running in such a way that the snake would chase

other people was not correct. My running in one spot was the spirit

of God trying to hold me in one place so that I might fight the snake.

Killing the snake was killing the evil spirit in the heart of the people."

The informant had the following dream some time later, about the time

he was ordained as an evangelist in the church.

Dream four

"I was collecting wood in a forest. I saw a swarm of ants. They were

biting my right arm and I could not get them off me. I ran to my

brothers. Instead of helping me they ran for their lives and I ran

to the church. The elders and the ministers were there and they

poured buckets of water over me and I woke up."

Interpretation

"I took this dream to the church. They said the forest is the church.

God is our forest but people who collect dry wood are not people who

believe in God. The swarm of ants are enemies. It is the fruit of evil.

I was told 'you are ordained as an evangelist, collect people who

believe'. He said that I must not be among people who do not believe

because they will bite me as did those ants. He said that my running

to my brothers, that is, people who do not believe cannot help me.

Running to the church is good. In the church the elders took water and

threw it over me and cleaned out the ants. 'Water;' he said, 'is the

word of God that is prayer. Washing out the ants is the washing of

prayers and the washing away of enemies and unbelief'. It was a very

good dream which helped me in prayers and unbelief."

Example six

Background

The informant was a 27 year old prophet in the "Zion Christian Church" (ZCC) in the Transvaal. He described having "had the spirit" (umoya) from eleven years of age.

The following two excerpts indicate conflicts on two levels. Firstly, the conflicts experienced in urban life in South Africa and the pressures resulting from the political system and, secondly, conflicts associated with beliefs and the inevitable conflict of values accompanying the process of urbanization and Westernization.

Dream one

"I went to Park Station, where I would get a bus going to my home. Just then, I saw many policemen searching for reference books. These police are called 'Section 29'. I then felt fear because I did not have my reference book with me. I thought they may catch me and send me to prison. The very same dream appeared a second time. After the above dream, I had the following dream (dream two)."

Dream two

"I dreamt of my father. He was hitting me hard. I asked him why

he was hitting me? He replied: 'Why do you three (referring to me,

my brother and my sister) not want to listen to me?' It was the

end of the dream."

Interpretation

"The hitting of the father was the amadlozi [ancestors] hitting me.

There were some things that I did not fulfill. This shows me that

as I am a person who has got spirit, the time when I got into

trouble, my spirit was not close to me, it was very far from me. It

shows me there was something [custom] that I did not fulfill. All that

happened to me showed me that there is something that I did not

fulfill, it was the death of my mother. My mother died before the

dream. It broke my heart. That is what I think the dream means."

Example seven

Background

The dreamer was a member of the congregation of an AIC in Grahamstown.

He presented the dream to the prophet of the church, who then discussed

it with me. The dream seemingly involved conflicts in values which were

addressed within the church. A significant moral imperative is

revealed in the interpretation.

Dream

"I was climbing a hill. The hill was covered by 'big stones' (rocks). The stones were firm. It was difficult to climb the hill as I was slipping, but I was still going forward. I saw a big loose stone in front of me. I thought that I should avoid that stone, as it would fall down with me. I gripped that stone and fell down to the bottom of the hill (cliff). I brought that dream to the church as it was very important."

Interpretation

"I asked the church to kneel and pray for this dream. We found that the hill is the church. Stones are the members of the church. The loose stone is a person in the church and who is not firm in the church. The loose stone was a girl. When he gripped the stone, the stone fell down with him. The dreamer had done something wrong in the church. The Holy Spirit told him: 'You have done this, this, and this!' We asked him and he found that he had done a very wrong thing with that girl. We found that from that time until the present, he has not done such a thing anymore."

5.3 CONSTITUENT PROFILES

The Constituent Profiles are non-repetitive relevant descriptive
statements derived from the original data. They form the thematic
data base for the explication of interpretative themes in the
Extended Description.*

Each Constituent Profile is indexed according to a system of
Referents allowing for the construction of a thematic index file
and each is demarcated in terms of the participant, whether the
data is a dream or interpretation and the dream or interpretation
number. The data within each Constituent Profile is further divided
into Meaning Units. This allows all data cited in the Extended
Description to be easily located within the Constituent Profiles.
(A detailed description of the underlying rationale and method in
deriving the Constituent Profiles is presented in the chapter on
methodology.)

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* A complete listing of all Constituent Profiles is included in
  Appendix B.

5.3.1   Examples of Constituent Profiles from the Rural Group

Example

Dream (B.1)

[1]/I was on top of that mountain lying next to a bush. [2]/Something came and licked my cheek. I was stunned at first. I did not know what it was. [3]/My mother appeared to me. She instructed me to slaughter an ox because an animal had licked my cheek [4]/and said my people should build a private (initiate) house for me.

Referents:

Animal, Mother, Instruction, Ceremony, Initiate, Home.

Interpretation (B*1)

[1]/This dream was like a report. [2]/The umkhwetha-like grass house was built for me as my mother had prescribed. [3]/After I left that house I became an Igqira.

Referents:

Enaction, Initiate, Mother, Diviner (Igqira), Home.

5.3.2 Examples of Constituent Profiles from the Urban Group.

Example

Dream (S.1)

[1]/I was walking across the veld. I saw a big house. It had seven gates. The first to sixth gates opened by themselves one by one. At last the door opened by itself. [2]/I entered the house. There was smoke, not black, inside the house. I stood next to green grass inside the house. I saw people running in a circle. I saw an isibingelelo [altar]. [3]/A voice asked me: 'Did you see these people?' I said 'Yes'. The voice said: 'This is the Zionist Church. I want you to enter this church and follow it'.

Referents:

Smoke, Grass, Running in Circle, Altar, Voice, Instruction.

Interpretation (S*1)

[1]/The big house made me think about the house King Solomon built for God. [2]/I think God wanted to show me this Zionist Church [3]/and he wanted me to enter it to join my spirit with the spirits of the dead. [4]/People who believe in the Spirit of Christ or God are not dead they are just asleep. [5]/They are izinyanya of the church.

Referents:

House, Bible, God, Spirit, Dead, Ancestors, Church.

The Constituent Profiles form the basis for the Extended Description
of dream interpretations in each of the groups which are presented
in the following section.

5.4 EXTENDED DESCRIPTIONS

The participants engage in a meaningful relationship to their dream-
existence (Chapter Four). In order to understand the meaning of dream-
existence in the waking-existence from a phenomenological perspective,
it is necessary to explicate the way in which the dream speaks to the
person, i.e., the interpretative-reality in which the meaning of the
dream phenomena is made explicit in the life-world. The interpretative-
reality, which is the subject of this study, addresses itself to what
has been disclosed in the dreaming-existence and necessarily makes
explicit or gives meaning to the significance of the entities and
events constituting the dream. In becoming familiar with a large
number of dreams and dream interpretations, particular interpretative
themes have emerged which are seen as determining the significance of
the dream in the person's waking-existence.

5.4.1 Extended Description of Dream Interpretations Among the Rural
Group

The amagqira [healers and acknowledged dream experts] refer to dreams
as ithongo or iphupha. The distinction between the two terms is
fundamental, in that iphupha might refer to any dream, while ithongo
refers to a dream containing a message from the ancestors. Such dreams
require that they be understood by the dreamer. The large majority
of dreams presented in this section are therefore examples of ithongo.

Dreams reveal their significance in the life-world within the context of the interpretative-reality. The following themes have emerged as being significant in disclosing the interpretative-reality of the Rural Group and thus forms the basic matrix of the section:

A. The physiognomy of the dreamer's world as revealed by ithongo

To the dreamer, the dream phenomena constitute a landscape or physiognomy of his or her existence. In explicating the above theme, I refer to the interpretative significance of recurring themes which are disclosed in the interpretation of ithongo.

B. The interpretation of ithongo as revealed through action

The process of dream interpretation among the rural Xhosa needs to be conceived in terms of action. Different modes of action are revealed in the understanding of ithongo which are enacted and given meaning within the intersubjective or shared reality of the life-world.

C. The dream relationship as an anticipatory mode-of-existence

The amathongo* are often interpreted as revealing future events or as indicating the diagnosis of a patient whom the healer has yet to see. In explicating the above theme, I extend the interpretative-

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* Amathongo is the plural of ithongo.

reality to include those interpretations which reveal an anticipatory mode-of-existence.

D. *Iphupha* as disclosing a vulnerable mode-of-being

Iphupha are sometimes interpreted as being the result of bad spirits or threatening entities. Such dreams disclose the possibility of being vulnerable to such influences.

E. Human bodiliness as revealed in dream interpretations

In the interpretation of *iphupha* and *ithongo*, reference is sometimes made to bodily events as disclosing-modes-of-being. The explication of the above theme reveals the body as a sense-disclosing being and contributes towards an extended understanding of the interpretative-reality.

F. The legitimation of the interpretative-reality within the life-world

This theme does not serve to extend the interpretative-reality as such but makes explicit the ways in which the interpretative-reality, like all other systems of knowledge, is legitimated within the life-world.

Each of the above themes are explicated in turn.

A. The physiognomy of the dreamer's world as revealed by ithongo

The term "physiognomy", which is essentially a Western construct, refers to a "cast of features". I use this term to refer to the entities and events addressing the dreamer as the dream phenomena. Ithongo refers to dreams from the ancestors. The physiognomy of the dreamer's world as revealed by ithongo is thus essentially concerned with the ancestors. The ancestors are therefore of crucial importance and take many forms. They appear as (a) persons, (b) animals, or (c) a fabulous animal. I shall describe each of these forms in turn before discussing the ancestors' relation with, (d) the river and, (e) the forest, as revealed in dream interpretations.

(a) Ancestors appear as persons

Ancestors, revealing themselves as persons in the dream, are very often recognized as a grandparent (F.4, F.4) or parent (B.1, H.2, H.3, I.5, L.6), or a person or "old person" (H.1, H.2, J.2, I.2, L.3, L.1, N.2) or in one instance as "dwarfs" (F.2) or an Igqira (M1.). Some illustrations of the above motif are as follows:

> "My mother appeared and instructed me to slaughter an ox"
> (B.1.3)
>
> "a 'white' woman [ancestor] was standing on the stones [at a river]"
> (H.1.2)
>
> "the bag was taken away by the old man"
> (J.2.1)

"My father came in a dream. He said I should give him beer" (C.6.1)

"The old man said, 'we are showing you this vision that the goat is requested of you by the people of the Great Place'." (L.3.6)

The interaction between the ancestor-person and the dreamer is significant, and will be illustrated in the following four examples. In the first of the following examples, the attitude and approach of the person towards the dreamer within the dream context is revealed as being particularly meaningful, and includes a request. The proximity of the ancestors are a very real issue, as illustrated in Example 2, as they prepare and influence the destiny of their descendants. This is extended upon in Examples 3 and 4.

Example 1: A great grandfather requests beer to "call" the ancestors

The informant reported a dream (F.4) in which her great grandfather told her to make Xhosa beer. The interpretation, by an Igqira, was as follows:

"This is a simple dream. Its message is that beer calls the ancestors..." (F*4.1).

He then elaborated upon the interpretation referring to a similar dream he had had in which his:

"dead mother told me to make beer. I asked why, she said 'for your father and I will come.' I made it and bought a special calabash for it" (F*.2-4).

The interpretation of the dream clearly articulates the intimate
nature of the dreamer's relationship with his "deceased" parents.
In fact, the parents are not "dead" but have literally passed on to
become ancestors and the distance between the living and the
ancestors is regulated by the manner in which the living person
conducts his life, i.e., in the above example, by following the dream
prescription and performing a custom, his very relationship with the
ancestors is influenced as they each become mutually accessible to
each other in ordinary daily life.

The seemingly mundane activity of preparing beer is seen to facilitate
an awareness of a cosmic dimension of existence. The quality of the
relationship between the person and the ancestors is exemplified by
the proximity of the ancestors and the continuity between an individual
mode-of-being and living-in-relation to the ancestors. In other words,
the presence of the ancestors imply the possibility of an ongoing
relationship between everyday existence and cosmic possibility.

Example 2: Closeness to ancestors affects quality of life

The proximity characterizing the person's relationship with the
ancestor is quite explicit in the following interpretative comment
that:

> "Her ancestors ... are trying to bring her closer to
> them, so as to lead a better life" (F*2.2-3).

The emphasis is that the quality of life is dependent upon the
closeness existing between the life of the living and the ancestors.
The ancestors thus reveal their protective and nurturing influence
in their relationship with the descendant.

The ancestors, although they are invisible, are very powerful and
express themselves in significant ways. The following example indicates
the significance of the mood of the ancestor in his relation with the
person as well as the imperative quality of the relationship for the
participant.

Example 3:   Living in accordance with one's destiny as conceived by
             one's ancestors

The informant reported a dream (J.2) in which an "old man", who was
probably his grandfather did not say anything to him but removed "a
bag" which was in their presence. He interpreted the dream by firstly
recalling that his grandfather had been diviner and herbalist, and
continued:

> "if a person looks at you in a dream without saying
> anything he is cross with you, so my grandfather was
> cross with me because I was stubborn. Six months later
> I got sick and have been sick since then ... the
> amagqira say I must not look straight but also at the
> back (past). They say "you are supposed to work for
> yourself ... because your grandfather prepared things
> for you before you were born'" (J*2.2-5).

In the interpretation, he expresses his responsiveness to the mood of
the person in the dream. The figure presents as being annoyed and
dissatisfied with the informant's actions which are described as
"stubbornness". There is a conflict within the dream as well as in the
interpretation between the wishes of the informant on the one hand,
and the "ancestor" on the other. The conflict relates to the person
fulfilling a destiny prepared for him "before" he was "born" (J*2.5).
The informant is apparently not living in accordance with his own
possibilities and his human potentialities as revealed by his ancestor.

His destiny is revealed as not being within his own control, but
through dreams and events, he is made aware of his potential life-
possibilities which involves a relationship with a cosmic mode-of-
existence. His failure to follow the life which had been "prepared"
for him results in him becoming sick. His "sickness", however, is
meaningful, as it is instrumental in causing him to review his life
and life-possibilities, and take cognisance of his ancestor's wishes.

His life process* is defined not only in terms of the present, but in
terms of the past as well as the future. His past determines that he
has been "called" to be a healer, like his grandfather, and his
future, if he is to recover and be well, determines that he be a
healer and take on the responsibilities implied therein.

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* Life process is often referred to as temporality in Western psychology.

Subsequent to the above dream, the dreamer reported having had a

dream in which a person was standing in a river and calling to him

(J.4). The dream was interpreted as his ancestor in the river

"telling him directly" that "there must be a sacrifice at his home

for the river people" (J*4.1-2). Responding to the dream instruction

reportedly resulted in a marked change in the direction of his life.

He reports the change in his attitude as follows:

"Because of all these signs I now agree to what I had
opposed" (J*4.4).

Example 4: Being "called" by the ancestors to take one's place
           as an Igqira

The following interpretation again points to the importance of an

ancestor revealing herself as a person and influencing the informant's

life. The informant related a dream in which she saw herself in

white clothes and being attracted into a river. She then heard

herself being "called" by an Igqira who told her that she too was an

Igqira. The dream was interpreted in part as follows:

"She dreamt this because there was once an Igqira in her
family ... this thongo indicated her sickness into the
Igqira'ship. After this dream she agreed to become an
Igqira ... she was cured and the Igqira'ship emerged.
I cured her so she could talk to the ancestors of her
home. They speak to her and she is also vumisa'd.
... she is now a complete Igqira - I have made all the
customs for her. The thongo came from her home. She
has taken the place of her home" (M*1.1-6).

The interpretation again reveals the potency of the ancestors' influence. In this instance, the wishes of the ancestors are expressed as sickness, or more accurately, as a "calling" referred to as thwasa. Consequently, she agrees to become a healer, and to accept the implied responsibility as well as the active relationship with the ancestors. Her new vocation is described in the interpretation by the term "the Igqira'ship emerged", that is, her potential to be open to herself and to others emerged from within herself. Her ability to then commune with the ancestors of her home suggests her ability to transcend the constraints of an encapsulated or "cut-off" individual existence, as she acquires the capacity to be open to the ancestors of her home. That is, she is able to understand and pass on the traditional wisdom derived from a renewed relationship to a cosmic mode-of-existence.

In the above examples, ancestors were seen to appear in ithongo as persons, or as unknown figures or as an Igqira. The "ancestor-person" may express a wish or make demands, which in turn will influence the relation between the ancestors and the person. Ceremonies may serve to "call" the ancestors and bring them nearer to their descendant. Closeness to the ancestors exerts a positive influence on the life of the living. Ancestors may assert themselves by influencing their descendant's destiny and require that he/she become a healer. The relationship with the ancestors underlies the life process which is characterized by continuity between an individual-mode-of-being and living-in-relation-to the ancestors. The individual's past as well

well as his future are defined in terms of the continuity of life which

incorporates different modes-of-existence.

(b) Ancestors appear as animals

Ancestors often appear in ithongo as izilo [animals] or iramncwa

[predators]. In attempting to clarify the difference between these two

terms, an informant described the izilo [animal] as follows:

> "Izilo is an animal. The ancestors frequently manifest
> as izilo in dreams. As an Igqira, I have an izilo who
> guides me in my work."

The iramncwa was described in the following terms:

> "Iramncwa is a beast of prey - used for ancestors when
> they are dissatisfied with the living's proceedings.
> Your iramncwa is revealed to you in your amathongweni
> [dreams] by your izinyanya [ancestors]" (Schweitzer 1977:52).

A second informant added:

> "Amaramncwa are mostly larger animals that are feared.
> They are mainly predatory animals, including even a
> wild or a domestic cat" (ibid: 52-53).

The above distinction is far from clear. Gqomfa describes izilo as

referring to the spiritual "wild animals" of a family which are the

ancestors. The term iramncwa refers to a ferocious wild animal which

is necessarily related to ths ancestors of the forest (personal

communication).

The presence of a domestic animal in the content of a dream is illustrated in the following dream excerpt:

"dogs biting my hand" (J.3.1).

An example of a wild animal in a dream is:

"A bush cat came up to me and held me by my right wrist" (B.5.2).

An insect (bee) is present in the following dream segment:

"A brown bee came and sat on my head" (I.1.3).

An example of an amphibious animal is:

"A frog entered the hut" (A.1.1).

The izilo or ancestor-animal is very often considered to be a messenger, and will be illustrated in the following three examples:

Example 5: The bee as a messenger indicating life-possibilities

A brown bee approaching the dreamer within a dream (I.10) and sitting on his head is described very specifically as:

> "the bee is a messenger sent by someone who has been
> appointed, especially the brown bee who is a river
> bee, a direct messenger from the river, not like the
> wild bee" (I*1.3).

The message was that the dreamer's ancestors pointed him out to:

> "become an Igqira ... this was the first dream I had
> indicating I would become knowledgeable" (I*1.6 and 9).

In this instance, the bee, an animal associated with work and
diligence, indicates the need for the dreamer to fulfill his potential
and become a healer. The animal as messenger thus points to the
person's potential to be in touch with the "world of the animals" or
the ancestors, and so be accessible to the knowledge inherent within
that relationship.

Example 6: The frog as a messenger from the river

An interesting messenger theme relates to the presence of a frog (A.1)
in a dream which is interpreted as:

> "The 'river' is able to communicate with people. The
> frog is a messenger from the river. The frog represented
> the ancestors whom I was to call in at that place. The
> dream means that the ancestors agree with what I am
> doing and that the ceremony will be successful" (A*1-2).

The dream and interpretation thus serve to not only communicate with
the person but also to affirm her in her role as a mediator and healer.

Example 7: A "leopard" approaches the dreamer and fosters healing

The informant "saw a leopard in the forest" (N.1). The interpretation

of the dream was as follows:

> "I told my dream to my mother. She told me this was the
> ingwe, my family's animal. When they put me in the house
> near the family kraal, I dreamt that animal came to me
> . . when I was alone. It drank the ubulawu. I only see it
> at night when I sleep. After the ceremony I was better
> and everything comes all right to me" (N*1.1-2).

"Leopard in the forest" (N.1.1) was interpreted as the "family animal"

[izilo] being incorporated in a healing ceremony and approaching the

dreamer when he is alone (N*1.2). By owning the izilo, in the sense

of having contact with the izilo in the course of a healing ceremony,

the closeness between the izilo and the person is enhanced. That is,

the informant moves closer to the world of the ancestors, and thus

closer to his "animal". In this instance, it is the leopard. He is

able to embody the qualities of the leopard, which is not only a

ferocious and aggressive animal, but is also a very powerful aspect of

nature capable of moving stealthily and confidently within the forest

which is largely unknown. The process of integration which necessarily

accompanies healing is thus fostered by the integration of those

possibilities of the person inherent in his "ancestor animal" or

izilo.

It is noteworthy that the "animal" is referred to as an izilo rather

than an iramncwa. This might indicate some variability in the

interpretation of dreams by different informants. However, the
essence of the interpretation is not affected by this variation of
terminology.

Example 8: The dog indicates the need for the person to
participate in treatment-training

An informant (a thwasa initiate) related a dream (J.3) in which a dog
was biting his hand. He reported that he was told that the meaning of
the dream was that:

"your ancestors say you must clap hands like all the
others" (J*3.1).

The interpretation of the dream reveals that the dog, expressing
itself as a "biting dog", is transformed from its normal domestic
acquiescence, and reveals its potential to suddenly change and become
dangerous, imprinting with its teeth, the necessity for the dreamer to
affirm his relationship with the ancestors. Furthermore, participation
by clapping hands implies a vital involvement in the ongoing treatment-
training process in which he is involved. The dream is thus understood
as indicating that he must participate more fully in training to be a
healer.

In the above example, ancestors were seen to appear in ithongo as
animals. The animal may be referred to as an izilo or as an iramncwa
which refers to mainly predatory animals expressing their dissatisfaction

with the person's life. The "animals" of dream-existence are clearly

not the "matter of fact" animals of the zoologist, but are significant

message carriers, interacting meaningfully with the dreamer and

enhancing his understanding of his waking-existence and lived-closeness

with nature. The person's relationship with his animal emphasizes his

own life possibilities as constituted by the animal as well as continuity

of life as process. Continuity of life is revealed in the sense that

the present is linked with the past through the living-presence of the

ancestors, and the future contains the potential for the person to also

become an ancestor and thus be able to influence the life of the

living. The presence of animals as messengers of the ancestors in

dream-existence validates the cosmology of which it is a part.

(c) Ancestors appear as a fabulous animal

The term "fabulous animal" is a Western construct referring to a

transmuted animal as opposed to a natural animal. Within the dream

interpretations, an informant, who was an _Igqira_ made reference to such

an animal.

Example 9: Ancestor as fabulous _izilo_ confronts dreamer with the
            significance of his spiritual existence

The informant related that every homestead had an _izilo_, which might

reveal itself either through an _Igqira_'s dream or through the person's

own dreams (L.5, L*5). She described having had a dream in which she

was instructed to see and notice an _izilo_:

> "I saw it. It puzzled me. The top half had a fish
> head and the lower half was human" (L.5.4).

On officiating at a healing ceremony, she established that the people
of the home did not "know" their _izilo_ (L*5.2). She described it to
them and explained that:

> "If a diviner has to heal at a certain homestead, he must
> know what the particular _izilo_ of that homestead is. He
> must make the members of the homestead aware of their
> _izilo_ ... it should be respected" (L*5.4-5).

The _izilo_ in the above instance is partly fish and partly human.
Within the cosmic order, the fabulous _izilo_ occupies an intermediate
position. The half fish;half person is ambiguous in appearance,
associated with water and with the earth, the unseen (beneath the
water) and the visible (upon the earth). It is not one or the other
but a transmuted entity having access to the world of human form and
the world of the spirit under the water.

The informant's statement that healing cannot take place without
knowledge of the _izilo_, indicates the importance attached to the
ancestor-animal, which imbibes powerful forces not otherwise accounted
for. In this instance, the fish is at the top and the human form is at
the bottom. The dreamer and homestead are confronted by the precedence
of the spirit (fish) aspect over the "logos" or "intellect" of the

person. It is a powerful reminder of the link between the world of the spirit (force of nature) and human existence. Her further comment that the _izilo_ is "respected" indicates the recognition of the intermediary nature of the _izilo_ and the demand that human awareness remains open to the possibility of a mutual relationship exemplified by the numinous qualities of the _izilo_. Furthermore, the individual is required to conduct his or her life in a manner which is consistent with the wishes of the ancestral realm of existence embodied by the _izilo_.

The appearance of the ancestors as a fabulous animal, that is, as an _izilo_, confronts the dreamer with the transmutative relationship between the world of human form and the world of spirit, in which the spirit takes precedence over the "intellect" of the person. It was noted that healing cannot take place without awareness of the _izilo_. That is, the _izilo_ imbibes powerful forces, requiring human awareness to be open to the possibility of a mutual relationship exemplified by the numinous qualities of the _izilo_.

(d) The ancestor's relation with the river

It has already been shown that the ancestors may reveal themselves as persons or various animals and seek to influence the lives of persons in subtle and powerful ways. The river has already been mentioned in Examples 5 and 6, in which a "bee" and then a "frog" were messengers from the river, and that "the 'river' is able to communicate with people".

Further examples of the ancestor's relation with the river are:

A*1, F*6, J*4, L*3. I should like to explicate the meaning of the

river of dream-existence by making use of two brief examples, which

I shall explicate jointly.

Example 10: The river as a communicative mode-of-being

The informant, who was a practicing Igqira, reported dreaming of a

frog. She interpreted her dream by saying that the frog was a messenger

from the river (see Example 6) and discussed the river in some detail,

stating that:

> "The river is able to communicate with people.... The
> river is essential to life. Our counterparts in life
> reside within the river. That is the reason for com-
> munication between the living people and the river"
> (A*1.1 and 4).

Example 11: Being "called" by the river people

An informant dreamt that he was being "called" by a person standing

in the river (J.4). Part of the interpretation of the dream disclosed

that:

> "It was the ancestor in the river telling him directly.
> There must be a sacrifice at his home for the river
> people. He was being 'called' by his people under the
> river" (J*4.1-3).

In both the above examples, the river of dream-existence is revealed
as being both life-giving and sustaining, in that it is the home of
the "river people" who are also referred to as "ancestors" and are able
to communicate directly with people. In the second example, it is
evident that river people are able to indicate their needs and influence
the life of the person. By following the prescription in the dream,
the informant began his training as a diviner. The river is thus a
vital expression of the grounding-of-being in that it is at once, the
home of the ancestors and also the source of communication with a
cosmic existence. The being-of-the-river cannot be separated from the
being-of-the-person and needs to be understood within its relational
context.

Within the physiognomy of the dreamer's world, the river is revealed
as being both life-giving and sustaining. It is the home of the "river
people" who are also ancestors. The "river people" are able to com-
municate their needs and influence the life of the living. A vital
relationship with the river is essential to life.

(e) The ancestor's relation with the forest

The forest, in the life-world of the rural Xhosa, is revealed as a
nexus of vitality and mystery. It is the home of many wild animals
and is a source of communion with the ancestors. This aspect of the
forest is often expressed in dream-existence, in a dangerous "forest
animal" confronting the dreamer (D*1). Furthermore, one might be

"called" to the forest by the ancestors (F*8, I*1). The forest has

numinous qualities, in that it is a precinct to which one might be

"called" to pray ... alone" (I*2.1). The motifs associated with the

forest however, are ambivalent. It is not only the home of

benevolent izilo, but it is also the abode of "dirty spirits" (F*1),

which might present themselves in various forms and guises.

Example 12: Relationship between an ancestor-animal and the forest

An informant dreamt of a series of animals. The presence of a big

iramncwa [animal] was interpreted by an Igqira in the following terms:

> "The big animal belongs to the forest. The big animal is
> the elephant which we hlonipa (respect) and call abade.
> It is like the ancestors of your house..... He dreamt
> of the elephant so he should do the ceremonies. When
> he has done them and put the animals right, he is also
> putting the ancestors right so they shouldn't come to
> him in a bad way" (D*1.1 and 4).

The forest is the home of the "big animal" which is respected. In the

above instance, the animal was not even named by the informant. It is

evident that the animal reveals itself as an iramncwa, which reflects

the ancestor's dissatisfaction with the way the person is conducting

his life. He is thus required to conduct a ceremony and restore

harmony to his relationship with the ancestors.

Example 13: Relation between forest ancestors and people

An informant dreamt of bushmen who gave her a song (F.8). Part of the interpretation was that:

>"Ancestors can take people to the forest or the river.
>Bushmen live in the forest. They have come to fetch
>her there" (F*8.2-3).

The interpretation points to the intimate relationship between the ancestors and the forest and the individual's relationship with a mode-of-being characterized by the forest. However, the forest also harbours all kinds of dangers and demons. Fears associated with the forest are further revealed in the following example.

Example 14: The presence of bad spirits in the forest

The informant dreamt (F.1) of a gang of people wanting to take her to the forest. They stated: "We want you to be our fool and play with you." She felt fearful and poured urine around the house. The interpretation of the dream was that:

>"There was a dirty spirit which can be removed with
>herbs. Sometimes there are ancestors and bad spirits
>in the forest" (F*1.1-3).

It is unstated whether the above dream is an _ithongo_ or _iphupha._ The dream interpretation does, however, reveal the ambiguity and fear

associated with the potential power of the forest. The presence of a dirty spirit as well as ancestors in the forest reveals opposition between good and bad influences. There is thus an inversion of the numinosity associated with the ancestors, which might be understood as evil forces or ominousity. The forest is thus contradictory, in that it entails both positive and negative influences which exert themselves upon the lives of the individual and the group.

A number of similarities have emerged which are characteristic of both the forest and the river. They are both "homes" for the ancestors and communicate with the individual, either expressing their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the life of the person, or else "calling" the person to fulfill his destiny and become a healer. However, there are differences between the forest and river, as revealed in the following example;

Example 15: Difference between the ancestors of the river and the forest

An Igqira was discussing a dream (L.1) which involved a river. He was pleased about his dream, saying that he always felt healthy after dreaming of the river. He stated that one is told in a dream if one was a river-doctor, and that such dreams were "the guidance of our illness" (L*1.6). He then discussed the different influence of the river and forest as follows:

"There is a difference between the Igqira of the river
and the forest. Everything the forest doctors dream
is about the forest; the 'people who talk to them' are
'forest people'. The river doctors are more powerful
than the forest doctors" (L*1.8-10).

His understanding of the person's relationship with the river or forest

reveals a bond within the dream-existence between the person and a

particular source, which might be a river or a forest. The relationship

extends to waking-existence, and carries with it, a determinative

influence. The informant describes an immediate communication with the

being-of-river or being-of-forest. The level of relatedness with the

river or forest is rendered as a source of power. The informant is

not a spectator to the "river-object" but reveals an inherently meaning-

ful and purposive connectedness with the river. He implies that there

are other amagqira who experience a similar connectedness with the

forest. The implied distinction between the two modes of relationship

is that the amagqira who have a direct relation with the river are

apparently more potent than those who have a relation with the forest.

The forest is revealed in the above discussion as a nexus of vitality

and mystery. It is the home of the izilo as well as the iramncwa who

mediate between the ancestors of the forest and the individual,

expressing their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the life of the

person. The person experiences an intimate relationship with the

forest, which includes his vulnerability to the presence of bad spirits

residing in the forest. The forest is ambiguous in that it entails

both positive and negative influences which exert themselves upon the

lives of the individual and the group.

The physiognomy of the dreamer's world is essentially concerned with the ancestors as they reveal themselves as persons, as wild or domestic animals and even, in one instance, as a half fish, half human entity. Furthermore, the individual is seen as relating to the being-of-river or being-of-forest which is revealed as the "home" of the ancestors. The relation between the person and the ancestors within the context of the river or forest points to the cosmic possibilities of existence within the life-world of the rural Xhosa speaking people. This mode-of-being is given further expression in the life-world in the form of action. The enaction of dream-based themes forms the basis of the following section.

B. The Interpretation of Ithongo as Revealed Through Action

It should already be evident from the previous section that the relationship between the living and the ancestors, is neither abstract nor static. The person invariably respects and responds to their ancestor's expressed wishes as revealed within their dream-existence by acting in accordance with these instructions. This leads to the need to distinguish between the meaning of dream interpretation as commonly understood in Western psychology and among the rural Xhosa.

Dream interpretation, within the psychoanalytical literature, usually refers to the activity of discovering the latent content or meaning

of a dream by analysis of its manifest content. More generally,
within Western psychology interpretation refers to the process of
elucidating and expounding the meaning of something abstruse or
obscure. Both these conceptions are inappropriate in the present
context. The interpretation of ithongo among the rural Xhosa often
implies an understanding of the dream image through direct action,
i.e., by enacting the message contained in the ithongo.

Four modes of action to emerge from the dream interpretations con-
stellated around:

(a) action related to daily activities,

(b) action related to the healing role of the Igqira,

(c) action relating to the need for a ceremony, and

(d) the enaction of a "dream-song".

(e) The consequences of ignoring the imperative for action emerged
     as a fifth theme.

Each of these themes will be explicated in turn.

(a) Action related to daily activity

Action indicated in a dream might be usefully expressed in the active
world of day-to-day activity. The theme indicates the closeness between
the individual's attribution of importance to dreams and the communal
activities constituting the life-world. This is illustrated in the
following example:

Example 16: Relation between horse in dream-existence and waking-
              existence

The dreamer reported a dream (B.4) in which a horse had given birth

and then the horse and foal had died. He was told within the dream to

wake up quickly. He reportedly woke up and immediately responded to

his dream in the following manner:

> "I went to look for my horse ... I went straight to the
> place [where] I dreamt it had died. It had given birth.
> The dream means nothing bad, it just told me to go and
> look for my horse ... I'm sure that at the time I dreamt
> it, the horse was actively giving birth ... I like
> anything I am breeding. If you want to learn, follow
> what you see in your dreams, so you should be sure"
> (B*4.1-5).

The interpretation expresses the informant's close relationship and

affinity with his animal, the horse. In his interpretation, he describes

having been told to wake up and go "straight to the place" where he

would find his horse. The emphasis is upon doing and he is impelled to

act immediately and go looking for his horse. The dream is pre-

reflectively meaningful and acts as a guide in his ordinary everyday

activity which includes breeding animals. Only after the action, does

he reflect on the dream abstractly.

The interpretation reveals a mode-of-being, as evidenced in his

statement that "if you want to learn, follow what you see in your

dreams" and adds "so you should be sure", in which meaning is revealed

through action (B*4.5). That is, "if you want to" develop, to realize

your potential, to be assisted in ordinary activities, it is necessary, not only to be in touch with one's dreams, but to act upon one's dreams, i.e., he does not say one should understand the dream, but "follow what you see" (B*4.5) in the dreaming-mode-of-existence.

To really "see", which he takes for granted, means to apprehend, to be aware of and to understand the potential of the dream images in a context which enhances the quality of life. It is this quality of apprehending, seeing and enacting that underlies the importance of dreams, which he then confirms with the statement: "so you should be sure", i.e., to learn, to become knowledgeable and to have understanding and wisdom requires more than simply being cognisant of the dream - it requires "following" what you "see". This approach results in the quality of certainty which is implicit in the dreamer's interpretation of his dream.

The above dream interpretation reveals through action, a connectedness between the individual's dream-existence and his concerns in his waking-existence, which includes breeding animals. By responding pre-reflectively to the message contained in his dream, he reveals a mode-of-being characterized by an ability to live in harmony with the activities which constitute his day-to-day life. Awareness of the import of dreams followed by action is seen to facilitate a process of apprehension which leads to greater understanding and certainty in life.

(b)   Action related to the healing role of the _Igqira_

The action of the _Igqira_ in his role as healer and ritual specialist

is often guided by his dreams as well as the dreams of his clients.

In the present section, I will discuss two examples of action initiated

by the _Igqira_'s own dreams, and which contributed to the welfare of his

client and to the community.

Example 17:   Dream indicates specific medicine to be used in the
              treatment of a patient

An _Igqira_, in discussing the treatment of patients with malignant

growths, presented an example of a man who had a large growth on the

oesophagal region of his neck. He described a dream (B.3) in which a

piece of bark (a herb) was pointed out to him and he was told that he

should use it as "the bark has grooves, like the patient" (B.3.1) whom

he was treating. He responded to his dream by stating that:

> "I found this bark in my medicine hut in the place I was
> shown in the dream. As the patient couldn't swallow, I
> ground the bark, mixed it with water, and gave it to the
> patient ... by the middle of the second month things were
> coming right, and today he is fat. Most of the things I
> use to treat cases comes from dreams. I find this method
> really works. Everyone has ancestors who support and
> guard one" (B*3.1-3).

The immediacy of the action is impressive. The dream is not reflected

upon but he responds directly with: "I found this bark ... in the place

I was shown." The piece of bark is not something abstract or even a

simple object, but it is a medicine with curative qualities to be used

in bringing about some relief to the suffering of a patient. He does

not stress how he knew what bark to use, as that is self-evident in the

dream, but describes how he administered the bark and his concern with

the recovery of his patient.

His action bears testimony to his closeness or "in-touchness" with his

patient's needs and his closeness to the ancestors. His statement that

most of his knowledge of medicines is derived from dreams again points

to the intimacy between dreams and action and the significance of dreams

as a source of knowledge. The dream is understood immediately in a

pathic sense as a source of knowledge and capable of contributing to

the welfare of a fellow-being.

Example 18: Dream reveals welfare of fellow-person in the community

A second example of an _Igqira_ dreaming of a person in need of healing

(L.8) involved the dreamer seeing a person in a hut in the context of a

healing ceremony and being told, within the dream, to look and

recognize the person. Her response to her dream was:

> "I went to that girl's house. I told her people she was
> sick ... in this location I have dreams and then I go
> and tell somebody about them" (L*8.1 and 4).

Her interpretation points to the imperative for action inherent in

dreams and that the significance of the meaning of a dream is not

restricted to the dreamer, but it is public in that it affects others. The dream thus points to the interpersonal dimension, in which there is continuity-in-action between the dreamer's dream-existence and the shared life-world of the community.

The recurring theme in the above examples is the message: "I act on my dreams." Dreams are understood pre-reflectively as being meaningful and as a basis for action often in a public arena and involving the community. In the above examples, dreams related most specifically to the healing role of the Igqira. That is, they revealed the immediate accessibility of the Igqira to his ancestors as well as to the needs of his patients in the community. In one instance, knowledge of medicines was revealed directly through a dream and translated into action.

(c) Action relation to the need for a ceremony

A common theme in the reported dreams was the issuing of an instruction (A.3, B.1, B.5, F.4, F.5, F.6, H.1, I.2, I.5, L.3). The message of the dream was literally interpreted into action which most often referred to the need for a ceremony. The theme of enaction in the form of a ceremony are illustrated in the following excerpts from dream interpretations, which I will present at this stage without discussion.

> "this dream accompanies the gifted knowledge of the
> spirit of the ancestors ... the next day my father
> said an intambo (ceremony) must be made for me from
> the hair of the goat I dreamt of. We then slaughtered
> the goat" (I*3.1,4 and 5).

"The 'gist' of the dream is that I should 'see' the goat
required of me. I went home and made that goat" (L*3.4.5).

"I knew I was supposed to do an intambo. I then made
this intambo. I sometimes wear it" (A*3.1-2)

"I have always been asking my ancestors how I could get
cured. I think I was being shown how I could get cured.
When they replied to me in the dream I got cured. Since
the fukamisa ceremony I haven't seen anything wrong"
(H*3.1-3).

An important component in the action prescribed in the above interpre-

tations, is the need for a ceremony. Furthermore, each of the

ceremonies cited above requires the ritual killing of an animal. Such

action is seen to be meaningful, in that it serves to enhance the

individual's relation with the ancestors in a powerful manner.

Furthermore, the ceremony necessarily involves members of the

community and serves to protect the "home" and larger community. In

a very tangible sense, the action involved in a ceremony might be

described as "transpersonal action", in that it initiates and enhances

contact with a numinous mode-of-existence and is contextual in the

sense of affecting a group of persons. With this brief background, I

shall provide an example of a dream indicating the need for a ceremony.

Example 19: Participation in a healing ceremony

The informant, who was a thwasa initiate, recalled a dream in which she

was beating a diviner's drum and dancing (H.4). She was asked by a

woman when she would be cured, to which in Igqira (her mentor) answered

by giving her a "billy can" with her name inscribed on it and stating

that they were going to cure her. The dreamer reported her "inter-
pretation" as:

> "I did not think about its meaning. When I told my
> mother (healer) I did not want her to tell me what
> it meant. She said I should call my father and
> brother and tell them that there is work to be done
> at home. I think it indicated the ceremony to be
> done" (H*4).

Her response to the dream that "I did not think about its meaning",

which was that she neither thought about its meaning nor wanted to be

told its meaning, but was instructed to call her family for the "work

to be done at home" indicates the immediacy of the meaning of the dream

for her. Her statement that she needed to involve her family in the

work, which was to be a ceremony, discloses her ability to penetrate the

very significance of the statement in the dream that: "we are going to

cure you" (H.4.3). She is thus able to apprehend and own the meaning

of her dream within her life-world and, as the ceremony is public,

within the context of the community.

The interpretation of dreams, whether they be the dreams of the "healer"

or the "patient", points to a relation between a healing-mode-of-action

and a transpersonal dimension of human existence. The relation is

characterized by continuity-in-action between the person's dream-

existence and shared life-world of the community.

(d) The enaction of a "dream-song"

As previously described in Chapter 4, a unique aspect of the Rural Group is the theme of initiates being given a "healing song" in a dream (A.2, B.2, F.8, L.2). The significance of a "dream-song" needs to be seen in the larger context of action, i.e., the singing of the song is intimately related to the accompanying hand-clapping and dancing. The meaning of the "dream-song" is therefore more fully understood as an active event which is part of an intlombe.* I shall provide three examples of "dream-songs".

Example 20: Being 'given' a special song

An informant described a dream (L.2) in which she was in a hut beneath a river. She was given a "special song": "Make medicine for this child she is ill. Clap hands mother" (L.2.2). She was then told in the dream that: "we are giving you this song" (L.2.3).

Her interpretation of the dream was that:

"This is my special song" (L*2.1).

In this example she reluctantly describes being "given" a song which will contribute to her healing. The relationship between the song

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* Intlombe refers to a dance for amagqira and their initiates. It plays a significant part in all healing ceremonies and is itself regarded as therapeutic. The singing of "dream songs" is an important part of an intlombe.

and the ancestors remains implicit in her decision to simply reveal
that the song is her "special song".

Example 21: Song from the ancestors promotes "seeing"

An informant, who was a practising Igqira described a dream in which
the following song "came to me in my sleep" (B.2.1). The song was:

> "Here comes Vumani (name),
> My divining horse is coming,
> My horse brings me news,
> I vumisa (divine) with him, divining horse,
> I will die divining."

He interpreted the dream as follows:

> "The song is from my ancestors, the song belongs to all
> places. When I want sickness to go up I sing these
> dream songs, that belong to the amagqira. The songs are
> very important. Each person [diviner] has a song he
> likes. The song is also liked by my ancestor animal
> which goes around with me. When I dance and my song
> is sung I "see" things clearly. These songs are sung
> so that your umbilini must wake up" (B*2, 1-5).

I shall explicate two dimensions of the "dream-song". Firstly, I will
explicate the meaning of the dream-song itself as it discloses its own
structure to the participant. Secondly, I will refer to the context
within which the enaction of the dream takes place. I will not refer
to his reference to the umbilini in any depth at this point as I discuss
it at some length in my later explication of "human bodiliness".

In his interpretation he relates the song unequivocally to the ancestors, his ancestor animal, his sickness and his umbilini. The meaning is seen from the beginning of the song, in which his relation-ship to the animal (horse) is affirmed and involves a communion between himself and his ancestors. "Vumani" refers to the name of a horse, but relates also to the word, vuma, "to agree" and vumisa, which means divination, and denotes his vocation as an Igqira.

"I vumisa with him, divining horse" indicates his close relationship with the horse, not simply as an animal separate from himself, but as a "divining horse", an imparter of knowledge and a mediator between the ancestors and himself in his vocation as a diviner. It is no coincidence that "Vumani" is a horse, as the horse is neither a domestic nor a wild animal, but is born a wild animal and is domesticated by man. It embodies the qualities of power and instinct. In the process of divination, the horse mediates and imparts its power and instinctual nature.

With "I'll die divining", he commits himself publicly to his position as a diviner. The "enacted" dream reflects an undivided world in which the vital force associated with the ancestor animal comes to bear upon his vocation and the mediatory significance of his "calling" as an Igqira is affirmed.

The relationship between the "animal", the "ancestors" and the self is revealed as being an "open" relationship to the extent to which the

existence of fellow-beings is "seen" (during the course of divination), to be accessible to him as an *Igqira*. His reference to the *umbilini* further underlies his very intimate involvement with the ancestors and his fellow-beings. The involvement emerges from the very centre of his bodiliness which is construed as a sensing-being.

Secondly, the context within which the enaction takes place assumes importance. The accessibility of fellow-beings as well as his own being is evidenced by the very form of the dance, as the rhythmic stamping affirms the life force inherent in his being and his literal relationship with the ground-of-being. The enactment of the "dream-song" is an ongoing process during which life is experienced and shared, not as an individual process, but as part of a greater cosmic totality in which the relationship between the dream, the song, the "animal", the ancestors and the body are articulated synthetically and legitimized within the community.

Example 22: A song from the forest leads the dreamer on the diviner's path

The informant related a dream (F.8), in which she was participating in an *intlombe* at the home of her mentor. Bushmen entered "doing their dance with their skin clothing" (F.8.2) and said "my child, you must sing this song: *Vumani, Batshayi bomhlalo*" (F.8.3). She described waking up and singing her song accompanied by other initiates. Her dream was interpreted in part by the *Igqira* under whom she was training, as follows:

"The arrival of the Bushmen means one day she'll make
the Intlombe at her own home in her own skins.
Ancestors can take people to the forest or the river.
Bushmen live in the forest. They have come to fetch
her there. The song is a Bushman song which leads
people on the diviner's path. Vumani means to sing.
There are diviners who tell everything and those who
say just a little. That is what umhlalo points to"
(F*8.1-7).

I will comment on an aspect of the interpretation of the "dream-song",

which defines the dreamer's relationship with the Bushmen as indicating

her closeness to the ancestors of the forest. In this instance, the

primitive men, as an immediate emotive image of primordial existence,

affirms her relation with the forest, a place which lies beyond the

precincts of everyday life and harbours all kinds of powers, including

the danger of wild animals capable of devouring human life. The forest

is endowed with the potential for creation and destruction. However,

in the interpretation of the dream, in which she is inducted into the

"forest", the relationship is creative in the sense of leading her "on

the diviner's path."

The rhythmic dance accompanying the singing of the song facilitates a

relationship between the two aspects of being. That is, between her

bodily sense of being and the numinous qualities associated with the

"forest". The enaction of the song, which leads along the "diviner's

path" facilitates an experience of the indissoluble unity of the

universe.

The "being given" and enactment of the "dream-song" reveals itself as

a relationship between the two aspects of being. That is, between her bodily sense of being and the numinous qualities associated with the "forest". The enaction of the song, which leads along the "diviner's path" facilitates an experience of the indissoluble unity of the universe.

The "being given" and enactment of the "dream-song" reveals itself as being meaningful on two levels. The songs themselves affirm the close relationship between the person and the ancestors and underlies a creative union in which the person experiences a connectedness with a powerful and instinctual source of vital energy. The enactment of the "dream-song" through rhythmic dancing and singing affirms the primordial life force inherent within being, and in the dancer's contact with the very ground-of-being within the context of the community. The experience of the indissoluble unity of the universe is affirmed during and reflected by the intlombe process.

(e)   The consequences of ignoring the imperative for action

I have so far explicated the enaction of ithongo in terms of their relation to daily activity, to healing, to ceremonies and "dream-songs". As action plays such a significant role in the interpretation of ithongo, it is important to question the consequences of not responding to ithongo which are understood as demanding action of some kind. In the following two examples, the informants reported dreams which are understood as requiring action in the form of ceremonies, but for

different reasons, they failed to act in accordance with their under-

standing of their dreams. I shall present both examples and discuss

them jointly.

Example 23: Failure by family to respond to dream leads to illness

The informant, who was a thwasa initiate, reported a dream (F.5), in

which her great grandfather said to her that her father should make

"isiko lentambo [a ceremony] for my treatment-training" (F.5.1).

Following the dream, she commented that:

> "my father refused and I became very ill. I was
> always sleeping, did not work, could not eat. I
> was taken to Dr. M. who sent me to hospital in
> Cape Town" (F*5.1).

Her mentor (an Igqira) added that:

> "The father's grandfather was serious and said the
> dream was not pretending. The sacrifice must be
> under her father's auspices. She cannot make it
> herself, but she may contribute" (F*5.2).

Example 24: Failure to respond to instruction results in sister's
            insanity

The informant reported a dream (I.5) in which his mother entered the

gate at his home and said that he "should tombisa (ceremony) these

children" (I.5.2). His response was that:

"after the dream my elder sister became mad. I know
what to do [about] this dream,but I have no money.
My mother instructed me to do this. I have to buy
an ox and a goat. I am going to do this ceremony
now because my sister is mad (insane)" (F*5).

In both examples, an older relative instructs the person to perform a
ceremony which will necessarily involve the members of the family and
possibly other members of the community as well as some financial cost.
In both instances, the dreamer understands the imperative contained in
the dream. For different reasons, the dreams are not acted upon. The
failure to act in accordance with the dream results in a person
suffering severe ill health.

Both dreams deal, in different ways, with responsibility. The differ-
ences in the examples are that in the first instance, where the dreamer
needs to rely on a third person to respond to her dream and who fails
to act, the dreamer suffers illness. In the second example, where the
dreamer is in a position to respond and fails to act, a person close to
him is the victim. The consequences in both instances are similar –
there is ill-health and suffering which can only be alleviated by the
performance of the said ceremony.

There is a sense of continuity in both instances, i.e., in the first
instance – the interpretation of the dream implies an integration between
three generations, her father's grandfather – with whom she has contact,
her father and herself. In the second instance, two generations are
involved. By living in accordance with the wishes of the older

generations, which in the above instances, is seen as being imperative, a sense of hierarchical continuity is preserved.

The above examples stress that there are dreams which contain an imperative according to which the dreamer or members of his family need to respond with action usually in the form of a ceremony. Failure to respond to such a dream implies discontinuity between generations and results in ill-health and suffering. An affliction may affect the person who had the dream or another member of their family. The imperative to action underlies the need to live in harmony with the transpersonal dimension of existence.

The above examples and explications indicate that the interpretation of _ithongo_ often involved a direct understanding of the dream image through the enaction of the message contained in the dream. Four modes of action to emerge from the dream interpretations constellated around, action related to daily activities, action related to the healing role of the _Igqira_, action related to the need for a ceremony and enaction of a "dream-song". The consequences of ignoring the imperative for action emerged as a fifth theme.

C. The Dream Relationship as an Anticipatory Mode-of-being

The dream, or more precisely, the _ithongo_ is often interpreted as revealing the accessibility of future events. The very fact that informants report such instances points to a conception of the world

which is very different to the generally accepted Western notion of
time and events. The nature of such knowledge might best be understood
as being anticipatory in the sense that events are revealed to the
dreamer which then occur or are useful in his life. The kinds of
phenomena which are revealed within dream-existence may relate to,
the diagnosis of patients coming for healing, prophesying the
individual becoming sick, or as construing future events. In the
present section, I will provide examples illustrating each of the above
motifs.

Example 25: The dream relationship as a predictive and diagnostic
            mode-of-being

An example of a dream interpretation expressing the anticipatory mode-
of-being is provided by an informant who related a dream in which four
people approached him "for vumisa* to ask me about their young girl
who is sick from amafufunyana" (E.1.1-3). The informant interpreted
the dream as follows:

> "This morning four people came for vumisa, I told
> them the girl was suffering from amafufunyana and
> they must try to drive 'these things' away. Now they
> wait for me to give them good medicine" (E*1.1-4).

The interpretation reveals that through the dream, the dreamer firstly

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* Vumisa is the causative form of vuma, which is a verb meaning
  "to agree". I have interpreted the term as referring to diagnosis
  by means of divination.

anticipated a series of events. Secondly, he was told about the

nature of the patient's suffering in the dream, and thirdly, he

was presently engaged in treating the sick girl. The attitude to

the dream by the dreamer is quite straightforward, as if it is quite

usual for healers to be guided by dreams, in their work with patients.

His interpretation indicates his openness to members of the community,

to the extent that their problems as well as their actions are revealed

to him through his dream-existence. The sequential nature of time is

altered, in that the events constituting the future are revealed as

the present-future. The dream thus allows the dreamer to be "open to"

the existence of his fellow-beings in a way which is quite outside the

constraints imposed by a linear sequential understanding of space and

time. The dream interpretation discloses a transpersonal existence

which is expressed as an anticipatory mode-of-being.

Example 26: The dream foretells and guides "illness"

An informant, who was a thwasa initiate, related a dream (L.1) in which

she was at a river when an old man told her that she was a river doctor.

Part of her response to the dream was that:

> "These dreams are the guidance of our illness. Somebody
> comes in a dream and foretells something then it happens"
> (L*1.6-7).

Her interpretation reveals her understanding of her relation to her

dream-existence. That is, that dreams are "the guidance of illness"

and, of special significance to the present discussion, is her state-
ment that "somebody" presents themself in a dream and "foretells" the
person something of consequence to their wellbeing. She confirms
that what they are told, actually takes place in waking-existence.
Being guided within the context of thwasa [the illness] involves a
process of transition between different stages of spiritual progress,
in the sense that the "illness" results in the person qualifying as a
healer. Of particular importance is the personification of the guide
who is able to express the process of transition and foretell what will
happen with the certitude expressed in the informant's statement,
"then it happens."

The person's relation to time is not denoted by linear time, but in
terms of both the present and the future being accessible at the same
point. The relation between time and events requires that time and
space can only be understood outside the boundaries implied by a
rational Western framework, to one in which time and space are
delineated in terms of possibility and presence.

Example 27: Preparation for future ill-health revealed through a
             dream

The above informant responded to a later dream (C.7) in which she was
told that she would be very sick, as follows:

"After the dream I waited for the sickness. I told
no-one of the dream. Then I got a terrible fever
and was admitted to hospital. The ancestors were
looking after me. They told me beforehand what was
going to happen so I should be prepared for it.
Thus I am able to ward off bad things, but cannot
ward off all of them" (L*7.1-4).

In the above interpretation, the informant reveals her existence as

one in which life is affected by the confluence of good and bad forces,

over which she has some control by way of her relationship with the

ancestors, who "told me beforehand what was going to happen so I

should be prepared for it." Health is revealed as being uncertain and

time (temporality) is altered, in the sense that she anticipates

("awaits") and prepares for events belonging to her future on the basis

of events revealed in her dream-existence.

In Examples 26 and 27, destiny emerges as a motif, in that to be fore-

told is, in a sense, to acquire power or strength to influence one's

destiny (L*7.3), but at the same time, the informant does not have

ultimate control, because what she is told happens regardless.

Contrary to what one might expect, the apparent paradox revealed above

indicates that the cosmos is ordered and that her position within the

ordering is clearly disclosed, both by her history, the present, and

most importantly, the present-future as revealed through the

anticipatory mode-of-being.

Not all interpretations revealing the anticipatory mode-of-being refer

to health. The following example refers to events.

Example 28:   A dream reveals future events at a ceremony

An initiate reported a dream (H.2) during which she was given detailed

instructions about preparing for a ceremony. It was indicated in the

dream that a senior Igqira would not be present at the ceremony. Her

interpretation of the dream was:

> "I think I was being told not all the diviners would
> be [at the ceremony]" (H*2.3).

The dream seemingly indicates to the informant who will and who will

not be attending an important ceremony. That is, the dream reveals

the extent of participation by others in her life-world. The fact

that the persons are diviners indicates that they are persons who

share her life-world and participate in her existence. This example

again emphasizes the themes of accessibility involving a transpersonal

mode-of-being, and an awareness of future events made present in the

present-future.

The anticipatory mode-of-being is revealed through dream interpretations

which are clearly diagnostic or prophetic in that they anticipate health

or welfare or predict events affecting the dreamer or members of the

community. The interpretations explicated disclose a transpersonal

perspective of events and time which reveals that the informants are

open to the present and the present-future. This mode-of-being

predicates the individual's destiny which is revealed in the ordering of

the cosmos. That is, destiny is disclosed in the person's relation

to his dream-existence on the one hand and evidenced in his waking-existence on the other.

D. Iphupha as disclosing a vulnerable mode-of-being

I drew a distinction between iphupha and ithongo at the beginning of the section. I should now like to focus on iphupha. Although iphupha are not attributed to the ancestors, they do throw light on an important aspect of the rural Xhosa life-world. In fact, I do not think it is possible to gain a balanced view of the rural Xhosa life-world as revealed through dream interpretation without some understanding of iphupha.

Dream-existence, as revealed through iphupha, is occasionally vulnerable to an ominous and intrusive element, in the sense that the person might be confronted by a "dirty spirit," a tikoloshe or mamlambo. These entities are sometimes associated with the activities of witches, who are called Iqwira. Anthropologists refer to the tikoloshe and mamlambo as witch familiars. However, I will explicate the meanings associated with such entities from a rural Xhosa perspective and avoid anthro-political constructs.

Ominous entities presented themselves within the dream-existence in various ways. Examples of such confrontations are provided by the following excerpts:

"a tikoloshe, who wanted to fight me and pressed me down"
(E.2.2).

"I saw a yellow snake, I shouted and I was afraid"
(F.3.1-2).

"a big luminous snake coming towards me. I was afraid"
(N.4.2).

In each of these instances, the dreamer reported feeling fearful or distressed. Each interpretation dealing with these events incorporate the idea of badness in some form (E*2.2, F*1.3, F*3.3, N*4.1).

The following example will clarify the distinction between iphupha and ithongo and will reveal some of the characteristics of an existence which is vulnerable to the influence of a mamlambo. A second example will extend the notion of vulnerability and the process of change in the individual's life.

Example 29: Distinction between iphupha and ithongo clarified by dreamer's confrontation with mamlambo

An informant was commenting on a dream (N.4) in which she was near water when she noticed a large "luminous snake" approaching her. She felt afraid and joined a group of people attending a ceremony, and "forgot my fear and felt happy" (N.4.3). The interpretation of the dream was as follows:

> "The luminous snake is bad. The snake from the
> ancestors would not glow. She was being shown a
> mamlambo. We say it is an iphupha, not an ithongo
> – something good. This dream comes from within us,
> not from the ancestors. She would not have been
> afraid of a dream from ancestors. After that she
> danced. This means she was at home where she
> belonged. There is nothing she must do" (N*4).

The distinction between iphupha and ithongo is clarified, in that

iphupha arises from within the person and is not related to the

ancestors, or a cosmic mode-of-being. The badness concretized in the

glowing snake is revealed as coming from the person. She is fearful of

the very viciousness and destructiveness of the snake, which might also

be used to describe an anxiety-ridden existence which is out of touch

with the cosmic mode-of-being. It is an existence encapsulated in

itself, and thus it is only when the dreamer joins a group of people

and participates in the very social act of dancing that she forgets

her "fear". The change which she experiences within her very being

is seen to indicate that she is "home where she belonged" (N*4.6).

The interpretation reveals a transition from an isolated existence

characterized by a mood of fear and distruct emanating from within

herself to a purposeful existence characterized by participation in

group activity and belongingness.

Example 30: Confrontation by tikoloshe reveals vulnerability

The tikoloshe has been described by informants as a short hairy man

with a large penis. In the present example, an informant described a

recurring dream (E.2) of a tikoloshe wanting to fight and pressing

him down. The dream recurred for about five years, until he became an _Igqira_. He interpreted it as being "a bad dream because it makes you nervous. Because the _tikoloshe_ is not known to the people" (E*2.2).

The _tikoloshe_ is revealed as a personification of those regressive forces which remain virtually outside the realm of conscious existence. It "is not known to people" and yet it confronts the dreamer as a potent phenomenon. The fear is thus attributable to the initial ignorance of the dreamer who eventually attains victory some five years later, when he qualifies as an _Igqira_ and realizes his own possibilities in terms of his actualized relation with a cosmic mode-of-being.

In both the above examples, the informants were confronted by entities causing them to be fearful and anxious. In both instances, the entities emerged as being unfamiliar and were considered as existing virtually beyond the possibility of human relatedness. Each of the informants experienced their own sense of vulnerability when confronted by such forces and responded by affirming their relationship with the community or the ancestors.

It has been evident in the above explication that the person's dream-existence might include entities which confront the isolated dreamer in such a way as to cause fear and anxiety. Such dreams are not from the ancestors, and are termed _iphupha_. The frightening entities, personified as a _mamlambo_ or _tikoloshe_, remain virtually outside the realm of conscious existence. The threat ceases when the person renews their

relationship with the community and the ancestors. The life-world of

the rural Xhosa is thus revealed as being vulnerable to intrusive and

threatening elements encompassing ominous qualities. These qualities

are antithetical to those of the ancestors and reveals a discontinuous

and vulnerable mode-of-being.

E. Human Bodiliness as a Disclosing-mode-of-being

The "life-world" of the rural Xhosa speaking people has so far been

revealed by their understanding of ithongo and iphupha and their

interpretation of ithongo in terms of various modes-of-action. However,

a unique aspect of the interpretation of dreams is revealed by

informants' reference to their "umbilini" (A*1, A*2) and to their

"blood" (Q*2, H.2, L*3) in disclosing the meaning of dreams.

In order to address the importance of bodiliness as a disclosing-mode-

of-understanding, I shall provide four examples in this section

indicating the sense-disclosing nature of bodiliness in the interpreta-

tion of dreams. The first two examples illustrate the contextual

meaning of umbilini and the second two examples will refer to "blood".

Although the literal translation of umbilini into English is intestine,

it is quite evident that this translation does not reveal the meaning-

disclosing potential of umbilini in the context of the present study.

A similar comment might be made as regards an understanding of "blood"

within a Western framework. In each instance, the meaning-disclosing

potential of bodiliness is revealed within a context extending well

beyond physiological parameters. In several instances, these

expressions are seen to relate to "seeing" (A*2.5, B*2.5, C*3.3),

which also needs to be understood within a Xhosa context. It will become

evident that "seeing" does not refer to visual perception but to a

revealing-mode-of-being closely related to bodiliness.

Example 31: The umbilini as a disclosing mode-of-being

In the first illustration, an informant awoke from a dream (A.1) in which

a frog entered a hut, and stated:

> "upon awakening, my umbilini told me that nothing
> was wrong" (A*1.3).

The umbilini is thus revealed as a meaning-disclosing mode-of-being

imparting a sense of assurance, affirming that nothing was amiss.

Example 32: "Waking-up" the umbilini promotes "seeing"

An informant who was a practising Igqira reported a dream (B.2) during

which he had been given a "dream-song". In his interpretation of the

dream (B*2.5-6), he discussed the significance of the dream-song in

some detail by referring to the umbilini:

> "When I dance and my song is sung, I 'see' things
> clearly. These songs are sung so that your umbilini
> must wake up. You will never be a diviner with your
> umbilini down. The iphakame [going up] of the sickness

is due to <u>umbilini</u> when these songs are being sung.
<u>Umbilini</u> is a feeling of surprise like the wind. I
do not think anything lives without <u>umbilini</u>. Your
<u>umoya</u> must not be in a hurry to understand <u>umbilini</u>.
You must be able to say how it comes to a person like
the wind/spirit" (B*2.5).

The literal translation of <u>umbilini</u> refers to the intestines. It is

clear in both the examples presented that the meaning of <u>umbilini</u> is

far broader than its reference to a physical organ. In fact, the

above example illustrates that in the life of the <u>Igqira</u>, the <u>umbilini</u>

communicates and imparts knowledge to him.

The singing of a "dream-song" reportedly "wakes up" the <u>umbilini</u>. The

<u>umbilini</u> is seen to have a spatial orientation in that it might be up

or down, i.e., "you will never be a diviner with your <u>umbilini</u> down".

However, the spatiality to which he refers is not the space of

Euclidean geometry, but a direction, an intention toward a goal. The

"going" up of the <u>umbilini</u> implies upward movement from what was below

or deep down or beyond awareness. Its direction is toward contact,

awareness and unification.

<u>Umbilini</u> is essential to life, i.e., "I do not think anything lives

without <u>umbilini</u>," and it's a feeling ... like the wind/spirit." It

is thus intrinsic and all pervasive.

The informant associates the <u>umbilini</u> with his ability to "see". While

man's world is primarily a visual world, the visual world remains

restricted to the appearance of things. He is thus not referring to his visual perception, but "seeing" in the sense of being able to penetrate existence so as to reveal the intrinsic qualities of situations. The body-event is thus tangible, pervasive and reveals meaning in the sense of being sense-disclosing.

Example 33: Ancestors work her "blood" that she should "see"

The informant reported a dream (L.3) in which she needed to cross a river when an old man pointed to a young man with a goat. The young man and goat disappeared into a pool of water. The old man told her that a goat was requested from her by the people of the Great Place. Her interpretation of the dream included:

> "they [ancestors] are working you (my) blood ...
> that I should "see" the goat required of me" (L*3.3).

Blood is not construed according to a biological or physiological conception, but in its immediacy as a meaning-disclosing bodily event or feeling. In the present example, "blood" refers to her relation with the ancestors, as she experiences their direct influence "working" her "blood" so that she might "see" the goat (ceremony) required of her. Her ancestors working through her sense-of-being, implore her to "see", not in the visual sense, but in an immediately experiencing or pathic sense that she should participate in a ritual. Knowledge is imparted directly through the experiencing-mode of her own bodiliness.

Example 34: Ancestors in "blood" revealed as a meaning-disclosing
mode-of-being

An informant, referring to a "dream-song" which she used during

diagnostic or divination sessions (intlombe) stated:

> "I have inyanya [ancestors] in my blood.... At an
> intlombe I use this song ... I dance and sing till
> I sweat. Then I can "see" what I am going to say" (A*2.5).

The ancestors, who guide and provide vitality and life force, reveal

themselves within her "blood", that is, within the very essence of her

being. She is able to use her song and experience her body in the

process of dancing, singing and sweating in an immediately meaning-

disclosing way, enabling her to "see" what she is "going to say".

Her bodiliness is revealed as a sensing organ characterized by an

unmediated bond between herself and fellow-beings. She is then able

to transform the immediacy of her knowing into the conceptual sphere,

and communicate what she is "going to way" (A*2.5).

The dimension of bodiliness explicated above was well illustrated in

a conversation I held with an Igqira. I was interested to know how

he was able to divine and know things without being told the information.

His response was as follows:

> "I know it this way. Nobody tells me in my ears, but
> the blood, this is the disease in me of the Igqira'ship,
> which tells me that [for instance] somebody's great-
> grandfather or father (referring to the person's ancestors)
> was also an Igqira [healer] or thwasa [was "called"]. I

> feel it here, in the 'umbilini' (pointing to the
> solar plexus). That is how I know" (Personal
> communication).

Human bodiliness is revealed as a meaning-disclosing mode-of-being

characterized by a relationship with the ancestors and with fellow-

beings. Bodily events characterized by "umbilini" and "blood" are

understood as tangible and pervasive sources of knowledge allowing the

person to "see". "Seeing" refers to the ability to penetrate

existence, so as to apprehend and reveal the intrinsic qualities of

phenomena. The ability to apprehend and mediate between modes-of-being

points to the unmediated bond between self and fellow-beings and a

numinous mode-of-existence. The body is revealed as a sense-disclosing

being which is able to transform the unmediated bond between self,

others and the numinous into conceptual knowledge which can be imparted

to others. Human bodiliness thus contributes towards the constitution

of, and extends, the inherent meaning within the life-world.

F. The Legitimation of the Interpretative-reality Within the Life-world

The preceding sections have necessarily assumed the meaningfulness of

dreams. The present section will explicate the manner in which dream

interpretations are legitimated within the life-world. The examples

cited will support the following propositions. Firstly, dream inter-

pretations provide an intersubjective source of knowledge. By this,

I mean that the "message" contained in a dream is understood in

essentially the same way by more than one person. Secondly, the dream

is a source of knowledge based upon a primordial cosmic unity

characterizing the rural Xhosa life-world. Thirdly, actions prescribed

by the messages contained in dreams serve to resolve practical

difficulties and contributes to the welfare of the dreamer and promotes

cohesion in the community. Dream interpretations are thus tangible and

practical in the life-world.

Example 35: Dreams are coherent and legitimate sources of knowledge

The informant, who is now a practising Igqira, reported having had

a dream (I.1) during which he was called to the river, and a brown

bee sat on his head. Part of his interpretation of the dream was as

follows:

> "I told my father about this dream. He said 'I know
> what has happened to you. You will follow your
> father's younger brother. You are thwasa. Your
> ancestors pointed you out that you should become an
> Igqira.' Then my father went for divination on my
> behalf, and was told I was thwasa. This was the
> first dream I had indicating I would become
> knowledgeable" (I*1.4-9).

I will explicate two relevant motifs. The first is that the father

discloses his understanding of the dream by indicating that his son

(the dreamer) is suffering from thwasa. His father "went for

divination" and it was revealed that the son was thwasa. The internal

logic of the process of legitimation is quite apparent in the

consistency between the information provided by the dream, his father's

interpretation of the dream, and quite independently, and without any

foreknowledge,* an Igqira stating that the dreamer was thwasa.

Furthermore, his life experience, in undergoing the thwasa process and

emerging as an Igqira once again validates the dream physiognomy as a

source of useful and legitimate knowledge.

The second motif to emerge is made explicit in his statement that the

dream indicated that he would "become knowledgeable". He is revealing

an aspect of his relationship to the dream which is that his dream-

existence is an irradiating source, or expression of a cosmic domain

capable of conferring knowledge. The dream interpretation thus

embraces the notions of self-awareness and integrity. In this sense, too,

the importance of dream-existence is legitimized in waking-existence.

Example 36: Bringing together the everyday world and the cosmic
mode-of-being

The informant was responding to a dream (I.3) in which he was in a

large group and participating in an intlombe (dance for amagqira

and initiates) at a ritual. Part of his interpretation was that:

> "The people are your people who love you. We were
> dancing for pleasure and health. This dream
> accompanies the gifted knowledge [of] the spirit
> of ancestors. I can give you a gift freely because
> I love you" (I*3.1-3).

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* An Igqira involved in divination will almost always have no
foreknowledge of "the problem" being presented by the person or
family seeking assistance.

His response to the dream was firstly, to affirm and validate his dreaming-existence, by restating: "we were dancing for pleasure and health." He does not distantiate himself from the dream, but on the contrary, affirms his relationship to his dream-existence. He then describes the dream as a "gift" from the ancestors, and as representing "gifted knowledge". It is evident that through the dream, he is able to imbibe the volition or the essence of the ancestors. Knowledge is also power, and thus the dream expresses his relation or attunement with the source of power in the cosmos.

His reference to love within the present context expresses the dissolution of the duality in which two potentially antagonistic elements are nevertheless reconciled. The elements relate to the everyday world and the cosmic mode-of-being and the love expresses the ultimate goal, which is the elimination of dualism and separation, uniting them in the "oneness" of their relationship.

The dream legitimizes the dream physiognomy within the 'life-world' by dissolving the separation between the dreaming- and waking-mode of existence. This very process is itself legitimizing in a primordial sense of "bringing-together."

Example 37: Dream resolves difficulties and promotes wellbeing

The informant reported that her father requested beer from her in a dream (L.6). She responded to the dream by brewing beer and having a

ceremony. She continued:

> "A lot of things were put right by the beer. I felt
> a lot healthier. Without a doubt this dream has
> brought me good fortune.... Everybody is happy now.
> Even now, if I am in trouble and I see my father in a
> dream I will be able to solve that or any other
> problem" (L*6.3-5).

She explains her actions which were prescribed by the dream in terms

of resolving difficulties and enhancing the quality of her life and

contributing to the welfare of fellow-beings. Again, the relationship

between the cosmic-mode of existence, as revealed in her dream, is made

tangible in her waking-existence. Her consequent action serves to

affirm and legitimize her relationship with her dreams, and also the

cosmology, which in part, is constituted by her relationship to her

dream-existence.

Any mode-of-being or reality-system needs to be validated, either

explicitly or implicitly. The dream physiognomy is legitimized within

the structure of the interpretative-reality in four ways. Firstly,

legitimacy is expressed through the very relationship revealed through

the dream in which the relationship to dream-existence represents a

privileged source of immediate knowledge and power. Secondly, the

physiognomy of the dream-existence might be verified by an Igqira

during the course of divination, as well as by subsequent events.

Thirdly, the dream undermines the very duality characterizing the

relationship between dream-existence and waking-existence by emphasizing

a relationship of love in which the primordial attunement of the cosmos is emphasized. The experience itself is thus immediately meaningful. Fourthly, actions prescribed by dreams are seen to resolve difficulties and enhance the quality of individual and community life in a tangible sense. These four themes reveal the legitimacy of interpretation of dreams within the life-world.

5.4.2 Extended Description of Dream Interpretations Among the Urban
       Group

Dreams reveal their significance in the life-world within the context
of the interpretative-reality. The focus of the study is to explicate
the interpretative-reality as disclosed by acknowledged dream experts
who in the Urban Group, are all members of the African Independent
Church Movement. I have identified the following interpretative
themes as constituting the significance of the dream in waking-
existence and as revealing the constitution of the person's life-world.

A. The physiognomy of the dreamer's world as revealed in their dream-
    existence

    The physiognomy of the life-world of the dreamer, as revealed in his
    dream-existence, is predominantly concerned with the cosmic aspects
    of the dreamer's existence. As such, the first theme to be explicated
    reveals the dreamer's possibilities of bearing himself in respect of
    these aspects of his existence.

B. The interpretative-reality revealed through the enaction of dreams

    The meaning of dreams is often construed during waking-existence in
    terms of direct action. Meaning is revealed through an active mode-
    of-being.

C.   Tension between the newer Christian-based cosmology and the traditional
      cultural-based cosmology as revealed in dream interpretation

      Dream interpretation is a significant aspect of "traditional" Xhosa and

      Zulu helping-lore. The process appears to be no less significant within

      the newer Christian-based cosmology. The seeming differences between

      the two cosmologies is revealed and reflected in the interpretation of

      dreams.

D.   A moral imperative as revealed in dream-interpretations

      Dream interpretations reveal life-possibility as being responsive

      to a moral imperative. A distinction between right and wrong directs

      character and conduct within everyday life.

E.   Prophetic perception revealed in dream-existence

      The physiognomy of the world as revealed in dream-existence emphasizes

      a cosmic or divinely inspired dimension of existence. Such existence

      discloses existential possibilities to foresee and foretell future

      events in the person's relations to the world.

F.   Human bodiliness as revealed in dream interpretations

      In the interpretation of dreams human bodiliness is revealed as a

      disclosing-mode-of-being, emphasizing the immediate pathic sense in

      which meaning is immediately disclosed within the life-world.

G.   The legitimation of the interpretative-reality within the life-world

The legitimation of the interpretative-reality is not a theme in the sense of disclosing unique meaning-structures, but refers to the possibilities by which the interpretative-reality is meaningfully deducted and affirmed within the life-world.

The above themes are not the only themes to emerge from the data but they are seen to represent the most significant dimensions of the interpretative-reality within the Urban Group. Furthermore, it should be noted that there is a great degree of interdependence and inter-relatedness between the themes.

Each of these themes will be explicated in turn.

A   The physiognomy of the dreamers' world as revealed in their dream-existence

The dream phenomenon constitutes itself as entities and events,
addressing the dreamer as a landscape or a physiognomy of his or her
dream-existence. This section will address itself towards the meaning
attributed to those entities and events.

The interpretative r~ '.ity (or life-world) of the dreamer is defined
in waking-existence by his perceived meaningful relationship to the
dream phenomena. This relationship is influenced by the person's
understanding of the origin of dreams which are not as clearly defined
among the Urban Group| as they are among the Rural Group. However, many
informants described dreams as emenating from the spirit (umoya).
A few informants attributed dreams to the ancestors and expressed
that the ancestors and spirit worked together. Furthermore, it is
believed that the meaning of the dream is very often revealed through
the prophet by the Holy Spirit. The prophet is thus a mediator in the
process of dream interpretation.

The most frequently cited relationship to emerge in the reported dreams
and interpretations referred to the cosmic dimension of the person's
existence. In explicating the physiognomy of the dreamer's world,
I will explicate interpretations which refer to (a) the Divine directly
as God or Biblical presences, (b) to the ancestors, (c) to animals,
(d) mountains, (e) rivers and water, and (f) the forest as revealed in

dream-existence.

(a)   Direct manifestations of the Divine as revealed in dream-existence

A large number of interpretations point to the significance of the
dreamer's direct relationship with the Divine, which is most often
expressed as God (O*2, P*5, R*6, R*7, S*2, S*3, T*2, W*2, X*2, X*4,
Z*1, Z*4, Z*5) or a spirit (O*1, P*2, U*2, U*3, U*5, V*2, X*3, X*5,
as well as O*2, R*6, R*7, X*2, X*4). Other direct manifestations of
the Divine included Jesus (B*6, S*4, W*3, X*3, X*5, Z*1, Z*2, Z*5)
or an angel (S*2, S*3, T*2, U*5, U*6, X*3, Z*4).

Example 38: Direct references to the Divine in dream-existence

The following dream excerpts from six informants, illustrates a
few of the very direct references to the Divine in a variety of
contexts:

> "the spirit came and said I must wake up and go to that
> family and tell then that their child's time has expired"(P.2.2.).

> "The voice said, 'This is the Zionist Church. I want you
> to enter this Church and follow it'"(S.1.3).

> "I was walking with two angels" (U.6.1.).

> "God sent me to tell you to go to the Zion Church and
> work for God..." (W.1.3.).

"A big hand appeared before me. A voice said "there is
your friend. You will have to shake hands" (X.4.2-3).

"A voice asked me: "What is this in front of you?" I
answered that I saw a hand. The voice replied: ".It's
God's hand" (Z.1.2-3).

It is evident in the above excerpts that individuals report direct

and immediate contact with divinely inspired entities and events

within their dream-existence. The following two examples will address

themselves towards disclosing the meaning of the individual's relationship

with the Divine as revealed in their dream-existence.

Example 39: Angels indicate closeness to the spirit

An informant, in response to a dream (U.6) in which he was accompanied

by "two angels", stated:

"the dream shows me that the spirit is still with me. I
always listen to my spirit..." (U*6.5-6).

He defines his relationship with the spirit as being close. This

relationship reveals his dream-existence as being meaningful on a

cosmic level, as it is through his dreams, i.e., "the dream shows me",

that he has contact with the spirit. His dream-existence "shows" or

reveals a landscape in which he is "walking with two angels" (U.6.1)

confirming his closeness to the spirit. In his statement that "I

always listen to my spirit" he elevates "his" spirit, to the position

of guide or mentor and commits himself to being in touch with, and

living in harmony with his spiritual mode-of-being. The nature of his

relationship is characterized by a quality of guardianship and orderliness

in his existence.

Example 40: God is the "fire"

An informant presented a short dream (X.2) in which he reportedly

walked outside his house when a voice told him to put more wood in

a fire under a big pot of boiling water. Part of his interpretation

was as follows:

> "The pot is the Church, the fire is God and the voice
> is the Bible. The water in the pot is the people. The
> voice telling me to put more wood in the fire means I
> should preach more and give people more power to pray.
> The water boiling is God's indication that the people
> are in the power of the spirit" (X*2.1-6).

The informant understands his dream as indicating a relation between

God and people. The church and God each play a part in the relationship.

Furthermore, God is revealed in the dream as fire. Fire, and thus

God, is not simply a source of heat as in domestic life, but is a

vital source of energy, in the sense that it cannot be touched and

yet its effects are profound. It is common knowledge that fire is

potentially both destructive and regenerative - to keep going and

to supply heat, it needs to be fed with more wood, and at the same
time, it is regenerative, it transposes the wood into heat causing
the pot of water to boil and to change from its physical form into an
ethereal form. The process of fire is of eternal birth and dying which
is 'becoming'. In effect, fire is intangible and yet its effects are
tangible, as it mediates between forms which vanish and forms in
creation. Fire thus points to both transformation and regeneration and
figuratively speaking, it is an expression of spiritual energy.

He refers to the pot as "the church". The process of change is thus
disclosed as occurring within the unique precinct of the church, which
is the "vessel" for change.

The reported instruction in the dream that he build up the fire which
he interprets to mean that he should preach more and so "give people
more power", and his suggestion that the boiling water indicates that
"the people are in the power of the spirit" expresses his own role
in enhancing the presence of God, where God is the energy or vitality
which is capable of transforming and regenerating the power inherent
in the "people." The "people are in the power of the spirit" describes
a giving-up of the isolated self, and appropriating cosmic forces in
fostering a closer relationship with God.

In the above examples, the informants disclose themselves as being
assessible to and influenced by divine possibility. God is revealed

as an intangible source of spiritual energy and vitality, with a potential to be both destructive and regenerative, capable of influencing the transposing human life. The above informant who is a prophet and healer discloses his own mediatory role in enhancing the person's awareness of his own spiritual being and forming a closer relationship with God. There are many more examples previously cited in which the Divine is referred to directly in terms of God and spirit. However, manifestations of the Divine are not restricted only to entities and concepts familiar to Western theology, but may include reference to the ancestors.

(b)   The ancestors revealed in dream-existence

The role of the ancestors within the Urban Group is fairly ambiguous. A number of informants referred to the ancestors, as indicating one of the ways in which the Divine is expressed and also indicated the relation between Christian expressions of the Divine and the ancestors. The interrelationship between God and the ancestors is revealed in the following example.

Example 41:   Relation between the Spirit of God and the ancestors
              reveals continuity

The dreamer described a dream in which he entered a big house filled with smoke. In the house, he saw an altar and people running in a circle.

He was addressed by a voice which said:

> "This is the Zionist Church. I want you to enter this
> church and follow it" (S.1.3).

His response to the dream was that:

> "The big house made me think about the house King Solomon
> built for God. I think God wanted to show me this Zionist
> Church and he wanted me to enter it to join my spirit with
> the spirits of the dead. People who believe in the spirit
> of Christ or God are not dead, they are just asleep. They
> are the izinyanya of the church" (S*1. 1-4).

He associated the house of his dream with the house King Solomon

built. He continues by articulating a personalized God who expressed

volition and intimacy in his statement that; "I think God wanted to

show me this Zionist Church and he wanted me to enter it to join my

spirit with the spirits of the dead " (S*1.2). He thus expresses

that not only does he own his relation with a spiritual dimension to

his existence, but that his spirit is connected with the "dead";

that is, with those who have preceeded him and have "died". He is

thus explicating his sense of continuity which is revealed in his dream-

existence.

He goes one step further in his statement that: "People who believe in

the Spirit of Christ or God are not dead, they are just asleep.

They are the izinyanya of the church" (S*1.4-5). He is establishing

a continuum of meaning which crosses the borders of two cosmologies —

the Western based monotheistic Christian cosmology and the traditional

Nguni cosmology in which izinyanya are the ancestors or "living-

dead". He is thus able to incorporate the common cosmic meaning of

existence as construed within both systems.

ape is one in which his relationship with divine possibility

is further enhanced by a sense of continuity in the cultural and in

the temporal sphere of his existence. The cultural-mode of continuity

is expressed in the sense of continuity and synthesis between the

traditional values associated with "the ancestors" and contemporary

Christian values. The sense of continuity in the temporal sphere is

evidenced by his access to the past, the present and the future. His

access to the past is indicated by his relationship to the ancestors,

in the present, in his current access through the spirit with the cosmic

aspects of his existence, and to the future in the sense of his potential

to also become a living-ancestor.

The above informant referred to the ancestors abstractly, in the sense

of their effective presence. However, the ancestors may confront the

dreamer as entities in the guise of various animals within the person's

dream-existence.

(c)   Relation to animals

The presence of animal entities in dream-existence represents a common

motif. Dreamers report the presence of domestic animals (O.3, O.4,

P.1, R.2, U.3, V.1), wild animals (O.3, O.4, R.1,), birds (R.3, V.1),

insects (ants) (R.5) and fish (U.5), in their dreams, and discussed

their significance in their interpretations (P*1, R*1, R*2, R*3,

R*5, U*5, V*1). In all but one of the dreams referred to above, some

relationship was inferred between the dreamer's relationship with the

animals and the cosmic dimension of their existence.

Example 42: A dog is revealed as an ancestor

The informant reported a dream (R.1) during which he was being chased

by a dog. His brother attempted to push him out of the way but he fell

to the ground and the dog caught his right leg. He stated that instead

of the dog biting him it smelt his foot. He described having told the

dream to his parents. He reported his father's interpretation of the

dream and his response as follows:

> "the dog is izinyanya (ancestor). If it was a cruel dog
> it would bite me but it was smelling me. It was giving me
> good fortune and the right leg is also fortunate. My
> brother was correct to push me forward because the good
> fortune was for me. As I'm becoming an old man I can now
> see what my father was meaning...The dog was telling me
> that I was going to be something among my brothers" (R*1.1-4 and 6).

He immediately draws attention to the nature of the dog, by distinguishing

it from a cruel dog. In fact, the dog's approach, which was to make

contact very gently by smelling him, revealed itself as an ancestor

"giving me good fortune," i.e., enhancing his life. Furthermore, his

relationship with the dog in his dream-existence, is also a relationship

with the potential for sincerity, integrity, honesty, expressiveness

and contact with the fundamental aspects of his existence. These

qualities are combined in an ongoing way and foreshadow the fact that

he would be "something among my brothers", i.e., a man of importance

and authority for his congregation. As he becomes older, he is

increasingly realizing his potential, as revealed in his interpretation:

"As I am becoming an old man, I can now see what my father was meaning".

Example 43: The animal is revealed as being in opposition to the Holy
          Spirit

The same informant had a subsequent dream, in which he was being chased

and he ran past "old bones of an elephant" (R.7.3). At this stage, he

was involved with the church and told the bishop about the dream. His

response to the dream and particularly the bones of the dead elephant

was as follows:

> "The bones were customs. I am in the Holy Spirit. I am
> on the church side. God and the Holy Spirit show me I
> will not be all right on the dead side because the dead
> side is already in my heart.... The elephants cannot help
> me because I killed them by believing" (R*7.5-7 and 9).

It is noteworthy that the animal is no longer alive - he is confronted

simply by the bones of the animal. The previously very powerful animal

has literally been deprived of its vitality.

His statement that "the bones were customs" reveals the link between

the animal and a traditional relation with the cosmic dimension of

his existence. However, this relation is replaced by the possibility

of his relating to the Divine through his belief in the Holy Spirit.

He reveals his ambivalence in his assertion that he "killed" the

elephants "by believing", but at the same time, "the dead side is

already in my heart" (R*7.7). That is, he expresses the complexity of
his existence which is divided between a mode-of-being characterized
by the powerful elements associated with the animal world being part
of the centre of his being, and a mode-of-being in which the animal
dies and is replaced by a belief in God and the Holy Spirit. His
ambivalence is further underlined by the presence of the bones which
are indestructible. His very rejection of the animal in this context
indicates the potential vitality and indestructibility associated with
the animal and the imperative to reject that relation in assuming an
undivided relation with the cosmic dimension of his existence.

The above examples indicate that the presence of animals are associated
with tradition and cosmic possibility. The nature of the animal may be
owned and life enhancing or it may be rejected in favour of more
orthodox religious values. However, the nature of the relation with
the Divine remains unchanged and indestructible.

In the following examples, I shall explicate the meanings attributed
to the presence of a snake in dreams.

(d) Relation to snakes

Snakes in dream-existence (R.4, U.5, W.3) were often associated with
the snakes in the Bible. The connotation of snakes was more ambivalent
than that of animals. The snake is sometimes associated with the
Divine but might also be associated with a "bad spirit".

Example 44: Confronting a snake in dream-existence

The informant related a dream (R.4) in which he was being chased by

a snake in his church. He tried to run ahead of his congregants so

that the snake might chase them and leave him, but it continued to

chase him. He found himself running but staying in one place and was

confronted by the snake, which he fought and killed. I shall refer to

his interpretation in its entirety:

> "The leader of the church said that a snake in a dream
> can mean two things: There's the snake which was in
> Genesis which was a holy snake. There was another snake
> which was the stick of Moses. That was a holy snake.
> There was a snake which tried to bite Moses' snake, but
> it was killed by Moses' snake. That was an evil snake.
> He said that the snake which was in the corner of the
> church was an evil snake which was hiding in the church.
> As I was the leader it came straight to me and my running
> in such a way that the snake would chase other people was
> not correct. My running in one spot was the spirit of God
> trying to hold me on one place so that I might fight the
> snake. Killing the snake was killing the evil spirit in
> the heart of the people" (R*4. 1-6).

The snake is immediately understood as being imbued with a pure force

which might be evil or holy, that is, the snake is revealed as a

primordial force which may take on the beneficient form exemplified by

Moses' snake and be associated with the Divine or it may signify

its evil nature as illustrated by the snake which "tried to bite

Moses' snake." The habitat of this particular snake hiding in the

corner of the church, indicates its evil intent, as it reflects the

subversion of the spirit and the possibility of death. However, the

informant is forced by "the spirit of God" to confront the snake

and succeeds in killing it.

Since all confrontation is also a conjunction, he participates in a

synthesis of opposing forces and counterbalances the evil inherent

in the snake. By the same token, he makes it explicit that "killing

the snake was killing the evil spirit in the heart of the people" (R*4.6).

He thus reveals a transpersonal perspective in that his struggle

with the snake also involves a struggle with his fellow persons. The

dream discloses his ability to not only overcome the threatening

forces presented within his dream-existence, but to deal constructively

with the inherent nature of his fellow persons.

Example 45: A snake is a bad spirit

A dreamer who had been engaged in a struggle with a snake in his dream

(W.3) responded that:

> that the snake is a bad spirit,
> because it caused Adam and Eve to be punished. I
> understand that the snake may mean that I am going to
> be worried. Perhaps, somebody will leave the church
> or complain about something" (W*3. 1-3).

The informant premises his understanding of the snake by referring

to the Bible and construes it as a "bad spirit". The snake in the Bible

is understood as causing Adam and Eve to be punished and by the same

token, causes the informant to feel apprehensive. He concretizes his

fear in terms of the possibility of a congregant leaving his church

or complaining. That is, he is being confronted by his own relation

with his congregants and the potential to be alone, in the sense that

Adam and Eve were alone after their confrontation with "knowledge".

The snake has the potential to disturb the equilibrium between a relation

with the Divine and an awareness of self and consequently, of isolation.

The informant thus revealed his understanding of the snake as a potentially

negative spirit or force with the potential to disrupt his waking-

existence.

In both the above examples, the informants refer to the Bible in

discussing the meanings associated with the snake. It is clear that

the snake is understood as a potent force which may be both constructive

or destructive. In its destructive aspects, it is regarded as a

"bad spirit" and as existing in opposition to the spirit of God. The

snake in dream-existence revealed its potential to influence the

individual in his life world by influencing his mode-of-relating to

his fellow beings.

(e)   Relation to mountains

The physiognomy or landscape of the dream is, in a sense, a literal

landscape encompassing mountains, hills, rivers and forests. The

meaning of these events within the interpretative-reality is determined

by the person's relation to the particular aspect being revealed within

his or her dream-existence. The individual's relation to the mountains

or hills as revealed in his dream-existence emerges as significant.

The following examples are noteworthy, in that each informant's response

to the mountain is almost identical.

Example 46:   The mountain is the church

The informant described two dreams and interpretations involving a

hill or mountain. In the first dream (V.1) he was "climbing a hill..."

(V.1.1). In a second dream, he again reported "climbing a hill..."

(V.2.1).

His reponse to his first dream was that: "The mountain is the church"

(V*1.1). In response to the second dream, he requested that the church

pray for his dream. He reported that the church: "found the hill is the

church" (V*2.2).

Example 47: Divine quality of the mountain

The informant dreamt of two mountains. He saw persons engaged in traditional activities on the other mountain. During part of the dream he was climbing down one mountain with a view to climbing the "other" mountain (R.3).

He was told by the church leader that:

> "the mountain is the church. Going down the mountain
> means you are leaving the church...God is one mountain
> not two mountains, one" (R*3. 1-2 and 7).

In both the above examples, the mountain or hill is associated with the church. In fact, in each instance, the informant states that the mountain/hill "is the church". It is apparent that the interpreter of the dream reveals the profound significance of the mountain, allowing it to emerge as an image of divinity, associated with spiritual elevation. The dreamer's approach to the mountain or hill was seen to be important and will be explicated further in a subsequent section on tensions between cosmologies.

(f)   Relation to rivers and water

Rivers and water emerge as being related in the interpretation of dreams. This will be illustrated in the following examples in which water and rivers are seen to be closely associated with "spirit" and "power".

Example 48: Water as a relation with the Holy Spirit

An informant described a dream (Z.4) in which he and his companions arrived at a spring and drank the "muddy water" with their "spoons because we are hungry" (Z.4.3).

He interpreted the significance of the water in the following way:

> "The water is the Holy Spirit because all of us must
> drink of the Holy Spirit...Nobody can have the Holy
> Spirit unless for praying..." (Z*4.5).

Water is referred to directly as "the Holy Spirit because all of us must drink of the Holy Spirit" (Z.4.5). Water, which is the basis of life in the lived-world of waking-existence is an image associated with the Divine and is referred to as 'the Holy Spirit'. His statement further reveals the necessity that each person has contact with of his existence which is revealed, among other ways, through his dream-existence. The importance of this relationship is expanded upon in the following example.

Example 49: Water as a source of power

The informant related a complex dream (U.5), in which he went to a river behind some factories and caught many fish. Part of the dream was interpreted as follows:

> "The dream is talking about the amandla [powers] that
> Rev. J. has ... the factories that were there, were
> built by J. by the powers he got from the water. J.
> is the factory himself, manufacturing everything"
> (U*5.1 and 6-7).

Water, derived from the river in the dream, is seen to be a source of power. Rev. J. is a healer and hence the power referred to in the dream underlies his ability to "manufacture" or bring about change in his work as a healer. His reference to water as a source of power thus refers to his possibility of being in contact with the divine sphere of existence. His authority is derived from this cosmic power derived from the water.

From the above examples, rivers and water emerge as being endowed with various numinous properties which includes its association with the Divine and as a source of power. Power does not refer, in this context, to domineering but to a source which facilitates the process of transition as evidenced during the healing process. Water as an ever-flowing element, conjoins the spiritual and Divine with the mundane

activity of every day existence. Water is also understood within the context in which it is used which will be further explicated in the section on the enaction of dreams.

(g)   Relation to the forest

The individual's relation with the forest and hence the meaning of the forest within the present context is illustrated in a number of dreams and interpretations (R.1, R*1, R.5, R*5, V.1, V*1). The numinous nature of the forest will be evident in the following examples.

Example 50:   The forest as a precinct of divine communication

The informant described a dream which included him "looking for bees in the forest" (R.1.1).

His interpretation of the forest motif was that:

> "The forest was the word spoken by Isiah in the Bible
> which says that the feet of preachers are good" (R*1.5).

Within the context of a rather more complex dream, the forest is revealed as divine precinct and is communicative. The fact that the "forest" is not simply a large number of trees, but communciates with the informant reveals the interdependence between the informant and the

The Biblical reference denotes the spiritual connotation of the contextualized forest. The spiritual significance of the forest is elaborated upon in the following example.

Example 51: The inseparable unity between the forest and the Divine

The informant reported a dream in which he was bitten by a swarm of ants while "collecting wood in a forest" (R.5.1). He interpreted the dream by taking it to the church. He reported that:

> "They said the forest is the church. God is our forest..."
> (R*5.2)

The above interpretive statement underlies the interrelation between the forest, the church and God. The forest is revealed as an environment in which ones relation with the Divine is realizable and able to flourish. The fact that "God is our forest" indicates the inseparable unity between the self and the Divine, which is evidenced in the personal relatedness existing between the informants and the forest within their dream-existence and reaffirmed in their waking-existence.

In the above examples, the dreamers, confronted with the divine dimension of their existence, reveal a relationship in which they are accessible to and influenced by cosmic possibility. An ongoing commitment to such a relation determines a mode-of-being characterized by the need to live in harmony with nature. Nature, is this instance,

tself as physiognomy and includes divine presences and entities,

in the form of voices, spirits, manifestations of God, animals and

snakes, snakes are most often associated with evil spirits. The cosmic

dimension of individual existence is further evidenced by the landscape

of mountains, hills, rivers and forests. Each aspect of the dreamer's

physiognomy reveals itself in waking-existence as further affirming

the individual's cosmic struggle and possibility.

B   The interpretative-reality revealed through the enaction of dreams

A significant proportion of the reported dreams revealed instructions to the dreamer. As a consequence, many dreams are not discussed abstractly, but are understood directly as an imperative to act. Action is thus seen to be in dialogue with meaning in the interpretation of such dreams. Modes of action to emerge from the dream interpretations constellated themselves around three motifs:

(a) Action relating to daily life.

(b) Action relating to the church. Such action might include the person joining the church or being involved in church activities.

(c) Action relating to healing. Such action is invariably within the context of the church, but its intention is oriented towards healing.

I shall discuss each of these motifs in terms of their constr)(bution towards an understanding of the interpretative-reality.

(a)   Action relating to daily life

This refers to the interpretation of dreams in terms of actions which constitute mundane activities in waking-existence. The dream

is therefore construed as being useful in some way in the conduct

of one's life and not directly related to church activity.

In the following example, the action following the dream results in the

dreamer retrieving an important object, i.e., a bicycle. The example

also points to the role of clairvoyance in dreams, which will be

discussed more fully in a separate section.

Example 52: Dream reveals locality of stolen bicycle

The dreamer reported that his bicycle had been stolen. He reported

a dream (W.3) in which the locality of his bicycle was revealed.

His interpretation of the dream was as follows:

> "My bicycle had been stolen. I went to the place in
> the location indicated by my dream and found my bicycle
> there. There were some boys that argued with me but I
> got my bicycle back" (W*7. 1-4).

The person does not attempt to understand the dream abstractly, but

simply responds to it with action, stating: "I went to the place...

indicated by my dream and found my bicycle..." (W*7.2). It is clear

that being in close contact with one's dreaming-existence is closely

related to one's waking-existence in the conduct of one's everyday

life.

(b)   Action relating to the church

In explicating the physiognomy of the dreamer's world, attention was
drawn to the direct appearances of the Divine in dream-existence.
There are instances in which the person's understanding of his dream
and of this dimension in particular, can only be understood by
"listening to his actions", that is, the possibilities expressed in
his dream-existence are not revealed in terms of an analytical or
explaining-mode-of-being, but are translated into an active-mode-of-
being.

In those instances in which there is a relationship between the dreamer
and the divine aspect of existence, the action may be expressed in
the person's waking-existence by his joining the church, or by
action relating to some specific church activity. I shall explicate
examples of both modes of action respectively.

Example 53: Dream leads to person joining the church

An informant discussed two dreams he had had prior to joining the
"Zion Church". In the first dream, (W.1) he described a man with long
hair and a beard who said to him:

> "God sent me to tell you to go to the Zion Church and
> work for God...You will meet two men who will baptise
> you in the water. I just saw his shadow as he left. I
> felt scared" (W.1. 3-5).

He did not interpret this dream but related a second dream (W.2)

in which he was approached by a group of people wearing gowns. Two

ministers then baptised him in a river and put their hands on him

and prayed. They then put a gown on him stating that it would give him

"power to be a prophet and pray for the sick" (W.2.7). His interpretation

was as follows:

> "I thought about this dreams. I took it to the minister.
> He just said: "Here is another minister. God sent another
> minister here for us". There was another minister there.
> The three of us prayed. The second minister said: "God
> sent you here, because you have dreamt of what you are
> doing now". He said I should be taken to the water to
> be baptized that day. I agreed. They baptized me. The
> dream caused me to go to the church. I have been a member
> of church ever since" (W*2. 1-4).

His response to the dream was to share it with a minister who immediately

understood the significance of the dream as indicating the dreamer's

direct relationship with a cosmic dimension of existence and that

he would be a minister in the church. Their joint response, evidenced

in their communal prayer, simply affirms a sharing of their openness

to a cosmic dimension of existence. The action-mode of understanding

is further evidenced by the fact that the informant was baptized that

very day. His dream-existence was translated into action which served

as an initiation into an ongoing relationship with a cosmic dimension

of existence mediated by action itself.

Example 54: Spirit of God reveals dreamer's possibilities within the church

The informant related a dream (O.2) which resulted in his joining

the church. In his dream-existence, he experienced himself participating

in a service and singing a song: "We are in front of your face,

God our Father" (O.2.2).

He described the dream to his mother who thought it was "a spirit

of God" and suggested that the prophets might "explain" his dream

to him. He stated that the prophets prayed for him and that "the

spirit of God had told them that I was going to be preacher. I joined

the church a short while later" (O*2. 4-5).

His response to the dream is seen as a series of events resulting

in his joining the church. His mother discloses the dream as "a

spirit of God," that is, as a manifestation of a cosmic mode-of-

being. His dream thus reveals his own possibility to relate directly

to this dimension of existence. The prophets affirm this relationship

by actively praying together and disclosing that it had been revealed

to them that the dreamer would be a preacher. The person is thus

characterized as having the potential of being accessible to a

divine realm of being.

Action as a mode of expression of dream-existence extends beyond

persons joining the church to include a variety of activities within the church. The action, usually resulting from an instruction received through a dream, underlies the close relationship between the person and the Divine as revealed in their dream-existence.

Example 55: Being instructed directly by the Divine

The informant described a dream (Z.1) in which a big hand appeared before him and a voice instructed him to rename his church as "the hand of God" (Z.1.4). He reported a second dream (Z.2) in which he was told to make a flag which was shown to him. The flag was to have the words , "to remember the presence" (Z.2.2). He was told that each church "under" him should have the flag.

His interpretation of both dreams is as follows:

> "The dreams show me that God is alive and I should know
> that he is alive. The dream gives me strength in the church.
> The dream said I must make a flag so that we remember God.
> The hand in the flag is the hand I saw in the dream. The
> big cross is for (represents) Jesus. The small crosses are
> the evangelists, Mathew, Mark, St Luke and John. We put
> the flag against the wall and I teach the people about the
> flag, so that we think about God in the church. They must
> not forget Jesus. Even when I die, the people in the church
> will remember me for what I have made for them. I think
> it was God who talked to me in the dream. It may have been
> Jesus but I think it was God"(Z*1 and 2).

The dream interpretation reveals his very immediate relation in his

dream-existence to a Being whom he calls God or Jesus. He experiences

a realm-of-openness in his dream existence to the tangible appearance

of the Divine and translates instructions received during his dream-

existence into concrete actions in his waking-existence. He thus

affirms the continuity between his sleeping and waking-existence,

and, furthermore, his own relation with the Divine within the context

of the community. This is evidenced in the fact that the church

members will be aware of the flag and its origin. His statement

that the dream "gives me strength" affirms his relationship with the

Divine as an irradiating source of spiritual energy.

The emphasis in the above examples has been upon action resulting

in the dreamer joining or participating in the church. It is implicit

in the above dream-based actions, that, by partic

church activity, their existence "opens up" or extends from a corporal

mode-of-being to include a cosmic mode-of-being. As the images of

their dream-existence are enacted in waking-existence, within the

shared world of church activity, existence embraces the opposing

poles of all dualism.

Action in relation to church activity may take the form of a person

joining the church or acting within the church, as an expression of

their dream-existence. A mode of dream-existence was revealed as
indicating action resulting in the person being initiated into
the church. The revelation of the Divine within the dream-existence
results in the "initiate" being born into a mode-of-being characterized
by openness to an ongoing relationship with a cosmic dimension of
existence mediated by action itself. Furthermore, the individual's
active relationship with the cosmic dimension of existence occurs
within the context of the community.

(c)   Action relating to healing

Healing action is always related to the Divine in dreams. The interpretation
of such dreams may refer to the person's own potential as a healer
(S*3, U*6), or to the amelioration of the distress of a particular
person through a dream (W*5, X*1, X*3, Y*1, Z*6). I shall provide
examples of each of these motifs as revealed in dream interpretations.
The following example indicates the dreamer's potential to heal.

Example 56: God reveals the blue sky as a source of healing

The informant reported that during a dream (S.3), "a voice called"
him and indicating to the blue sky, said: "the blue sky holds all
the wind of the earth. That is why you must wear the blue robe for

wind or sickness" (S.3.7).

He interpreted the dream as meaning:

> "God sent an angel to me. He wants me to wear the blue
> robe, that is why he used the sky as an example. I have
> bought this blue robe. I have done many things with it,
> including preaching and healing" (S*3. 1-4).

His very close relation with God, mediated by an angel, is revealed

in his interpretation. It is noteworthy that in both the dream and in

the interpretation, he refers to the blue sky and then to the blue

robe. The colour of the sky is of special significance as it is

a particular blue which displays many shades and degrees of

translucency as well as being associated with heaven. The sky is

both distant and transcendent. The informant then buys a blue

robe to cover his body and engages in active healing and preaching.

The divine transcendence of the aerial heavenly blue is made present

in his active role as a healer in the everyday activity of the church.

Example 57: Healing as a relation with the Divine

The informant, who was a prophet in his church, reported a dream

(U.6) in which he was accompanied by two angels. He assisted some

children who could not see and then entered his mother's house.

He was in a room with the angels and his mother stated that nobody

should enter that room.

His interpretation of the dream is as follows:

> "The two angels (referring to the dream content) look like
> little children with short wings. They are always with me.
> My mother saying that people must not enter that room means
> that they have to respect the angels. This means that I can
> divine and heal in the right way. People are satisfied. The
> dream shows me that the spirit is still with me. I listen
> to my spirit. I am always satisfied because everyone I
> divine is satisfied" (U*6. 1-6).

The informant talks of "healing in the right way" which is associated
with his closeness to the angels, and the spirit. He affirms the
importance of his relationship with the cosmic dimension in healing
actions. This is indicated in his statment that "I always listen
to my spirit", that is, by being open to or taking cognisance of the
cosmic dimension in his life, he is able to divine and heal. He
expresses a sense of completion in his observation that: "everyone
I divine is satisfied".

His reference to his mother demanding that the angels be respected
is an interesting synthesis between the traditional cosmology, in
which ancestors are the important cosmic significances in dreams and
healing and a Christian based cosmology in which God and even angels
often take precedence over the ancestors. The mediatory significance
of the actual dream in healing is exemplified in the following

example.

Example 58: The healer mediates between the spirit power and the
            person

The informant related a dream (X.4) in which he reported seeing an

old woman standing in the middle of a circle, and a voice told the

participants to lay hands on a bath of water and bathe the woman

in the water. He reported the presence of fourteen candles in the

dream.

He interpreted the dream by describing the action resulting in the

woman being healed:

> "the old woman had visited me the day before the dream.
> The next day we followed the dream. Jesus helped the
> old woman...through me. The fourteen candles are the
> angels of the church. The creatures were making her mad.
> The candles are the Holy Spirit power to take the
> creatures out of the woman. She is now well" (X*4. 1-6).

The dream and the interpretation point to the intimate contact

which the healer has with his patient, in the sense that after

she visits him, she enters and becomes part of his dream-existence

and a potential remedy for her condition is revealed in his dream.

He follows the dream and attributes his work to Jesus, "Jesus

helped the old woman through me". The emphasis is upon his role

as a mediator who has access to the power of the Holy Spirit. He

refers to the candles as the "angels of the church" and as the

"Holy Spirit power to take the creatures out of the woman." The

angels have the power to ascend and descend between the Divine

(source-of-life) and the world of phenomena. The candles, in the

sense of being light-giving thus render intelligible what would

otherwise remain in the dark. They are a source of enlightenment which

are also referred to as "Holy Spirit power."

In healing the woman, the healer and woman participate in a joint

venture mediated by his dream, in which her experiences are rendered

meaningful, her suffering assumes significance which in this instance

is related to the "creatures making her mad", and the result is

positive, in that she is reportedly "now well".

Example 59: Excerpts indicating self healing properties of dreams

A number of informants related their own experience of being healed

to the interpretation of a dream. The active relation to the healing-

mode of the dream is illustrated in the following three brief excerpts:

> "I was sick at that time. I followed my mother's dream
> and I started to get better. I am still well" (X*1.1).

> "The dream explains itself. I followed the instructions
> in the dream and took my brother home. He is healthy and
> is working" (Y*1. 1-2).

> "I was sick with <u>umbilini</u> (nervousness) and I had pig
> lice. I followed the instruction of the dream for two
> weeks and I was better. I have since helped other people
> in this way" (Z*6. 1-3).

Each of the above excerpts points to the intimate contact with, and
pre-reflective understanding of the significance of the dream.
This is particularly clear in the statement that, "the dream explains
itself" (Y*1.1). Furthermore, the value of acting upon the perceived
meaning of the dream is not restricted to the dreamer alone, but
in the second excerpt (Y*1), to the dreamer's brother and in the
third excerpt (Z*6), to other members of the community.

The common theme in the above interpretations of action relating
to healing is that the healer's close relationship with the cosmic
dimension of existence is a prerequisite for healing. In the above
examples, this relationship is mediated by "angels" or the power
of the Holy Spirit. In the first example, God acts through an angel,
and the person acts upon the instruction received in the dream by
buying a "blue robe." The colour is related to the sky or the heavens
and thus related to attributes of the spirit. As the angel mediates
between God and himself, so the healer or prophet mediates between
the cosmic (the Divine or heavenly) and the (earth-bound) person
in need of healing. In the second example, the informant stresses
the importance of being open to the cosmic dimension in the process
of divination. In the third example, the person requiring healing
first becomes part of the healer's dream-existence, and the dream
mediates between the Holy Spirit and the needs of the person.

C. Tension between the newer Christian-based cosmology and the
traditional cultural-based cosmology as revealed in the interpretation
of dreams

It has been assumed thus far that the themes explicated reflect the

informant's belief structure. Furthermore, the examples cited have

assumed a degree of congruence between the dream interpretation, the

informant's belief-structure and an underlying homogenous cosmology.

However, dreams and their interpretations revealed tension between

the newer Christian-based cosmology and the traditional cultural-

based cosmology. Conflict between the cosmologies is reflected

in motifs which refer to the difference between Christian values

and traditional Xhosa and Zulu customs, between the healing role of the

prophet or church and the traditional role of the amagqira, and in

construing the significance of the ancestors. I shall explicate each

of these themes in turn in the following examples. The first example

reveals tension between Christian values and traditional Xhosa and Zulu

customs, and the way in which the conflict is resolved.

Example 60: Confronting and resolving spiritual conflict

The informant, who was an archbishop and a healer in his church,

reported a dream (R.3) in which there were two mountains. He was

on the one mountain and on the other, he saw people "with drums and

singing" (R.3.3). He wanted to join those people, but in the process

of climbing down a cliff, a farmer appeared holding a gun. The dreamer

responded by running back up the mountain, "but it was difficult

and ... I was sliding backwards down the mountain" (R.3. 6-7).

He reported the dream to the then leader of his church, who told him

that the mountain is the church and:

> "Going down the mountain means that you are leaving the
> church and the man on the cliff with the gun was showing
> you not to cross the cliff and leave the church. That man
> was an angel... The drums and singing on the other mountain
> is the evil spirit which wanted me to leave the church. The
> evil spirit knows I like those things and wants me to leave
> the church. But God is one mountain not two mountains, one"
> (R*3. 2-3 and 5-7).

The interpretation of the dream reveals each mountain as a potential

mode of existence - the one mountain incorporating cosmic

significance associated with the church and the other mountain, the

presence of an "evil spirit". However, the drums and singing induce

the informant to descend from "the church" as he yearns to enter

into a participatory relationship characterized by traditional

activities. However, he is stopped by a man with a gun who is seen

as being an angel. The angel is an irradiating force who confronts

the dreamer to maintain his separateness and to construe his

relationship with the Divine as being separate from the existence

portrayed by traditional "drums and singing".

The informant finally states: "But God is one mountain not two mountains, one" (R*3.7). That is, he resolves the apparent duality presented by two "mountains" or two ways of being-open to a cosmic mode of existence, by defining the essential nature of the Divine dimension of existence in terms which transcend the apparent duality presented in his dream.

The following two examples exemplify the tension between the two cosmologies by revealing the informant's concerns with appearance, values and role in relation to the traditional healers (amagqira).

Example 61: Opposition between Christianity and Xhosa customs

The informant described a dream (S.2) in which he was in a shop, and a person approached him and indicating towards some "intsimbi" (regalia) worn by amagqira, stated: "'You should not wear these things'. I was surprised...He gave me some blue material and said 'You must wear this'" (S.2. 2-3).

His interpretation of the dream was that the man in the shop was an angel of God, who:

> "was sent to tell me right from wrong because I am
> Christian. Christ takes me out of Xhosa customs. When I
> believe in Xhosa customs I can wear those things. Once
> I am a Christian I do not follow these customs. That is
> why, the man takes me where the people of God can find
> things to wear. He said I must wear the blue robe. The
> blue robe gives me more strength when praying than the
> white, and you can heal the sick and fast" (S*2. 3-6).

The opposition between Christian values and "Xhosa customs" is reflected in the interpretation. It is significant that the difference in appearance is pointed out to the dreamer by a person who is construed as an "angel of God". His interpretation reveals his concerns which are initially with his appearance (or dress), but then include his belief system and his access to power. His ambivalence as well as his beliefs are revealed in his statement that Christ takes him out of Xhosa customs. He notes too that the blue robe gives him more strength in his vocation which includes healing and prayer. In summary, the interpretation affirms the informant's existence in terms of values and power in a way which is consonant with the A.I.C.

Example 62: Opposing the "bad spirits" of the amagqira

The informant, who was a prophet and healer in his church, recounted a dream (S.3) in which he was called by a voice with the instruction that he look at the sky and report what he saw. He replied that he saw the blue sky. The voice responded with the words: "The blue sky holds all the wind of the earth. That is why you must wear the blue robe for wind or sickness" (S.3.7).

His interpretation of the dream was that God sent an angel to him, indicating that he should buy a blue robe for preaching and healing.

He then added:

> "God explained I would work different things for the
> people with the blue robe. The _amagqira_ have bad
> spirits. I can change the _amagqira_ to the church
> and take the bad spirits out of them" (S*3. 5-7).

The above interpretation leaves no doubt that the informant

distinguishes very clearly between his own relation with a divine

mode-of-existence, which constitutes part of his healing-mode-of-being

and the _amagqira_'s mode of healing. He does not negate the _amagqira_'s

relationship to a cosmic dimension of existence, but construes it as

"bad". He thus reveals an opposition between the cosmic forces

associated with their respective modes of healing, and believes that

his own potential is such that he can overcome the negative influences

associated with the _amagqira_ and contribute towards them sharing a

common mode-of-existence based upon a Christian cosmology.

The examples provided so far distinguished between two cosmologies

by viewing traditional notions associated with customs, appearances

and modes of healing as existing in opposition to Christian-based

concepts. However, the distinction is far from clear cut and many

members of the Urban Group who are all members of an African

Independent Church, made reference to the ancestors. The notion of

ancestors is illustrated in the following examples.

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Example 63: Ancestors expressing dissatisfaction

An informant who was a prophet in his church, interpreted a dream
(U.2) in which his father was hitting him, in the following way:

> "My father hitting me was the amadlozi (ancestors)
> hitting me. They indicated that there was something
> which I had not fulfilled. It was related to the
> death of my mother"(U*2. 1-2).

Notwithstanding the informants affiliation to the church, the relationship
between the ancestors, the performance of customs, and the
consequences of neglecting customs all constitute significant events
in the informant's life.

Example 64: Dreams are instructional and come from the ancestors

The above informant related a second dream (U.3), and made the
following interpretative comments:

> "I carry out the instructions of the ancestors (amadlozi)
> in dreams. The spirits (umoya) and the ancestors
> (amadlozi) do not come together. Most dreams come from
> the ancestors" (U*3. 3-5).

Again, the role of the ancestors is emphasized. He distinguishes
between the spirits (umoya) and the ancestors, stating

that most dreams derive from the ancestors.

Example 65: Relation between God and the ancestors

The informant was responding to a dream (S.1) in which he passed

through a series of gates and entered a house. A voice told him

that he should join the Zionist Church. Part of his interpretation

of the dream was as follows:

> "I think God wanted to show me this Zionist Church and he
> wanted me to enter it to join my spirit with the spirits
> of the dead. People who believe in the spirit of Christ
> or God are not dead, they are just asleep. They are
> izinyanya of the church" (S*1. 2-4).

The informant in interpreting his dream in an active mode, i.e.,

that God wanted him to join the church, described a relationship

between God, his "spirit" and "the spirits of the dead." His

understanding of these notions is that persons who have a

relationship with the Divine are not encapsulated within their

own individual existence, but are open to a relation with the

ancestors as well as to the immediate presence of God.

The cosmic dimension of existence in this instance, is not demarcated

in terms of the traditional or the Christian-based cosmology, but

there is a continuum and an integration of the transpersonal elements

of both cosmologies. The transpersonal basis of both cosmologies

constitute a non-discursive cosmic mode-of-being.

A degree of tension between the newer Christian-based and traditional cultural-based cosmologies is revealed in the informant's relation to the apparent duality of values which exist between the two systems. This is evident in the constitution of their values, in their relationship to traditional activities and their understanding of the healing mode-of-existence. Informants approached and resolved the difficulties in three ways, i.e., by a transcendental approach, a power-based* approach and an integrative approach.

The transcendental approach defined the essential nature of the cosmic mode-of-existence in transpersonal terms which transcend the apparent duality presented by two world-views.

The power-based approach is based upon an apparent opposition between Christian and traditional Xhosa and Zulu notions. The apparent conflict was resolved by arguing for a common mode-of-existence based upon the negation of traditional notions and the adoption of the Christian cosmology.

The integrative approach construed the cosmic dimension of existence as a non-discursive continuum and revealed an integration of the transpersonal elements of both cosmologies. No informants denied the intrinsic meaning of a cosmic dimension of existence within the traditional cultural-based cosmology.

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* Power is not used in the commonly understood Western sense of power, which often refers to coercion, but in the more subtle sense of recourse to vital energy.

D. A moral imperative revealed in dream-existence

Dreams are sometimes interpreted as signs indicating what people
should or should not be doing in their waking-existence. Such
interpretations may deal with conduct directed towards matters of
sex or religious shortcomings. I have used the terms "moral" to
refer to such instances. In the first example, I shall cite an
interpretation which reveals the importance attached to sexual conduct.

Example 65: Infidelity revealed through a dream

The interpreter was responding to a dream (V.1) which had been
reported to him, in which two black crows approached the head of a
dead dog. He interpreted the dream in terms of moral behaviour. He
expressed the significance of "the head of a dead dog and two crows"
(V*1.3) as follows:

> "A man took another man's wife...The dead dog was the work
> they had done. The two birds are the wife and this man.
> We tried to pray and find out who had done it. It took
> us a month, fasting three days a week. Then the man
> who had done it had a guilty conscience and confessed in
> church. We discovered him with the dream" (V*1. 3-7).

The interpretation reveals a distinction between virtues and vice
in the sense that the "dead dog" indicates that the dreamer "took
another man's wife". Just as the dog has died and lost its vitality,

so the dream reflects a guilt-ridden conscience within the congregation

The congregation is involved in the dream in that the prophet took

it upon himself to fast and discover who had perpetrated the act

uncovered in the dream. He relates that the person reponsible then

disclosed his actions and "confessed in church". The interpretation

thus reveals an implicit doctrine which distinguishes between right

and wrong.

Example 66: Moral "fallenness" revealed through a dream

A second example is seen in the response to a dream (V.2) in which the

dreamer had been climbing a hill covered with big stones. He gripped

a loose stone and slipped and fell down the hill.

> "The loose stone is a member who is not firm...a girl. This
> stone fell down with him. He had done something wrong in the
> church. The Holy Spirit told him what he had done. We asked
> him and he found he had done something wrong with that girl.
> He has not done it since" (V*2. 4-6).

While the interpretation is a little ambiguous, the motif of acceptable

and unacceptable conduct emerges as being important. The falling

down the hill refers to the dreamer's moral "fallenness" within the

church. The church is thus not simply a building but a relation

with the "Holy Spirit" and a code of conduct. Within the church,

the dreamer found that he had done something wrong. The interpretation
reveals a possibility for transparancy, in so far as conduct is
accessible to members of the larger community. It is pointed out
that he has not repeated his wrongdoing. He is thus responding to
the urgent necessity that his conduct is in harmony with the values
of the church. In this sense, the dream acts as an authoritative
vehicle expressing the imperative that the person lives in harmony
with the values implied by the church.

An informant related a complex dream (Z.5) which may be referred to.
I shall refer to a few of the themes in the dream. He observed a
man changing from "not being a Christian, to being a Christian"
(Z.5.3). He observed his father walking into the distance. His own
heart "burnt up and another heart grew in its place" (Z.5.5). Satan
entered and wanted him to swallow some creatures which would go back
into his heart.

He was distressed by the dream and was awakened. He described the
dream as being a spiritual dream. I shall refer to two interpretative
motifs expressed in his statement that:

> "The Holy Spirit burnt my sins so that I could preach and
> pray for others...My father always caused me to worry. He
> was always angry and drinking. He was sick and then I
> baptized him in the church before he died. That is why I
> saw him going a long distance...Then the devil came with
> those creatures which are my sins. He wanted to put them
> back into me. He is the bad spirit because he does not
> want us to do things for God" (Z*5. 4-10).

The informant is struggling with a duality throughout the interpretation which has to do with good and bad, with the Holy Spirit and Satan and prayer and sin. He is also dealing with transformation, including his own transition from someone with sins to being influenced by the Holy Spirit and the change in his father, from someone who was sick and used alcohol, to being baptized. He is revealing a moral dualism of two opposed principles. He is, in his own way, describing a cosmic division between two forces. He is thus reflecting cosmic-based principles which govern ordinary conduct. The moral sense of the interpretation is disclosed in the dilemma revealed in the interpretation and remains unresolved.

E.   Prophetic perception revealed in dream-existence

An anticipatory mode -of-existence refers to the possibility of relating

to events which may be removed in space and time, and thus belonging

to the future. As such, persons do not only exist in the past and

in the present, but by way of hidden anticipation, the future is made

present. Such dreams, which reveal themselves as anticipatory, are

often referred to as prophetic dreams. There are also instances of

dreams and interpretations which reveal an awareness of events removed

in space but not in time. In Western culture those events are referred

to as clairvoyant experience. Both types of perception are revealed

in the following examples.

Example 67 : Dream anticipates conflict with the law

The informant reported a dream (W.6) which occurred twice, in which a

person who was a member of the church was arrested by police. In

his interpretation of the dream (W*6), he said that he informed the

person identified in his dream about the dream which had reoccurred,

and that:

> "I predicted that he would go to jail within a week. After
> a week, he was caught for stealing and was sent to jail. I
> believe in my dreams. If I have the same dream twice, it
> will definitely come about" (W*6. 2-4).

The above interpretation reveals the clearly prophetic nature of the dream. The informant also emphasizes his belief in his dreams, particularly if they occur more than once. It is significant that the content of the dream related to conflicts with the law, which might be regarded as a significant aspect of urban life for the group studied. This is further illustrated in the following example.

Example 68: Locates stolen bicycle in a dream

The informant reported a dream which was previously cited, in which he saw his bicycle at a "certain place in the location" (W.7.1). He interpreted the dream as follows:

> "My bicycle had been stolen. I went to the place in the location indicated by my dream and found my bicycle there". (W*7. 1-2).

The interpretation indicates the clairvoyant aspect of the dream experience. The following example provides a similiar motif.

Example 69: Finds bag containing money

The informant related a dream in which he saw a "...bag in the road" (P.3.1). He interpreted the dream very concretely:

> "The following day, I found a bag in the road containing money. It proves my dreams come true" (P*3. 1-2).

Again, the dream is understood as indicating events which are removed

in time and space and belonging to the future, made present.

Example 70: Dream reveals impending news of death of father

The informant related an involved dream (0.1), in which he was given

a "pigs head" to eat, which turned out to be his brother's head, and

he was informed within the dream that his elder brother had died.

His interpretation of the dream was that:

> "I felt very tired when I woke up. The dream came from a
> spirit to tell me something is going to happen in my
> family...Something is going to happen or someone is going
> to die in the family...I later received a letter telling me
> that our father had died. Our father is in the place of my
> brother in the dream" (O*1. 1-4 and 6-7).

His response to the dream is of feeling tired which is also to avoid

the world of waking-existence. The dream which he attributes as coming

from a spirit, underlies his relation to the Divine. He is thus

informed through his relation with the Divine, of the need to be

apprehensive and expects that someone might die in his family.

His apprehension is later confirmed when he receives a letter

informing him that his father had died. He thus anticipates the

death of someone close to him, and has this confirmed by later events.

F. Human bodiliness as revealed in dream interpretations

The meaning of dreams were sometimes disclosed through bodily expressions. That is, the structure of the informant's existence is revealed directly by a reference to his own bodiliness. In this section, I will explicate the meaning of bodiliness as revealed in dream interpretations (Q*3, R*7; 2*3, 2*5). Bodiliness was expressed in the following examples by the informant's reference to their "body" or "heart".

Example 71: Bodiliness as a meaning-disclosing mode-of-being

An informant described a dream (Q.3) in which his grandmother gave him and his young sister food. His interpretation of the dream was simply "my body felt bad when I awoke" (Q*3.1).

His response to the dream is characterized by his whole being reacting immediately to what was revealed to him in his dream-existence. He thus construes his body as a non-discursively responsive and meaning-disclosing being.

Example 72: Transformation of the "heart" of the person

The informant retold a complex dream (Z.5), which included a dream

within a dream. Part of the dream was as follows:

"something inside my body lit my heart, so my heart
burns, like meat on the braai. My heart burnt up and
another heart grew in its place. My body was in smoke.
A voice then said: 'The meat heart must burn. Once it
is finished burning, God made another heart inside you
and that heart will call the holy spirit's heart'. In
the dream (dream within a dream) I woke up and went in-
side the house. I then went to bed and went to sleep.
A man (Satan) entered the house with a sack. He opened
the sack pouring creatures onto the floor saying:
'These creatures must go back to your heart'. I was
fighting with him and the creatures for a long period
because he wanted me to swallow the creatures " (Z.5.5-9)

He interpreted the dream as being a spiritual dream (Z*5.2), which

indicated the transformation of a person emerging as a Christian.

Furthermore, it revealed the conflict between God and the devil, who

wanted to put "those creatures which are my sins...back into me "

(Z*5. 8-9). Jesus was understood as mediating between God and himself,

as evidenced by his interpretation:

"The hand that lit my heart was Jesus' hand. The Holy
Spirit burnt my sins so that I could preach and pray
for others" (Z*5. 3-4).

The informant thus reveals an understanding of his own bodiliness

in his reference to his heart. In this instance, he is not referring

to the biological heart, but the very essence of the 'heart' as the

centre of his existence, in his struggle in confronting the conflict

between opposing modes-of-being. He attributes the destruction of

his "old heart" to Jesus, that is, to his relation to a cosmic

existence in a kind of cosmogonic sacrifice. The destruction of the old or contaminated mode-of-being allowed the emergence and growth of a "new heart", that is, a centre of of illumination which allowed him to reforge his awareness of a shared cosmic existence. This awareness allowed him to be open to his fellow-beings and therefore able to preach and pray for his fellow-beings.

Example 73:   The "heart" as the centre of being

The informant reported two dream interpretations, during which he referred to the "heart" motif (R*4 and R*7). In the first instance he referred to his killing a snake in a dream as "killing the evil spirit in the heart of the people" (R*4.6). In commenting on a later dream (R.7) dealing with conflicts, the same informant revealed that:

> "God and the holy spirit show me I will not be all right on
> the dead side (i.e. his relationship to traditional customs),
> because the dead side is already in my heart" (R*7.7).

Again, the "heart" is construed as a centre of existence, and as being responsive to spiritual conflicts. It is the centre of a struggle of good against evil, of light against darkness. The "heart" is the existence within which the struggle takes place. The struggle, which is also a conjunction, is epitomised in

"killing the evil spirit in the heart" (R*4.6). This phrase expresses

the central idea that there is no creation without sacrifice and no

life without death. Human existence is an ongoing struggle, as

evidenced in his later statement that "the dead side (customs) is

already in my heart." His existence is a struggle between the very

forces which constitute his understanding-realm-of-being. The terms

in which this struggle is expressed reflects his sense of human

bodiliness as a meaning-disclosing being.

Human bodiliness is revealed as being a non-discursively responsive

and meaning-disclosing being. The "heart" is understood as a centre

of existence responsive to the conflict between opposing modes of

being. The struggle occurring within the centre of being, as construed

within the "heart", is ongoing and constitutes the person's understanding-

realm-of-being. This mode-of-being emphasizes the immediate pathic

sense in which meaning is immediately disclosed within the life-

world.

G. The legitimation of the interpretative-reality within the life-world

The above theme is not an interpretive theme, in the sense of extending our knowledge of the interpretative-reality, but refers to the implicit manner in which the system being explicated is legitimized within the context of which it is a part. It supports a fundamental assumption underlying the study, which is that knowledge is coherent, even if it is not consonant with Western rational knowledge.

In the process of legitimizing the dream interpretation, informants made reference to their own experience as well as to active events constituting waking-existence. In the six examples following, I shall explicate the various ways in which dream interpretations are legitimated within the life-world.

Example 74: Following the dream message results in wife falling pregnant

The informant had been worried that his wife could not become pregnant. He had a dream (W.5) during which he was instructed to follow a particular procedure. After following the prescription in his dream:

"she fell pregnant and had a baby. That is why I believe in the Zion Church" (W*5.3-4).

The informant thus responded to the instruction initially prescribed

in his dream-existence. The action and the outcome (pregnancy) thus

clearly legitimizes the validity of following the dream as well as the

larger cosmology which structures his existence.

Example 75: Dream as a construer of existence

An informant interpreted a dream (R.5) in which he was bitten by a

swarm of ants in a forest before finding sanctuary in the church.

He concluded his interpretation of the dream with the statement:

> "It was a very good dream which helped me in prayers and
> unbelief" (R*5.9).

His dream-existence is thus not abstract but it impinges on his

waking-existence in a moral sense, in that it was a "good dream" which

assisted him in construing his existence. His existence is structured

by meaning, as evidenced by prayer and belief. The meaning of his

existence is not disclosed in a constricting or truncating sense

of a system, but in a potentially irradiating sense, in that prayer

reflects communication with a cosmic mode-of-existence. His response

to the dream is neither passive nor indifferent, but reflects the

basic relationship between himself and the derivative of the dream

in which he appropriates the "message" of the dream and embraces the

notions of reassurance, integrity and assistance.

A significant number of interpretations made reference to the Bible as a source of authority (R*1, R*2, R*3, R*4, S*1, W*3, Z*3) in the process of legitimizing the dream interpretation. Reference to authority is illustrated in the following example.

Example 76: Reference to authority in interpretation

The informant reported a dream (R.2) in which he saw people wearing white robes with blue crosses on their backs. His interpretation included the following:

> "I told them about the dream. They said that the dream is
> the way of a man called Cornelius in the Acts of the
> Apostles who joined the church. He first saw in a dream
> and later believed. The people then layed their hands
> on me. I was sick and since then I have had no troubles with
> my body" (R*2. 4-5).

The dream is related to the story of Cornelius in the Acts of the Apostles. The informant points to the parallel between Cornelius and his own experience. In both instances, they were confronted by their dream-existence as a predicative experience to their "believing", that is, being open to a mode-of-being which affirmed a relationship to a cosmic dimension of existence. In this example, the divine dimension of existence is affirmed by the actions of his fellow-beings, who were able to provide him with healing.

Example 77: The Bible as a source of definition of human-existence

An informant, who reported a fairly involved dream (W.3) which included

him being confronted and bitten by a snake. He interpreted the dream

as follows:

> "I read in the Bible that the snake is a bad spirit,
> because it caused Adam and Eve to be punished. I
> understand that the snake might mean that I am going
> to be worried. Perhaps, somebody will leave the church
> or complain about something... (and continued)... I
> read a story in the Bible where Jesus goes to Jerusalem
> with his followers. They took mielies with them, and Jesus
> said he was bigger than the Sabbath, if somebody is hungry
> they should eat and follow him" (W*3. 1-4).

It is evident that the snake, which "is a bad spirit" (W*3.1) and

caused him so much anguish has similiar connotations to the snake

which confronted Adam and Eve. For Adam and Eve, as well as the

informant, the snake is a meaningful entity imbued with energy and

confronting his existence. The snake in the Bible was both an

enemy and a temptress of Eve, and thus challenging the spiritual

commitment of the person confronted his own anguish. His own anguish

is reflected in his concern at being confronted by the snake, which

might result in a congregant being disenchanted and leaving the church.

In the second part of the interpretation, he refers to Jesus journeying

to Jerusalem. He then identifies with Jesus saying he is "bigger

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than the Sabbath" (W*3.4), that is, the cosmic dimension is reaffirmed

as being a powerful mode of existence. In his dream interpretation,

he refers to the Bible in legitimizing his mode of being, in which

good is balanced by evil. His own dream-existence and interpretation

is thus seen as being analagous to human existence as explicated

in the Bible.

Example 78: Water is the voice of the Bible

An informant referred to a dream (Z.3) which included the presence

of water, and stated in his interpretation that "the water is the

voice of the Bible" (Z*3.4).

The fact that an aspect of the dream speaks so directly to him, as

"the voice of the Bible" underlies and legitimizes the dream as

revealing the cosmic dimension of existence. That is, the Bible,

which is fundamentally an explication of the cosmic dimension of

existence "speaks" to his very being immediately and directly.

Dreaming is thus legitimized as a meaning-disclosing mode-of-being,

own inne   _..ner experience.

Example 79: Legitimation related to spiritual scriptures

The informant, who was a spiritual leader in his church, described a

dream (R.4), in which he and his congregation were in their church.

A snake appeared out of a corner and chased the dreamer in particular.
He found himself running but staying in the same spot. The snake
caught up to him. He fought and killed the snake.

He approached a church leader to interpret his dream. He reported
the interpreter as saying that a snake in a dream can mean two things:

> "There's the snake which was in Genesis which was a holy snake.
> There was another snake which was the stick of Moses. That
> was a holy snake. There was a snake which tried to bite
> Moses' snake. He said that the snake which was in the corner
> of the church was an evil snake which was hiding in the
> church. As I was the leader it came straight to me and my
> running in such a way that the snake would chase other people
> was not correct. My running in one spot was the spirit of
> God trying to hold me in one place so that I might fight the
> snake. Killing the snake was killing the evil spirit in the
> heart of the people" (R*4. 1-6).

His understanding of the significance of the snake is based upon his
understanding of the Bible, in which he refers to a confrontation
between a holy snake and an evil snake. The snake, which is the most
primitive strata of life, expresses itself suddenly and viciously
with its capacity to kill and as such, represents the evil side
of nature. In opposition to this aspect of the snake, there are
biblical references to the wisdom of the snake.

The snake, "which was the stick of Moses" (R*4.1) to which he refers,

was characterized by its ability to transform matter into strength,
thereby providing us with a palpable illustration of the workings
of the process of involution, in that Moses' snake is able to take on
a beneficient form as a force which has mastered and can utilize the
process of transformation. This, too is a basic characteristic of the
snake, as it sheds its skin, it represents the process of resurrection
and its sinuous movement signifies its strength. Furthermore, in
Moses' story, the snake contributed to the rebirth of a nation.

The above clearly illustrates the essential ambivalence of the snake
and pertains to both aspects of its meaning, i.e, it is both evil
and holy. It is a force of darkness as well as light. The Bible
snake represents a moral dualism and which is confirmed as his own
understanding of the snake.

The interpretative-reality is legitimated by reference to authority,
by experience and by active events constituting their daily lives.
References to authority invariably involves recourse to the Bible
and biblical narrative. The meaning of the dream might be related
to the life of a person or event in the Bible and provide a meaningful
parallel for the dreamer, upon which to base his own understanding
of the dream. As the Bible is attributed as being an authoritative
source in describing the cosmic mode-of-existence, so recourse to
the Bible is a rational corroboration of the dream.

The individual's own experience of dreams reveals them to be an immediate experience of the cosmic mode-of-being. The meaning-disclosing potential of the dream is immediately revealed and acts to affirm not only the validity of the dream but also the usefulness of dreams in waking-existence.

Within the active events of daily life, dreams are revealed as being a useful source of communication with potentially profound results. Examples have been cited in previous sections on the healing and prophetic action resulting from dreams. A further instance is provided in the present section of a person becoming pregnant after following the instructions contained in a dream. Each of these events affirms the validity of the interpretative-reality.

Dream interpretation reveals the essential interdependence between the Divine and the self within an existence which incorporates a cosmic mode-of-being. That existence is affirmed and legitimated by personal experience and by external evidence as being both coherent and effective.

5.5 SYNTHESIS OF EXTENDED DESCRIPTIONS

The Essential Descriptions of the Rural and Urban Group's interpretative-reality is based upon the Extended Description of their respective dream interpretations and presents the essential themes of the data. The essential themes constitute the shared meanings and structures underlying the Extended Descriptions. The Essential Descriptions of the interpretative-reality in the Rural and Urban Group forms an important constituent of the participants' life-world.

5.5.1 Synthesis of the Extended Description of the Interpretative-Reality of the Rural Group

Dreams are invariably attributed to the ancestors and are termed _ithongo_. The ancestors communicate with the individual through dreams which need to be understood and very often acted upon. Dreams which are not associated with the ancestors are termed _iphupha_ and the connotations of such dreams are different from those dreams which are attributed to ancestors. However, both types of dreams are clearly revealed as being potentially significant.

The most significant feature of the physiognomy of the dreamer's world as revealed in his dreaming existence refers to the influence of the ancestors. They may reveal themselves in various ways within _ithongo_ and be associated with the river or the forest. Ancestors most commonly confront the dreamer as persons or as animals. As persons, they most

commonly appear as older relatives. They might also appear as unknown persons in various guises. They may assert themselves directly to request a ceremony be performed or to instruct their descendant to behave in a particular way or fulfill particular requirements.

Ancestors may appear as animals. The animals are message carriers who interact meaningfully with the dreamer. They may be referred to generally as an _izilo_ [animal] or in particular instances, as _iramncwa_ [predatory animal]. In the latter instance, the animal is described as being a ferocious animal of the forest. Such animals often express their dissatisfaction with the life of the person. The individual's relationship with "his" animal enhances his understanding of his waking-existence and lived-closeness with nature. His relationship with his animal emphasizes his own life-possibilities as constituted by the animal, as well as the continuity of life as an ongoing holistic process.

The ancestor appearing as a fabulous _izilo_ confronts the dreamer as a transmutative being, in which existence is directly construed as a combination of human form and spirit. Spirit takes precedence over the intellect of the person.

Continuity of life is revealed in the sense that the present is linked with the past through the living-presence of the ancestors, and in the sense that the future contains the potential for the person to also become an ancestor and thus be able to influence the life of the living.

The forest and river in dream-existence are important precincts of the ancestors. Furthermore, they are clearly vital expressions of life, harbouring both meaning and mystery; while they can be penetrated to disclose their meaning, they can, at the same time, harbour an undisclosed potential for power and potency.

The forest is revealed as a nexus of vitality and mystery. It is the home of the _izilo_ as well as the _iramncwa_ who mediate between the ancestors of the forest and the individual, expressing their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the life of the person. The forest is ambiguous in that it entails both positive and negative influences which exert themselves upon the lives of the individual and the group.

The river of dream-existence is revealed as being both life-giving and sustaining. It is the home of the "river people" who are able to communicate their needs and influence the life of the living. A vital relationship with the river is essential to life.

The individual's relationship with ancestors who are associated with the forest and river underlies the life process which is characterized by continuity between an individual-mode-of-being and living-in-relation-to the ancestors. Both the past and the future of the individual are defined in terms of the continuity of life which occurs within different modes-of-existence.

The interpretation of _ithongo_ often involves an understanding of the dream image through direct action. Modes of action to emerge from dream

interpretations constellate around action related to daily activities, action related to healing and the enaction of "dream-songs". The consequences of ignoring the imperative for action is experienced as being deleterious for the individual as well as the family.

Action related to daily activities reveals a continuity and connectedness between the individual's concerns in his dream-existence and his waking-existence. By responding prereflectively to the message contained in the dream, the person reveals a mode-of-being characterized by an ability to live in harmony with activities constituting daily life. Awareness of the importance of dreams followed by action is seen to facilitate a process of apprehension which leads to greater understanding and certainty in life.

Dream interpretation and healing are linked in several important ways. Healing cannot take place without awareness of the _izilo_. That is, the _izilo_ imbibes powerful forces, requiring human awareness to be open to the possibility of a mutual relationship exemplified by the numinous qualities of the _izilo_. Action related to healing is most often either related to the healing role of the _Igqira_ or to the need for a ceremony. Dreams related to the healing role of the _Igqira_ reveal the immediate accessibility of the _Igqira_ to his ancestors as well as to the needs of his patients and the community. This relationship is evidenced in his knowledge of medicines which are revealed directly through dreams and translated into action.

Action related to the need for a healing ceremony is invariably initiated

by a message or prescription contained in a dream. The ceremony implies that the person relates directly and immediately to a transpersonal mode-of-being which is implicit in the dream and made explicit in the process of the ceremony which takes place within the context of the community. Thus the very significance of the numinous quality of the dream is penetrated in the enaction of the ceremony.

The "being given" and enactment of the "dream-song" reveals itself as being meaningful on two levels. Firstly, the songs themselves affirm the close relationship which exists between the person and the ancestors. This relationship underlies a creative union in which the person experiences a connectedness with a powerful and instinctual source of vital energy. Secondly, the enactment of the "dream-song" through rhythmic dancing and singing affirms the primordial life force inherent in the dancer's contact with the very ground-of-being. The experience of the indissoluble unity of the universe is reaffirmed during this process.

The consequences of ignoring the imperative to action contained in ithongo reflects a discontinuity between generations and results in ill-health and suffering. An affliction may affect the person who had the dream or another member of his family. The imperative to action underlies the need to live in harmony with one's own possibility of relating to a transpersonal mode-of-being.

The interpretation of some ithongo reveals an anticipatory mode-of-being. Interpretations might be diagnostic or prophetic in that they anticipate

health concerns or predict events affecting the dreamer or members of the community. This mode-of-being predicates the individual's destiny which is revealed in the ordering of the cosmos. That is, destiny is disclosed in the person's relation to his dream-existence on the one hand, and evidenced in his waking-existence on the other. Recognition of an anticipatory mode-of-being discloses a transpersonal perspective of events and time which reveals that the participants are open to the present and the present-future.

Iphupha, in contrast to ithongo, are not related to the ancestors. Dream-existence, as revealed by iphupha, is occasionally vulnerable to ominous and intrusive entities causing fear and anxiety. Such presences might be caused by bad spirits and are personified by a mamlambo or tikoloshe [witch familiars]. Such ominous entities remain virtually outside the realm of conscious awareness. The qualities associated with them are antithetical to the numinous qualities associated with the ancestors. The threat of such confrontations ceases when the person renews his relationship with the ancestors and the community. The presence of ominous entities reveals a discontinuous and vulnerable mode-of-being.

Human bodiliness emerges as a disclosing-mode-of-being and is evidenced by participants' reference to umbilini and "blood" in the interpretation of their dreams. Reference to these bodily events is related to the

ancestors on the one hand, and to the person's ability to "see" on the other. Bodily events are understood as tangible and pervasive sources of knowledge allowing the person to "see". Seeing refers to the ability to penetrate existence and apprehend and reveal the intrinsic qualities of phenomena. The ability to immediately apprehend and mediate between modes-of-being point to the unmediated bond between self, fellow-beings and a numinous mode-of-existence. The body is revealed as a sense-disclosing being which is able to transform the unmediated bond between self, others and the numinous into conceptual knowledge which can be imparted to fellow-beings.

The structure of the interpretative-reality, within which dream-existence is construed as being meaningful, is legitimized in four ways. Firstly, legitimacy is defined by the very relationship accorded by the dreamer to his dream-existence. That is, his dream-existence as a relation with the numinous represents a privileged source of knowledge and power. Secondly, the physiognomy of the dream-existence might be independently verified by an _Igqira_ during the course of divination, as well as by subsequent events. Thirdly, actions prescribed by dreams are seen to resolve difficulties and enhance the quality of individual and community life in a tangible sense. Fourthly, the dream undermines the very duality characterizing the relationship between dream-existence and waking-existence by emphasizing a relationship in which the primordial attunement of the cosmos is emphasized. The fact that the interpretative-reality of the group studied might not be consonant with Western conceptions does not detract from the validity of the reality system explicated above.

5.5.2 Synthesis of the Extended Description of the Interpretative-
        Reality of the Urban Group

The interpretative-reality of the Urban Group is essentially an

expression of the numinous, characterized by direct appearances of the

Divine in dream-existence. Dreams reveal the possibility of living in

relation to the Divine which is seen to manifest in various ways within

the physiognomy of the dreamer's world. The perceived meaningfulness of

the relation is not only understood abstractly but is disclosed through

various modes of action. Historical factors associated with the

development of the Christian cosmology, is reflected within the African

Independent Church Movement and is seen to result in some ambivalence.

The ambivalence associated with the shift in cosmologies emerges in the

interpretative system. The explication of the interpretative-reality

also reveals a concern with moral principles, the possibility of

prophetic and clairvoyant perception and human bodiliness as a meaning-

disclosing mode-of-being.

Human existence is structured by the individual's encounters and the

perceived significance of those encounters. Within the interpretative-

reality, the encounters constitute a physiognomy. The meaning of the

physiognomy is invariably construed as relatedness to the Divine. The

Divine is referred to directly as a Holy Spirit, God, Angels, Jesus, or

as ancestors. Entities confronted in dream-existence such as animals,

rivers, water and forest are also revealed as manifestations of the

divine presence. The presence, characterized as a cosmic dimension of

human existence, is expressed as a process of "becoming", a coming into form, or movement. It is intangible and yet its effects are tangible as it is expressed in terms of transformation and regeneration.

Individual existence is revealed as being accessible to and influenced by divine possibility. The prophet, in interpreting dreams, discloses his own mediatory role in enhancing the individual's possibility for living in harmony with a cosmic dimension. The individual relationship achieved is thereby imbued with vitality and power and is a source and reservoir of strength and meaning.

The presence of animal entities are associated with traditional meaning structures and cosmic possibility. They often reveal themselves as ancestors and express the sense of continuity between the living and the living-dead. They are not generally excluded from the monotheism usually ascribed to Christianity, but on the contrary, provide a continuum of meaning between Christian monotheism and the traditional cosmology of the Xhosa and Zulu speaking people. In one instance, the relation with the animal, which was associated with customs, is rejected in favour of a relation with God. However, even within that apparently divisive context, relatedness with the animal is characterized by powerful and indestructible forces. The animal thus expresses powerful elements associated with vitality and indestructibility. Relatedness with the animal reveals a relation with the centre of cosmic-being.

Physiognomy, as revealed by the landscape of mountains, hills, forests and rivers, is endowed as a meaningful and meaning-giving significance. Mountains and hills are associated with elevation of the spirit and the water of the rivers in dream-existence is a source of power endowed with numinous properties. Power does not refer, in this context, to the idea of coercion, but to a source which facilitates the process of transition as evidenced during a healing process. Water, as an ever-flowing element, conjoins the Divine with the mundane activity of everyday existence. The forest is revealed as a precinct of divine communication. An inseparable unity between the self, the Divine and the forest is evidenced in the personal relatedness existing between the informants and the forest within their dream-existence and reaffirmed in their waking-existence. The interpretative-reality emphasizes the imperative to live in harmony with the significances constituting the physiognomy of dream-existence and expressed in the life-world. The essential theme underlying the various expressions of the dreamer's physiognomy is the indissoluble unity of the cosmos. By virtue of this oneness, the predominant rhythm reflected within the physiognomy transmutes all that might appear to be separate, as cosmic possibility.

Within the context of the interpretative-reality, the individual's relatedness with the Divine is often actively constituted, in so far as he is impelled to act upon the revelation revealed within his dream-existence. Meaning is thus revealed through direct action which may be related to daily life, to church activity and to healing. Action

relating to daily life is indicated by the immediate responsiveness of the dreamer to his dream. In one instance, such action results in the person recovering a stolen object.

Church-related action expresses the intimate relation between the person and divine possibility evidenced in dream- and waking-existence. The action often constellates around the person joining or participating in the activity of the church. Such action might serve as an initiation into an ongoing relationship with a cosmic dimension of existence mediated by action itself. At the same time, the person reveals his own possibility to relate directly to a divine realm of being within the context of a community.

The possibility of cosmic relatedness is evidenced in healing action, which might be healing of the self or of others. Healing is seen to result from the mediation between the Divine and the person in need of healing. Through dream-existence, a relation with the Divine as an irradiating source of power is affirmed and this relationship contributes towards a participatory process of enlightenment. To become enlightened also means to become knowledgeable, to be connected with a source, and to be initiated into a process whereby suffering might be rendered as being meaningful and understandable within an active mode-of-being. The imperative mode of dream-existence is thus revealed within the context of meaning-giving action often expressing what cannot be propertly expressed by words.

The changing world-view of the informants is reflected in their dreams
and in the interpretation of their dreams. Tension between the newer
Christian-based cosmology and the traditional cultural-based cosmology
is evidenced in interpretations dealing with the conflict between
Christian values and traditional customs, the healing role of the prophet
and the Igqira, and the Holy Spirit and the ancestors. In some instances,
participants distinguish between the two cosmologies by viewing traditional
notions as being in opposition to Christian-based concepts. In other
instances, the role of the ancestors is emphasized as the two cosmologies
are conciliated, resulting in an integration of the transpersonal elements
of both cosmologies. In such instances, the transpersonal basis of both
cosmologies emerge to constitute a non-discursive cosmic mode-of-being.
The intrinsic meaningfulness of the traditional cultural-based cosmology
is affirmed.

The values proffered by the church are evident in a moral imperative
revealed within the interpretative-reality. These values prescribe
acceptable conduct and are critical of unacceptable sexual behaviour
such as infidelity. The interpretative-reality distinguishes between
virtue and sin, and acts as an authoritative vehicle expressing the
imperative that the person lives in harmony with the values represented
by the church. The flaunting of such values might be revealed in dreams.
The affairs and conduct of individuals is accessible to members of the
larger community within a fundamentally open existence.

The interpretative-reality reveals the possibility of prophetic and clairvoyant perception. Prophetic perception refers to future events while clairvoyant perception refers to an awareness of events removed in space, but not in time. Instances of such events include being told about an impending death in the family and locating a stolen object. Such experiences are attributed to the individual's relation with the Divine and reveal the possibility of extra-sensory relationships in the sense that dream perception is sufficiently clear to apprehend events, not only from the past and the present, but by way of hidden anticipation, of the future. Such interpretations confront the dreamer with an awareness of events beyond the reach of sense organs as understood by the natural sciences. The interpretative-reality is thus revealed as incorporating a transcendent dimension, in the sense that the dreamer is not an encapsulated subject. He is able to transcend the dualism implied by a subject/object dichotomy, as understood within a Western framework, and experience his capacity to relate to the things and events of the world, unconstrained by the parameters of time and place as commonly defined. The very possibility of such a relationship points to the ongoing possibility of relating not only to the present and the past, but by way of hidden anticipation, to the future as well. The interpretative-reality thus reveals the participant's ability to be grounded in primary openness which is both personal and transpersonal.

The meaning of the interpretative-reality is not only disclosed through ideas, action and perception, but is expressed very directly through human bodiliness. The body might be a domain of pain or of enlightenment.

Conflict might be expressed in terms of the "heart" of the person.
The "heart" is thus understood as a centre of existence responsive to
the conflict between opposing modes-of-being. The struggle occurring
within the centre of being as construed within the "heart" might be
ongoing and constituting the person's understanding-realm-of-being.

Bodiliness is thus revealed as a non-discursive responsive and meaning-
disclosing being expressing the inner unity of self and body. The body
constitutes human possibility and a mode of expression of such possibil-
ity. This mode-of-being emphasizes the pathic sense in which meaning is
immediately disclosed within the life-world.

The interpretative-reality encompassing the above themes is affirmed and
legitimated within the life-world. Legitimation is expressed by active
events, by reference to authority and by experience. Within the active
events of daily life, dreams are revealed as being a useful source of
communication with potentially profound results. The results may be
evidenced during the process of healing or in one instance, through
successful procreation. Each of these events affirms the validity of
the interpretative-reality.

Reference to authority invariably involves recourse to the Bible and
biblical narrative. The meaning of the dream might be related to the
life of a person or an event in the Bible and provide a meaningful parallel
for the dreamer, upon which to base his own understanding of the dream.

As the Bible is attributed as an authoritative source in describing the cosmic mode-of-existence, so recourse to the Bible is a rational corroboration of the meaning and divine origin of the dream.

The individual's own experience of the dream reveals it to be an immediate experience of the cosmic mode-of-being. The meaning-disclosing potential of the dream is immediately revealed and acts to affirm not only the validity of the dream but also the usefulness of dreams in ordinary living. The interpretative-reality reveals the essential interdependence between the Divine and the self within an existence which incorporates a cosmic mode-of-being. That existence is affirmed and legitimated by personal experience and by external evidence as being both coherent and effective.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

It is my aim, in this chapter, to encompass the objectives of the

study and at the same time, maintain a sense of the coherency of the

data as a whole. I therefore respond to the original aims by pro-

viding an overview of the participants' life-world as expressed

within the interpretative-realities. I then compare the

interpretative-reality of the Rural and Urban Group before presenting

a comparative analysis of the Nguni approach with contemporary

Western approaches to the understanding of dreams. Looking at the

data as a whole, I discuss the validity of the Nguni approach and

finally I outline areas for further research.

In addressing these issues, two qualifications need to be reiterated.

The term Nguni, in its strict sense, refers to a family of languages.

However, in following a convention used by Wilson (1969), I use the

term in an abstract sense, to focus on experience common to both the

Xhosa speaking and Zulu speaking participants. Secondly, in referring

to the Rural and Urban Group, it should be evident at this stage that

there is significant overlap between the groups. In a strict sense,

the two groups refer to two categories of dream experts and their

clients. That is, the dreams of the urban participants are interpreted

within the context of the African Independent Church in an urban

setting. The Rural Group refers to a category of participants who

were amagqira (healers) or clients attending or participating in

traditional Xhosa cultural practices within a rural environment.

The definition of the two groups should be understood within this

context.

6.2 THE LIFE-WORLD AS REVEALED IN THE INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS

The phenomenological explication of the interpretative-reality of

both groups is an elaboration of a pre-reflective system of meanings

within the life-world of the participants. The essence of the

interpretative-reality of both groups is the notion of relatedness

to a cosmic mode-of-being. The cosmic mode-of-being is constituted

as a numinous existence and is expressed in various forms in each

of the participant groups. The principal expression is through

divine presence. The following are definitions of each of these

notions as they pertain to the explication of the life-world.

6.2.1 Definition of Terms

The cosmos refers to the universe as an ordered whole. The cosmic

mode-of-being is the being of the cosmos, that is, of the existence and

order of beings seen from a universal perspective. The cosmos is
characterized by order, harmony and unity within the Nguni context.

The numinous dimension of the cosmos refers to the ineffable nature
of existence, which may be experienced as a revelation of, and in
relation to, divine presence. The numinous is able to arouse in man
the sense of the Divine, to excite the feelings of apprehended sanctity
and to stimulate it into open activity (Otto 1980).

The Divine derives from the cosmic mode-of-being. The divine presence
refers to the existence of the power, or vital force which is associated
with the numinous and permeates the realm of being referred to as the
cosmos.

6.2.2 The relation between the cosmos, the numinous and divine presence

While the cosmic mode-of-being, the numinous and the Divine cannot
be apprehended by the theoretical constructs of the natural sciences,
it can nevertheless be grasped and experienced in intuition and given
form in meaning-disclosing intuitions. Within the interpretative-reality,
the numinous may be encountered directly in particular occurrences and
events or displayed in actions. The contextual significance of the
numinous is often revealed within dream-existence and apprehended and
expressed in the interpretation of the dream. The idea of relation, in
its general sense, as referring to a connection or external analogy,
is therefore inappropriate. In the present context, relation refers to

an inward affinity and cohesion. The interpretative-reality is thus an

outward revelation of the divine nature of the cosmos. The revelation

might be expressed in terms of a relation with the ancestors, spirits,

God, Jesus, a voice, an angel or other divine presences. Within the

groups studied, each of these presences reveals man's relation and

participation with the cosmic mode-of-being, often through direct action.

The expression of the cosmic mode-of-being is seen to be both universal

and particular. It is universal in that it transcends the historical

development of alternative value systems, and it is particular because it

relates to a definite period of history, that is, the cosmic is expressed

by the Rural Group predominantly through izilo [ancestor animals] or

"people", while in the Urban Group it is expressed through God, angels,

Jesus the Holy Spirit and other entities encompassed within a Christian

cosmology. In this sense, the expression of the cosmic mode-of-being is

influenced by the cultural patterning of a shared belief-structure.

Within the interpretative-realities explicated in the previous chapter,

the cosmic mode-of-being is expressed through bodiliness, revelatory

knowledge and action. I discuss each of these themes as revealing aspects

of the participants' common or inter-subjective life-world.

6.2.3 The expression of human bodiliness within the life-world

Bodiliness, as explicated in the study, needs to be clearly

differentiated from the notion of the body within Western culture.

Within Western culture, the human body is invariably considered as an

isolated object existing within a locus of time and space. In a

scientific framework, the body is often described as a demarcated

object which may be understood as a biophysiological or neuropsychological

object. Each of these descriptive constructs tells us about the body

from a particular perspective.

Within the immediate experience of the Nguni, the body reveals itself as

a meaning-disclosing mode-of-being. There are some differences between

the Urban and Rural Groups' expression of bodiliness which I discuss

later, but on the whole, they validate bodiliness as an openness-to-the

world. The body is not reduced to, or explained by, the constructs of any

mode of description other than the meaning-disclosing potential of the

body within the context of a meaningful world. And so the body is an

isomorphic expression of being-in-the-world. The isomorphism refers to

the occurrence of the person experiencing events "outside" of himself

as also occurring within his bodily existence. Bodiliness is thus

experienced and expressed as an inner unity of the self as well as

responsiveness to events and fellow-persons. This is illustrated by

participants' references to umbilini, "blood" and "heart" (Ex. 31-33,

72, 73). In each instance, bodiliness reveals its sense-disclosing

possibility. For example, it is revealed that while the "heart" is

the centre of being, it is also the centre of conflict in the struggle

between opposing modes-of-being.

One difference which emerges in comparing the two groups, is the particular

response of each to bodiliness. Only members of the Rural Group referred

specifically to the umbilini and it is revealed that the possibility of responding to one's umbilini and "seeing" was enhanced during the intlombe, which is an immediate and direct expression of bodiliness in the form of rhythmic dance. Bodiliness is thus able to apprehend and mediate the unmediated bond between self and fellow-beings within a cosmic-existence. The body is thus revealed as a sense-disclosing being which is able to transform the unmediated bond between self, others and the numinous into reflective understanding which can be imparted to fellow-beings. This mode of perception is elaborated upon by a participant, who explained to me that: "You see, we Africans believe a person is controlled by the umbilini, unlike the whites. The whites believe the whole of the human body is controlled by the brain." He added, "my umbilini, my intestines tell me." (personal communication).

It might be speculated that the apparent absence of this particular construct in the Urban Group reflects a diminishing relation to the sense of bodiliness. Bodiliness, in the sense just described, is not affirmed within the Western cultural context and the Urban participants might be attributing less significance to this aspect of their existence. However, it is still evident in both groups that the participants do not divide or demarcate the body in terms of mind and body and certainly not in terms of a subject and object. On the contrary, human bodiliness exists as a meaning-giving relationship with its own expression or experiential language as a sensing-being.

The palpable experience of bodiliness being analogous to knowledge is
not unknown within the Western and Eastern tradition. In fact, many
people experience anxiety in its crude and undifferentiated form in
the solar plexus region, which is also the location of the umbilini.
This feeling has a correlate in the Latin root of the word "apprehend",
which refers to the acquisition of knowledge and to anticipation with
anxiety, dread or fear. Websters Dictionary (1961) elaborates upon
this as: "a perception that is comparatively simple, direct and
immediate and has as its object something considered to be directly and
nondiscursively understandable", and "the observing as an object as a
whole without distinguishing its parts" (ibid: 106). The notion of
apprehension within a Western context thus discloses the potential to
experience bodiliness as a palpable and experiential reality which is
intrinsically meaningful.

A further insight into bodiliness from an Eastern perspective may be
noted in the similarity between the concept of the umbilini and the
concept of the solar plexus or manipura chakra within the occult. Within
oriental writings, the entire universe is conceived as a giant mandala
or spiralling wheel containing myriad microcosmic "wheels" or "chakras"
within our bodies. The solar plexus chakra is not only the centre of
the intestinal tract, but is characterized as being the centre of
instinctive feeling and as possessing the power of emotional
discrimination. It is distinguished from cerebral functioning in its
ability to respond to subtler stimuli more quickly and more immediately
than do our higher functions (Blair 1975: 137). The idea of bodiliness

as meaning-disclosing-being is therefore not restricted to the rural Xhosa and the urban blacks alone but probably presents as a universal potential.

6.2.4 The numinous as a source of knowledge

I should like to elaborate upon the notion of pathic knowledge, which I refer to in the Extended Descriptions, before discussing the relation between knowledge and divination within the life-world. Pathic knowing is a term introduced by Strauss (1966), who distinguishes between the pathic and the gnostic moment in perception. By the pathic moment, he refers to the immediate communication with things on the basis of their changing mode of sensory givenness. The pathic mode is a characteristic feature of primordial experience reflected within the immediately present, sensually vivid preconceptual communication we have with things. The gnostic moment refers to the development of the _what_ of the given in its object character. The gnostic incorporates the conceptual sphere of understanding. Thus, the notion of pathic is central to the meaning of the revelatory aspects of the interpretative-reality.

There are many illustrations of the pathic as a source of knowledge within the interpretative-reality as evidenced in the reports of receiving a message within a dream (Ex. 38). Similarly, the singing of a "dream-song" is said to allow the participant to "see" things clearly (Ex. 21). In such instances, the person reveals a depth of

understanding which can best be understood as a primordial sensing.
Primordial sensing forms the basis for the individual's possibility
as a meaning-disclosing being.

Moving from the more general idea of knowing to divination, it is noted
that in both groups, dreams serve a divinatory and healing purpose. For
example, in one instance (Ex. 17) the dream indicates a specific medicine
be used, and in another (ex. 58) the dream indicates what should be done
to heal an old woman. Such instances reveal that relatedness to the
cosmic is not an abstract idea - the individual engages in a meaningful
relation with the cosmos in the concrete life-world of everyday experience.
That is, the Divine may be directly encountered in particular
occurrences and events, revealed within the person's meaning-structure
and expressed in actions. The experience of genuinely apprehending and
living in relation to the Divine is expressed in such instances as
divination and prophetic perception.

Before attempting to pursue the meaning of divination and prophetic
perception, I should like to outline the Western rationalistic
presuppositions which often shape our understanding of the phenomenon
referred to. Divination is usually regarded as being inexplicable
within the laws of natural science and therefore as having no place
in our objective reality. However, since the event might have actually
been verified by experience and as there is no natural cause, it is
postulated that it must have a super-natural cause. Even though this
line of reasoning embraces the supernatural, it incorporates the same

rigid concepts as rationalism. Divination, it would be claimed, is

based upon the individual's access to the transpersonal dimension.

Thus, an event which exists contrary to, or in conflict with, the

laws of nature, is attributed to transcendental causality. I believe

it useful to recognize and bracket this presupposition in attempting

to grasp the meaning of revelatory phenomena within the Nguni cosmology.*

In approaching divination and prophetic perception from the participant's

perspective, I should like to refer to the expressions used, such as to

"see", to be "told", to "know in my blood" as appropriate constructs for

understanding the phenomenon. The person reveals his or her capacity to

reflect upon deeply absorbed contemplation and intuition and to express

his or her living-in-relation-to the cosmos in immediate life-world terms.

The apprehension of cosmic meaning assumes shape in definite statements

and propositions which cannot be compared with theoretical analogies.

The essence of their meaningfulness is that they are deeply felt, not

reasoned intimations of meanings figuratively apprehended. Otto (1980)

refers to such non-rational modes of knowing as being "beyond the

temporal and penetrating it, the apprehension of a ground and meaning

of things in and beyond the empirical and transcending it" (ibid: 147).

It is neither justifiable nor even possible to attempt to understand

this relation to the cosmos within a Western rational framework, as the

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* Cosmology is an abstract term referring to a world-view. The world-view is derived from a system of beliefs and meanings which might be based within the life-world of immediate and vivid experience.

very rationalism would destroy the essence of the "seeing" referred to by participants as it "goes beyond all 'conceiving', surpasses 'understanding' and reason, and consequently is apprehensible" (ibid: 150). The fact that such experiences are often initiated within the person's dream-existence reveals the possibility of openness to the cosmos and the very being of the things of the world. The person's encounter is a constant revelation which can best be appreciated by incorporating the idea of the pathic, the numinous as a source far beyond the reach of our sense organs, and the individual's relation with the Divine.

Kruger (1979) has contrasted the Xhosa and Western understanding of selfhood. While Western man is characterised as erecting boundaries around himself and thus creating an encapsulated self, the Igqira is seen as living within a common reality which includes being-with-another. The reality of the other is open to him. As the Igqira does not have to contend with the encapsulation of Western man, there is "nothing mysterious for him in the accessibility that he may have into the meaningful life structures of his fellow man" (ibid: 192). Being human is thus an orginally open standing towards or ex-isting within the context of human Dasein.

6.2.5 Action as a relation to the numinous within the life-world

The interpretation of dreams or to create a neologism, the interpreaction of dreams, is essentially an expression of man's relatedness

with a cosmic mode-of-being in which action is an affirmation of the
numinous and is revealed as being revelatory. The meaning of the
dream is not revealed directly by the dream expert, but nevertheless,
the action which might have been prescribed by the dream provides
certain kinds of experiences which are then experienced as a direct
source of understanding. These experiences, which often take place
within the context of a ritual or ceremony, are such that they cannot be
assimilated by only part of the person, such as the isolated intellect.
Rather, they require that the person participate and receive them with
the whole of himself, and often within the context of the community.

I elaborate upon this idea by drawing a distinction between interpreaction
as a source of understanding and explanation, as understood within the
Western tradition. Interpreaction, as a basis for knowledge, construes
the event or entity in its own terms, so the understanding emerges from
the phenomenon itself. Thus, to understand the significance of the event,
it is imperative to participate in it until it yields its own essence
within the understanding mode-of-being. On the other hand, explanation
reduces a particular phenomenon to a series of laws or relations, which
are believed to be the ultimate reality of the event. Explanation cannot
provide the same kind of understanding in so far as it breaks down or
reduces the phenomenon into its parts, which is then mistakenly taken as
the real configuration of that phenomenon.

The physiognomy of the person's existence as revealed within the
dream-existence is neither a dead world nor a subjective experience to
be invalidated as merely a dream. Rather, it affirms the person's

relatedness within a world of forces and vital influence. In interpreting a dream through responsive action, the person affirms in an immediate sense his living in relation to God, his fellow beings, his family and his descendants. While the dream reveals itself as a communicative mode-of-being, action affirms the person's commitment to grasp and actualize those possibilities within the open realm of his existence.

6.2.6 Healing as relatedness to the cosmos within the life-world

Action, as an expression of the numinous, is nowhere more evident than in healing. While a detailed discussion of healing processes is beyond the scope of the study, a few observations need to be made. It is clearly evident in the description of indigenous healing that dreams and healing are inextricably linked. In both groups the dream expert, whether the Igqira or prophet, is clearly able to mediate between the personal and the transpersonal, that is, he understands and expresses the transpersonal in making sense of the individual's dream. He is thus able to articulate and attribute meaning and order within the flux of experience.

Sandner (1979) commented that while man can accept a tremendous amount of suffering, what he cannot accept is suffering that has no purpose. If suffering is to be endured and accepted, it must be given meaning. The healer, in interpreting his own dreams or the dreams of his clients, responds to their very being, and is able to reveal meaning which is intelligible to the person. His relation to his client as well as to the

community is not bounded simply by what the person reports. Within his broader role as mediator, he is able to reveal the existential horizon which includes the person's relations within the cosmos.

The dream may act as a message, and the role of the interpreter is not only as a mediator who reveals its meaning in a way which makes sense to the person; his role is also to disclose new possibilities within the coherence of the cosmos. This might be expressed by the healer prescribing certain actions or ceremonies. For instance, the dream may indicate that the person is being "called" to become a healer and needs to perform a particular ceremony (Ex. 19) or to join the church, so that his "spirit may join the spirit of the church" (Ex. 41).

Within the African Independent Church Movement, the understanding of dis-ease is very often responsive to new kinds of difficulties, such as unemployment, separation of families, unhappy relationships with employers and other problems relating to alienation. In these situations the dreams may serve as a vehicle for spiritual regeneration, as the individual is guided by the inner voice and responds directly to the numinous, expressed as the spirit of God, and finds his particular place within the cosmic order. Within the context of the interpretative-reality, the person is able to realise the life-giving potentialities of the gospel as he owns his possibilities to prophesy and to heal (Ex. 54). In such instances, the interpretation or, more accurately, the interpreaction, reveals the structure of the individual's life within the broader context of the community as well as his position in the cosmos. The result is that the

person is enabled, and in some instances impelled to adopt a new relationship to the world in which his existence is fundamentally meaningful and meaning-giving. This is well illustrated by the participant who relates that a dream is a "gift from someone who loved you" (Ex. 36) and that one particular dream he had was the first dream indicating that he would "become knowledgeable" (Ex. 35).

In interpreting dreams, the healer is responding to a fundamental human need, which is to live within a meaningful and coherent world. Through the mediation of the healer, which might involve dream interpretation or interpreaction, the client is enabled to restore balance between himself and the community as well as the cosmos. The healer restores the client's sense of control over life processes, enabling him to respond creatively to existential fluctuations and change. He contributes towards a sense of participation in a purposeful cosmos, and responds to the client's need for structures which not only clarify his belief system and values but contribute towards an appreciation of the sacred within the life-world. In a situation of crisis, the dream serves an integrative function and promotes wholeness as the individual uncovers that destiny which is revealed through his relation with the Divine. Healing is thus not based upon physiological principles but is an expression of man's connectedness with the greater cosmos made present within the concrete experience in the life-world.

The life-world as revealed in the interpretative-reality of both groups is imbued with a sense of the numinous. The numinous is expressed

through human bodiliness, revelation, action and healing. Notwith-
standing the multiplicity of forms which confront the person within his
dream-existence, the essential features of the phenomenon in waking -
existence affirms the unity and meaning of existence as relatedness
to the Divine. The relation with divine presence unites the world of
mundane activity with God, the ordinary with the cosmic, and expresses
the harmonies between diverse parts of the universe within the vivid
experience of the life-world. Through the interpretation or enaction of
dreams, whether in a church or in the form of a traditional ritual, the
participant is afforded the means of making contact with his deepest
aspirations, as he transcends the mundane and enters into a relation with
the Divine within a purposeful cosmos. He participates in the common
rhythm underlying the rationalized order of the Western natural-scientific
approach.

6.3 CONTRASTING THE INTERPRETATIVE-REALITY OF THE URBAN AND RURAL GROUP

In a previous chapter on the cultural background I discuss the reasons
for incorporating and distinguishing between the Urban and Rural Group.
Part of the rationale is that they represent two seemingly different
cultural contexts. I postulate that by contrasting the interpretative-
realities of the two groups it might be possible to better understand
the way in which the process of change influences the participants'
world-view. I refer to Soul (1975) who indicated the constraints of the
traditional cosmology and observed a move away from traditional notions.
An alternative view was put forward by Mayer (1980) among others. Mayer
had observed an increase in involvement in traditional cultural concerns,

while Schutte (1974) described an urban church as representing a dual

notion, incorporating the spirit with the powers associated with the

ancestors.

6.3.1 Changing cosmologies: conflict and resolution

The interpretative-reality of the Urban Group reveals conflict between

the monotheistic Christian cosmology and the traditional cosmology. In

some instances, participants distinguish between the two cosmologies by

viewing traditional notions as being in opposition to Christian-based

concepts. In other instances, the two cosmologies are openly

conciliated by a proposed continuity between customs, ancestors and the

Holy Spirit. One participant states: "God is one mountain not two

mountains, one" (Ex. 60). He thus defines the essential nature of the

Divine in terms which transcend the apparent duality presented by the

conflict between cosmologies.

However, in all these instances, the presence of the numinous is never

questioned. The intrinsic meaningfulness or essence of the traditional

cosmology is revealed in both groups. The possibility of relating to

and being part of a harmonious cosmology experienced and expressed

within the interpretative-reality is thus validated and affirmed.

Two hundred and fifty years of missionary influence as well as the

process of urbanization have obviously influenced the individual's

world-view, but has not negated the more subtle experience of the unity

of being which characterizes the traditional cosmology. God is not

viewed as an entity separate from the person, but is revealed as a

source of cosmic possibility. Man has power only to the extent that he

is able to access and direct that energy, which might be in terms of

understanding, relating to his fellow-man, or in preaching or healing.

His very relationship with the mountains, rivers and even animals, affirmed

a primordial meaning-giving relatedness which is eloquently expressed as,

"I think God wanted to show me this Zionist Church and he wanted me to

enter it to join my spirit with the spirits of the dead" (Ex. 65).

Unique themes of the Urban Group are revealed in their references to the

urban social environment and to a moral imperative. A distinctly urban

concern, which was absent from the Rural Group, was evidenced by

anticipation of conflict with the law (Ex. 65). Furthermore, actions

of fellow-persons such as infidelity might be revealed through church

members' dreams. The interpretative-reality thus serves as an

authoritative vehicle expressing the imperative that the person behaves

according to the values of the church. This is particularly evident in

relation to sexual behaviour. The social constraints revealed within the

interpretative-reality are consonant with an observation made by Schutte

(1974), that the "law of the church demands conformity and that to

belong to the church means observance of its laws" (ibid: 115). The

import of the theme might be of particular value in decreasing the

social disintegration which accompanies urbanization.

6.3.2 Cultural values and change

Soul (1974) proposed that with urbanization and Westernization, the person frees himself from the constraints of traditional life. It might thus be assumed that the traditional mode is construed as limiting freedom. Relatedness with the Divine defines man in terms of his relation to the cosmos. To move away from traditional notions might well contribute towards the individual's freedom, where freedom is defined as being unconstrained by tradition and as being not attached, which in a cosmological sense is a characteristic of Western objectivity. In other words, in the process of urbanization and Westernization, traditional notions are invalidated and the consequence is individual freedom. I would argue that this concept of freedom is limited if it means that traditional structures are naively replaced by the Western natural-scientific reality. The scientific world-view is often identified with Western values and their emphasis upon individuality and free choice. However, the natural scientific world-view is restraining in its own way as it replaces the life-world with the scientific conception of reality. Husserl (1977) warns that when immediate life-possibilities are replaced by an "ideal praxis ", we find ourselves within a referenceless world devoid of the vital meaning of life itself. The result is alienation as evidenced in the crisis of meaning presently confronting Western man.

While recognizing the process of change taking place in the urban as well as the rural areas, it is noteworthy that the findings obtained

in the present study are consistent with the findings of Sundkler (1961), Schutte (1974), West (1975), as well as with Mayer's (1980) observations. That is, that the church in the urban areas incorporates beliefs in spiritual entities which might explicitly include the ancestors with the Christian idea of the Holy Spirit. The church members thus incorporate Christ, the angels and the ancestors into their life-world.

Mayer's observation that there is a return to cultural self-expression within black townships, which he interprets as resistance to white domination at the point of the most sacred, suggests that in the struggle with white culture, the individual enhances his self-respect by validating his mode of being-in-the-world. He does this not only on an individual level, but on a group level and thereby validates his and the group's identity in terms of his relation to the numinous. By defining himself in terms of these relations, he acknowledges his links and dependency on the past and defines his future. That is, he does not spring up from nothing, and death is not really the final end of life. The person who has died has simply changed his status but is still present and active within the family, though in a different way.

6.3.3 Healing and an emerging world-view

It is noted that the motivation of urban participants to join the church is often due to illness. During a period of pain and suffering, the person may report a dream which is interpreted in terms of action.

The very enaction expressed, perhaps long before it could be expressed by words, a relation with the Divine, and harmony within the cosmos. The prophet, who has direct access to the Holy Spirit, does not distinguish between body and mind, but expressed the unity which underlies the transcendent function. The prophet, within the meaning-matrix of the interpretative-reality, offers the possibility of life in relation to the Divine and to his fellow beings which might never have been experienced before. This possibility is not based within the traditional rural framework nor within the Christian framework alone, but is an expression of an emerging and developing world-view based upon the life-world as experienced within the urban environement.

6.3.4   Influence of the urban environment

There are undoubtedly significant differences between the rural and urban industrial environments. The very nature of the urban environemnt is of houses and concrete and in this sense, it is artifactual. The rural agrarian environment with its rivers, trees, forests and cattle kraals is less artifactual and provides a source of pathic understanding. One participant said that a difficulty posed by the cities is that there were no trees and hence no place for the ancestors. He believed that such distance from the ancestors could cause one to lose one's senses and become insane (Schweitzer 1977). This sentiment might well parallel the Husserlian notion of "ideal entities" and the mathematisation of nature. That is, the modern urban industrial environment contributes to

the distancing of man from the life-world of nature. The immediate
pathic sense of bodiliness is diminished as the ineffable is replaced
by the abstract.

It is evident that participants from both groups share the common
characteristics of a relation with a cosmic mode-of-being. The
traditional understanding of the cosmos is being transformed and
expressed within the new environment as "service to God". From this
perspective, freedom is construed as the acquisition of sensitivity
and the power to live in harmony with cosmic laws. Man's relationship
to nature, his fellow-beings and to the Divine are defined within the
structure of his existence which is primordially meaningful. Dreams are
seen to provide one way in which he is able to structure existence and
live in harmony with that concept. However, this does not imply that
the person should accept the status quo or the political contingencies
affecting his situation. Rather, human existence is understood and
expressed as being inherently purposeful and meaning-giving and meaning-
disclosing.

In summary, it is noted that there are differences between the
interpretative-reality of the two groups. These refer to the presence,
within the Urban Group, or conflicting themes as well as an imperative
defining acceptable social conduct. Within this study, support is
provided for the idea that cultural self-expression based upon
traditional notions, continues to play a significant role in the urban
environment. The conflict revealed between the respective cosmologies

underlies an integration of traditional meanings with Christian concepts.

This finding is consistent with previous observations by Sundkler (1961),

Schutte (1974) and West (1975).

6.4 COMPARISON OF SYSTEMS OF DREAM INTERPRETATION

In Chapter Two I outline three contemporary Western approaches to dream

interpretation and indicate that previous researchers have alluded to the

idea that the Xhosa and Zulu system of dream interpretation can be

compared to Western models of dream interpretation. For instance, Lee

(1969b) found a parallel between the local interpretation of particular

"symbols" and the Freudian interpretation of those symbols. Bührmann

(1979, 1981) and Bührmann and Gqomfa (1982) have drawn attention to the

comparative differences between a Jungian understanding of Xhosa dreams

and the indigenous understanding of dreams. In the present section, I

contrast the Nguni approach with the Freudian, Jungian and phenomenological

approaches to dream interpretation, the value of a comparative analysis

being that it highlights and clarifies particular aspects of the approach

being explicated.

6.4.1 Contrast with the Freudian approach

The obvious difficulty with the Freudian model is that it is firmly

based within the natural-sciences conception of man. At the cost of

oversimplifying Freud, his paradigm reduced consciousness to psychic

acts which in turn are derived from unconscious drives or instincts.

The explanatory force of the unconscious is thus based upon the hypothesized forces, drives and laws which govern psychic processes. The dream is regarded as a product of unconscious mental acts which are usually determined by past events. In interpreting the dream, the manifest or remembered content needs to be reduced to the latent unconscious content. This process completes the epistemological circle. For example, the snake, referred to by Lee (Chapter 2), thus comes to represent the phallus, and serves to verify Freud's theory of psychic apparatus, the pleasure principle, wish-fulfillment and regression. Freud thus reduced man to reductive-explanatory principles which are eloquently coherent within the bounds of Descartes' res extensa. It should be noted, however, that in Freud's later writing, he attempts to break out of the overly reductionistic model by introducing the concept of a phylogenetic inheritance. Nevertheless, Freud seems not to have expanded the implications of this idea.

Within the cosmology explicated, dreams are inherently meaningful and cannot be reduced to a single construct such as incorporated in the wish-fulfillment hypothesis or any other abstract model. The complexity and diversity of the meaning-structures explicated are based within the world-life experience. The participants are often not even interested in the theoretical meaning of the dream, but rather in the active expression or practical application of the dream. The dream discloses the very structure of the individual's existence. In fact, where Freud's individual theory emphasizes reductionism, the system explicated reveals a broader possibility in that the dream may relate not

only to the individual but to the community as a whole. This is well

illustrated by the participant who responds to her dream by visiting

her neighbours and telling them that their daughter is in need of

healing (Ex. 18).

The difficulties posed in attempting to understand the dreams of Zulu

speaking persons from a Freudian perspective, as attempted by Lee,

(1969a) are twofold. Firstly, his basic assumptions reflect the Freudian

hypothesis. He does not question the epistemological basis of his

approach but applies it to the material collected. While his observations

are interesting, his results are tautological, framed within his

particular approach. In fact, they reveal very little about the way in

which dreams structure or give meaning to the lives of his participants.

Secondly, the parallels he notes between the meanings attributed to

particular symbols must be questioned in terms of the methodological

rigor of his study. When discussing parallels between the snake and

the Freudian interpretation, he refers to a single participant's comment

that a snake indicates that there is "a man that you fear". He uses

this statement to indicate the common idea of the significance of the

phallus. Could not his informant be referring to the possibility of the

dreamer feeling threatened or vulnerable in relation to men rather than

to the phallus?

6.4.2 Contrast with the Jungian approach

I now consider the Jungian dream theory in relation to the indigenous

understanding of dreams although the epistemological basis of Jung's

theory makes it difficult to compare the analytic and Nguni approaches directly. Jung rejected Freud's notions of reductionism and his wish-fulfillment hypothesis. However, he was still a victim of Descartes' conception in so far as his theory was formulated on one level in terms of an encapsulated psyche, psychic mechanisms and a distinction between consciousness, the personal unconscious and a collective unconscious. Jung also compared dreaming and waking, as a constrast between a private world and a common world. However, he overcame some of the problems posed by Freud by introducing his doctrine of individuation as a process of psychological development. His theory should not be dismissed too readily in a comparative evaluation of the indigenous approach.

Jung presents two princples which may be construed as being similar to Xhosa notions. These refer to his idea of synchronicity and his theory of the archetypes and the unconscious. His theory of synchronicity represents an epistemological leap outside the parameters of causality as it encompassed the idea of a union between the psyche and the material world which is not very different to the notion of an undivided existence described in this study. The result is that both approaches recognise anticipatory or prophetic perception as well as the practical usefulness of dreams as message carriers. One obvious example of this in the data presented is the dreamer (Ex. 17) who is told what to do to promote healing.

Within the Urban Group, the idea of interdependence and mind-body unity referred to by Jung is well expressed by the participant who, while criticizing established Christianity, wrote:

"Christianity...is in Africa the white man's religion,
which fails to touch the depths of the African heart
and soul. In Africa life should never have been
divided up into body, soul and spirit, certain parts
given priorities over others..." (personal communication).

The essence of his criticism of Western theory is that it fails to
emphasize the unity of existence as expressed within the African
Independent Church. The unity of being is equally evident in the
interpretative-reality of both groups, which reflect a harmony between
body, soul and spirit. Understanding is that harmony, and may be
revealed in many different ways.

An additional point of similarity is found in the imperative to live
in relation to the Holy Spirit or ancestors. This notion might be
compared to Jung's concept of the unconscious which emphasizes the
person's need to respond to the archetypal significance of the unconscious.
The idea of the ancestors being one's guardian and promoting the
descendant's welfare is also similar to the significance of the
unconscious in the primary drive toward individuation. Jung further
argues that in living out the symbol with a proper conscious attitude,
the individual gains a true grasp of numinosity in the individuation
process. This is not dissimilar to the imperative that the person respond
to the ancestors or spirit and live in relation to the divine presence
which reveals itself as the physiognomy of the person's existence.

There are, of course, significant differences between the two approaches.
Firstly, the participants do not treat the dream with the same formality

and conceptual elegance which characterizes the Jungian approach. For the participants, the dream is inherently meaningful within the life-world. Because the life-world incorporates the cosmic, there is no need to look for symbols and to interpet the symbol as an expression of an archetype. For instance, the participant who responds to the presence in her dream of her great grandmother by carrying out her instructions to make beer (Ex. 1), and the participant who joins a particular church in response to a dream (Ex. 53) are really responding on a pre-reflective level to the inherent meaningfulness of the dream. There is little need to conceptualize the meaning revealed in the dream on an abstract level.

Secondly, within the Jungian framework the interpretation of the dream is an individual experience, and more than that, is often reduced to an intra-psychic experience as the individual confronts and integrates aspects of his intra-psychic world such as his shadow. This is illustrated by Bührmann and Gqomfa (1982) who interpreted their informant's dream as an "intrapsychic drama", in which a "part of her psychic apparatus must be sacrificed and replaced by a more potent function" (ibid: 53). This approach supports the subject-object as well as the individual-context split prevalent within Western culture. Thus the person and his social field are viewed as being discontinuous. The participants stress the continuity between the individual and his environment as a total field. The epistemological assumption underlying the Nguni approach conceptualizes an integration and continuity between persons and fellow persons and between the personal and the transpersonal. Thus, the dream might come from the ancestors or Holy Spirit and affect the individual as well as the community in a tangible sense.

Finally, Jung regarded the dream itself as a reflection of the inner reality of the person. He distinguished between the inner reality of the psyche, and the outer world. Within the Nguni interpretative-reality, to dream is to commune with the ancestors or with the Divine. One is guided by one's dreams, and if necessary, one might actively seek guidance from one's dreams. The expression "I was told in a dream..." reiterated so often, indicates the immediacy of the relation between the individual and the Divine. Furthermore, the person's dream-existence, is actively incorporated into his waking-existence, as illustrated in the numerous examples of dreams providing the basis for action or revealing the individual's vulnerability to the ominous (Ex. 30). And so there is a continuity and consistency between the dream-existence and the waking-existence characterized by participation. The inner is the outer and the outer is the inner. This mode-of-being needs to be distinguished from the inner-world and outer-world of analytic psychology.

6.4.3 Contrast with the phenomenological approach

In contrasting the phenomenological with the Nguni approach to dreams, it should be noted that phenomenology differs from the two previous theories, in that it represents an approach rather than a theory of dream interpretation. Phenomenology is based upon a particular epistemological position, which in turn, determines its approaches. I shall illustrate that while phenomenology necessarily reflects its European origins, it provides the closest analogy to the Nguni interpretative-system.

One of the similarities between the two approaches is that they both emphasize the validity of dreaming-existence as constituting a valid mode of human existence. Furthermore, Boss (1977) does not refer to interpretation of dreams but to the explication of dreams. That is, he emphasizes the importance of seeing clearly and accurately what is revealed directly within the dream - "opening and revealing meanings and frames of reference that belong directly to concrete elements of the dreaming world..." (ibid: 32). If we examine the Nguni approach to dreams, in many instances the interpreter is distilling and applying this approach to his understanding of dreams. This is eloquently illustrated in the statement: "The dream explains itself" (Ex. 59). In fact, it might be asserted that in each of the active responses to the dream, the interpreter is revealing the very essence of the dream within the immediate structure of the person's existence.

The phenomenological approach is primarily interested in meaning. The phenomenologist will ask, for example, what is the meaning of the presence of the dog in the dream? In a similar manner, the Nguni access and reveal the primordial meaningfulness of their dream-existence within the life-world. This is described in my discussion of bodiliness which argues that meaning is immediately sensed and expressed in terms of umbilini (Ex. 31 and 32) or "blood" (Ex. 33 and 34). Nguni existence is defined by meanings which might not be explained but which are nevertheless felt and expressed. Like the phenomenologists, the Nguni do not conceive of symbols or signs, but encounter the presences in dreams as being inherently meaningful.

The people, forest, rivers, animals and mountains do not stand for something other than the very significance of their presence within the context of the Nguni life-world.

I would like to point to the distinctly European influence on phenomenology. Heidegger (1962) refers to the essential modes of human existence as including the characterisitcs of primordial spatiality, temporality, attunement or mood, historicity, mortality and bodyhood. Boss (1963) accepts these modes as the fundamental characteristics of Dasein which are termed existentialia. In particular, the concept of primordial historicity is based upon the primary temporality of all human existence. Eliade (1968) reflects that an Indian philosopher might be quite perplexed by this perspective of life and death and I dare say that an African-thinking philosophically might ponder equally upon the idea that all human existence is finite and necessarily engenders anxiety and pain. Perhaps life and death have a very different meaning within an African cosmology. Within the traditional Nguni cosmology, life persists after the grave as part of the same life. Thus, characteristics of Dasein which arise out of a phenomenological approach do not necessarily reflect Nguni existence or modes-of-being.

6.4.4 The indigenous approach to dreams

The Nguni approach to dreams is not based upon any theory or any rules but nevertheless reflect an epistemological basis, significant features of which are interdependence, continuity and undivided existence. A comparative analysis of the Nguni dream interpretation reveals that

their approach cannot be reduced to an abstract model, but that the meaning-structures revealed within the interpretation are based within the life-world of experience. The concrete experience of the life-world includes the possibility of integration and continuity between person and fellow-persons and between the personal and transpersonal realms of being. Embedded within the Nguni approach is an implicit meaning-matrix. The meaning-matrix determines that the dream is very often considered to be a message, which needs to be listened to and in some instances, even acted upon. The dream is thus appreciated within the complexity and unity of the cosmos as a totality.

Could a Westerner acquire the ability to approach dreams from a Nguni perspective? In attempting to answer this question, I should like to restate the cultural context which defines acknowledged dream experts. Dream experts are usually amagqira [healers] or prophets within the African Independent Church. They do not simply choose their vocation, but are in some way "called" and respond by often under-going a period of treatment-training. During this time, which is often a period of transition and transformation, they acquire the sensitivity to relate to the powers or vitality of the cosmos. This relation is expressed by such terms as their encounter with the ancestors, God, Holy Spirit, angels and izilo. Each of these entities reflects the numinous nature of the cosmos and reveals an aspect of man's relatedness with that aspect of his universe. Each dream expert is thus prepared for his role as a seer and mediator. Where his "calling" and training have been thorough and genuine, he has a true understanding of the sacred and is able to guide

his fellow-persons in their own attempts to better understand the meanings revealed within their dream-existence. He thus shares in a tradition which is very different from the contemporary Western experience.

I would argue that a Western person, or for that matter even a person born into the Nguni society, who attempts to understand the Nguni approach as a conceptual system of ideas, thoughts and beliefs, will never grasp the approach described in this study. The reason is that there is an additional component, which I can best describe as a sensing mode-of-being. The ancestors or Holy Spirit are not simply explanatory constructs but are imbued with ineffable qualities, which I describe in terms of the numinous. The sensing mode-of-being, thus forms the basis of a primordial understanding based upon life-world experience. This immediate and pathic approach cannot be reduced to either sensation or thought, but is an expression of man's primordial attunement with the cosmos.

6.5   THE VALIDITY OF THE INDIGENOUS APPROACH

The validity of indigenous meaning-structures have all too often been evaluated in terms of Western criteria. Measured against such criteria, Nguni notions (like many other non-Western constructs) have long been regarded as immature or primitive episodes in the history of man. My argument is that the interpretative system explicated in this study is as valid as is any other system, when evaluated by its own criteria.

In the Extended Description, I point to the coherence of the system being explicated and indicate the ways in which it is legitimated. In both the Rural and Urban Groups immediate experience, both in dream-existence and in waking-existence, are considered to be a basis for knowledge. Furthermore, the significance of the experience might be verified by an authority, such as a diviner or by reference to the Bible. I argue that the primary basis for validity must surely rest upon primary experience and intelligible necessity.

In discussing the notion of primary experience, it is noted that within the Western tradition Husserl (1977) has argued for the necessity to return to the pre-scientific experiential world and to the experience in which it is given:

> "As scientified themes, nature and mind do not exist
> beforehand; rather, they are formed only within a
> theoretical interest and in the theoretical work
> directed by it, upon the underlying stratum of a
> natural, pre-scientific experience" (ibid: 40).

In translating this notion of primary experience to the life-world of the participants, it is evident that the personal meaning-structures, as outlined in the interpretative-reality, came from the person's felt relation to fellow-beings and the things he encounters within his dream-existence. The structure and the significance of his existence are inseparably related to his original openness to, and understanding of the cosmos. This is illustrated by an analogy derived from

phenomenology and introduced earlier by Boss (1963) that man is like

"a light which luminates whatever particular being comes into the realm

of its rays" (ibid: 37). He could not exist in any way other than in

terms of his primordial existence. The things of his dream-existence

and waking existence are not separate objects which impinge upon his

senses but on the contrary, his ability to perceive meaning is grounded in

his primary openness. For instance, his awareness of the animals, the

river, the ancestors, or the Holy Spirit are not interpreted in terms of

Western objectivism, but are encountered as being pregnant with meaning.

The fact that the person's perceptions are not limited to the five

physical senses indicates his ability to confront things far beyond

the reach of sense organs. That is, the person's presence-to-the-world

is an understanding and perceiving presence. Within the structure of

his existence, he is attuned to the numinous which is reflected in his

relation to animals, plants, forests, rivers and mountains. He is aware

of events from which he is removed in space, as well as events which are

removed in time but which belong to his future. His immediate experience

of the world, including his feelings and actions, provides direct knowledge

of the natural world and constitutes the primary reality of his existence.

One of the criteria of the Western approach to knowledge, as expressed

within the natural scientific paradigm, is that it can be validated

in terms of logical rigor. Dufrenne refers to this connection of ideas

as logical necessity. Within the natural-scientific framework, the fact that something can exist, can only exist as the result of a cause. Logical necessity is affirmed by determinism. This principle introduces an order into succession and allows us to express logical necessity as an empirical law, without justifying it. Logical necessity is then justified by its own internal rationality. Thus it is, for example, that if I became ill, my illness is contingent on my suffering from a virus. My discomfort is explicate by causality. So logic reflects upon itself in terms of factual necessity (Dufrenne 1966).

Within the explicated interpretative-reality, logical rigor does not express a demand for logical necessity as described above. Rather, there is the need for intelligible necessity - a necessity which comes out of apprehending an idea. Comprehension necessarily means understanding the content of the idea which necessitates moving to other related concepts which clarify that idea. Consequently, intelligible necessity is the need to take account of the implications of any idea. For the participants, intelligible necessity is grounded in the life-world of meaning derived often from immediate and vivid experience.

The possibility of experience is bounded in any particular cosmology by the basic meaning-matrix and logical rigor demanded of the system. Within the Western natural-scientific system, experience is often reduced to the objective world, the world of res extensa in which consciousness and selfhood are removed. For instance, the dictates of the natural

sciences are adhered to by the behaviourists, who investigate

corporeal entities, and exclude the self from the world being

investigated. Within the Nguni cosmology, experience as constituted

by meaning and logic is determined by intelligible necessity. The

validity of the Nguni approach is thus based upon continuity between the

transpersonal and the personal and each possibility of experience is

accounted for in terms of a meaning-giving relationship within a common

universe.

6.6   AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The present study reflects the views of two categories of recognized

dream experts. The views expressed are seen to be diverse, and they

are dynamic in that they reflect the changes taking place within the

society. Therefore, I do not believe that one can generalize from the

findings to a definitive description of the Nguni cosmology. Furthermore,

it needs to be recognized that the above exposition is not a complete

explication of all themes contained within the data. I even question

whether I have grasped the full meaning of the phenomena explicated.

However, it is my hope that many questions will have been raised which

were previously neither answered or even asked, and that the study may

serve to provide impetus towards the further exploration of the structures

by which people define their existence.

One of the limitations of this study is that the language used by the

rural Xhosa informants was interpreted into English, while the English

used by the urban participants necessarily reflected the dualist pre-

conception inherent in the English language. This inevitably results in some degree of distancing between the phenomenon itself, the way in which it is articulated, and my understanding and explication of the data. I believe that the meaning of the participants' life-world might be expanded upon by future researchers who are steeped in the culture and able to work effectively in the mother tongue of the participants. An in-depth understanding and explication of the indigenous classification should contribute towards a more in-depth appreciation of the meaning which constitute the Nguni world-life. For example, the Zulu term, amadlozi which is translated as ancestors, is understood in the Xhosa language as referring to spermatozoa. An explication of the significance of such relationships would be of inestimable value and would provide important corroborative evidence in any explication of the participants' life-world. Such an approach may be supplemented by an extensive knowledge of linguistics which traces the common African heritage and cultural tradition transmitted through many generations and expressed in terms of current idiomatic expressions.

One area for further research which needs to be understood if we are to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the interpretative-reality of the African Independent Church Movement, is the significance of the theological ideas presented in their interpretations. The relation between dream interpretations and their notions of theology would contribute towards a more penetrating understanding of their cosmology.

I would fully expect additional field research to result in refinements or even challenges to some of the assertions presented in this study.

6.6.1 Developing appropriate methodological approaches

I argue for the need that psychology be construed as an open-ended human science and develop appropriate and responsive methodological approaches to that end. The methodology developed for the purposes of the present study represents one such method for the phenomenological study of nomothetic data. The construction of a thematic file which can be searched in useful ways is a unique feature of the methodology. Further research might contribute towards extending this approach. Furthermore, new and innovative methodologies might be developed, which

are based upon an alternative set of epistemological assumptions from those underlying the natural-scientific paradigm. Such an orientation, unfettered by the dualism and rationalism which has characterized traditional methodological procedures, would need to comprehend the complexity of the world in its undivided totality. Characteristics of the methodology might reflect a creative and synthetic approach towards understanding the meaning of particular phenomena. It might value contemplation and reflection, and assume an altogether new appearance, which would be categorized neither as a "science" nor an "art", as they are currently construed.

6.6.2 Pharmacognosy

The study emphasizes the importance attributed to dreams. Within the Urban Group, dreaming is sometimes encouraged by fasting. Within the Rural Group, certain medicines derived from plants and roots, and often

referred to as an ubulawu are used to encourage dreams in persons who report difficulties in recalling their dreams. Furthermore, where dream images appear to be confused, medicines might be used to encourage the dreams to appear "more clearly". Such medicines are also used extensively in the training of an Igqira. One participant described the effect of the medicine as follows:

> "The effect is to open up a person in his work as an
> Igqira. This can easily make you mad. This medicine
> comes to the head. It opens you up. It enlightens
> you so that you can see things. It also makes you
> dream clear" (personal communication).

I have collected specimens of the following plants which fall within this category and have lodged voucher specimens with the Albany Herbarium*:

Silene undulata Ait. (=S. Capensis Otth ex DC.)

Dianthus sp.

Dioscorea sylvatica Eckl.

Dianthus thunbergii Hooper (=D scaber Thunb.)

Rubia petiolaris DC.

The meanings associated with these medicines as well as their pharmacological properties might be further investigated.

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*I am grateful to Mrs. Estelle Brink for her assistance in identifying and cataloguing the plant specimens.

6.7 CONCLUSIONS

Needleman (1965) writes: "I am a child of the times. I must
constantly struggle with the belief that knowledge comes into me
through thought alone" (ibid: 75). With these words he implicitly
and unintentionally expressed the challenge of transcultural
psychology. Transcultural psychology offers the opportunity of
learning about the ways in which persons in non-Western and trans-
itional cultures define their world. By entering into a dialogue
with non-Western cultures, it is possible to gain a new and original
understanding of the infinite meanings and possibilities which
constitute our universal human potential. Not only are we led to a
new understanding of our fellow-beings, but we are confronted by
the definition of our own profile of reality, which we might have
regarded as being universally valid. We are thus led to re-evaluate
our own notions and possibly rediscover new ways in which we can
relate to the world and in which the world can disclose itself to
us. I conclude with a poem by Tebu Modingoane (1982) which reflects
a significant theme within the study:

Natural Nature

Natural nature!
Man is he who loves
Man is he who struggles
Man is he who creates nature within nature.
Man is he who fears
The existence of immortals
He who fears not to expose
The roots of his culture.

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